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P. 1018ª, **MENTESHE-OGHULLARI**, l. 46, *for* (1296), *read* (1293-5, see Angeliki Laiou, *Some observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, iv [1978], 89-99).
P. 1018ᵇ, ll. 3-4, *for* Orkhān Beg's death was probably before 1344, and his son Ibrāhīm succeeded him., *read* Orkhān Beg's death was before 1337, for in that year his son and successor Ibrāhīm Beg concluded a treaty with the *Duca di Candia* or Venetian governor of Crete.
ll. 10-14, *for* but as a result of an agreement made with the assistance of Marino Morosini, the Count of Crete, between the years 1332-5, they were forced to disband. Ibrāhīm Beg died some time before the year 1360., *read* but treaties were concluded in 1353 between Marino Morosini, the *Duca di Candia*, and the *amīrs* of Aydīn [*q.v.*] and Menteshe and the Venetian forces were disbanded. Ibrāhīm Beg died at some point before 1358, because in that year his successor Mūsā (see below) concluded a treaty with the *Duca di Candia* (see on these treaties and their texts, which have survived, E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, 1300-1415*, 217-18,

the earliest treaty between one of the Menteshe *amīrs* and a Venetian *Duca di Candia* being that of the year 1331).

l. 41, *for* Djandār-oghlu Iskandar Beg, *read* Djandār-oghlu Iskandar (? Isfandiyār) Beg (see Y. Yücel, *XIII-XV. yüzybllar Kuzey-Bati tarihi Çoban-Ogullan Candar-ogullan beylikleri*, Ankara 1980).

l. 8 from bottom, *for* Count of Crete, *read Duca di Candia.*

P. 1019ᵃ, *add to Bibl.*: Barbara Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964; A. Luttrell, *Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the fourteenth century*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxvi, N.S. xiii (1958), 195-212; idem, *Greeks, Latins and Turks on late mediaeval Rhodes*, in *Byzantinische forschungen*, xi (1987), 357-74.

P. 1026ᵇ, **MESĪHĪ**, 2nd paragraph, l. 29, *replace* It is generally accepted ... no Persian model, *by* It is generally accepted that in Ottoman poetry the *shehr-engīz* genre started with Mesīḥī (a *shehr-engīz* by Dhātī would appear to date from just about the same time); it did have Persian forerunners, though. (Cf. Michael Glünz, *Ṣāfīs Šahrangīz, ein persisches Maṯnawī über die schönen Berufsleute von Istanbul*, in *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques*, xl/2 (1986), 133-45.)

VOLUME VII

Pp. 81-87, **MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪDJ**:

P. 81ᵇ, ll. 35-36, after *minṭakat falak al-burūdj*, add or (more rarely) *niṭāḳ al-burūdj*,.

l. 59, *for niṭāk, read niṭāḳ.*

P. 82ᵃ, l. 56, *read* δωδεκατημόρια.

P. 82ᵇ, l. 27, *for* 26, 27, *read* 36,27.

l. 44, *for* 174, 3/2, *read* 174, -3/2.

l. 45, *after* from *alāburūdj*, *add* which means *al-ẓuhūr* (i.e. *al-burūdj*,.

P. 83ᵃ, l. 51, *read* οἱ Δίδυμοι.

l. 67, *for* translation from Greek, *read* translated from Greek.

P. 83ᵇ, l. 35, *read* Χηλαί.

l. 67, *for* ξ^2, ο, π, δ, ρ, υ, *read* ξ^2, ο, π, d, ρ, υ.

P. 84ᵃ, l. 48, *read* Ὑδροχόος.

l. 50, *for idhrūkh'ūs, read idhrūkhu'ūs.*

P. 84ᵇ, l. 8, *for al-risha', read al-rishā'.*

l. 11, *for al-Mukhaṣṣas, read al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ.*

l. 50, *read* ζῴδια δίωμα.

l. 57, *for triplicates, read triplicitates.*

l. 63, *read* τριγωνοκράτορες.

P. 85ᵃ, l. 19, *read* τετράβιβλος.

for οἶκοι, *read* οἶκοι.

P. 85ᵇ, l. 47, *for aḳwāl, read aṭwāl.*

l. 58, *for* circles at longitude, *read* circles of longitude.

l. 60, *for al-kawakib, read al-kawākib.*

P. 86ᵃ, l. 8, *for* 417½, *read* 4171½.

l. 12, *read* ἀποτελεσματικοί.

in the *Comparative table*:

entry no. 1 (Eratostehenes), last column, *for* + 7″ 35″, *read* + 7′ 35″.

entry no. 8, name, *for* Banū Amdjūr, *read* Banū Amādjūr.

P. 86ᵃ, *Bibliography*, l. 5, *read al-bāḳiya.*

Bibliography, ll. 14-15, *read* ed. Ḥ. Ṣ. al-Ḍāmin.

P. 138ᵃ, **MISĀḤA**. 1., *add* at end of the article: In the Yemen, the normal measurement of surface area was the *maʿād*, a large, square surface which has two *ḳaṣaba* per side or two *ḥabl*, a unit of measurement equal to 50 cubits. The *maʿād* is subdivided into *ḳīrāṭ*, which is a square with a side of 25 cubits; it is thus equivalent to 625 square cubits. There are 16 *ḳīrāṭs* in a *maʿād*, which contains 10,000 *libna*, a unit of surface measurement which has a side of one cubit.

The cubit of the surveyor is, in the Yemen, appreciably longer than that of the trader. This last contains 24 *iṣbaʿs* or fingers, equivalent each one to 6 *shaʿīras*. But the surveyors' cubit in use at Wādī Zabīd contained 6 *ḳabḍas*, to which there was added a seventh *ḳabḍa* minus the thumb, which would make a total of 40 *iṣbaʿs* or about 83 cm (cf. Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *al-Faṣl al-mazīd*, ed. J. Chelhod, Arabic introd., 12 ff.). (J. Chelhod)

P. 253ᵇ, **MUʿĀHADA**, *add to Bibl.*: Texts of Ottoman treaties, translations and comments can be found in Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Yıldız Tasnifi series, Kısım 25 — Evrak: 184, 346, 377, 407, 1289, 2098, 2175, 2316, 2336; Kısım 28 — Evrak: 22, 2338; Kısım 31 — Evrak: 1925 Mükerrer; Kısım 33 — Evrak: 33/21, 33/39; Kısım 35 — Evrak: 2209, 2568, 2569, 35/20; Kısım 36 — Evrak: 169, 139/2; Kısım 37 — Evrak: 378.

P. 261ᵇ, **MUʿĀRAḌA**, ll. 5-8, *for* (see Lidia Bettini ... *U.E.A.I.*)), *read* (see Lidia Bettini, *Langue et rhétorique au Vᵉ siècle*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, v-vi (1987-8) (= *Atti del XIII Congresso dell' U.E.A.I.*), 91-104). *Add to Bibl.*: M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo, un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ contro il Corano confutato da al-Qāsim ibn Ibrahim*, Rome 1927; J. van Ess, *Some fragments of the muʿāraḍat al-Qur'ān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica, festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍi, Beirut 1981, 151-63; L. Bettini, *Studi sulla teoria letteraria araba*, Florence 1981, 14, n. 31; U. Haxen, *The Muʿāraḍa concept and its musico-rhythmical implications*, in *Al-Andalus*, xliii (1978), 113-24.

P. 303ᵃ, **MUDJTAHID**, l. 25, *add* A very paradoxical interpretation of the concept of *idjtihād* can already be found in the thought of Mollā Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680), for whom the true *mudjtahids* are those who follow the Akhbārī school (see Kohlberg, 143).

P. 303[b], l. 61, *after* E. Kedourie [1987]..., *add* E. Kohlberg, *Aspects of Akhbari thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in N. Levtzion and J. Voll (eds.), *Eighteenth-century renewal and reform in Islam*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1987, 133-60;

P. 441[a], **MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAYKAL**, *add to Bibl.*: Baber Johansen, *M. Ḥ. Haikal. Europa und der Orient im Weltbild einer ägyptischen Liberalen*, Beirut/Wiesbaden 1967 (*BTS*, vol. 5); Charles D. Smith, *Islam and the search for social order in modern Egypt. A biography of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haikal*, Albany, N.Y. 1983.

P. 631[a], **MURSAL**. The first three lines of the Bibliography should read as follows:
Bibliography: Given in the article; see further Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1988; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*, ed. S.B. al-Samarrāʾī, Baghdād 1388; idem, ed. Sh.N. Ḳūčānī, Beirut 1977;

P. 654[a], **MUṢADDIK**, 4th l. from bottom, *for* negotiations on new occasions..., *read* negotiations on new concessions...

P. 655[b], *add to Bibl.*: H. Katouzian (ed.), *Musaddiq's Memoirs*, London 1988; idem, *Musaddiq and the struggle for power in Iran*, London 1990; F. Azimi, *Iran: the crisis of democracy, 1941/53*, London 1989.

Plate XLII, *for Ca.* 1680-90, *read* The first quarter of the 18th century.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 387[a], **IBN FARĪGHŪN**, *add to Bibl.*: H.H. Biesterfeldt, *Ibn Farīgūn's chapter on Arabic grammar in his* Compendium of the Sciences, in K. Versteegh and M.G. Carter (eds.), *Studies in the history of Arabic grammar II. Procs. of the 2nd Symposium on the history of Arabic grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April-1 May 1987*, Amsterdam 1990, 49-56.

M

CONTINUATION

MIFRASH (A.), more usually in its Persian form *mafrash*, or the Ottoman *mifresh*, denotes a travelling pack for bedding. Derived from the Arabic verb *farasha* "to spread out or furnish a house or tent", it is thus cognate with *mafrūshāt* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "bedding".

Two early examples made from waxed canvas, reinforced with patterns of brass studs, are preserved in the harem of the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul (8/460 and 8/465 *khurdj*). These are flat-bottomed, 90 × 55 cm, with D-shaped ends 30 cm high around which the long sides curve inwards. A grip was fitted at each end, and the pack was secured by seven straps buckled from side to side and one lengthwise. The original colour seems to have been vine green.

The term is now generally applied to the woven rectangular bedding packs still used by nomads, and normally made in pairs to balance on either side of the camel carrying them. It appears in the following variants: Āzäri (lit.) *mäfräsh*, (Pushkin, Nakhčivān, Djebrāyil, and Shusha, also Karapapakh in Kars province) *farmash*, (Shahsevän and Karadaghi) *färmäsh* or *fermesh*; Kurdish (Djalālī) *mashraf* or *mafrash*; Kashkā'ī Türki *mäfredj* or (Farsimadan) *märfädj*; Özbek (lit.) *mapramač*, (Kaučin) *naprač*, (Kungrat of the Surkhān-daryā) *napramač*, (Lakay) *mepremeč*, (Aksha and Tashkūrghān) *maframač*. The Karakalpak equivalent is called *karshïn*. It is not clear whether *mafrash* as attributed to the Türkmen is due only to Iranian dealers; it does not appear in Baskakov's dictionary, nor is it usual among the Yomut of Iran. It is applied only to a small pouch. The term survives in various parts of Anatolia as *mafrač* (*Derleme sözlüğü*, ix, 1977), and among the Türkmen of Kayseri (Akkışla) and the Karadağli of Afyon as *mavrash*, but in the latter two cases it is used for a woven pouch for soft goods.

In Iran, the form is particularly developed among the Shahsevän [*q.v.*] and Karadaghlï, not only in Mūghān and Arasbārān, but among the outlying tribes in Hashtrūd and Miyāna, Bīdjār, Kazwīn and Sāwa, and Miyāndōāb; since substantial parts of the Kharakān groups appear to have been moved there from northeast Ādharbāydjān under Nādir Shāh or later in the 12th/18th century, it was quite probably known to the main body of Shahsevän there by 1700, that is from the beginning of the federation (cf. Tapper in *Bibl.*, 804 ff.). Its use in Fārs is typical of the Kashkā'ī, and it seems not to be known among the tribes of Kirmān; it may therefore have been brought south by those elements of the Kashkā'ī who came from Ādharbāydjān in Ṣafavid times or earlier. In both regions the packs are usually flat-woven, though those of the Shahsevän are woven on a vertical loom, while those in Fārs are woven on a ground loom; the usual technique is progressive weft float brocading (*soumak*), though examples in pilework can also be found. The Shahsevän also use tapestry weave. Kashkā'ī packs are characterised by leather binding along all the edges, a handle at either end, three straps across the width, and one lengthwise, with buckles, and flaps to close the top: they are thus close to the Ottoman model. They measure about 120 cm long, 40 cm wide and 55 cm high. Mūghān Shahsevän packs are slightly smaller, at about 100 × 50 × 50 cm, and generally lack both straps and flaps, though the latter are occasionally provided. Instead, the open top is provided with rings at the edges through which lacing can be passed. In both cases the woven design appears on all four sides, the bottom being simply in plain weave. In brocaded packs from Miyāna, the design is sometimes on three sides only, whereas in those from Hashtrūd, Khamsa and Bīdjār, only one face is decorated (Tanavoli, in *Bibl.*, 161 ff.). Tapestry-woven packs are, however, four-faced in all regions. Both types are some 10 cm lower than in Mūghān, as are those from Kars. Kurdish packs in both Turkey and Iran, are used by the Djalālī and Mīlān, resemble the Mūghān format in size and in tending to have three bands of ornament continuous on all faces, but the handling of the motifs is more compact, and a technique of reversed extra-weft knotted wrapping is sometimes used. A few packs of the Kashkā'ī format were made by the Bakhtiyārī and other Lur, but with Luri ornament: these too were usually in progressive brocading.

Lakay *mepremeč* are also small in format, up to 95 × 30 × 40 cm, and are decorated with pilework or embroidery on one long side and the ends only; they are fitted with five or six loops on each of the long top edges. It is said that staves are passed through these to stiffen the pack as it is packed up, a procedure absent among nomads in Iran. Such packs appear to be associated particularly with the Kïpčak group of Özbek. They are also found among some Iranian-speaking groups in southern Tādjikistān, including the ʿArab and Larkhābī. Somewhat similar packs, called *teng-tük* (100 × 60 × 30) are used by some Kazak (Kïzïl Orda *oblast*), and may be compared to the felt covers, *sandïk kap*, used to house their chests.

Bedding packs hold a complete bed, of mattress, quilt and pillow, rolled up, or even two, and can be lifted by two people with difficulty when full. They are ranged along the rear wall of the tent, forming the basis of the baggage pile, *yük*, where the decorated face can be displayed to advantage.

The equivalent Persian term is *rakht-i khwāb-pīč*. In northern India the same function is performed by the bedding roll, *bistarāband* or "holder";

Bibliography: Some Āzäri variants of the term can be found in R. Ä. Rüstämov and M. Sh. Shiraliyev, *Azärbaydjan dilinin dialektolozhi lüghäti*, Baku 1964; see also W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, repr. The Hague 1960, and B. Kh. Karmuisheva, *Lokayskie "mapramači"*, in *Soobshčeniya Respublikanskogo Istoriko-Kraevedčeskogo Muzeya*, vuip. ii, Stalinabad 1955, 122 n. 6. Other variants are recorded from the author's fieldwork. Shahsevän packs are discussed in J. Housego, *Some flat weaves of Azerbaijan*, in *Hali*, iv/2 (1981), 118-23; eadem, *Tribal rugs*, London 1978; S. Azadi and P.A. Andrews, *Mafrash*, Berlin and Munich 1985 (also showing a Kashkāʾī pack, pl. facing p. 256, and two attributed to the Lur, facing pp. 242-4), and P. Tanavoli, *Shahsavan*, New York 1985 (also in German, Fribourg 1985). For the technique, see also R.L. and N. Tapper and P.A. Andrews, *Farmash weaving among the Shahsevan*, in *Oriental carpet and textile studies*, i, London 1985, 124-30. For Shahsevän history, see R.L.Tapper, *The Shahsavan of Azarbaijan*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1971, unpubl., Appendix iii. For a Lurī example and discussion, see A. de Franchis and J.T. Wertime, *Lori and Bakhtiyari flatweaves*, exhibition catalogue, Tehran 1976, 16 and pl. 26 A. For Özbek packs, see Karmuisheva, *op. cit.*, 121-45, and for the Kazak types, M.S. Mukanov, *Kazakhskaya yurtas*, Alma Ata 1981, pls. 36-86.
(P.A. ANDREWS)

MIHMINDĀR (P.), the title of the 18th dignity, out of the 25 at the Mamlūk sultan's court; succeeding to the duties of the Fāṭimid *nāʾib ṣāḥib al-bāb* (see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fâtimite et le ceremonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 371, 377, 412), he was in charge of receiving ambassadors and delegations of Bedouins (*ʿurbān*), of providing them with accommodation suitable to their rank, of providing for their needs during their stay and of presenting them, at the appropriate moment, in the audience chamber of the ruler. Whilst the *nāʾib* was an official of the pen (*min arbāb al-aḳlām*), the office of *mihmindāriyya* was reserved for an official of the sword (*min arbāb al-suyūf*) in the public service (see esp. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 484, iv, 187, 218 and index).

It is under his title of AL-MIHMINDĀR that al-Amīr al-Ḥamdānī, Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Sayf al-Dawla b. Zammākh b. Thumāma al-Thaʿlabī/al-Taghlibī, author of a work on genealogy and a treatise on rhetoric, who claimed to belong to the Banū Ḥamdān and be the descendant of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], is best known. He was born in 602/1205 and probably died towards the end of the 7th/13th century, after having held the post of *mihmindār* under the last Ayyūbid and then in the reign of the Mamlūk al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. Since he was constantly in contact with the Bedouins, from whom he himself sprang, he put into a *Kitāb al-Ansāb* all the items of knowledge about their genealogies and histories, which earned him the sobriquet of *al-Nassāba* ("the genealogist"). This work has not survived, but its subject-matter is in part preserved by later authors, amongst whom one should mention al-Ḳalḳashandī, in the *Nihāyat al-arab*, the *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān* and even the *Ṣubḥ*, when he deals with the Bedouins and the Arab tribes. Al-Maḳrīzī also utilised al-Mihmindār's work, but without acknowledging it.

Al-Mihmindār was furthermore a poet and littérateur. The only work of his to survive is his *Izālat al-iltibās fi 'l-farḳ bayn al-ishtiḳāḳ wa 'l-djinās* (ms. in Cairo, see *Fihrist-al kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-mahfūẓa bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-miṣriyya*, 1306/1888-9, iv, 122, 1926, ii, 175).

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III 2797, iii; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iv, 349-51; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, Wiesbaden 1980, 334; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959; idem, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, Cairo 1963; *Ḍawʾ al-Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1966; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 637-8 where the verses are transposed, see the correct version in *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ms. Vienna, Flügel 905, fol. 22a; idem, *al-Bayān wa'l-iʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbdīn, Cairo 1961, 53, no. 87; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo n.d., v, 231, n. 3, 232; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1967, i, 569, biogr. no. 61 (correct Rabbāḥ into Zammākh); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul, i, 158; Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951-5, ii, 555, where the date of his death is placed around 670 (?); Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, Cairo n.d.; Brockelmann, I, 283, S I, 499; Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928, 82; Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1934, 82; A. ʿAbdīn, in the introd. to the ed. of *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb* of Maḳrīzī, 5; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1961, xiii, s.v. Yūsuf al-Ḥamdānī; M. Ḥiyārī, *al-Imāra al-ṭāʾiyya fī bilād al-Shām*, ʿAmmān 1977, 16; A.H. Saleh, *Quelques remarques sur les Bédouins d'Égypte au Moyen-Âge*, in *SI*, xlviii (1978), 63.
(A. SALEH)

MIḤNA [see ṢINĀʿA, ṢINF].

MIḤNA (A.), a term meaning in general usage a "testing" or "trial", whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men (Patton, 1). This general sense is reflected in the *Kitāb al-Miḥan* by Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*] where the author sets out to give an account of "those who have been afflicted (*ubtuliya*) by being killed, imprisoned, flogged, or threatened..." (47). More particularly, the term (together with its counterpart *imtiḥān*) signifies the procedure adopted by the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], and officially applied under his two immediate successors, for the purpose of imposing the view that the Ḳurʾān had been created.

1. *The course of historical events.* The circumstances of this initiative, which was set in motion by al-Maʾmūn in a letter written in Rabīʿ I 218/April 833, four months before his death, are most fully described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1112 ff.) and have been examined in detail by Patton (56 ff.). In the first instance, al-Maʾmūn, who was at al-Raḳḳa (or Damascus, according to al-Yaʿḳūbi, ii, 571), desired his deputy in Baghdād, Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm, to test the *ḳāḍīs* in his jurisdiction concerning God's creation of the Ḳurʾān. The language of his letter to this effect is powerful and direct: God has the right to have His religion carried out properly, and the great mass of the common people, who know no better, being without the light of knowledge, are mistaken when they espouse the view that the Ḳurʾān is eternal (*ḳadīm awwal*); for God has said in the Ḳurʾān "We have made it (*djaʿalnāhu*) an Arabic Ḳurʾān" (XKIII, 3), and everything He has made (*djaʿala*) He has created (*khalaḳa*). In addition, they have made a fallacious link between themselves and the *sunna*, making themselves out to be "the people of truth, religion and unity" and characterising those who do not agree with them as "people of falsehood, unbelief and schism", but in reality they are, *inter alia*, "the worst of the *umma*" and "the tongue of the Devil" and are in no way to be trusted. The Commander of the Faithful will not rely on anyone who does not conform in this regard, nor are *ḳāḍīs* to accept the testimony of such people.

This letter to Isḥāḳ was followed by another instructing him to send to al-Maʾmūn seven named

individuals, including the traditionists Ibn Saᶜd, Yaḥyā b. Maᶜīn and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb [*q.vv.*]. All seven were tested and, having acknowledged the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, were returned to Baghdād where their acknowledgement was publicised. By this time, too, *miḥna* letters from al-Maʾmūn were reaching other centres: the text of the letter which reached Miṣr in Djumādā II 218/July 833 was closely modelled on, or identical with, the first letter to Isḥāḳ (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Cairo, ii, 218 f.; cf. al-Kindī, 193, 445 ff.). But it was at Baghdād that the impact of the *miḥna* was felt most at this time: in response to further instructions from al-Maʾmūn, Isḥāḳ went on to test about thirty leading *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḥadīth* specialists, who, with only two exceptions, and in certain cases under some duress, acknowledged the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. The exceptions, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ al-ᶜIdjlī, were despatched in irons to be dealt with by al-Maʾmūn at Tarsus on his return from Byzantine territory, but the sudden death of the caliph (mid-Radjab 218/mid-August 833) saved them from this particular predicament and they were sent back. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ died on the return journey, and Aḥmad was kept in detention after reaching Baghdād.

Al-Maʾmūn had set in motion in the last four months of his life something which his brother and successor as caliph, al-Muᶜtaṣim, was left to cope with. He had moreover stipulated in his last will and testament that al-Muᶜtaṣim should, *inter alia*, hold to his policy on the Ḳurʾān and make (the Muᶜtazilī) Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] his closest confidant (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1137, 1139; al-Subkī, ii, 59); and al-Subkī with some justification advances this as the reason why, for all that al-Muᶜtaṣim himself was destitute of *ᶜilm*, he nonetheless required adherence to the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. Concerning the question of how this was achieved, it would seem that a distinction should be made between *miḥna* as a regular formality in courts of law and *miḥna* as a "test" applied beyond the confines of the courtroom: as an example of *miḥna* in the first of these senses, we are told that in Miṣr the *ḳāḍī* would accept the testimony only of those witnesses who acknowledged that the Ḳurʾān had been created and that "this [type of] *miḥna* lasted from 218 until [after] the accession of al-Mutawakkil in 232" (al-Kindī, 447). On the matter of where the *miḥna* was applied, the evidence points to Baghdād, Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, Mecca and Medina (Patton, 62 f.; Abu 'l-ᶜArab, 448 ff.; Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ, 38 f.; Wakīᶜ, i, 268 f.; also Ifrīḳiya, see below) in addition to Miṣr. The situation in the Ṭāhirid-controlled East is not clear: the *ḳāḍī* of Balkh is reported to have objected to a *miḥna* letter which stated that the Ḳurʾān had been created (al-Balkhī, *Faḍāʾil*, 210), and the author of the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* says that, after the flogging of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Muᶜtaṣim circulated letters to each community calling upon people to believe in the created Ḳurʾān (185 f.; Eng. tr. Gold, 147: one may suspect here a fusion of al-Maʾmūn's letters with al-Muᶜtaṣim's treatment of Aḥmad); but that appears to be the sum total of our present knowledge about the matter as far as the East is concerned.

The sources give the impression that al-Muᶜtaṣim himself was in general predisposed to settle for *miḥna* as no more than a courtroom formality, and al-Kindī even remarks that "the matter of the *miḥna* was easy (*sahl*an) during the reign of al-Muᶜtaṣim" (451), but there are nonetheless two instances early in his reign where it was applied outside the courtroom. The first of these does not seem to have been particularly important: al-Muᶜtaṣim wrote to his governor of Miṣr, Muẓaffar b. Kaydur (held office Rabīᶜ II-Shaᶜbān 219/May-Sept. 834), instructing him to test the *ᶜulamāʾ* on the creation of the Ḳurʾān and he tested a group of them (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 230; al-Kindī makes no mention of this, and it is possible that Ibn Taghrībirdī is misrepresenting the al-Maʾmūn letter transmitted by the future caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim to Muẓaffar's father Kaydur, when the latter was governor of Egypt and al-Maʾmūn was still caliph, al-Kindī, 193, 445 ff.). The second instance, the matter of the unfinished business of what should be done with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was far more significant: indeed, the story of the *miḥna* of the *Imām* Aḥmad at the hands of al-Muᶜtaṣim looms large in later Sunnī hagiography. Abū Nuᶜaym, Ibn al-Djawzī, al-Subkī and others, drawing freely on material transmitted by members of Aḥmad's family, regale us with the details of how the courageous and intransigent *Imām* resisted all attempts to make him acknowledge the created Ḳurʾān, was ultimately flogged on al-Muᶜtaṣim's orders until he was unconscious (but cf. the alternative version given by Abū Nuᶜaym, ix, 205 f.), and was released shortly afterwards when commotion among the population of Baghdād threatened to get out of hand. These accounts include some striking embellishments, e.g. how Aḥmad's *sarāwīl* were supernaturally restored to their proper place (by a golden hand in some versions) when they were in the process of slipping off while he was being flogged. In sum, what is portrayed is an archetypal Sunnī hero, quietist by disposition but resolute when pressed to espouse a view he regards as religiously improper; there is no room for *taḳiyya* here (for a detailed treatment of all this, see Patton, 93 ff.).

That Aḥmad was flogged is not in doubt, for all that the incident is ignored by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Miskawayh; the sources give as the date of this event both Ramaḍān 219/Sept. 834 and Ramaḍān 220/Sept. 835, the second of which is to be preferred if it is correct that the total period of his detention was about two-and-a-half years (see e.g., Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad, 278; Ḥanbal b. Isḥāḳ, 42). There are, however, certain respects in which the received Sunnī account may in fact be questioned, in view of what some of the sources have to say. In the first place, these sources are under the impression that Aḥmad was flogged until he actually acknowledged the created Ḳurʾān: al-Yaᶜḳūbī knew this to be the case (ii, 577), and Aḥmad's contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ tells us that it took only 30 strokes (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 152); al-Masᶜūdī thought that it took 38 strokes (*Murūdj*, § 2797), while Ibn al-Murtaḍā opts for 68 (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Muᶜtazila*, 125). Secondly, these sources know nothing about Aḥmad's release having been occasioned by a public commotion; for them, his release was the consequence of his acknowledgement, although Ibn al-Murtaḍā would have us believe that it took place only after he had acknowledged the created Ḳurʾān before the assembled population of Baghdād. Thirdly, what these sources have to say provides an alternative explanation of why Aḥmad was subsequently left alone by the authorities; it was not because they lacked the nerve to test him again, but because he had capitulated. None of these sources can be regarded as other than more or less hostile to Aḥmad, but even so it is difficult to explain away the essence of what they have to say. The *en passant* remark by al-Djāḥiẓ, in particular, with its casual and matter-of-fact tone, has a convincing ring to it; Ibn al-Murtaḍā's reference to Aḥmad's public acknowledgement of defeat may well be dismissed as an embellishment, although it would have made good sense from the point of view of Ibn

Abī Duʾād, who was by this time *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* and thus in effect chief inquisitor; and even Ibn al-Djawzī was aware of such accounts, for all that he eschewed them (337: *ḥikāyāt fī ḳiṣṣat ḍarbihi lam yathbut ʿindanā siḥḥatuhā fa-tanakkabnāhā*).

However the case of Aḥmad is to be viewed, it is apparent that this was the last occasion on which al-Muʿtaṣim involved himself in any conspicuous way with the prosecution of the *miḥna*. Thereafter he was preoccupied with moving his capital to Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], dealing with the rebel Bābak [*q.v.*], mounting his celebrated offensive against Amorium [see ʿAMMŪRIYA], coping with the revolt of Māzyār [*q.v.*], and in 226/841, the year before his death, overseeing the trial and execution of Afshīn [*q.v.*]. Although al-Kindī is (presumably) referring only to Miṣr when he says that the matter of the *miḥna* was easy during the rule of al-Muʿtaṣim (see above), his remark appears also to be true more generally; Ibn Taghrībirdī even goes so far as to suggest that al-Muʿtaṣim at some point banned the testing of *ʿulamāʾ* (ii, 259); and the relative inactivity of Ibn Abī Duʾād during these years remains in need of explanation. Not until the last year of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign can any changes be observed in respect of the application of the *miḥna*, at Miṣr in one case and Baghdād in another. The first of these changes came when the Mālikī *ḳāḍī* of Miṣr, Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zuhrī, who had accepted the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān since the time of al-Maʾmūn and had henceforward tested witnesses in court, baulked at transporting *fuḳahāʾ* (sc. to ʿIrāḳ) for testing and was suspended from duty in Ṣafar 226/Dec. 840 (al-Kindī, 447, 449). Ibn Abī Duʾād immediately put in charge of the *miḥna* in Miṣr a certain Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Layth al-Aṣamm, who was a *faḳīh* according to the "*madhhab* of the Kūfans" (al-Kindī, 449) and is identified as a Muʿtazilī (al-Kindī, 467). He set about transporting people to ʿIrāḳ for interrogation, among them the traditionist Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād and al-Shāfiʿī's discipline Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Buwayṭī (al-Kindī, 447), both of whom later died there in prison (Patton, 119; Ibn al-Djawzī, 397 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 460 ff., xi, 427 ff.). Two months later, Ibn Abi 'l-Layth was formally appointed *ḳāḍī* of Miṣr (al-Kindī, 449). Secondly, there were the activities of Shuʿayb b. Sahl, one of the Baghdād *ḳāḍīs*, who "tested" people and adorned the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa with writing to the effect that the Ḳurʾān had been created. In Rabīʿ I 227/Jan. 842, only days after the death of al-Muʿtaṣim and the accession of his son al-Wāthiḳ, Shuʿayb's residence was plundered and he himself was obliged to flee (Wakīʿ, iii, 277; cf; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 243). This too would seem to be indicative of an intensification of *miḥna* activity on the part of Ibn Abī Duʾād, and that at a time when al-Muʿtaṣim had fallen ill (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1323).

According to al-Kindī's account, al-Wāthiḳ wrote immediately after his accession to Ibn Abi 'l-Layth in Miṣr instructing him to prosecute the *miḥna* with vigour, and the energetic *ḳāḍī* "left no *faḳīh, muḥaddith, muʾadhdhin* or *muʿallim* untested. Many people fled and the prisons were full of those who had denied the *miḥna*"; he ordered that the words "There is no god but God, the Lord of the created Ḳurʾān" be inscribed on the mosques of Fusṭāṭ; and he denied Mālikī and Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* access, or even proximity, to the [main] mosque (al-Kindī, 451; cf. Abu 'l-ʿArab, 253). In recognition of his efforts, the poet al-Djamal al-Akbar praised him for having "protected" the *ḳawl* of Abū Ḥanīfa and having "smashed" the *ḳawl* of the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs (al-Kindī, 452); and it was this same *ḳāḍī* who is reported to have tested the Mālikī Muḥammad (or ʿAbd al-Ḥakam) b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and to have had him flogged in the *masdjid* of Miṣr clad only in his underwear (Abu 'l-ʿArab, 437, cf. 253).

Ibn Taghrībirdī, on the other hand, says it was in 231/845-6 that the caliph wrote to the provinces (*aʿmāl*) instructing that the *ʿulamāʾ* be tested with regard to the created Ḳurʾān (ii, 259), and this apparently included the people of the marches (*ahl al-thughūr*) (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1352); in the same year, he declined to ransom those Muslims held by the Byzantines who would acknowledge that the Ḳurʾān had been created (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1353 f; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 589; Patton, 120). In this same year, too, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī became involved in a planned uprising in Baghdād that misfired. This Aḥmad, the scion of a distinguished partisan of the ʿAbbāsids in the day of the coup that brought them to power, opposed the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān and was much frequented by the Baghdādī *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. On being brought before al-Wāthiḳ, he was questioned not about the uprising but about the Ḳurʾān, and his responses drove the enraged caliph to make a personal start on decapitating him; his head was thenceforward placed on public view in Baghdad as a grisly warning to potential nonconformists, while his cadaver stayed in Sāmarrāʾ, also on display (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1342-9; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 589; Patton, 116-18). Coincidentally, it was also in the year 231/846 that Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab seized power in Ifrīḳiya from his brother Muḥammad (briefly, as it turned out), proclaimed the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, instituted a *miḥna*, and had the distinguished Mālikī jurist Saḥnūn [*q.v.*] arraigned at al-Ḳayrawān before the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād; Saḥnūn held to the view that the Ḳurʾān was "the speech of God and not created" and was sentenced to house arrest (Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 228; Abu 'l-ʿArab, 454 ff., can be added to Talbi's references).

Al-Wāthiḳ is said to have left off the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān after a *shaykh* from Adana, who was one of *ahl al-fiḳh wa 'l-ḥadīth*, bested Ibn Abī Duʾād in argument on the subject (Patton, 121 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 3132-8, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 151 f., and Ibn al-Djawzī, 350 ff. can be added to Patton's references). But it was his brother al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded him in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/August 847, who put an end to the *miḥna*. Al-Subkī tells us (ii, 54) that this happened in 234/848-9, and Patton (122) concurs. Certainly, it appears to have been in Djumādā I-II 234/Jan.-Feb. 849 that al-Mutawakkil prohibited argument about the Ḳurʾān and sent instructions to this effect throughout his domains (al-Kindī, 197; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1412 (*lammā afḍat ilayhi 'l-khilāfa*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 275); and this decision may well have been facilitated by the fact that Ibn Abī Duʾād had become paralysed in the preceding year (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1379). But there are grounds for holding the view that it was not until 237/851-2 that the *miḥna* episode was completely phased out. In the first place, it was in that year that the mortal remains of Aḥmad b. Naṣr were taken down and given over to his relatives and that those who had been imprisoned on account of the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān were released (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1412 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 290; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 592, which implies that the prisoners were released earlier); it was in that year too that Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and his sons were deprived of all influence, together with their estates and most of their wealth, and were sent by al-Mutawakkil away from Sāmarrāʾ to Baghdād (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1410 f.).

Secondly, it is instructive to take note of the dates

when *ḳāḍīs* who had implemented the *miḥna* were replaced: Ibn Abi 'l-Layth̲ was dismissed as *ḳāḍī* of Miṣr in Sha'bān 235/Feb.-March 850 at the order of al-Mutawakkil, who instructed that he be cursed from the *minbar* (al-Kindī, 463), and his replacement was appointed in D̲jumādā I 237/Nov. 851 (al-Kindī, 467); the *ḳāḍī* of Mecca throughout the *miḥna* period, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanẓala al-Makh̲zūmī (who was "doctrinally corrupt (*k̲h̲abīth̲ al-raʾy*) and used to test the people and frighten them"), was dismissed at an unspecified date and his replacement was appointed in 238/852-3 (Wakī', i, 268 f.); the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa for practically the whole of the *miḥna* period, G̲h̲assān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (who "used to test the people ... and was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād"), was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 235/849-50 and his replacement was appointed in the same year (Wakī', iii, 194); and one of the Baghdad *ḳāḍīs*, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. G̲h̲ālib (who was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād), was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 234/848-9 (Wakī', iii, 277; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, i, 237), while another, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yazīd al-K̲h̲alandjī ("one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Duʾād who used to test the people"), was dismissed at an unspecified date (probably 237) and his replacement was appointed in 237/851-2 (Wakī', iii, 291 f., which reads "al-K̲h̲alīdjī"; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1411. Cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Wafāʾ, i, 290, no. 764 ("al-K̲h̲alīdjī") and ii, 304, no. 397 ("al-K̲h̲alandjī")). In short, al-Mutawakkil apparently thought it prudent to proceed cautiously in bringing the *miḥna* period to an end; the beginning of the end was the edict of 234; the end of the end was the deportation of Ibn Abī Duʾād and his sons in 237.

2. *Theological aspects.* Why should al-Maʾmūn have wished to institute a *miḥna* at all and why should the issue have been the createdness of the Ḳurʾān? In attempting to answer these questions, we should first note that the prevailing view among early traditionists was an insistence that the Ḳurʾān was truly the speech of God and a denial that it had been created, "without turning this denial into a positive doctrine affirming its eternity of pre-existence" (Madelung, *Controversy*, 513). In other words, in opposing the view that the Ḳurʾān had been created, such people were not saying that it was uncreated but simply that it was God's personal speech, a view that was usually accompanied by a more general anthropomorphism and ran counter to the notion of stripping God of His attributes (*ta'ṭīl*); as God's personal speech, the Ḳurʾān was perceived as an expression of the essence of God and was "associated with God much more closely than any part of his creation" (Madelung, 511). It is also clear, however, that, during at least part of his career, Abū Ḥanīfa had taught that the Ḳurʾān had been created (Madelung, 509 f.), and that this contributed to serious differences of opinion within the ranks of his followers (see, e.g., Watt, *Formative period*, 197-285), notably as between, on the one hand, those who were tradition-minded and adhered to the notions of the Ḳurʾān as the speech of God, "neither creator nor created" (Madelung, 508), and, on the other hand, those who were robustly critical of *ḥadīth̲* and held the view that the Ḳurʾān had been created. Thus in the course of the *miḥna*, we find followers of Abū Ḥanīfa among both the "testers" and the "tested" (Watt, 286).

Al-Maʾmūn himself, we are told, "excelled in *fiḳh* according to the *mad̲h̲hab* of Abū Ḥanīfa" (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, ii, 225). At the same time, his views on the Ḳurʾān, as spelled out in his *miḥna* letters/edicts, are quite unambiguous: he accused the objects of his odium of putting God and the Ḳurʾān on an equal level, of claiming that it is eternal and primordial, and that God has not created, originated or produced it; they are like the Christians, who claim that Jesus was not created because he is the Word of God (Madelung, 517, citing al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1113, 1118). What was he trying to achieve? According to Sourdel, "jamais auparavant on n'avait vu un calife se présenter comme un 'docteur', chargé par Dieu d'éclairer la communauté et de lui communiquer la science qui lui avait été confiée" (*Politique religieuse*, 44); Lapidus, on the other hand, sees the *miḥna* as part of a general effort to restore (*sic*) the ideological authority of the caliphate (*Separation*, 379); and this idea is taken further by Crone and Hinds (*God's Caliph*, ch. v,) who propose that the type of caliphal religious authority which al-Maʾmūn sought to re-establish was one which had indeed been familiar in the time of the Umayyad caliphate. Whether he would have succeeded if he had lived longer is one of the great questions of counterfactual history, although the odds were certainly against him: for he had to contend not only with the choice of his 'Abbāsid predecessors to play up their roles as kinsmen of the Prophet (at the expense of their role as deputies of God) but also with the fact that by his time the transformation of *sunna* into Prophetic *Sunna* documented by *ḥadīth̲* had gone a long way.

According to Watt, the point of insisting on a created Ḳurʾān as the central feature of the *miḥna* was that it had less prestige than an uncreated Ḳurʾān (since God might have created it otherwise), and "there could not be the same objections to its provisions being overruled by the decree of an inspired imam. Thus the doctrine of createdness enhanced the power of the caliph and the secretaries, that of uncreatedness the power of the ulama" (*Formative period*, 179). But this misses the point: for one thing, the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān is a doctrine about God, and more specifically about God's unity, rather than a doctrine about the Ḳurʾān, and there is in any case no evidence whatsoever to support the view that al-Maʾmūn wanted to overrule the Ḳurʾān; for another, it is clear that it was the populist *ḥadīth̲* enthusiasts who were al-Maʾmūn's target. What al-Maʾmūn in fact appears to have been doing is espousing that form of what may be called "hardline" Ḥanafī thinking which was eautious about *ḥadīth̲* and held to the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, and which to that extent had an affinity with the early Mu'tazilī insistence that the Ḳurʾān be "the only basis for their system of religious doctrine ... [an insistence which] led them to the rejection of most traditions and, by implication, of legal doctrines based on traditions" (Schacht, *Origins*, 258). This is not to say that the inspiration for the *miḥna* necessarily came from Mu'tazilīs or that its initial purpose was the imposition of Mu'tazilī doctrine; indeed, van Ess (*Ḍirār*, 34) has drawn attention to Ibn Ṭayfūr's important indications (i) that the truly influential figure behind al-Maʾmūn was the D̲jahmite Ḥanafī Bis̲h̲r al-Marīsī [*q.v.*], who, while he shared with the Mu'tazila a belief in the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān, did not hold with their doctrine of free will; and (ii) that al-Maʾmūn himself also left off *al-ḳawl bi 'l-ḳadar*. But this would appear to have been the only point of major difference between the two stances. Otherwise, there are simply further similarities. For example, Abu 'l-'Arab (451) knew of a *miḥna* letter from al-Maʾmūn to Isḥāḳ which stipulated not only the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān but also the denial of *'ad̲h̲āb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*] and other aspects of popular eschatology: this

was very much in line with Muʿtazilī thinking. In addition, there is the striking association of many Muʿtazilīs of the period with Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (e.g. Watt, 286); and since the Muʿtazilīs never elaborated a system of legal doctrine of their own, it can be concluded that such people found "hardline" Ḥanafī *fiḳh* perfectly congenial. In short, in the context of the *miḥna*, Muʿtazilī interests overlapped considerably with those of al-Maʾmūn, for all that they were not identical; and this is reflected in al-Maʾmūn's testamentary stipulation that al-Muʿtaṣim should make Ibn Abī Duʾād his closest confidant.

Al-Maʾmūn's own commitment to vigorous prosecution of the *miḥna* comes across strongly in his letters/edicts on the subject. In the case of his successors al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiḳ, however, no evidence attests to the same degree of commitment, and it would seem to be fair to conclude that they simply did not share al-Maʾmūn's vision in this regard. They were in addition functioning in the new military environment of Sāmarrāʾ and were thus more remote than al-Maʾmūn had been from the civilian Muslim population; al-Muʿtaṣim in particular was preoccupied with other important matters; and al-Wāthiḳ, for all his early enthusiasm, may in the end have convinced himself that the *miḥna*, on any level beyond that of a courtroom formality, was simply not going to work. The tradition-minded *fuḳahāʾ* and the *muḥaddithūn* and their constituencies among the *ʿāmma* were manifesting seemingly inexhaustible dumb insolence in defence of their personal God and the lowbrow accretions that went with Him. With the advent of the apoplexy of Ibn Abī Duʾād, al-Mutawakkil can only have felt that he had more to gain than to lose by putting an end to the whole unfortunate affair.

The principal consequences of the failure of the *miḥna* are clear enough: it brought to a decisive end any notion of a caliphal role in the definition of Islam and it permitted the unchecked development of what in due course would become recognisable as Sunnism. The Muʿtazila and what they stood for were discredited, while populist sentiments and what passed as Prophetic *ḥadīth* were the order of the day. It was now unquestionably the *ʿulamāʾ*, rather than the caliphs, who were "the legatees of the prophets" (*warathat al-anbiyāʾ*); and henceforward it would be they who, armed with this spiritual authority, and at a distance from those who held temporal power, elaborated classical Islam.

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(M. Hinds)

MIHR [see TAʾRĪKH].

MIHR-I MĀH SULṬĀN, daughter of the Ottoman sultan Süleymān II the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66). Mihr-i Māh (sometimes also written Mihr-ü-māh: cf. Ḳaračelebi-zāde, *Rawḍat ul-ebrār*, 458) was the only daughter of Süleymān *q.v.*, as well as F. Babinger, in *Meister der Politik*, ii², Berlin 1923, 39-63).

While still quite young she was married to the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha (cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 81-2) at the beginning of December 1539 (cf. J.H. Mordtmann, in *MSOS*, xxxii, Part 2, 37), but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one. She used her enormous wealth—St. Gerlach in 1576 estimated her daily income at not less than 2,000 ducats (cf. *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt, 1674, 266)—for many pious endowments. Among these the most important were the two mosques built by her, one in Istanbul at the Adrianople gate (*Edirne Ḳapusu Djāmiʿi*; cf. Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, i, 165; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyin, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 24, and J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 50, no. 1) and the other (*Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān Djāmiʿi*; cf. Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, i, 472-3; Ḥāfiẓ Ḥüseyin, *op. cit.*, ii, 186, and von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 128, no. 741) near the landing stage in Üsküdār. The second was the work of the great architect Sinān [*q.v.*], who built it in 954/1547 and also erected a palace for Mihr-i Māh in Üsküdār near this mosque. After her husband's death (8 July 1561), Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān intervened in political matters on several occasions; for example, she continually urged upon her father that the conquest of Malta should be one of the main undertakings of the Holy War and offered to equip 400 galleys for this campaign at her own expense. She was still alive at the reconciliation with her brother Selīm and

his accession. The correct date for her death, 25 Jan. 1578, is given only by Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 449; the date in Karačelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 458, namely Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 984/20 January-18 February 1577, is a whole year off. She was buried beside her father in his *türbe* (tomb-mosque) in Istanbul. From her marriage with Rüstem Pasha, two sons and a daughter ᶜĀʾishe Khānum were born; the latter married the grand vizier Semīr Aḥmed Pasha and then the *Nishāndji* Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg (see A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XXX).

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(F. Babinger*)

MIḤRĀB (a.), pl. *maḥārīb*, the prayer niche in the mosque.

Etymological origin of the word. In Islamic religious practice and in Islamic architecture, the word denotes "the highest place in a mosque", a "niche" which shows the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], or "the station of the *Imām* in a mosque" (Lane, 1865, 541). The word includes the radicals *ḥ-r-b*, from which comes the verb *ḥariba*, which in Form I means "to be violently angry", "to be affected by canine madness"; in Form II "to provoke", "to sharpen", or "to excite s.o."; in Form III "to fight", "to wage war with ...", or "to battle with..." and in Form VI "to make war", or "to wage war with one another". Due to these definitions, some scholars expressed their doubts that *miḥrāb* derives from the above verb. Lane put forward "... that the explanation of this is because the person praying wars with the devil and with himself by causing the attention of his heart" (*loc. cit.*). A similar interpretation was offered by Goldziher when he suggested that the *miḥrāb* was a "place of struggle", a "battlefield", and he referred to the Prophet Muḥammad who said that "as blood circulates in people, likewise Satan circulates around them" (Goldziher, 1872, 220). The above explanations are clearly not satisfactory. It was because of this difficulty that some scholars surmised that it was a loan-word in Arabic. Dillman tried to connect it with the Ethiopian *mekʷerab* (Dillman, 1865. 836). The possible Ethiopian origin of the word and its connexion with *mekʷerab* was refuted by Praetorius who, after studying some early South Arabian inscriptions, concluded that the word *miḥrāb* at that time meant some kind of a building, but conceded that the origin of the word was still obscure (Praetorius, 1907, 621). Others, as e.g. Beer (1895, 19) and Daiches (1908, 637-9) tried to connect it with Hebrew *ḥorbôt* which occurs several times in the Old Testament and means "ruins", "ruined cities", "ruined dwellings" or even "palaces" or "fortified buildings". This theory was again considered to be very unlikely by Nöldeke (1910, 52).

The majority of scholars have never doubted that the word is Arabic and, accordingly, have tried to find its provenance and original meaning by examining pre-Islamic Arab literature and one of the earliest and most important sources of the Islamic period, the Ḳurʾān. Rhodokanakis was one of the first scholars to study these early sources and to publish his observations in two articles. In the first article he concluded that the word in pre-Islamic literature meant a "palace", a "niche", a "recess" or a "room", a "balcony" or a "gallery". Then he quoted a sentence from the *ḥadīth* where the word can be interpreted as "sanctuary" (Rhodokanakis, 1905, 296). In his second article, Rhodokanakis narrowed down the meaning of the word and suggested that it actually referred to a part of a king's or a prince's building, namely to a "meeting-room", or more precisely to a "throne-recess" within such a room, as mentioned in Ḳurʾān, XXXIV, 12. Such throne-recesses can be found, Rhodokanakis continued, in the Umayyad palaces such as Ḳuṣayr ᶜAmra and Mshattā (we can now add also Khirbat al-Mafdjar). In other verses of the Ḳurʾān, namely in XIX, 12, it refers to a "sanctuary", while in III, 36, the word is used for "a lady's private chamber" (see also Dozy, 1927, i, 265). Rhodokanakis mentions that in XXVIII, 21, it was not clear whether the Prophet meant a complete "palace" or only a "chamber" (Rhodokanakis, 1911, 71). Horovitz referred to some of the occurrences in pre-Islamic poetry, among them one of al-Aᶜshā's poems (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, CDIV, 4) where the word, he claimed, meant a "throne-recess" (Horovitz, 1927, 260). In a more recent article, Serjeant explained that the basic meaning was a "row of columns with their intervening spaces". He also suggested that under the Umayyads, "while retaining its other senses, it was the name given to the *maḳṣūra* [*q.v.*] (Serjeant, 1959. 453). Maḥmūd ᶜAlī Ghūl claimed that the ancient South Arabian *midhkān* was almost identical in usage with the *miḥrāb*. It was a kind of *masdjid* or *muṣallā* [*q.vv.*], or even a "burial place in the shape of a portico, place for prayers, and services for the dead" (Ghūl, 1962, 331-5). In connexion with this last interpretation, the present author in an article called attention to the fact that flat marble, stucco, stone, or faience *maḥārīb* strongly resemble tombstones. Tombstones from early Islamic times onward frequently depict a *miḥrāb* design. He re-examined one of al-Aᶜshā's poems (al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, CDIV, 4) where the word *miḥrāb* occurs and suggested that it can be interpreted as a "burial place", as opposed to Horovitz's explanation as a "throne-recess". Other literary examples also use the word in the same context (Fehérvári, 1972, 241-54; also, idem, 1961, 32 f.). From these interpretations it would appear that in pre- and in early Islamic times, the word *miḥrāb* was basically used for a special place within a "palace" or in a "room"; it was "the highest", "the first" and "the most important place". At the same time it also denoted "the space between columns" and was equally used for a "burial place". Its architectural origin and introduction into Islamic religious practices as the most prominent feature in a mosque should be examined from these various angles.

Architectural origin. In his *EI*[1] article on the *miḥrāb*, Diez mentioned that orientalists and art historians give a twofold origin for the *miḥrāb*: the Christian apse and the Buddhist niche (Diez, 1936, iii, 485). Both features were alien to the Arabs and were not required by Islamic religious practices. Thus it could never have been introduced and accepted by the early Muslims without an adequate theological explanation. As an architectural feature, the *miḥrāb* is made up of three basic elements: an arch, the supporting columns and capitals, and the space between them. Whether in a flat or in a recessed form, the *miḥrāb* gives the impression of a door or a doorway.

The application of this feature can be as varied as the pre- and early Islamic meaning of the word suggests. The idea of a decorated recess or a doorway in the form of what we know and accept today as a *miḥrāb* goes back to remote antiquity in the Near East. In its secular sense it was used in palaces as a raised platform with a dome above supported by four columns under which the divine ruler carried out his most important functions (Smith, 1956, 197). It was a royal baldachin, "the first place" in a *madjlis*, a "throne-recess". In its religious context it was a "sanctuary", fixed or portable, under which the cult images were placed and were provided with a shelter. The tradition of these domical shelters can be traced back to some of the tent traditions of the Near East, particularly to those among the Semitic people (Smith, 1950, 43; idem, 1956, 197). Such domical tents or structures were also used over burial places. These ancient oriental traditions were later adopted by Judaism and Christianity. The direction of prayer and divine service in ancient religions, particularly in Judaism, added greater importance and widened the scope of these antique traditions. Orientation was especially important among the Semitic peoples and it was not a matter of choice. The Jews turned towards Jerusalem, and in this respect all monotheistic people looked up to the Jews and followed their practice (Krauss, 1922, 317). Early synagogues, however, had no orientation; only the prayer was directed towards Jerusalem. The Ark of the Law, the *ʾaron ha-kodesh*, had no permanent place in the building. It was only in the second phase of the development of synagogue architecture that it received a permanent station within the building, an apse or a niche which was orientated towards Jerusalem (Sukenik, 1934, 27). The earliest known synagogue with such an apse was excavated at Dura-Europos dating from the 3rd century A.D. (Lambert, 1950, 67-72; Goodenough, 1953, figs. 594-5, 599). From subsequent centuries there are several other examples known, some of these depicting the Ark in mosaic decoration on the floor of the apse (Hachlili, 1976, 43-53). The essential part of these decorations include a pair (or two pairs) of columns supporting a semicircular arch framing a conch, while below, within the columns, the Ark is shown as a pair of doors, thus symbolising a doorway, the portal of the life beyond, or the "portal of the dead" (Goldman, 1966, 101 f.). Christianity followed the same tradition. Early churches had an east-west orientation, the entrance was facing the east and the altar was towards the west. There was usually an apse, a *haykal*, with a pulpit. Churches and funerary chapels (*martyria*) generally had a large dome in Syria and in Palestine, not because of the structural function but rather because of the importance attached to this form (Smith, 1950, 92). The domical form with a portal below was frequently depicted on coins from the 4th century A.D. onwards (Smith, 1950, figs. 17-21), and later appears on tombstones (Goldman, 1966, 105). The form of the Christian and Coptic apse was so strikingly similar to a *miḥrāb* that it was not surprising that Arabic sources mention it as a feature borrowed from Christian churches (Lammens, 1912, 246; Creswell, 1932, 98).

The form was, however, not unfamiliar to the Arabs. Pre-Islamic sanctuaries in Arabia had a round tent, a *kubba* [*q.v.*] over their idols or over some of their burials (Lammens, 1920, 39-101; idem, 1926, 39-173). It seems reasonable to surmise that the Arabs wanted to preserve this ancient Semitic Arabian custom, but intended to dress it in an Islamic garb by offering a new interpretation to the pagan tradition. By examining the life of the first Muslim community in Medina we may understand how and why this feature was adopted and introduced into Muslim religious practices. During his lifetime the Prophet was not only a religious leader, but also a statesman who used the first primitive mosque in Medina not only as a place for communal prayer but also for public ceremonies where he received delegations and delivered judgements. He used to sit on his *minbar* [*q.v.*] which was set against the *ḳibla* wall. Thus in the strictest contemporary interpretation of the word, the place was a *miḥrāb*. When the Prophet died he was buried in a room next to the *ḳibla* wall, whereby in every sense his grave was in a *miḥrāb*, coinciding with the definition of a "burial place". His grave was most probably marked, we may presume, with a stone which included in its decoration all the elements already known from Judaic and Christian funerary art. That this must have been the case is perhaps attested by the references given by Ibn Rusta and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Fehérvári, 1972, 252). Furthermore, there is ample evidence suggesting that early *maḥārīb* were not recessed niches but flat panels reminiscent of tombstones.

History. Primitive Islam and the Umayyad period. After the Prophet's death, in the early primitive mosques the *miḥrāb* was indicated by a stripe of paint or by a block of stone embedded in the *ḳibla* wall. It appears that this practice was followed for a considerable time, since al-Maḳrīzī informs us that when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ built his mosque at Fusṭāṭ in the winter of 20/641-2, he placed "no hollow *miḥrāb*" in it (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247). In the Prophet's mosque at Medina, the *ḳibla* was indicated by a large block of stone which was first placed to the north, i.e. towards Jerusalem, but in the second year of the *Hidjra* was moved to the south side, facing Mecca (Burton, 1893, 361). In the earliest mosque at Wāsiṭ, built by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the excavators found no *miḥrāb* recess (Safar, 1945, 20). This was also the case in the mosque of Banbhore in Pakistan, built at the end of the 1st/early 8th century (anon., in *Pakistan Archaeology*, i [1964], 52). That must indicate that in both cases the *ḳibla* was most likely marked either by a flat stone or by a stripe of paint.

The earliest known surviving *miḥrāb* is a marble panel known as the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in the rock-cut chamber under the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem (Pl. I, 1). Creswell has already indicated that this was most likely the earliest surviving *miḥrāb*. His argument was based on the shape of the arch, on the primitive Kūfic inscription on the lintel, and the simple scroll motif on the arch and the rectangular frame (Creswell, 1932, i, 70, pl. 120a in ii; idem, 1969, i/l, 100, fig. 374). Several other points can now be added to Creswell's remarks. The crenellations and pearl motifs on top of the panel recall pre-Islamic, i.e. Sāsānid, monuments with identical decorations. The vertical bands down the pilasters are similar to those on the mosaics of the circular arcade and on the drum of the dome (Creswell, 1932, figs. 189-9, 201, 205, pls. 33b, 37b). Further evidence is provided by coins depicting *miḥrāb* designs on their reverse, most likely accepting the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān as their model (Miles, 1952, 156-71; idem, 1957, 187-209, nos. 7-8; idem, 1959, 208, pl. I/1; Fehérvári, 1961, 90-105). All of these coins are attributed to the period when ʿAbd al-Malik introduced his financial reforms in 75/694-5.

The first concave *miḥrāb*, i.e. *miḥrāb mudjawwaf*, was introduced by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, governor of Medina, when he rebuilt the Prophet's Mosque in 87-

8/706-7 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 247; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i, 76). It was richly decorated with precious material (Sauvaget, 1947, 83-4). After that, semicircular *maḥārīb* rapidly spread throughout the Muslim world. Such a *miḥrāb* was introduced into the Great or Umayyad Mosque at Damascus when al-Walīd I took over the entire building and rebuilt it between 87/706 and 96/714-15. According to early accounts, it was set with jewels and precious stones. This *miḥrāb* was destroyed in 475/1082 and then was subsequently rebuilt but destroyed again by fire in 1893. The third concave *miḥrāb* was built in the Mosque of ᶜAmr at Fusṭāṭ in 92/710. Semicircular *maḥārīb* flanked by pairs of columns were found in almost all of the Umayyad desert palaces (Creswell, 1932, fig. 438, pl. 120b, e; idem, 1969, i/2, figs. 538, 638, pls. 66 f., 103e and 115b). The earliest surviving concave *miḥrāb* in a mosque is, according to Cresswell, in the Mosque of ᶜUmar at Boṣrā, built during the late Umayyad period (1969 i/2, 489, fig. 544, pl. 809).

ᶜIrāḳ. The Khāṣṣakī *miḥrāb* in Baghdād (Pl. I, 2) is the earliest known surviving example in the country, as it may date from the end of the Umayyad or from the beginning of the ᶜAbbāsid period (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1920, ii, 139-45, Abb. 185-7, Taf. XLV-XLVIa-d; Creswell, 1940, 35-6, fig. 26, pl. Ia-c; al-Tutunčī, 54-62, figs. 3-5, pl. 4). It was carved out of a simple block of marble in a shallow semi-elliptical form. The spiral columns are crowned by acanthus capitals which support the bell-shaped niche-head, which is framed by a frieze of acanthus leafs, followed by a narrow stripe of astragals and a band of palmettes alternating with bunches of grapes. A vertical ornamental band runs down at the back, the lower part of which is missing. The most interesting part of the design is the shell which is contained within a horseshoe shape. The shell as niche-head occurred for the first time in a grotto at Bāniyās in Syria, dating from the 1st century B.C. (Wheeler, 1857, 37). Later, it was frequently used in classical art but was more popular in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The motif was associated with funerary monuments and as such was often depicted in Jewish and in early Christian sepulchral art. The rounded shape of this *miḥrāb* and the fact that it was made of marble, which was not available in ᶜIrāḳ, may indicate that it was imported from Syria or from the southern part of Asia Minor. As a rule, *miḥrāb* niches are rectangular in ᶜIrāḳ and in Persia. The origin of this form may be found either in the rectangular recesses of Nestorian churches in ᶜIrāḳ or in the Persian *īwān* [*q.v.*]. The earliest known rectangular *miḥrāb* in the country survives in the fortress palace of Ukhayḍir, dating from the latter half of the 2nd/8th century (Creswell, 1940, pl. 120e; al-Tutunčī, figs. 6-9, pl. 5). *Maḥārīb* which were erected in mosques, palaces and in private houses at Sāmarrā mark the first turning point in the development of this feature in Islamic religious architecture. The significant role of the *maḥārīb* was emphasised by their size, which became considerably larger during the 3rd/9th century, e.g. in the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (Creswell, 1940, pl. 66c) or in the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, where the excavators discovered two *miḥrābs*, one within the other (Francis, 1947, pls. 5/1-2; al-Tutunčī, figs. 15-7, pl. 9). By then, they were more lavishly decorated with carved stucco. A large *miḥrāb* with stucco decoration was excavated in the Djawsak al-Khāḳānī palace in Sāmarrā, built by the caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim between 224/838 and 228/842, close to his throne-room. The niche was more than one metre deep and was flanked by two pairs of columns. The walls of the niche and the columns were coated with stucco (Herzfeld, 1923, Abb. 132; Creswell, 1940, fig. 191). Flat *miḥrāb* panels were used in smaller mosques, mausolea and in private houses. The prototype for these flat *maḥārīb* was clearly provided by the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in Jerusalem. Evidence for this is to be found in the *miḥrāb* of the Djāmiᶜ al-ᶜUmariyya at Mawṣil. It is made up of six panels, the lowest central one being the earliest, probably of the 3rd/9th century, and a close copy of Jerusalem flat *miḥrāb* (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 285-6, Abb. 275, Taf. CXXXV). Several stucco flat *maḥārīb* were discovered in private houses in Sāmarrā, presenting all the three styles of the Sāmarrā stucco decorations (Herzfeld, 1923, Abb. 167-70, 269-60, 316, Taf. LXII and XCVII). An interesting combination of flat *maḥārīb* can be seen in two small mausolea in Mawṣil, the Mausoleum of Yaḥyā b. Ḳāsim (Pl. II, 3) and in the Mausoleum of *Imām* ᶜAwn al-Dīn (al Tutunčī, fig. 59, pl. 34), both erected during the 7th/13th century (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, 249, 263-8, Taf. CXXXV). These two *maḥārīb* are almost identical. They are made up of two flat panels showing the correct *ḳibla* direction. In each of these two *miḥrābs* there is a mosque-lamp hanging down from the pointed arch.

Out of the later rectangular *maḥārīb* in ᶜIrāḳ, mention should be made of the main prayer niche of the Great Mosque in Mawṣil which appears to be a combination of flat and rectangular types (al-Tutunčī, figs. 34-6, pls. 17-9). It is flanked by a pair of octagonal pilasters decorated by intertwined scrolls and crowned by what Herzfeld called "lyra" capitals (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, Abb. 230-3). The spandrels and the canopy have rich arabesque decoration. Below, at the back of the recess there is a decorated panel showing a pair of spiral pilasters on bell-shaped bases and topped by identical capitals supporting the arabesque-decorated spandrels and canopy. This *miḥrāb* may also be regarded as a transitional form between the simple and multi-recessed *maḥārīb* that played an important role later in Persian religious architecture. The inscription round the niche bears the signature of the artist, one Muṣṭafā from Baghdād, and the date 543/1148 (Van Berchem in Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, i, 17; Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 216-24). There was a free-standing *miḥrāb* built of stone in the courtyard of this Great Mosque in Mawṣil, but it was moved to the ᶜAbbāsid Palace Museum in Baghdād. It was attributed to Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I (589-607/1193-1211). It has two recesses, the outer one being rectangular in plan while the inner one set back from it is pentagonal. There is an interesting innovation here, namely, the frame is composed of small compartments (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, i, 18, ii, 227, Taf. V; Francis, 1951, pl. 3, no. 10; al-Tutunčī, fig. 38, pl. 20). A similar frame, but decorated with human figures, appears around a niche that was discovered near Sindjār on the site of Gū Kummat and which might have been a *miḥrāb* (Reitlinger, 1938, 151-3, figs. 14-7; Francis, 1951, pl. 5, no. 16; al-Tutunčī, figs. 39-9, pls. 29-30). The marble *miḥrāb* of the Pandja ᶜAlī in Mawṣil (built in 686/1287) can be regarded almost as a triple *miḥrāb* since the central pentagonal recess is flanked by a small niche on either side. All three recesses are crowned by *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] semi-domes, while each panel in the central niche is decorated by a hanging mosque-lamp (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911, ii, 270-8, fig. 268, Taf. VII; Francis, 1951, pl. 2, no. 5).

Syria and Palestine. *Maḥārīb* were usually concave in these countries, but flat panels were used from time to time. A small and somewhat simple marble

miḥrāb panel decorates the first pilaster under the western portico in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. It is attributed to the Ṭūlūnid period (Creswell, 1940, ii, pl. 123c). Another flat *miḥrāb*, a stucco panel, probably of the same period, is in the Maḳām ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz at al-Gharrā. Two pairs of pilasters support the rectangular frame which surrounds the richly decorated canopy and spandrels (Herzfeld, 1910, 53-6, Abb. 18, Taf. IV-V; idem, 1923, Taf. LXXVIII; Creswell, 1940, 356, pl. 121c). Rectangular *maḥārīb* with stucco decoration came to light during the excavations at Meskene, ancient Bālis [see MASKANA]. One of these was in the central room of the Great Mosque. Another triple *miḥrāb* with a central deeper rectangular recess flanked by shallow openings was found in room no. 1, while a third one was in room no. 2 (Salles, 1939, 221-4, pls. XCIXa-b, Ca). Two stucco *miḥrābs*, almost identical in shape and decoration were discovered at Palmyra. The shallow semicircular niches are flanked by pairs of pilasters supporting round arches, with shell-shaped canopies inside. The spandrels have arabesque decoration and the panels are surrounded by floriated Kūfic inscriptions. Marble coating for *maḥārīb* was first introduced in Syria, which was always rich in this material. As one of the possible prototypes and earliest examples for these polychrome marble-lined *maḥārīb*, the one in the Madrasa Shādbakhtiyya in Aleppo, made of polychrome stones, should be considered. An interesting innovation can be observed here: the upper part of the *miḥrāb*, namely the rectangular frame surrounding the spandrels, is much wider than the lower part (Herzfeld, 1942, fig. 72; Sauvaget, 1931, 79, no. 21; Creswell, 1959, 103). The same form can be observed in the polychrome marble-lined *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya in Aleppo, dated 620/1223 (Herzfeld, 1921, 144; Creswell, 1959, 102). A slightly earlier and similar example can be found in the Madrasa Ashrafiyya (607/1210). Polychrome marble work, however, reached its apogee in the *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa al-Firdaws, erected in 633/1235 (Pl. II, 4). It is the most developed and the largest of the polychrome marble prayer niches. The spandrels depict skilfully interlaced ornaments, the lines of which also form the frame of the upper part. Above there is a semi-circular panel filled by three coloured interlacing patterns and framed by an inscription. This type of marble-work found its way to Egypt and greatly influenced the decoration of later Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *maḥārīb* in Cairo. An interesting example of polychrome marble-work is a small flat *miḥrāb* in the courtyard of the Bimāristān Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus which was built in 549/1152. It is of white marble, but the arch and the spandrels have polychrome marble decoration. Creswell attributed it to Maḥmūd b. Zankī b. Aḳsunḳur, whose name appears in an inscription on the building and the date of construction. Creswell has also suggested that this was the earliest marble mosaic work (Creswell, 1959, 202). On stylistic grounds, however, Herzfeld claimed that it must have been erected at least a century later, possibly in the late 7th/13th century (Herzfeld, 1942, 10).

Egypt. The first concave *miḥrāb* in the country was built by Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt, in 92/710-11, in the Mosque of ᶜAmr at Fusṭāṭ. The structure of the main *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (265/878-9) is original and so are its four flanking columns and capitals. The polychrome marble of the recess and the wooden lining of the canopy and that on the archivolt are later in date (Creswell, 1940, 348-9, pl. 122; Fattal, 1960, 22-4, pls. 10-11). There are five flat *maḥārīb* in the mosque, two of which are contemporary with the building. They are placed on piers in the fourth arcade of the sanctuary. One of them is badly damaged, but the other one is well preserved (Creswell, 1940, 349, pls. 123a-b; Fattal, 1960, 24-5, pls. 17, 18 and 29). The two panels must have been almost identical. A pair of pilasters on bell-shaped bases and topped by identical capitals support a pointed arch, the outline of which can also be observed on the damaged panel. A row of pearl motifs provides the border for both and an inscription runs across on top. A difference can be noted in the decoration of the spandrels and in the spaces below the arches within the pilasters. In both instances the influence of Sāmarrā is obvious, just as it is evident in the overall plan and decoration of the mosque. The main *miḥrāb* of the Mosque of al-Azhar, built between 359/969-70 and 361/971-2, although several times altered and restored, still retains some of its original decoration. The canopy with its elaborate and deeply-cut floral design, the soffit of its arch covered by finely executed scrollwork, together with the floriated Kūfic inscription on the archivolt, are most probably of the same period as the mosque (Creswell, 1952, 55-6, pls. 4a, 7c; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 1976, fig. 22). This original stucco work was covered by a wooden lining until 1933 (for a picture of this, see Hautecour and Wiet, 1932, ii, pl. 91). The marble lining of the niche and the flanking columns are much later in date.

One of the finest stucco *maḥārīb* in Cairo which survives in its original form, is that of the Mosque of al-Djuyūshī, built in 478/1085 (Pl. III, 5). Its stucco decoration, after that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and that of the al-Azhar, is the third outstanding example in Egypt. The design here is nevertheless richer and more refined (Creswell, 1952, 157-9, fig. 80, pls. 48c, 116a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 80, figs. 31-2). None of the prayer niches built in Egypt in the following two centuries has ever surpassed it. The decoration of the Sayyida ᶜĀtika, built during the first quarter of the 6th/12th century, is more restrained but presents some new ideas. The frame, which is an epigraphic band, does not surround the entire niche, but only its stilted and pointed arch; then it turns at right angles and runs all around the interior. Furthermore, in the spandrels there are large fluted paterae in high relief surrounded by pearl motifs. Finally, above there is a geometric band of overlapping ovals (Creswell, 1952, 229-30, pls. 80e, 117b). Somewhat similar but more elaborate patterns appear above the *maḥārīb* of the Mausoleum of Sayyida Ruḳayya, built in 527/1133 (Pl. III, 6). The horizontal panel over these *maḥārīb* recall the Sāmarrā ornaments (Creswell, 1952, 249, fig. 143, pls. 87b, 119c-d, 120a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 82, figs. 37-8). All the recesses in this building have scalloped canopies. Three phases can be observed in the development of these canopies. In the first phase, the slightly projecting frame follows the outline of the scallop. One of the earliest examples of this is the *miḥrāb* of Umm Kulthūm, built in 516/1122 (Creswell, 1952, 239-40, fig. 135, pls. 82b, 118b). The second phase of the development is connected with the *muḳarnas*, where the frame of the scallop is combined with *muḳarnas* cones, placed in one, two or three lines above the other (e.g. the *maḥārīb* of the Sayyida Ruḳayya). The third phase was used in Turkey and will be discussed further below. There are two stucco *miḥrābs* in Cairo which present a special group. They are triple-recessed. The earlier of these two is in the mausoleum of Ikhwat Yūsuf, built during the last

quarter of the 6th/12th century (Creswell, 1952, 235-6, pl. 118a). These recesses here are plain, but their upper parts are surrounded by a continuous band of floriated Kūfic which runs all around the interior of the building. The spandrels are filled by carefully-executed arabesques which are comparable to earlier stucco work in Cairo and accordingly may indicate an earlier date for this *miḥrāb*. The decoration of the second triple-*miḥrāb*, in the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a (middle of the 7th/13th century), is so deeply cut that it looks like openwork. The recesses here have keel-arches which most probably originated in Egypt and were widely used there during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries (Creswell, 1959, 178-80, pls. 57c, 107c). An interesting and somewhat bold experiment can be observed in the *miḥrāb* of the mausoleum of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Rifāʿī, erected in 690/1291 (Pl. IV, 7). The *ḳibla* wall has pieces of glass embedded in the stucco background and these are painted in green (Creswell, 1959, 220-1, pl. 109c; Lamm, 1927, 36-43). The experiment was not successful and was never attempted again.

It has already been pointed out that the polychrome marble-work of Syria had greatly influenced *miḥrāb* decorations in Egypt from the mid-7th/13th century onwards. One of the earliest examples is the comparatively simple but very large *miḥrāb* in the mausoleum of Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn, built in 647-8/1249-50 (Creswell, 1959, 102, pl. 106c). A marble lining for the main *miḥrāb* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was executed at the order of Lād̲j̲īn [*q.v.*] in the same year, and that of the Mosque of al-Azhar in 665/1266. The *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa of Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] and the almost identical one in his mausoleum, both erected in 684/1285 (Pl. IV, 8), are perhaps the most outstanding examples of polychrome marble work in Egypt. Both niches are of horseshoe shape instead of the conventional concave one. Inside of the *miḥrāb* in the mausoleum there are four rows of small arcades, each crowned by a shell, while in that of the *madrasa* there are only two rows. The canopies and the spandrels of these two *miḥrāb*s are covered with gold mosaic, showing grapes and vine leaves. The arches are also horseshoe-shaped, being made up of white and coloured voussoirs. The influence of the Mag̲h̲rib is well demonstrated here in the shape of the niches and the arches and the coloured voussoirs, while the row of small arcades reveals Syrian traditions (Creswell, 1959, 202, pls. 108b, c).

Mag̲h̲rib. The earliest known surviving *miḥrāb* in the Mag̲h̲rib is in the Mosque of Bū Fatātā at Sūsa in Tunisia, erected between 223/838 and 226/841. It is a low plain niche of horseshoe form with an arch of the same shape (Creswell, 1940, 247, pls. 58e, 121a; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, fig. 129). In the Great Mosque of Sūsa we find for the first time a *miḥrāb* in front of which a dome was built (Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 100-1, figs. 140-1). This example was shortly followed in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān, when it was rebuilt by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad II. He was also responsible for the decoration of the new *miḥrāb*. The niche has a horseshoe form flanked by a pair of marble columns crowned by Byzantine-style capitals supporting a horseshoe arch (Creswell, 1940, 308-14, fig. 232, pl. 121b; Marçais, 1926, i, 19-22, 68 f., figs. 7, 36; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 92-3, figs. 96-9). The canopy has wooden panelling which was most probably added later. The walls of the niche are covered with marble openwork. The archivolt and the surface of the *miḥrāb* are adorned with polychrome and monochrome lustre tiles imported from ʿIrāḳ in 248/862-3 (Marçais, 1928). The date of these tiles and the introduction of lustre has recently been questioned; nevertheless, it is clear that stylistically these tiles are related to those excavated at Sāmarrā. Another horseshoe-shaped *miḥrāb* is that in the Great Mosque of Cordova (Pl. V, 9), which was erected and decorated at the order of al-Ḥakam II in 354/965 (Marçais, 1926, i, 222 f., 264-66, figs. 146, 154; Creswell, 1940, 143). This *miḥrāb* is remarkable in its size and in its extremely rich decoration of polychrome marble and gold mosaics. Several new decorative features which appeared here for the first time were accepted and applied to later *maḥārīb* in the Mag̲h̲rib. The niche itself is very spacious and high, crowned by a complete dome, the earliest such example in a *miḥrāb* niche. The lower part of the niche has plain marble panels, followed by a cornice with a Kūfic inscription. Above there are seven trefoil arches supported by marble columns with gold capitals. These arches are almost identical to those which decorate the upper part of the *miḥrāb*. Inside the arcade there are floral decorations in Byzantine style. The horseshoe arch rests on the wall and on two pairs of marble columns, one behind the other. The archivolt is decorated with voussoir stones, all with rich floral designs, and in white and in polychrome alternately. Acanthus scrolls with a rosette decorate the spandrels. The cusped arcades inside the niche and on top of the *miḥrāb* are most probably imitations of the false window-openings found over the library portal in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān (Terrasse, 1932, 110); but as Marçais once suggested, they can ultimately be traced back to Syria (Marçais, 1926, i, 266, n. 1, fig. 147). The *miḥrāb* is one of the most beautiful examples in the whole Muslim world. Its form and decorative style has several times been copied, but its fineness and richness has never been surpassed. Certain elements in this *miḥrāb* like the horseshoe form of the recess, the cusped arches inside and on top of the *miḥrāb*, the broad archivolt with voussoir stones and floral decorations became the accepted features of later *maḥārīb* in the Mag̲h̲rib.

The *miḥrāb* in the Great Mosque of Tlemcen in Algeria is one which reveals close connexions to that in Cordova. It was built in 530/1135. The decorated and cusped archivolt closely resembles that of Cordova but is more elaborate, although executed only in stucco. The arch and the spandrels are surrounded, as in Cordova, with an epigraphic band of floriated Kūfic. The niche itself is pentagonal, a form that was to be frequently used in the Mag̲h̲rib and also in Turkey. The niche is flanked by an opening on either side giving access all round the *miḥrāb* (W. and G. Marçais, 1903, 140 f.; Marçais, 1926, i, 313 f., figs. 213-4, 381-5; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 111, figs. 208-9). This *miḥrāb* in Tlemcen is clearly a deliberate copy of the Cordova *miḥrāb*, albeit executed in cheaper material. Some architectural and decorative details which were new elements in Cordova appeared here, but in more developed forms, and were used again in later examples. These can be best observed in the *miḥrāb* of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrākes̲h̲, built *ca.* 541/1146 (Marçais, 1926, i, 321 f., fig. 179; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 125: Basset and Terrasse, 1926, 119). The canopy here is decorated with a *muḳarnas*, as is the large dome in front of the *miḥrāb*. The *muḳarnas* was a new feature in the architecture of the Mag̲h̲rib and was introduced there during the first half of the 6th/12th century. The horseshoe arch of the niche rests on three pairs of engaged columns. The broad and cusped archivolt is decorated with trefoil arcaded compartments. A frame filled with geometrical and star patterns surrounds the arch,

while above there are five blind window-openings with lobed arches. In the Great Mosque of Tinmāl in the High Atlas, the *miḥrāb*, built in 548/1153, closely resembles that of the Kutubiyya. The same arrangements, sc. a *muḳarnas* canopy inside the pentagonal niche, a similarly decorated dome in front of the *miḥrāb*, and a horseshoe arch supported by three pairs of pilasters and a frame not unlike that in the Kutubiyya, can be observed here. Again there are flanking niches and an open path behind, once more presenting a free-standing *miḥrāb* (Marçais, 1926, i, 323, 385, figs. 181, 216-17; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 128, figs. 472-3). There is another *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of Yaᶜḳūb al-Manṣūr (also known as the Mosque of the Ḳaṣba) in Marrākesh, which stylistically is related to this group. This is perhaps the latest example of this type. It was built in 592/1195 (Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, fig. 413).

In southern Tunisia, at Tozeur, the *miḥrāb* built in 592/1195 represents an entirely different type. The pentagonal recess is considerably smaller than any of the previous examples, and is crowned by a semi-dome coated with carefully-carved stucco decoration of floral designs and epigraphic bands. The horseshoe arch has an incomplete double archivolt interrupted by the attached rectangular frame. Once again the floral decoration of the wedge-shaped compartments on the archivolt recalls Cordova (Marçais, 1926, i, 385-94, fig. 218; Hill, Golvin and Hillenbrand, 107, figs. 174-6). The unusual form and decoration of this *miḥrāb* was due to an Almoravid patron and to the presence of Andalusian craftsmen.

Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. During the last two or three decades, several new monuments, among them mosques and mausolea, have been discovered and excavated in this area. The mosque known as the Tārī Khāna in Dāmghān, built probably during the latter half of the 2nd/8th century, no longer stands alone as an early mosque in Iran. The comparatively deep rectangular recess with an oblique wall at its back for correcting the *ḳibla* direction, may be regarded as the original *miḥrāb* in this mosque. It has no decoration now, but we may presume that once it was coated with stucco (Godard, 1934, 226; *Survey*, 933-4). The recently-excavated Great Mosque in Sīrāf (late 2nd/8th or early 3rd/9th century) had a rectangular *miḥrāb* but only the foundation walls were discovered *in situ* (Whitehouse, 1970, 2 f., figs. 1-2). The Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Fahradj near Yazd (probably of the 3rd/9th century) has its main *miḥrāb* in the original place but the walls are of more recent date (Pirniyā, 1349/1970, 2-13; Alfieri, 1977, 65-76, pls. X, XIa, b; Shokoohy, 1978, 67, pl. 106). In the old part of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Shīrāz the tilted back wall of the niche, together with the horseshoe arch and the fragmentary stucco decoration on its soffit were regarded as original and dated to the end of the 3rd/9th century (Pope, 1934, 324; idem, *Survey*, 1264-6, fig. 455, pls. 259A-B; idem, 1965, 80-1, fig. 75). As far as it is known today, the *miḥrāb* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ of Nāyin is the earliest example surviving in its original form (Pl. V, 10). It is a double-recessed rectangular niche, the prototype of which may be found in the Djawsaḳ al-Khāḳānī, mentioned above. The canopies, frame, columns and capitals are covered with stucco. Unfortunately, the decoration is missing from the lower part of the inner pair of columns and from the back wall of the niche. Stylistically, this *miḥrāb* was dated to the latter part of the 4th/10th century (Flury, 1921, 230-4, 305-16; *Survey*, fig. 921, pls. 265B, 267, 269A-D, 511B-C; Pope, 1965, 84, fig. 76). Details of the stucco patterns can be traced back to Sāmarrā, but here they appear in a more developed form.

Later *maḥārīb* were double- or triple-recessed, e.g. like that in Mashhad-i Miṣriyān [*q.v.*] in Soviet Central Asia, dated to the end of the 5th/11th century (Kotov, 1939, 10-8, pls. XLV-XLVIII; *Survey*, 2721-5, figs. 922-4; Pugačenkova, 1958, 169-74). The decorative patterns are similar to those of Nāyin. Stucco *maḥārīb* have also been discovered in Afghānistān. One of them was excavated in the Audience Hall in the Great Palace at Lashkarī Bāzār [*q.v.*] (Schlumberger and Sourdel-Thomine, 1978, i/B, 39 f., pls. 73d, 147-9), and it was attributed to the Ghaznavid period. Two small mausolea at Sar-i Pul in northern Afghanistan had fine stucco *miḥrābs* with inscriptions. These inscriptions were published by Bivar, who suggested that one of these two mausolea, namely the Imām-i Khurd and its *miḥrāb* (Pl. VI, 11) cannot be earlier than 450/1058-9, while the second one in the Ziyārat of Imām-i Kalān most likely dates from the 6th/12th century (Bivar, 1966, 57-63). Unfortunately, both *miḥrābs* have disappeared during the last few years (Shokoohy, 1978, 110-11, figs. 88-94, pls. 193-4, colour pl. 47). The *miḥrāb* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ of Zawāra, dated 551/1156-7 (Godard, 1936, fig. 199) and those in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Ardistān (553-5/1158-60); Godard, 1936, fig. 195; *Survey*, pls. 322-4) may be regarded as combinations of flat and multi-recessed *maḥārīb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Imāmzāda Karrār at Buzān (now in the Archaeological Museum in Tehran, acc. no. 3268) should also be mentioned. The niche is very deep like an *īwān*, and it is covered by a vault instead of a semi-dome. A floriated Kūfic inscription in the frame gives the date of construction as 528/1143. This inscription is very interesting since the *hastae* of the letters end in human heads. The stucco work here is richer and more refined than in any of the previous examples, showing the wide scope of this technique (Pope, 1934, 114; Smith, 1935, 65-81; *Survey*, pls. 331A-C, 312A). The two most outstanding stucco *miḥrābs* in Iran are those in the Madrasa Ḥaydariyya in Ḳazwīn and in the Gunbad-i ᶜAlawiyān in Hamadān. Both are remarkable not only because of their enormous size, but mainly because of the extreme refinement of the stucco decoration. The designs appear as if superimposed in two or three layers. In Ḳazwīn, the lower part of the *miḥrāb* is missing, but the remaining upper half indicates that stucco work may very well have been at its finest here (Godard, 1936, 200, fig. 136; *Survey*, pls. 313A, 316A-C, 512D). The *miḥrāb* in the Gunbad-i ᶜAlawiyān in Hamadān perhaps does not surpass that of Ḳazwīn, but certainly comes close to it (Herzfeld, 1922, 86-99; *Survey*, pls. 330, 331A-B; Wilber, 1959, 151-2, fig. 116, cat. no. 55). Herzfeld and Wilber attributed this latter *miḥrāb* to the Il-Khānid period, while Pope dated it to the end of the 6th/12th century (*Survey*, 1301; idem, 1965, fig. 186). It seems most likely that both *miḥrābs* were erected about the same time, before the Mongol invasion of Iran in 617/1220. With the coming of the Mongols, the style slowly changed, and that change is already apparent in the stucco *miḥrāb* of the Imāmzāda Abu 'l-Faḍl wa-Yaḥyā in Maḥallat Bālā, dated to 700/1300 (Wilber, 137, pl. 67, cat. no. 44), and in two others, one of them in an *īwān* outside Shīrāz (Fehérvári, 1969, 3-11; idem, 1972, fig. 8) and the other one in the Pārs Museum (Fehérvári, 1972, fig. 7). The finest example of Il-Khānid stucco *miḥrābs* are in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Reza'iye (Riḍāʾiyya) (Wilber, 112-3, pl. 9, cat. no. 16), dated 676/1277 and in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ of Iṣfahān, built at the order of

Öldjeytü Muḥammad Khudābanda in 714/1314 (Wilber, 141, pls. 87-8, cat. no. 48; *Survey*, pls. 396-397A-B; Pope, 1965, fig. 189. In both *miḥrābs*, the stucco work is of superb quality and is executed in openwork. The gradual change in taste and style resulted in the application of two new techniques in the decoration of *maḥārīb*: the usage of mosaic faience and the application of lustre tiles.

Mosaic faience originated in Iran, and the earliest examples are to be found in the monuments of Khurāsān and Central Asia dating from the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries. The technique was, however, perfected and first applied in the decoration of *maḥārīb* in Turkey (see below). Mosaic faience decoration in Iran was not introduced in *miḥrābs* before the 8th/14th century. The earliest known such *miḥrāb* is in the Imāmzāda Shāh Ḥusayn in Warāmīn, erected *ca.* 730/1330 (Wilber, 1955, cat. no. 86, 177-8, pl. 184). Two other outstanding examples are in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ of Yazd, dated 777/1375 (Pl. VI, 12; *Survey*, pl. 443; Pope, 1965, 185, colour pl. VII and fig. 246), and the second one is in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Kirmān, dated *ca.* 957/1550 (*Survey*, pls. 401, 540).

Flat *maḥārīb* were also used in Iran. At first, these were of carved stone or alabaster. By the 6th/12th century faience tiles were used, with the decoration in relief painted in cobalt blue or turquoise under the glaze. During the early 7th/13th century lustre painting was introduced on these tiles. Occasionally cobalt blue and turquoise colours were added. There are some ten such large lustre *maḥārīb* known today which were made up of several tiles. All of these were made in Ḳāshān. One of the earliest dated large lustre *maḥārīb* is preserved in the shrine of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, dated Rabīᶜ II 612/July 1215 (Donaldson, 1935, 125-7; Bahrami, 1944-5, 37-8, pls. 20-1). These lustre tiles have recently been studied by O. Watson in great detail (see Watson, 1985). A somewhat unusual *miḥrāb* is the Masdjid-i ᶜAlī in Ḳuhrūd [*q.v.*] near Ḳāshān (Pl. VII, 13). The recess and the lower part of the *ḳibla* wall are covered with monochrome-glazed and with some hundred lustre-painted tiles. Although the *miḥrāb* in its present form was built probably during the last century, some of its lustre tiles bear the date of 700/1300. At the back of the rectangular recess there is a monochrome-glazed *miḥrāb* tile, slightly tilted for correcting the *ḳibla* direction, dated 708/1308 (Watson, 1975, 59-74, pls. Ia-c, Vd).

Turkey. Early *maḥārīb* in Anatolia were constructed of stone with a comparatively small and shallow recess which could be three-sided, such as the *miḥrāb* of the Ulu Cami in Erzurum, dated 575/1179 (Ünal, 1968, 31, fig. 20). Others are pentagonal, like that of the ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn Mosque in Niğde (620/1223), which is a double-recessed *miḥrāb* with both recesses crowned by *muḳarnas* canopies (Gabriel, 1931, i, 120, pl. XXXVI). *Maḥārīb* with *muḳarnas* canopies became popular in the country, and they were equally used in stone and in faience, and later in the Ottoman period in marble. Scalloped canopies were also used in Turkey, and here we find them in the third phase of their development (for the earlier two phases, see above, under Egypt); they are all double-recessed, the inner recess is crowned by a scallop, while the arch of the outer niche is cusped. One such *miḥrāb* was placed in the Ulu Cami of Kızıltepe (Dunaysir), dated to 601/1204 (Gabriel, 1937; idem, 1940, i, 51, ii, pls. XXXI/1-2, XXXII/1-3). The second such *miḥrāb* is in the Madrasa Masᶜūdiyya in Diyarbakir, which is similar to the previous example (Gabriel, 1940, i, 197, ii, pl. LXXIII/3; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 20, 143-4, res. 55-7, şek. 20).

The second decorative technique applied for *maḥārīb* in Turkey was mosaic faience. There are more than twenty such *maḥārīb* known in the country (for a complete list of these, see Meinecke, 1976, and for tile work in Turkey, Öney, 1976). The tiles were coloured in cobalt blue, turquoise, black, aubergine and white. They form epigraphic and geometric bands round the niches and cover the walls, the *muḳarnas* canopy and the spandrels. The most beautiful of these faience *maḥārīb* are in Konya, which was the capital of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. One such *miḥrāb* was installed in the Sadrettin Konevi, dated 673/1274-5 (Pl. VII, 14; Meinecke, 1976, cat. no. 85, i, 64, ii, 352-5, Taf. 36/4; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 49, 182-3, res. 111-13, şek. 49). Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, tiles were used together with stucco and terracotta, as is the case in the *miḥrāb* of the Arslanhane Cami in Ankara, built in 689/1290 (Otto-Dorn, 1957; Akurgal, Mango and Ettinghausen, 1966, 149, colour pl. on p. 132; Aslanapa, 1971, 121; Meinecke, cat. no. 18, i, 41-3, ii, 66-74, Taf. 8/3; Bakirer, *Kat.* no. 58, 196-8, res. 132-4, şek. 58). In the 9th/15th century, faience mosaic is replaced by the *cuerda seca* technique, and perhaps one of the most beautiful *maḥārīb* with such decoration is that of the Green Mosque in Bursa, dated 824/1421 (Öney, 1976, 62; Goodwin, 1971, 66, fig. 60; Aslanapa, 1971, fig. 214). Simultaneously with the *cuerda seca*, underglaze-painted tiles were also introduced during the 9th/15th century. At first, these were painted in blue and white and later in polychrome.

India. The earliest known and reported *miḥrāb* in India which survives is in the so-called Arhai-din-ka-Jhompra Mosque at Adjmēr, completed in 596/1199-1200. It reveals strong Hindu and Buddhist elements in its decoration and in its arch, which is cusped and is carved out of a single block of marble (Nath, 1978, 17, pl. XXI). Three *maḥārīb* in the tomb of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (died in 633/1235) are more in the traditional Islamic styles and in a way serve as models for later Indian prayer niches. The central *miḥrāb* here (Pl. VIII, 15) is a combination of a rectangular and a flat *miḥrāb*. The frame is filled by an epigraphic band. The pair of polygonal and richly decorated columns and capitals support the cusped arch. The canopy of the recess, just like that of the *miḥrāb* panel at the back, is filled with plaited Kūfic. In the centre of the back panel there is a rosette in relief. Such patterns can be observed in the centres of several Indian *maḥārīb*. It is possible that the architects tried to imitate, either consciously or not, the black meteorite stone which is in the centre of the *miḥrāb* of Sulaymān in Jerusalem.

One of the characteristics of Indo-Muslim architecture was to place three or more *maḥārīb* in the *ḳibla* wall, as it had already been done in Iltutmish's tomb, where this principle was applied perhaps for the first time. The lotus flower, a hanging mosque-lamp or a vase from which a scroll emerges, become permanent decorative features of the back panels of later prayer niches. Such decorations appear in the five *maḥārīb* of the Royal Mosque, the Ḳila-yi Kuhna in Dihlī, which was built by Shēr Shāh Sūr in about 949/1542. The *maḥārīb* of the Ḳila-yi Kuhna are enormous in size. They are multi-recessed, with a cusped arch over the outer recesses, and a *miḥrāb* panel at the back of each one decorated with a hanging mosque-lamp (Brown, 1964, 93, pl. LXII/2). By the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, Persian influence becomes stronger and more apparent in Indo-Muslim architec-

ture. It was perhaps most obvious in the decoration of prayer niches. Most of the Indian elements were omitted and were replaced by Persian motifs. The cusped arch, however, remains. A good example for this strong Persian influence is the *miḥrāb* of the Dj̲āmiʿ Masdj̲id in Fatḥpur Sikrī which is decorated with polychrome inlaid stonework and which reminds us of contemporary Ṣafawid faience-tiled *maḥārīb* (Brown, pl. LXXII/1). Later prayer niches in Āgra and Dihlī are built of marble and decorated in polychrome in the *pietra dura* technique.

Wooden and portable *maḥārīb*. *Maḥārīb* either as large niches or small portable wooden panels appeared during the Fāṭimid period in Egypt. They were found in excavations in Fusṭāṭ, but several others are known from later periods and are preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (Weill, 1936, pl. X). Large wooden *miḥrābs* were also introduced and these were popular all over the Islamic world. One of the earliest of these large wooden *maḥārīb* is from the Masdj̲id-i Maydān in Abyāna in Iran, dated 497/1103 (Ettinghausen, 1952, 77, pl. XII). An interesting wooden *miḥrāb* was discovered in Afg̲h̲ānistān in the upper Logar Valley in the village of Čarkh, in the Mosque of S̲h̲āh Muḥyī al-Dīn. It has an overall geometrical decoration and an inscription in Kūfic (Pl. VIII, 16). It is dated to the 6th/12th century (Bombaci, 1959, figs. 13-4; Rogers, 1973, 249, no. 82). The wooden *miḥrāb* of the Madrasa Halawiyya in Aleppo (dated 643/1245) is considerable in size, measuring 350 cm. in height and well over 100 cm. in width. It is richly decorated with geometrical patterns and is inlaid with ivory (Guyer, 1914, 217-31; Sauvaget, 1931, no. 15).

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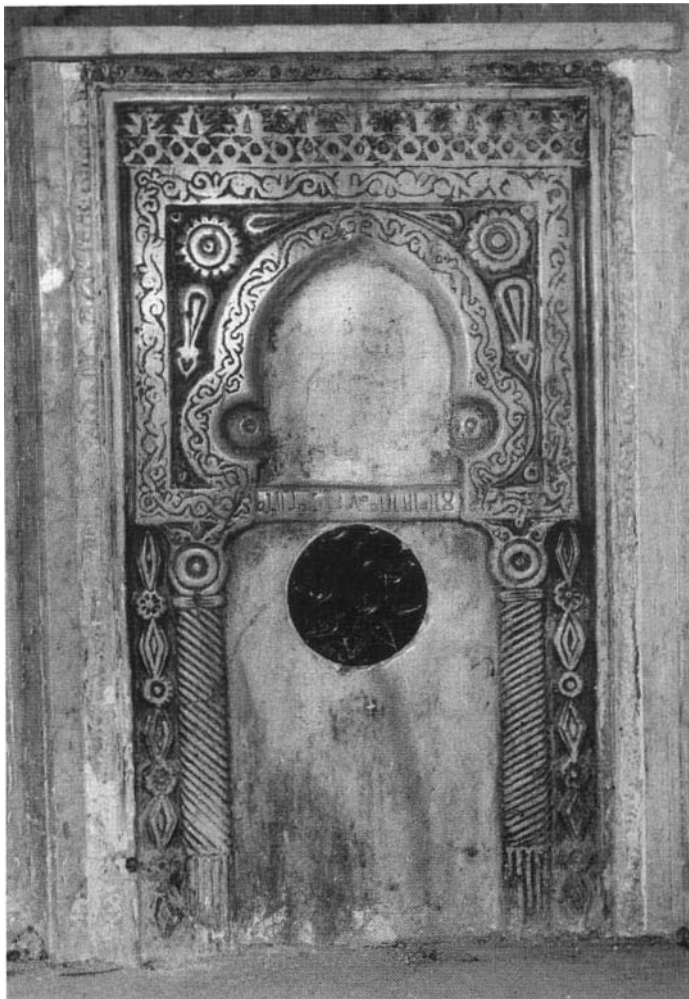
(G. Fehérvári)

MIHRAGĀN (P. *Mihragān/Mehregān*; A. *Mihradjān*; *Meherangān* among the Parsees), name of an Iranian Mazdaean festival dedicated to Mithra/Mihr, traditionally celebrated in Iran around the autumn equinox. Its origins, its place in the calendar, its duration, its rituals and the beliefs connected with it, its diffusion in other cultural areas and its survivals in the Islamic period present several problems which are the subject of discussions and controversies. It is also a word used in toponymy, patronymy and music (see below, iv).

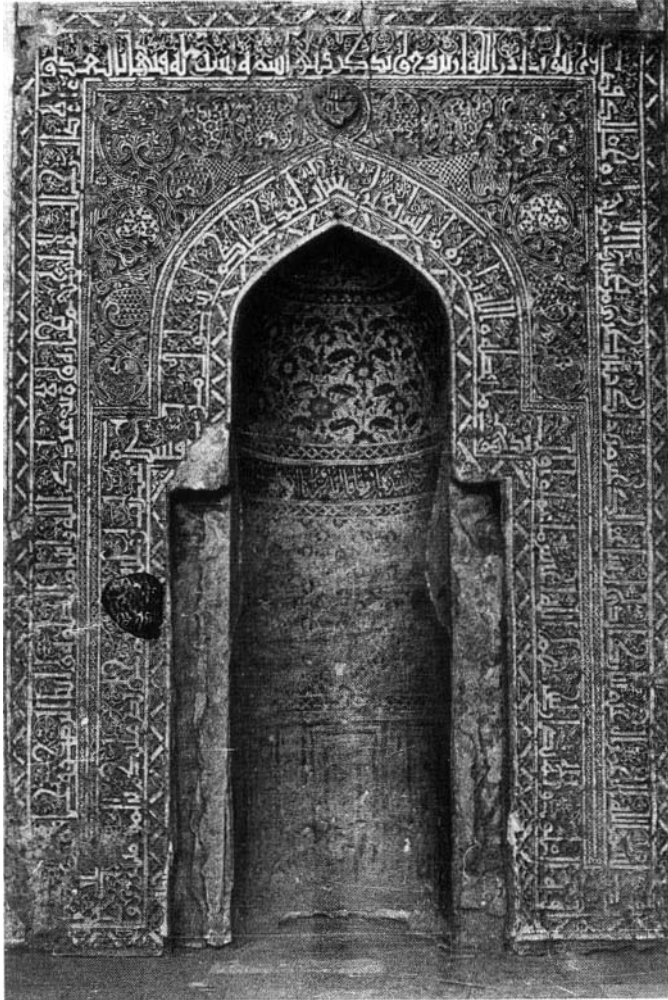
i. The name of the festival. It comes from the Pahlavi *mihrakān/mihragān*, ancient *mithrakāna* (Darmesteter, ii, 443), a noun derived from a proper noun, i.e. Mithra (Benveniste, 1966, 14; on the suffix *akāna* becoming *agān*, of Parthian origin, see Gignoux, 1979, 43 ff.). According to another attractive but faulty interpretation, the *kāna* component (no longer *akāna*) is a variant of *ghna* (Vedic *han*, Old Persian *jan*) meaning to strike or kill; *mithrakāna* is then the killing (or sacrifice) for Mithra, the expression being parallel to that designating the Indo-Iranian god Verethragna (Campbell, 235; on Verethragna, slayer of dragons, and its dialectal variants, see Benveniste and Renou, 68-90; Skjaervø, 192). In the Islamic period there no longer appears to be any reference to Mithra. The most prolific author on the pre-Islamic festival, al-Bīrūnī, thinks that the Arabised form *mihradjān* means love (*mihr*) of the spirit or the soul (*djān*; *Āthār*, 223, tr. 209; the majority of Muslim authors followed his interpretation, and the Persian poets often make *mihrdjān* rhyme with *mihrbān*, friendly, benevolent). However, the meaning "sun" has also been given for *mihr* and several myths which are associated with it (see below). Other interpretations which connect this name with death (*mīr*) are equally erroneous (on traditions and anecdotes reported by al-Bīrūnī and other authors, see Ṣafā, 30; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 404 = § 1287), as is also the view that it is a form of plural in the suffix *gān/djān* coupled with a noun of divinity given to the months and days of the Mazdaean months or of ceremonies forming the names of festivals (an error of the Persian editor of the *Tafhīm* of al-Bīrūnī, 254, n. 1).

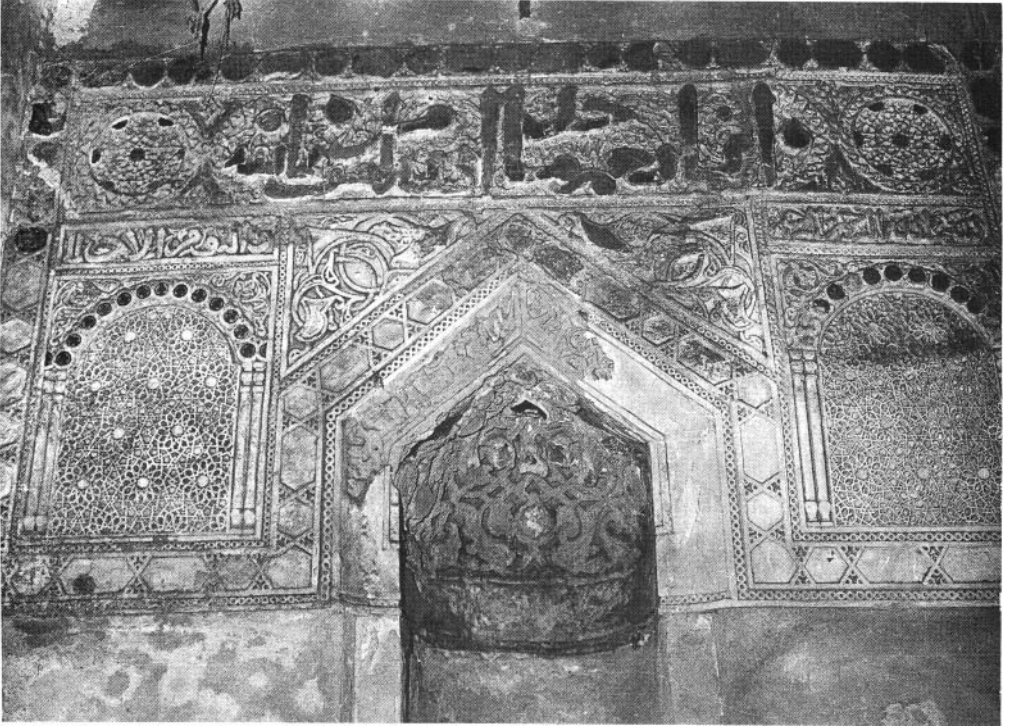
ii. Problems of calendars. The historical evolution of the various types of calendars used by the Iranians, notably under the influence of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks and the Arabs, is difficult to trace, but it determined the place and duration of their ceremonies and periodic festivals. The festivals celebrated at the solstice assumed a particular importance among the Indo-Iranians. They may have begun the year with the autumn equinox although, as for example among the Jews, several "beginnings" of the year could have been recognised simultaneously (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 174). The Achaemenid administration used a "luni-solar" year beginning with the spring equinox, similar to, but different from, that of the Babylonian calendar (Hartner, 747). This practice was taken over by the Seleucids, then by the Arsacid Parthians, at least as far as royal chronology was concerned (Bickerman, 778 ff.; see also below). Alongside the "Old Persian" calendar, we should take note of an "Old Avestan" calendar beginning the year in mid-summer. Both were abandoned for an "Egyptian" or "New Avestan" calendar (around 510 B.C.?; on the first reform see Taḳīzāda, *Maḳālāt*, vi, 77 ff.; Hartner, 749 ff.). Another difficulty arises from the adjustment of time between the Zoroastrian calendar of 360 days and the solar year of 365 days and a quarter. This problem, never solved in a satisfactory manner, led, under the Sāsānids, to a resort to "epagomenes" i.e. intercalary or "stolen" days (*duzdīda*), at the end of the year and one month every 120 years to recover the quarter of an annual day (see Taḳīzāda, *ibid.*, 85 ff.; Bickerman, 786 ff.). Not well received by the faithful, this Sāsānid reform led to a duplication of Zoroastrian religious festivals: *Naw-rūz, Mihragān* and the six *Gāhāmbārs* (Christensen, *Types*, ii, 143 ff.; Boyce, 1970, 513 ff.). Today, the Iranians use, alongside the lunar *hidjrī* calendar, a solar calendar beginning the year from the spring equinox (*Naw-rūz*), based on the *Djalālī* [*q.v.*] calendar inaugurated under the Saldjūḳ sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Malikshāh (465-85/1073-92 (cf. Hartner, 772 f., 784 f.).

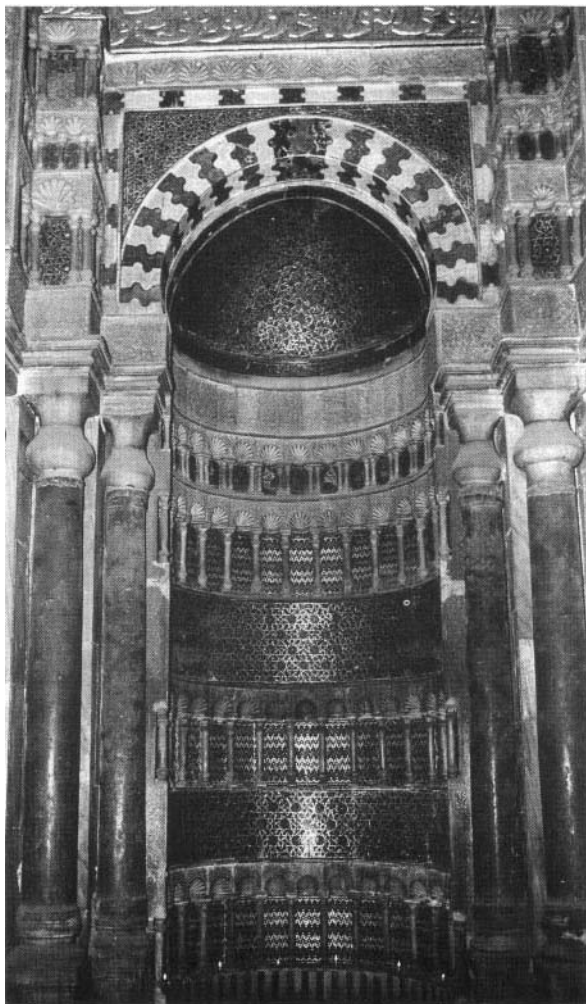
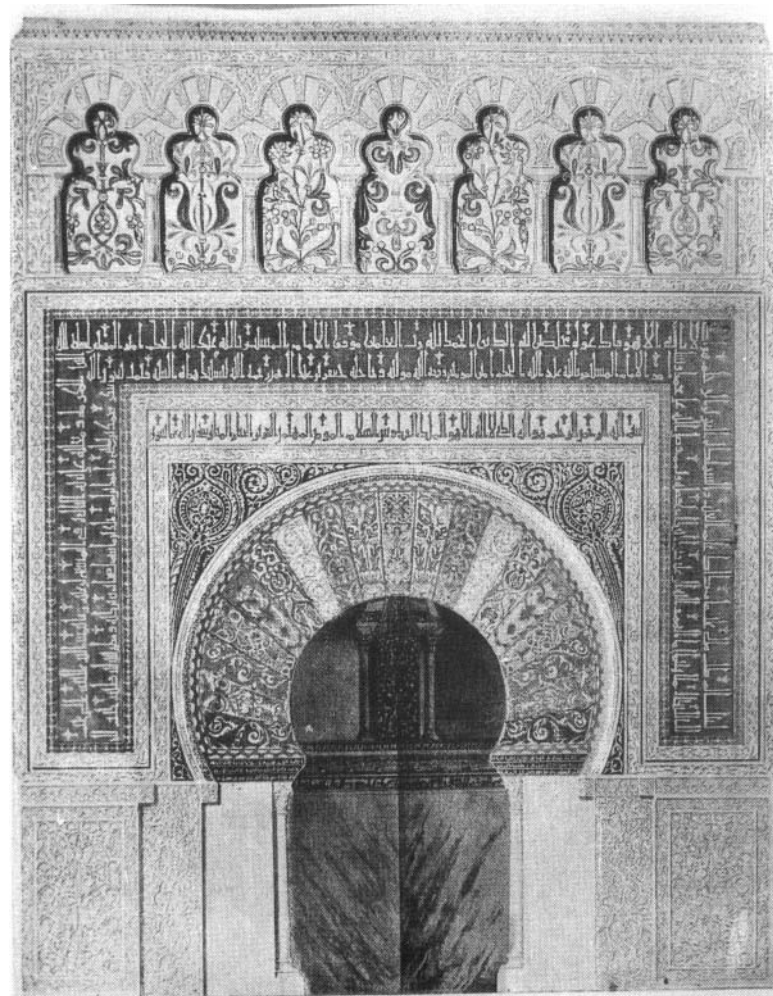
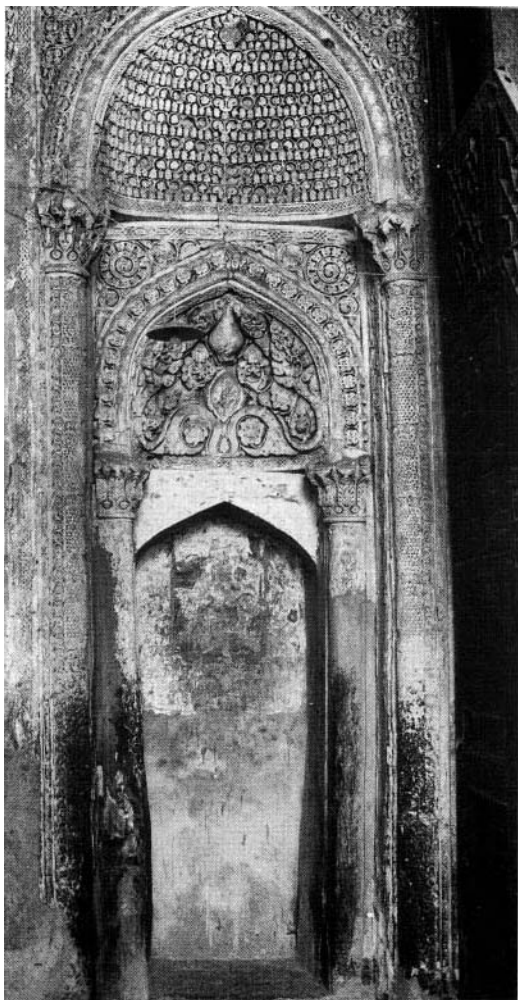
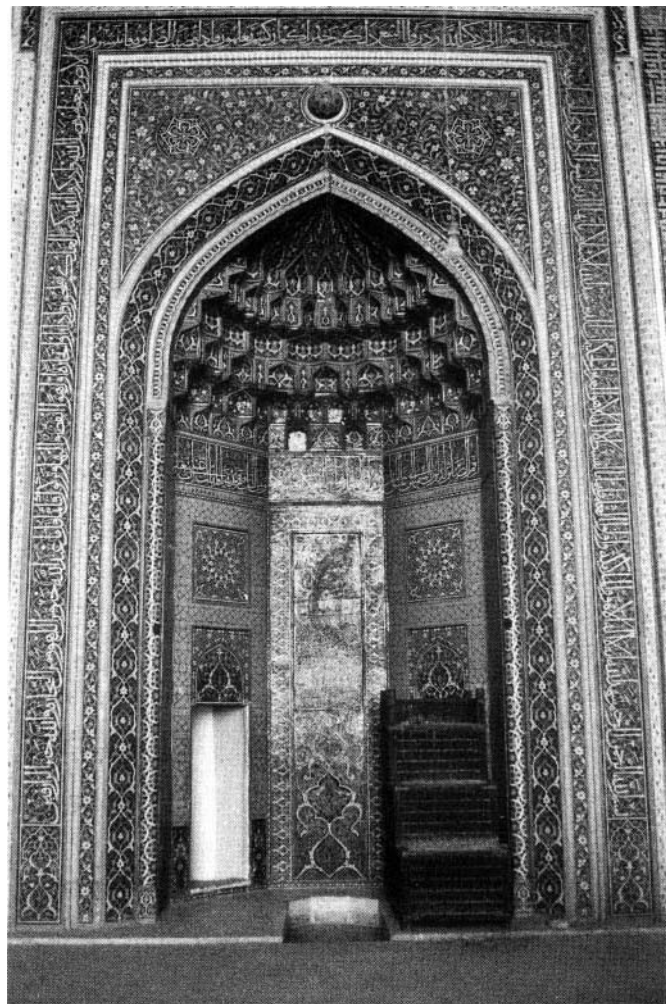
Until the Sāsānids, *Mithrakāna/Mihragān* remained, at least officially, a single day (Boyce, 1970, 518 f.; idem, *HZ*, ii, 34). Celebrated in autumn, the seventh month of the year, under the Achaemenids (6th/4th century B.C.), the festival was, inexplicably, observed in the spring, and *Naw-rūz* in autumn, under the Arsacid Parthians (3rd century B.C.-2nd century A.D.) who, following the Macedonian calendar established under the Seleucids, made the year begin with the autumn equinox (Boyce, 1975, 107; idem, 1976, 106). The introduction of the reform under the Sāsānids (who inherited the Parthian system) led, at

1. Jerusalem, *Miḥrāb* of Sulaymān under the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, 72/962.

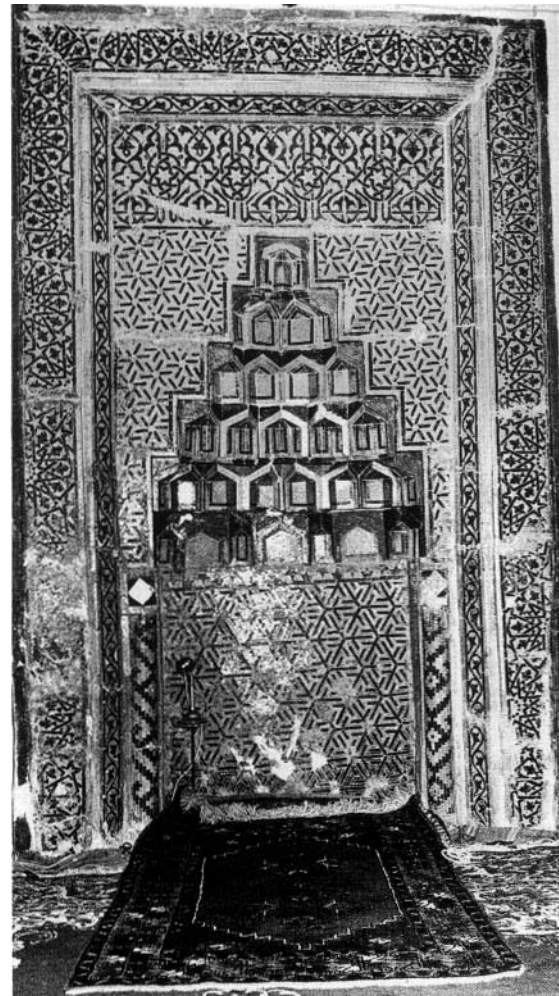
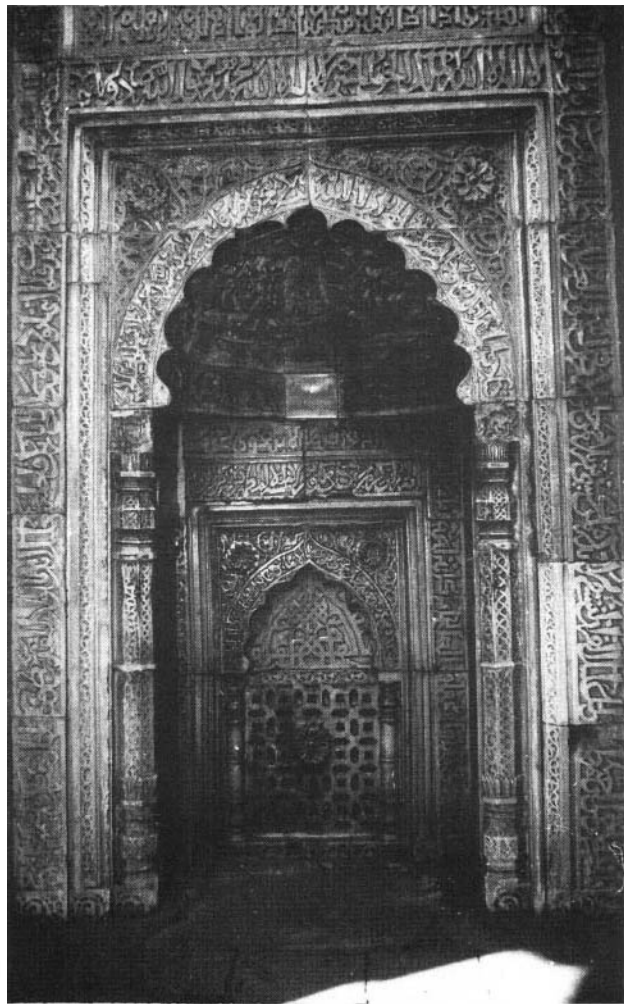
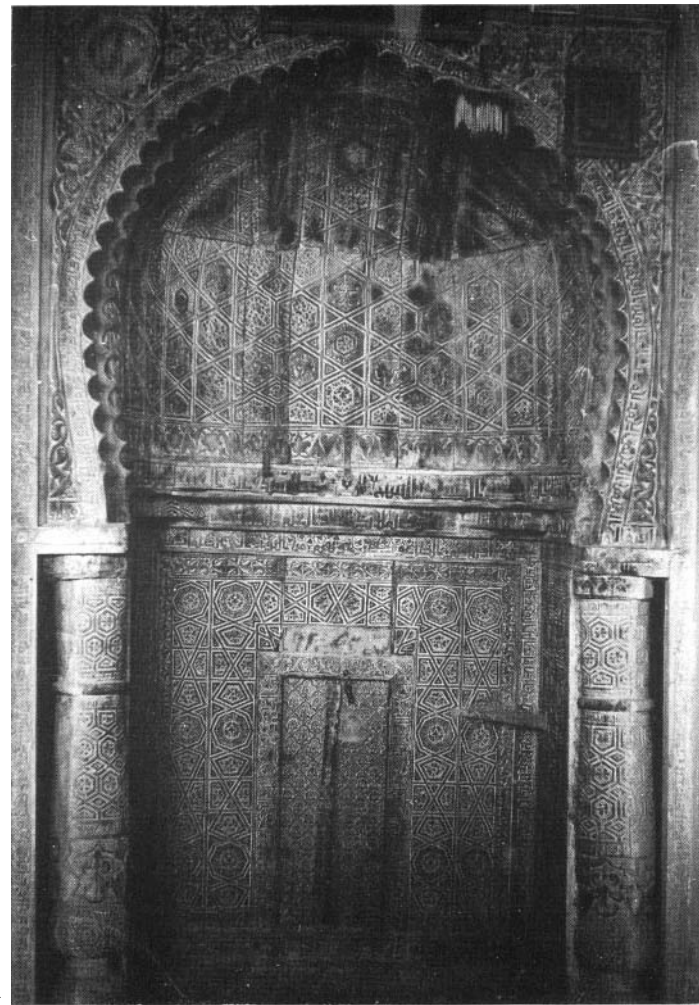
2. Baghdād, The Khāṣṣakī *miḥrāb*, late Umayyad or early ᶜAbbāsid period.

3. Mawṣil, Corner *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Imām Yaḥyā b. Ḳāsim, 7th/13th century.

4. Aleppo, marble *miḥrāb* in the Madrasa al-Firdaws, 633/1235.

6. Cairo, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Sayyida Rukayya, 527/1133.

5. Cairo, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī, 478/1085.

7. Cairo, stucco and glass *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Sulaymān al-Rifāʿī, 690/1291.

8. Cairo, marble *miḥrāb* in the Mausoleum of Ḳalāwūn, 684/1285.

9. Cordova, *miḥrāb* in the Great Mosque, 354/965.

10. Nāyin, stucco *miḥrāb* in the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmi^{c}, second half of 4th/10th century.

11. Sar-i Pul, Afg͟hānistān. Stucco *miḥrāb* which was standing until recently in the *Ziyārat* of Imām-i K͟hurd, 6th/12th century. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Prof. A.D.H. Bivar).

12. Yazd, faience *miḥrāb* in the Masd͟jid-i D͟jāmiʿ.

13. Ḳuhrūd, Iran, *miḥrāb* in the Masdjid-i ʿAlī, lustre-painted and monochrome glazed tiles, 700-8/1300-8.

14. Konya, faience *miḥrāb* in the Sadrettin Konevi, 673/1274-5. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Mr. H. Dewenter)

15. Dihlī, *miḥrāb* in the tomb of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, *ca.* 633/1235. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Mr. J. Burton-Page)

16. Čarkh-Afghānistān, wooden *miḥrāb* in the Mosque of Shāh Muḥyī al-Dīn, 6th/12th century. (Photographed and reproduced courtesy of Prof. A.D.H. Bivar).

least in popular practice, to the duplication of the festival: the 16th day (*mihr rūz*) of the seventh month (*mihr māh*), was celebrated as the "little" (*khurdak* or *kūček*) or "general" (*ʿāmma*) *Mihragān* and the 21st day (*rām rūz*), as the "great" (*buzurg*) or "special" (*khāṣṣa*) Mihragān. According to al-Bīrūnī, the Sāsānid king Hormizd I (272-3 A.D.), joined together the festival days of *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* which were observed respectively over six days. Then, the kings and people of Iran celebrated the two festivals over thirty days (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 223 f., tr. 208 f.; idem, *Tafhīm*, 254 f.). The whole month of Farwardīn (that of *Naw-rūz*) had been consecrated to a festival divided into six sets of five days, respectively for the princes, nobles, servants of princes, the people, the shepherds and stock-breeders (after Djamshīd, according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 218, tr. 203; under Djamshīd, according to Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, 360, tr. 97, with some variants as to the social groups.) But the circumstances concerning the duration of the festival remain vague (al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, also mentions for the Sāsānid *Naw-rūz* a duration of five days for the reception by the king of the people of all ranks and a sixth day of private royal celebration). One thing remains certain; the Zoroastrians festivals were still being adjusted for time in relation to the solar year, to keep them at a normal date, a second reform of the calendar was undertaken under the Sāsānids between 507 and 511. At first, *Mihragān* apparently continued to be celebrated for six days by the Zoroastrians until after the 10th century A.D.; the Zoroastrian festivals were then reduced to five days, *Mihragān* also losing the *rām rūz* which represented for the Zoroastrian faithful the authentic ancient day of the festival (Boyce, 1975, 106 f.; idem, 1983, 807 f.). The Parsees of India and the Zoroastrians of Iran use different calendars for their periodic festivals (see below). After Islamisation, some caliphs and Muslim rulers celebrated *Nay-rūz*/*Naw-rūz* and *Mihradjān* at the spring and autumn equinoxes (see below).

iii. Evolution and diffusion of the ritual. This festival probably represents a pre-Zoroastrian Iranian new year celebrated in autumn. It seems also that before the adoption of Zoroastrianism, the Iranians established, by contact with the Babylonians, their new year (**Navasarda*, then *Nō-rōz*/*Naw-rūz*) in the spring, while preserving their autumn festival which they then called *Mithrakāna* (Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 34), celebrated on the 16th day of the 7th month according to the calendar introduced by the Zoroastrian magi (between 457 and 454 B.C. and not, as Taḳīzāda states, in 441 B.C.; see Hartner, 776 f.). From then on, the characteristics of the festival were influenced by the multiple aspects of Mithra, which involve a simple concept (friend, alliance, friendship, love, contract, etc.) of the Vedic Mitra, a divinity with the juridico-priestly, beneficent, conciliatory, luminous, etc. aspect, often associated with Varuna, of the Avestan *yazata* (not known by Zoroaster but integrated in *yasht* 10: see Zaehner, 98 f.; see also Boyce, 1969, 14 ff.), similar to Verethragna, *yazata* of victory, and the Vedic Indra, the Mithra-Ahura syzygy, later Ahura-Mithra, corresponding to the Vedic-Mithra-Varuna (on Mithra and his place in Zoroastrianism, see Boyce, 1969; idem, *HZ*, i, 24 ff. and index; concise account in Turcan, 5 ff. and bibliography.)

Mithrakāna was celebrated in the 7th month of the ancient Achaemenid year called *Bāgayādish* (Hartner, 746), supposedly as this name was taken to mean (the month of) the cult of Baga, assimilated with Mithra (Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 98 ff.). This interpretation has now been rejected for philological reasons and because the festival was established, in Mesopotamia, under foreign influences (see below), well after the ancient Iranian names had been given for the first time to the months (Boyce, 1981, 67 f.; idem, *HZ*, ii, 16 ff., 24 ff.; on the name Baga, see also Gignoux, 1979, 88-90). Another problem arises from the fact that on 10 *Bāgayādish* the festival *Magophonia* was celebrated, a commemoration of the murder of the magi (or "of the magus", Gaumāta) under Darius I (on *Magophonia*, some of whose rites may have influenced *Mithrakāna*, see Henning; Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 99 ff.; Dandamaev, 138 f., 575 f.; Widengren, *Religions*, 163 ff.; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 86-89; Hartner, 749).

Mithrakāna may have been established in Mesopotmia under the influence of a Babylonian autumn festival placed under the protection of Shamash, the equivalent of Mithra, this influence having developed the solar aspect of this myth. It was apparently the first time that the Iranians dedicated a festival to a single god (Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 35). Its rites have been made known to us especially by the Greek authors and, in their later elaborated form, by the authors writing in Arabic. The dominant aspect is that of a royal festival of a new year or renewal, celebrated by festivities, present-giving, animal sacrifices. The numerous features common to this festival and *Naw-rūz* show that the two festivals may have been treated together (notably by Ps.-Djāḥiẓ). According to the epic-religious tradition, the festival was founded by the hero-king Thraētaona/Frētōn/Farīdūn who killed with his bull-headed club the dragon Azhdahāk/Dahāka/Ḍaḥḥāk; (Widengren, *Religions*, 60 f., 68 f., 258 f.; see also G. Dumézil, *Le problème des centaures*, Paris 1929, 72f.; according to the tradition of Ṭabaristān/Māzandarān, Farīdūn was brought up in the north of Lārīdjān [*q.v.*] where he used to hunt mounted on a cow). The myth has been historicised in the Iranian epic in which the legitimate king Farīdūn institutes the festival of *Mihragān* to celebrate his triumph over the usurping tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk whom he chains to Mt. Dunbāwand/Damāvand. He inaugurates the month of *Mihr* by putting the crown on his head; the nobles perform libations. He introduces the practice of celebrating *Mihragān* with rest, festivities and banquets. He is remembered in the month of *Mihr* in which one should not wear a worried and sad expression (Firdawsī, ed. Mohl, i, 114; ed. Moscow, i, 9-10; Asadī, 329, 474 f., Fr. tr., ii, 164, 271 f.). The hero-smith Kāva [see KĀWAH], after having triumphed over Bēvarasp/Ḍaḥḥāk, asks the people to pay homage to Farīdūn (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 222, tr. 207 f.).

The dominant feature of the festival was its royal and solar aspect. Mithra being the mediator between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. According to various traditions, the sun appeared for the first time on the day of *Mihragān*; God made the contract between light and darkness on the day of *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 222, tr. 208; Widengren, *Hochgott*, 94, 99 f., 158). According to other traditions, on the day of *Mihragān*, God created the earth and bodies; he illuminated the moon which was until then a sphere without light. *Mihragān* is regarded as a sign of resurrection and the end of the world, for everything which grows then reaches its perfection (al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*). The rituals are still little known. According to the Greek sources, the Achaemenids apparently celebrated *Mithrakāna* more than *Navasarda*/*Naw-rūz* at Persepolis, the autumn season being pleasanter there and more convenient for bringing tribute (Nylander, 143, citing Athenaeus; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 110). It seems

that they also used to sacrifice horses to Mithra there; the satrap of Armenia sent them annually 20,000 colts for the *Mithrakāna* (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 173; ii, 110, according to Strabo). *Mithrakāna* was celebrated joyfully, notably with dances (according to Duris); it was the only annual occasion on which the king of Persia became inebriated (according to Ctesis, physician to Artaxerxes II); cf. Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 35. It is thought that *soma/haoma* was used for these libations (Boyce, *HZ*, i, 173; Turcan, 9; and see below).

We have little information as to the diffusion, in eastern Iran, of *Mithrakāna*, whose Sogdian counterpart may have been *Bagakāna*, a contracted form of *Bagamithrakāna*, celebrated on the 16th day of the 7th month (Boyce, 1981, 68 f.). The name *mihrakān/mihragān* is to be found in the Jerusalem Talmud (*moharnakī*) and in that of Babylon (*muharnekaī*); see Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 192. The Seleucid and Arsacid periods are much less documented. According to the epic tradition, the festivals of *Mihragān* and *Sada* were revived by the last Arsacid, Ardavān, and by the first Sāsānid, Ardas͟hīr-i Pāpakān (Firdawsī, ed. Mohl, v, 302, 328; ed. Moscow, vii, 442, 769). Although apparently more orthodox Zoroastrians than their Sāsānid successors, the Arsacids transposed *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (see above, and Boyce, 1983, 805). Under their influence, some Iranian cults and sanctuaries, some of which were dedicated to Mithra, were introduced into Armenia. With Christianisation, the great *Mihragān* (Arm. *Mehekan*, 21 *Mehek* = *Mihr*) was reconsecrated to St. George the Soldier (Taḳīzāda, *op. cit.*, 194 ff.; Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 89; eadem, 1981, 67; eadem, 1983, 804 f.; Turcan, 17). As far as we can see, it was in Asia Minor, rather than in Mesopotamia, that Greco-Roman contacts were established out of which arose the mysteries of Mithra (Turcan, 18). It is also possible to interpret the identification of Mithra with Helios-Apollo as more of a symbiosis than a syncretism (at least at Sardis; Boyce, *HZ*, ii, 268 f.). But the Mithra of the mysteries is very different from the Median-Persian Mithra and the diffusion in the Greco-Roman world of the rituals of *Mithrakāna* (across Armenia?) remains conjectural, notably inasmuch as we are concerned with their direct influence on the Mithraic celebration, then the Christian one of *Natalis invicti* on 25 December (Cumont, 167) or of *Mithrakāna* celebrated in Phrygia, at the time of the wine-harvest, with libations of wine and animal sacrifices (Campbell, 239 f.). The epic legends and heroic character attached to the ritual of *Mihragān*, celebrated especially by men, have supplied more definite links with Roman Mithraism (Boyce, 1966, 107, n. 3; idem, 1969, 26, n. 83; idem, 1983, 802).

With the Sāsānid reform, the religious calendar consisted of seven obligatory festivals: the *Gāhāmbārs* (instituted, according to tradition, by Zoroaster; see al-Bīrūnī, *Āt͟hār*, 219, tr. 205) and *Naw-rūz* (Boyce, 1983, 794 f.). Despite its optional character, *Mihragān* preserved all its prestige. Some preferred it, just as they preferred the autumn to the spring (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 223, tr. 208 f.). *Mihragān* was also regarded as the beginning of winter (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 216, Fr. tr. 289; idem, *Murūd͟j*, iii, 404 f. = § 1287). The mythological elements, beliefs and rituals connected with *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* mentioned in the Islamic sources seem nevertheless to date back to earlier periods or even to refer to Iranian customs held in honour under some caliphs (see below). While the connections between Zoroastrian festivals and epic tradition are probably ancient (according to Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, "*Naw-rūz* belongs to D͟jam and *Mihrad͟jān* to Afrīdūn", *Maḥāsin*, 360, tr. 97), their duplication leads to a re-elaboration of the epic traditions; the little *Mihragān* commemorates the joy of all human beings when they heard tell of Farīdūn's expedition, whereas on the great *Mihragān* he triumphed over Ḍaḥḥāk and bound him (al-Bīrūnī, *Āt͟hār*, 222 f., tr. 207 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, 123; Boyce, 1983, 807). According to various traditions, on the day of *Mihragān* the kings of Persia used to wear (in the manner of Farīdūn?) a crown on which was engraved the image of the sun and the wheel on which he turns. A valiant warrior would stand at the gate of the palace to invoke the aid of the angels (who came to the help of Farīdūn?): al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.* According to Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, the bearer of good omen, at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, was said to come through the agency of two spirits (according to Inostrantzeff, the *ames͟ha spentas* or "archangels" Haurvatat and Ameretat connected respectively with water and plants): *Maḥāsin*, 361, tr. 97, 3. Then, expressing his good wishes, he would place before the king, on a silver table, cakes prepared with different grains; seven grains of each kind; seven branches of an auspicious tree (and auspicious inscriptions), seven white earthenware plates, seven silver-*dirhams* minted that year, a new *dīnār* and a bouquet of wild rue. On this day, the king would abstain from discussing any matter. The first thing that was presented to him was a gold or silver vase containing white sugar, Indian nuts and silver or gold cups. He would then drink fresh milk in which dates had been soaked. He would give the dates to his favourites and sample whatever sweets he liked (*ibid.*, 361 f.; tr. 98 f.).

Although *Naw-rūz* may have been more important than *Mihragān* in certain respects (welcoming the New Year, collecting the land-tax, nominating governors, transferring posts, minting coins, etc.), it was a right of the ruler to receive presents and his courtiers, relatives and dependents on the two festivals. Each one gave what he liked best or something in which he excelled. The donors were able to record the value of the gift in the *dīwān*. The king had to remunerate these presents with gifts or rewards. On the day of *Mihragān*, he would wear new clothes of poplin (*k͟hazz*), silk or closely-woven fabric. He would distribute to his courtiers and relatives, at *Naw-rūz*, their winter clothes and, at *Mihragān*, their summer clothes (Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tād͟j*, 146 ff., Fr. tr. 165 ff.; these gifts of clothing were called *āyēn*, Christensen, *Sassanides*, 125, 407 ff.; on the presents that the king of Persia received from all quarters, see also Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, 367-8, tr. 100-1).

At *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, the king held a public audience to which all, great and small, had access (Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tād͟j*, 159-60, Fr. tr. 178-9; Niẓām al-Mulk, 57, tr. 42 f.; al-G͟hazālī, *Naṣīḥa*, 167 ff., tr. 102 ff.). These audiences were abolished by Yazdgard I (399-421) or Bahrām Gūr (421-39) and his son Yazdgard II (439-57); see Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tād͟j*, 163-4, Fr. tr. 181-2; al-G͟hazālī, *ibid.* and tr. 103, n. 3; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 283, 303. This custom may have been borrowed by *Naw-rūz* from *Mihragān*, the festival of Mithra Lover of Justice (*Dāvar Mihr*): Boyce, 1975, 110, n. 18. The ruler could grant forgiveness for an offence committed at *Naw-rūz* or *Mihragān* (Ps.-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Tād͟j*, 101-2, Fr. tr. 126-7, anecdote concerning K͟husraw I Anūs͟hirwān and Muʿāwiya). Moreover, it was at *Mihragān* that Kavād I (488-531) organised, in 528-9, a massacre of the Mazdakites (just as Darius I had massacred the magus Gaumāta and his followers at the *Mithrakāna*): Ibn al-Balk͟hī, 90; cf. Widengren, *Religions*, 343.

As at *Naw-rūz*, a fair was held at *Mihragān*. The Persians wished to live for a thousand years (in the manner of Ḍaḥḥāk). Eating pomegranate and smelling the perfume of rose-water secured them against illness (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*). During the festivities of *Mihragān*, particular musical tunes were played (see below, iv).

With the installation of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate in the ancient Sāsānid territory, socio-cultural life was strongly influenced by Iranian traditions in Baghdād and in the provinces. While the Zoroastrians continued to celebrate their ceremonies according to their own practices (see below), *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* survived, deprived of their original religious functions, in an Islamic context. Presents had been sent to the caliphs on these occasions before the ᶜAbbāsid period. Muᶜāwiya had imposed heavy contributions at *Naw-rūz* and al-Ḥadjdjādj had attempted to re-establish the Sāsānid custom of obligatory presents at the two festivals; this was abolished by ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (see Ṣafā, 51 f.). With other borrowings from the Sāsānid fiscal system, the ᶜAbbāsids also adopted the contributions in the form of presents. They celebrated *Naw-rūz* at their court with wine and music (al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 277 f. = § 2962). According to some poetic fragments attributed to the caliphs (al-Ma'mūn, al-Mutawakkil) and various poets writing in Arabic, these same festivities were to develop into *yawm al-mihradjān* (see Ṣafā, 52 f., and Sādāt Nāṣirī, 4, 426 ff., following Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Maḥāsin*, and Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, *Bulūgh al-arab*; al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 340 f. = § 3502).

From the time of the appearance of the first dynasties more or less independent of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, the celebration of *Mihragān* assumed, until the Mongol invasion, great importance at the courts of most princes, great and small, in the Turko-Iranian environment. The Ṭāhirid ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir arranged for the distribution of clothing at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān* (Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Tādj*, 149, Fr. tr. 169). ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir wrote some verses in Arabic on *Mihradjān* (Sādāt Nāṣirī, *Mihragān*). The sultans of Khurāsān arranged for the distribution of autumn and winter clothes to their soldiers at *Mihradjān* (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 223, tr. 209). Some contributions at *Naw-rūz* and *Mihradjān* were imposed in Ḳum on the *bāzār* folk; they were suppressed (in Ḳum, then in Āba) from the reign of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (335-66/947-77); Ḳumī, 164 f.).

By comparison with those *bayts* in Arabic of which we are aware, the poetic production in Persian on *Mihragān* is considerable. *Naw-rūz* and *Mihragān*, often synonyms of spring and autumn, form a part of the nature themes celebrated by Persian poets. Among the best known who wrote poetry on *Mihragān* we may cite (excluding the epic poets such as Firdawsī and Asadī):

	died around or in	*patronised by*	*references**
Rūdakī	329/940	Sāmānids	*LN*; SN, 4, 427; DS, 46.
Daḳīḳī	368/978	*eidem*	*ibid.*.
Mundjik Tirmidhī	370/980 or 380/990	Āl-i Muḥtādj, Čaghāniyān	SN, 4, 428.
Farrukhī	429/1037	Prince of Čaghāniyān; Ghaznawids: Maḥmūd and Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 4, 429-32; 5, 458; DS, 50-54.
ᶜUnṣurī	431/1039	Maḥmūd and Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 5, 458-9; DS, 46-7
Manūčihrī	432/1040	Princes of Dāmghān and Rayy; Masᶜūd	*LN*; SN, 5, 459-62; DS, 47-50; Hanaway.
Azraḳī	before 465/1072	Saldjūḳs of Harāt and Kirmān	*LN*; SN, 9, 206-7; 10, 266-69.
Ḳatrān	after 465/1072	Princes of Tabrīz, Gandja and Nakhdjawān	*LN*; SN, 6, 34-38; DS, 46.
Djurdjānī/ Gurgānī	after 466/1073	Contemporary of the Saldjūḳs Ṭoghrïl and Alp Arslan	SN, 6, 34
Nāṣir-i Khusraw	481/1088	(Ismāᶜīlī)	*LN*.
Masᶜūd-i Saᶜd-i Salmān	515/1122	Ghaznawids of Lāhawr	SN, 6, 38-9; 91-4.
Muᶜizzī	between 519-21/1125-8	Saldjūḳids Malikshāh and Sandjar	
Ṣābir Tirmidhī	between 538-42/1143-47	Sandjar and Khʷārazmshāh Atsïz	SN, 10, 269.
Mukhtārī	544/1149	Saldjūḳs of Kirmān	SN, 11, 325-6; DS, 46.
Sūzanī	562/1166 or 569/1173	Princes of Bukhārā and Samarḳand	*LN*
Rashīd al-dīn Waṭwāṭ	573/1178 or 578/1182	Khʷārazmshāhs	*LN*.
Anwarī	after 585/1189	Sandjar, then various princes	SB, 11, 325-6.
Khāḳānī	595/1199	Shirwānshāh Manūčihr, then various princes	*LN*.

* Abbreviations: DS = Dabīr Siyāḳī *LN* = *Lughat-nāma* SN = Sādāt Nāṣirī

Apart from the usual themes (nature, love and wine), these poetic evocations contain numerous mentions of and allusions to the celebration of *Mihragān*, the happy autumn festival of good omen, which takes the place of spring, with wine and the flute replacing the rose and nightingale. It was also the festival of Farīdūn and the great festival of the kings (Fouchécour, 24 f., citing Muʿizzī, Manūčihrī, ʿUnṣurī and Farrukhī). Although this kind of information may be quite rare in the narrative sources, the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī* supplies us with complementary information on the festival (*djashn*) and the custom (*rasm*) of *Mihradjān* at the court of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd [*q.v.*], observed around the autumn equinox. The celebration of Ramaḍān may have provided an obstacle for that of *Mihragān* (see Farrukhī, for the years 419-21/1028-30: cited by Dabīr-Siyāḳī, 53 ff.; Fouchécour, 25 f.). In 422, Masʿūd received the presents of the princes and governors, many of them horses, on the day of *Mihragān* (28 Ramaḍān/18 September 1031). He celebrated the festival with great pomp two days later, on the breaking of the fast (*fiṭr*). He organised a reception "such as no-one had ever seen". The sultan and his entourage were inebriated. Musicians and poets enlivened the festivities at the court and outside. Considerable rewards were distributed: 1,000 *dīnārs* for ʿUnṣurī; 20,000 *dirhams* for the foreign poets at the court, 50,000 for Zaynabī ʿAlawī; 30,000 for the musicians and jesters (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 359 f.; Bosworth, 132). This celebration is mentioned more briefly for the years 426/1035, 429 (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/12 September 1038!) and 430/1039 (at that time he sent to India Masʿūd-i Rāzī who ventured to advise him in a *ḳaṣīda*): *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 642 f., 734 f.

It seems that the celebration of *Mihragān*, like that of *Sadak/Sada* [*q.v.*], had been abandoned, in its Islamic context, after the rupturing of traditions provoked in Iran by the Mongol invasion (Ṣafā, 58, 118). This theme, however, continued to inspire poets (e.g. Ḍamīrī, d. 973/1565, a contemporary of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I: *LN*). It has been suggested that some Shīʿī festivals following their solar computation may be survivals of *Mihragān* (e.g. in the ceremonies of *ḳālī-shūyān/shūrān* at Mashhad-i Ardahāl, near Kāshān, celebrated in the month of Mihr; see Āl-i Aḥmad, 200 ff.; A. Boloukbachi, in *Objets et Mondes*, xi, Paris 1971, 133-40). There is also continuity in the celebration of *Mihragān* by the Zoroastrians, who use different calendars in Iran and India (Boyce, 1968, 213, n. 86; eadem, *Stronghold*, 164 ff. and index; eadem, *Zoroastrians*, 221 and index). Although the Parsees of India seem to have stopped observing this non-obligatory festival during the 19th century (Boyce, 1969, 32), they retained the ritual (Dhabhar, *Rivayats*, 343; *Mehr and Jashne Meherangan*, Bombay 1889; idem, *LN*; *Ceremonies*, 429 ff.). One of the causes of their neglect of *Mihragān* is probably, under pressure from their Hindu surroundings, the opposition to animal sacrifice which they were still practising in the 18th century (witnessed by Anquetil-Duperron; cf. Boyce, 1966, 197; eadem, 1975, 106). Their celebration is now limited to a cult restricted to 16 Mihr (Boyce, 1969, 32). By contrast, the Zoroastrians of Iran have continued to observe this festival. At the beginning of the 20th century, those of Yazd used to celebrate it (from 16 to 20 Mihr), in February-March according to the time adjustment of the *ḳadīmī* calendar of 365 days, with notably, in each house, the sacrifice of an animal: sheep, goat, poultry for the very poor, and the eating of unleavened bread. Despite the objections of their coreligionists in Tehran and Bombay, the Zoroastrians of the villages of Yazd were still celebrating it for five days in 1960, under the name *Djashn-i Mihrīzed*. It was a joyful and convivial festival, to which the "migrants" from Tehran were invited, the principal elements of the ritual still being the cult of Mihr, to whom the animal sacrifice was dedicated (essentially a sheep or goat, whose flesh was roasted, shared out and eaten) and the offerings of products of the season preserved and brought for the festival (Boyce, 1975, 108 ff.; eadem, *Stronghold*, 54 ff., 83ff., 200 ff.). These rituals were probably survivals of *Mithrakāna*, the sacrifice of livestock symbolising the immolation of the primordial bull (Boyce, 1975, 108, 117 f.). A large sanctuary of Kirmān is dedicated to "Shāh Mihr Ized" (Boyce, *Stronghold*, 83).

iv. Other usages of the noun.

(1) As a toponym, Mihragān designates, in a compound or adjoining forms, various localities and districts:

Mihradjān, ancient name of Isfarāyin [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān. According to Yāḳūt (7th/13th century), it was still a village near the ruined town; 51 villages were under its control. It was also a small town between Iṣfahān and Ṭabas (Yāḳūt, v, 233; Barbier de Meynard, 552; Le Strange, 393).

Mihradjānāvādh (= Mihradjānābād), a town in Fars (Le Strange, 283; Schwarz, i, 30, iii, 180).

Mihradjān-ḳadhaḳ/Mihradjān-kadak (Mihradjān-ḳudhaḳ), a densely populated and very fertile district in the 4th/10th century in Djibāl, near Ṣaymara (Yāḳūt and Barbier de Meynard; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, Fr. tr. 74, 453; Le Strange, 202; Schwarz, iv, 470 and index).

Mihriḳān, one of the villages in the region of Rayy (Yāḳūt, 233; Barbier de Meynard, 552; Schwarz, vi, 805).

Mihrkān, a village in Fārs (Schwarz, i 37).

Mihrīdjān, a small town in the country of Marw; a major village in Fārs, near Kāzarūn [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, 234; Barbier de Meynard, 553).

Without being able to establish their antiquity, some of these toponyms are still attested. There are also, according to *Farhang-i djughrāfyāʾī-yi Īrān* (ed. Razmārā, Tehran 1949-53), the following villages:

Mihrakān, a region in Linga, Lāristān (vii, 229).

Mihrandjān, two villages, region of Kāzarūn, Fārs *ibid.*.

Mihrgān, two villages, region of Bandar ʿAbbās (viii, 400).

Mihrgān, region of Nāyīn; Mihrgān, Mihrandjān-i arāmītra, in ruins, and Mihradjānī turkhā, region of Isfahan (x, 88).

(2) As a personal name. Mihradjān was given rarely as a patronym (see e.g. Mihradjān b. Rūzbih; Schwarz, iii, 136, n. 3). However, there exist many proper Persian names derived from Mihr. According to a Zoroastrian custom, a name with Mihr was given to a child born on this day (Farevashi, 306). As well as names such as Mihrān, Mihrbān, Mihrdād, etc., many female names are also formed, such as Mihrbānū, Mihrdukht, Mihrmāh/Mihr-i māh [*q.v.*], Mihrvash, etc. Several people were also known by their *nisba*s derived from toponyms (Mihradjānī, Mihrdjānī, Mihrīdjānī, Mihriḳānī, etc.).

(3) Mihragān and music. As with *Naw-rūz*, *Mihragān* also gave its name to some musical themes whose origin goes back to the Sāsānid period (see Christensen, 1918, 376). Several names were given to these tunes (*āvāz, dastgāh, laḥn, naghma, navā, parda*), whose tenor is not known in the general body of *maḳāms* [*q.v.*]. We can distinguish essentially *mihragān-i buzurg*, the eleventh of the twelve *maḳāms* according

to al-Farābī; *mihragān-i khurdak* or *kūčik*, a *parda* or a *maḳām (LN*; Dabīr-Siyāḳī, citing Manūčihrī).

(4) Apart from its use for *nisbas* and music, the adjective of relationship *mihragānī/mihradjānī* is also used in Persian to designate anything which relates to the festival, the season and its products, with the meaning of autumnal or wintry, especially in poetry (*LN*, s.v.).

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(J. Calmard)

MIHRĀN, the name generally given by the classical Islamic geographers to the Indus river (Skr. Sindhu, Grk Σίνθος, Ἴνδος, Lat. Sindus, Indus), but Nahr al-Sind, Sind-Rūdh, Nahr Multān, etc. were also used by them.

There was, in fact, considerable confusion over the precise nomenclature of the Indus and its constituents, with, in particular, uncertainty over what was to be regarded as the main river channel. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, records the Nahr Multān or Mihrān as rising in the mountains of Central Asia. They compare it to the Nile, in its breadth, its becoming swollen seasonally with waters which flood and fertilise the agricultural areas along its banks and its having crocodiles; together with this river are the Sind-Rūdh, situated three days' journey from Multān [*q.v.*], and the Djandrāwar, which joins the Indus lower than the Sind-Rūdh (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 322, 328, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 315, 320-1; cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 372-3, 377-8 = §§ 412-13, 419; al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. Sachau, i, 259-60). Al-Muḳaddasī, 482-3, resumes this information: that the Mihrān is the main river, and the Nahr Sindarūd a tributary flowing at a distance three stages from Multān. As Marquart pointed out, *Ērānšahr*, 258-61, the Sind-Rūdh is in fact the genuine Indus, but the geographers took the system of the Chenab-Ravi-

Jhelum, on which Multān was situated and which formed part of the Pančanada or Pandjnad "Five rivers" [see PANDJĀB], as the main stream, whose waters unite near modern Ucch and then join the Indus proper near Mithankot, about 100 miles/160 km. below Multān. The Djandrāwar must have been one of the main arms of the lower Indus within the province of Sind [*q.v.*] just below the town of Rōr or Arūr/al-Rūr [*q.v.*], modern Rohri. Likewise, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 6. 13-15, cf. Minorsky's comm., 209-10, 371-2, regards the Indus river system as essentially comprising three streams: the Sindh-Rūdh (= the modern upper Indus, north of Atak [*q.v.*] or Attock), the river of Lamghān (= the Kābul river, which the author considers to be the principal channel of the Indus) and the Hīvān (apparently the Sutlej, the longest affluent of the Indus). After the junction of these three, the author says, the river is called the Mihrān, and empties into the "Great Sea" at Kūlī (= the Kori creek, the ancient estuary of the Indus, now in the Rann of Cutch); he also mentions (§ 6.16) a "Lesser Mihrān" to the east, perhaps the Narbadā of central India, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay. Al-Idrīsī uses only the term Mihrān, and describes the main course of its lower reaches in Sind as flowing in his time near al-Manṣūra; cf. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in ... al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, text 41, etc., comm. 111.

Of the historians, al-Balādhurī uses the term Mihrān in his account of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's conquest of Sind (*Futūḥ*, 438). The Ghaznawid chroniclers al-ʿUtbī and Gardīzī, if they give the Indus a specific name at all, use that of Sayḥūn, normally used by the geographers for the Sīr Daryā or Jaxartes, in parallel to the name Djayḥūn for the Amū Daryā or Oxus; its application to the Indus is presumably by analogy with the Central Asian river, both being long and wide and both marking the frontier zone between Islam and the lands of paganism (cf. ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, ii, 67, 72, etc.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 87, 88, 89). The later traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 91, 93, speaks of the Indus as the Nahr/Māʾ/Wādī al-Sind, "called Pandj Āb", lumping the Indus and its major tributaries together under the Persian name; cf. also i, 79.

The Indus is approximately 1,800 miles/2,900 km. long. It rises in western Tibet in lat. 31°25′ N. and long. 81°30′ E., flows through Kashmīr State of the Indian Union and then enters Pakistani (Āzād) Kashmīr and completes the rest of its course within Pakistan. The main rivers of the Indus system are fed by the snows of the Inner Asian mountain massif, and the Indus water level rises in the spring to a peak around early August, bringing down silt, so that Sind is largely an alluvial plain built up by the very wide, slow-flowing river. The river has always been used for irrigation. An extensive canal system was constructed in British Indian times, and since 1947, various barrages have been made on the main river and its affluents both for irrigation and for hydro-electric power, with the Indus Waters Agreement of 1960 allotting the flow of the western rivers (Indus, Jhelum and Chenab) to Pakistan and that of the eastern ones (Ravi, Sutlej and Beas) to India. Until the advent of railways and the extension of irrigation projects, i.e. till *ca.* 1880, the Indus and the other Pandjāb rivers had been used for a certain amount of navigation; in mediaeval times, the Ghaznawid sultan Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] had sent a large fleet downriver from Multān to attack the Djāts [*q.v.*], and sharp clashes had taken place between the opposing sides (see M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 121-2).

The channels of the lower Indus, in the plains of Sind below Rohri, have changed considerably in the course of recorded history. Formerly, it followed a more easterly course than at present, the Eastern Nava riverbed, emptying into the Kori creek; but already in the 2nd/8th century, the time of the Islamic conquest of Sind, the Arabs found it flowing further westwards, past Brahmanābād or al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*], though still to the east of its present course. The questions involved are studied, with relevant maps, by H.G. Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi (1892), 155-297; H. Cousens, *The antiquities of Sind = Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, xlvi, Calcutta 1929; and H.T. Lambrick, *Sind, a general introduction*, Hyderabad, Sind 1964. Finally, one should mention that the lower course and the delta region of Sind were the home of the Jhāts, Arabic Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], who played a certain role in the early history of the caliphate as well as a local, Indian one (see above).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MIḤRĀTH (A.) and its plur. *maḥārīth* are used more frequently than the doublet *miḥrath*, plur. *maḥārith*, to designate today a plough, but these terms are applied more specifically, in mediaeval literature, to the tiller, which is not equipped with wheels or a mould-board or a coulter, but consists essentially of a ploughshare, a crossbeam, a handle and a pole (or beam). Although it goes back to the earliest antiquity, this agricultural implement is still in use, without modification of note, throughout the Islamic world.

While *miḥrāth*, unknown in the Ḳurʾān, appears in classical dictionaries only in the sense of "poker", or figuratively, of "kindler of war", it was not unknown to agronomists, notably Andalusians, who, nevertheless, tended to consider it as colloquial (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.); for his part, Ibn Khaldūn is prepared to use it, especially with reference to a famous *ḥadīth* which bears witness after all to the existence of the tiller in ancient Arabia. Having seen in the house of one of his Companions a ploughshare (*sikka*) and other parts of a ploughing implement, the Prophet is said to have exclaimed: "These things do not enter a house (*dār*) without also bringing in debasement" (see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, k. al-wakāla, mā djāʾa fī 'l-ḥarth wa 'l-muzāraʿa*, ed. Ḥalabī, Cairo n.d., iii, 135; cf. Houdas et Marçais, *Les traditions musulmanes*, ii, 91). Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, i, 258, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 297, Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 289-90), specifies that, in the *ḥadīth* in question, it is a tiller's ploughshare (*sikkat miḥrāth*), and, without dwelling on the interpretations that could be put on it so as to mitigate the effect, he goes on to show that taxes (payable on products of the land) degrade people.

The use of the tiller at an early date is further attested, but less clearly, by the use that the classical lexicographers make of terms that designate it, although possessing a much less exact and certain meaning than *miḥrāth*; this is the case with *luʾama/ luʾma/laʾma* (see below) and especially of a word that seems to have been applied at the same time to the yoke, to the pair of oxen and to the implement that they pull to till the land and that the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-k-k*) uses, exactly like *miḥrāth* in Ibn Khaldūn, to define *sikka* in the preceeding *ḥadīth*: *fadān*^{un} (see *LA*, s.v. *f-d-n*); in fact, it is this term that most regularly designates the tiller. An evolved form, *faddān*^{un}

(comp. in dialect *dukhān*>*dukhkhān* "smoke, etc."), by quite an expected extension of meaning, came to designate also the area that a pair of oxen could till in a given time [see MISĀḤA].

By force of circumstances, the mediaeval philologists inevitably concerned themselves with the tiller and noted its terminology; but, cut off from rural realities, doubtless embarrassed by the diversity of the terms attested in different regions and perhaps also hindered by the *ḥadīth* cited above, they do not seem to have possessed a very clear idea of the structure and function of an implement that they could not, however, neglect. It is thus that we find a rather obscure and fairly contradictory account of a lexicographical character, for the elements were drawn from various sources and probably concern slightly different types, in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīduh (x, 152-4) and a brief description in the *Lisān* (s.v. *d-dj-r*). There follows an attempt at translating the passage in question of the *LA*; "*Dadjr, dudjr* and *dudjūr*, the name of the piece of wood (*khashaba*) to which is fixed the iron (*ḥadīda*) of the tiller (*faddān*); some use the dual (*dadjrānⁱ*), as if they were speaking of two ears (*udhunānⁱ*); the iron is called *sunba* (*sic*; read *sinna?*), *Fad(d)ān* is the name of all assembled parts (*adawāt*) of the implement. The *khashaba* placed on the neck (*ʿunuḳ*) of the ox (*sic*) is the *nīr*. The two *samīḳs* are pieces of wood attached to the neck. To the pole which [ends in] the centre [of the yoke], is fixed the strap (read *ʿiyān* instead of *ʿinān*) of the *waydj*, i.e. the *ḳunnāḥa*. *Waydj* and *mays* (read *hays* as in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and in *LA*, s.v. *h-y-s*) in Yemeni are the name of the long *khashaba* which passes between the two oxen. The piece of wood that the ploughman holds is the *miḳwam*."

The preceding description is not of blinding clarity, but by means of the terminology retained by the author of the *Lisān* and with the help of the list supplied by Ibn Sīduh, it nevertheless allows us to form an idea of the elements constituting the tillers at an early date.

The ploughshare (*sikka*, but also *sinn, sinna, naʿl*) was joined by means of a strap (*ʿiyān*) of iron to the crossbeam, which could also be called *dadjr* (and vars.), sometimes used in the dual (*dadjrānⁱ*) because it was in two parts with one joined to the other by another strap and/or a cord (*fatīl*), which could indicate that the transition from the tied object to the object fitted together had still not been totally achieved (?). The *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* says also that the two *dadjrs* were placed at the meeting point of the *luʾama* and the *silb*, and defines this last as being the piece of wood whose end (one should probably read *fī ṭarafih* instead of *fī ṭaraf*) joins on to the ploughshare; but as it says that the *silb* is the longest element of the tiller, it is clearly the pole (or beam) called *waydj* and *hays* in Yemen or in ʿUmān) and to which it also gives the name *luʾama*; the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-l-b*) specifies that the end of this part was driven into the hole pierced in the beginning of the *luʾama*; this last, rather imprecise, term would designate on the one hand all the parts of the tiller, whether of wood or iron, and on the other only the ploughshare—which is not very likely—or, more probably, like *silb*, the beam tied to the cross-beam at a point called *djidār*. *Ḳunnāḥa*, for its part, presents a difficulty; the *Lisān* (s.v. *ḳ-n-ḥ*) explains this word as designating a polo-stick and, in general, a curved piece of wood, whereas, according to Ibn Sīduh, it is a kind of joining pin used to connect the ploughshare (or rather the cross-beam) to the beam.

Fig. 1
Possible sketch of the ancient tiller

1. *silb* = beam
2. *dadjr* = cross-beam
3. *ʿiyān* = strap
4. *sikka* = ploughshare
5. *ḳunnāḥa* = joining pin
6. *miḳwam* = handle
7. *sayfānⁱ* = holding bar

The ploughman ensures the proper functioning of the tiller and drives the ploughshare in the earth by putting pressure on the handle (*miḳwam*; Ibn Sīduh also gives *dastaḳ*, from Persian *dastah*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *dastadj*); this part has not been double for a long time, but it doubtless has a holding bar, which is what the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* calls *sayfānⁱ*.

The team itself is not described very exactly, and we know simply that the beam was attached to the centre of the yoke by means of a trace called *djarr*. Regarding the yoke, the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* supplies a list of terms supposedly synonymous, of which *nīr* is the best known today; it also cites *nīra, arʿuwwa* (which designates a pair of ploughing oxen) and *miḍmad/miḍmada*, of which the *Lisān* (s.v. *ḍ-m-d*) gives an explanation which is lacking in clarity. However, we understand that yokes could assume various forms, one of which seems to consist of two yokelets (*samīḳānⁱ*) which, according to the *Lisān* (s.v. *s-m-ḳ*), are "two pieces of wood [each] encircling the neck of the ox like a collar and joining under the animal's dewlap (*ghabghab*); they are then attached (*usirā*, but *shuddā* in the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*) to each other by means of a rope". Other terms are also cited, notably the *miḳran* which designates a piece of wood fixed on the oxen's head, when they plough, by means of a rope called *tawthīḳ*. No pole under the belly is mentioned, but there is mention of a *ḳirān* or *ḳaran*, which is a rope passing over the oxen's neck and attached to the *luʾama*, here the beam.

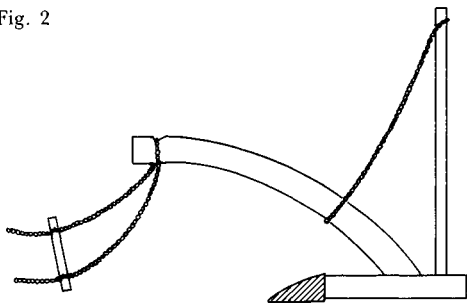
The two principal sources used mention, immediately after enumerating the parts of the tiller, a still more rudimentary implement for levelling the earth after ploughing and burying completely the seed which was sown there before the ploughshare had turned over the soil; this is the *mālaḳ* or *mimlaḳa*, a wide board that the ploughman presses on with all his weight and was pulled along by two oxen (which is rather the Egyptian *zaḥḥāfa*).

As W. Marçais (*Takroûna*, i, 88-9) remarks, the terminology that can be noted in the work of the classical lexicographers "probably contains a certain proportion of inexactitudes and errors"; not only is it not uniform, but furthermore, agriculture being left to slaves and foreign elements, loan words have been detected (see Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, 131 ff.; cf. M. Feghali, *Étude sur les emprunts syriaques dans les parlers du Liban*, 93) which risked increasing the confusion. In addition, several types of tiller were bound to exist, to judge by mediaeval practice [see FILĀḤA] that the Andalusian agronomists, in particular, describe (see L. Bolens, 97 ff.) and by the present or recent situation. In fact, in detail, the forms and parts of the various implements that can be seen today present perceptible differences, and the corresponding ter-

minology is itself too dissimilar, both in Arabic dialects and in Berber—for the use of the tiller is still widespread in Barbary—for one to consider giving even a rough idea of it here. So we will merely repeat the brief description given by Ayrout (*Fellahs*, 59) of the tiller used in Egypt and in other countries of the East. This implement, which weighs about 40 kg, "consists of a wooden cross-beam fitted with a flat, ogival-shaped ploughshare of about 25 cm and a long beam of about 3,50 m to which the harnessed animals are attached by means of a straight yoke resting on the withers and not, as in Europe, on the brow. Two water buffaloes are used or the smallholder's water buffalo and donkey, or two camels hired for the occasion, or even a camel and a donkey. The ploughman leans on the single handle to drive in the ploughshare and follows the walking animals, guiding them with his voice and hand, for he does not use reins or a whip."

The tiller thus described does not differ fundamentally from that which was in use in ancient Arabia, where the very best team consisted of two oxen, just as the description of *faḍ(d)ān* implies. It is possible that the Arabs, who no doubt did not have to respect the prohibition of Deuteronomy (xxii, 10: "You shall not plough with a donkey and an ox yoked together") any more than do the Egyptians of today, used some ill-matched teams, but we do not have any immediately usable evidence.

No more do we have information at our disposal on the use of camels [see IBIL] for ploughing in ancient Arabia. Nevertheless, the use of a single camel appears characteristic of southern Tunisia and Libya (see W. Marçais, *Takroûna*, i, 182, 189-90). In this case, the tiller is somewhat different, in that the beam is shorter and that a swingle-bar is attached to the ends, traces leading from them to a collar (or half-collar) held in place, on the withers, by a system of

Fig. 2

Tiller drawn by a camel

ropes passing over the neck, as well as behind the hump and on the crupper; long reins allow the animal to be driven (see the detail and local terminology in G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques sur une région du Sud Tunisien (Nefzaoua)*, Paris 1951, 19). After rejecting (in *Mots et choses berbères*, 290) the current assertion that the Berber peasant sometimes makes his wife and donkey draw the tiller, and on the whole doubting the evidence of Pliny who claimed to have observed such a team, E. Laoust considers (in *Hespéris*, x/1 [1930], 47) that it is advisable not to impugn it, for he has meanwhile been able to study a very similar implement used in the east of Barbary and to establish that it is both rudimentary and light. Just as the terminology of the ancient Arab's tiller is partially borrowed from Aramaic, so, in Berber, that which relates to the team is partly adapted from Latin, showing a Roman influence, but not prejudging at all the origin of the North African types, which may well be considered autochthonous.

In the opinion of specialists (e.g. V. Mosséri and C. Audebeau, *Le labourage en Égypte*, in *BIE*, 5th series, x [1916], 83-127), the tiller in use "constitutes the implement par excellence of regions where it is sufficient to scratch the ground in order to bury the seed and allow it to germinate before the top soil dries out. This tiller is also all that is needed when, owing to a limited water supply, it is necessary to prevent the rapid evaporation of the soil." The tiller with a light ploughshare has moreover been used until recently in Spain for ploughing on the flat, and it has not been entirely replaced by modern ploughs in the regions of North Africa where the peasants have to be satisfied with it and where the arable land bed will not support deep ploughing.

Bibliography: Apart from the reference cited, the classic study of the plough is that of A.G. Haudricourt and M.J.B. Delamare, *L'homme et la charrue à travers le monde*, Paris, 1955; a short article by the first of these authors appears in the *Dictionnaire archéologique des techniques*, Paris, 1963, i, 263-5. The terminology of the tiller in Arabic-speaking countries has been made the subject of a certain number of research studies enumerated in a long critical note by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris, 1925, 187-90. As far as the Berber region is concerned, an excellent monograph by E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris, 1920, 275-301, was completed in an article by the same author, *Au sujet de la charrue berbère*, in *Hespéris*, x/1 (1930), 37-47. The account of H.H. Ayrout, *Moeurs et coutumes des fellahs*, Paris, 1938, has been consulted with profit. For Islamic Spain, the work of Lucie Bolens, *Agronomes andalous du Moyen Âge*, Geneva-Paris, 1981, 97 ff. and bibl. cited, contains an interesting chapter on ploughing. See also P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* (Wiesbaden, 1985), i, 62-3, 91-2, ii, maps 474-510. (CH. PELLAT)

MIHRGĀN [see MIHRAGĀN].

MIHRĪ KHĀTŪN, an important Turkish poetess of the end of the 9th/15th and beginning of the 10th/16th centuries. Although ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi clearly states that Mihrī was her given name as well as her *makhlaṣ*, later on Ewliyā Čelebi writes (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 192) that it was Mihrmāh. (It is possibly as her cognomen that Fakhr al-nisāʾ is mentioned in *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri.*) Mihrī Khātūn was a descendant of Pīr Ilyās, the Khalwetī *sheykh* of Amasya. Her father was a *ḳāḍī* who wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Belāyī. Mihrī Khātūn herself spent her whole life, about which very little is known, in and around Amasya. She belonged to the literary circle of prince Aḥmed, son of Bāyezīd II, during his governorship of Amasya in the years 886/1481 (or possibly 890/1485, according to Reindl, *op. cit.* below, 80) to 919/1513. Indeed, almost all of the *ḳaṣīdes* in her *Dīwān* are addressed to him.

Mihrī Khātūn is known to have fallen in love repeatedly, her best documented loves being Müʾeyyed-zāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čelebi, who was born in Amasya in 860/1456, later became *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, and wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Khātemī, and Iskender Čelebi, son of Sinān Pasha. She sang of her loves in her *ghazels*, and the *tedhkiredjis* recorded this, especially citing a *ghazel* on Iskender Čelebi in which she names him through *īhām* (allusion). Yet, at the same time, they all agree in emphasing her chastity and virtuousness, reiterating that these were innocent

loves and that she lived a blameless life. In fact, she is reported to have remained unmarried in spite of being blessed with beauty, an ardent temperament, and no lack of wooers.

Mihrī Khātūn died in Amasya after 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 917/16 March 1512 and, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, was buried in her ancestor Pīr Ilyās's *tekye* in Amasya.

Mihrī Khātūn was well educated for her sex and day, being sufficiently versed in Persian poetic imagery and the art of rhetorical embellishment to venture on writing *Dīwān* poetry. (According to Ewliyā Čelebi, she even wrote treatises on matters related to *fiḳh* and *farāʾiḍ*.) She made the poet Nedjātī (d. 914/1509) her chief model and many of her poems are *naẓīre*s (parallels) to his. It is said that this irritated him somewhat, especially as her manner could at times be rather self-congratulatory. However, Mihrī Khātūn did not reach his level of accomplishment. What she did achieve in her poems was a striking naturalness, a freshness and directness, and an often remarkable impact of feeling. In keeping with the effect of spontaneity and sincerity given by many of her lines, her language is not rhetorically over-burdened but rather simple. It is true, however, that her images do not display originality, her metaphors and similes being mostly the conventional ones.

Mihrī Khātūn left a not particularly voluminous *Dīwān* and at least one treatise in rhyme. A number of her poems had been made accessible by Smirnov and translated by Gibb (*op. cit.* below) before a critical edition of the *Dīwān* based on four mss. was published by E.I. Mashtakova (*Mikhri Khātūn. Divan. Kritičeskiy tekst i vstupitel'naya stat'ya*, Moscow 1967). This contains 208 *ghazel*s, 11 *ḳaṣīde*s, a *müstezād* and a *terdjīʿ-i bend*, 7 *murabbaʿ*s and a *mukhammes* as well as 4 *naẓm*s and 6 *müfred*s. These poems are preceded in the *Dīwān* by a *tewḥīd* in the form of a *methnewī* of 29 *beyt*s (which start with the Arabic letters in their alphabetical order) and, more importantly, by her *risāle* in verse, *Taḍarruʿ-nāme*. Composed mainly in the form of a *methnewī*, but interspersed with about ten poems in the form of a *ghazel* as well as one *ḳaṣīde* and one *murabbaʿ*, this contains *münādjāt*s, *naʿt*s, *mewʿiẓe*s, etc. The whole *risāle* totals about 460 *beyt*s and ends with a touching *khātime*, which includes a few lines which Mihrī Khātūn said in defence of women.

Bibliography (in addition to the titles cited above): The *tedhkire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳinali-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Beyānī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī; ʿĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*; Ewliyā Čelebi's *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i. 342; Medjdī, *Terceme-yi Shaḳāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1269, 93 f., 308 f.; Meḥmed Dhihnī, *Meshāhīr al-nisāʾ*, Istanbul 1295, ii, 240 f.; Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308, 310; Aḥmed Mukhtār Ḥādjdjī-bey-zāde, *Shāʿir khanîmlarîmîz*, Istanbul 1311, 59 f.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 527; Fāʾiḳ Reshād, *Tārīkh-i edebiyyāt-î ʿothmāniyye*, Istanbul 1327 (*rūmī*) 195 f.; Shihāb al-Dīn Süleymān and Köprülüzāde M. Fuʾād, *Yeñi ʿOthmānlî tārīkh-i edebiyyātî*, Istanbul 1332, 248-53; *ʿOthmānlî müellifleri*, ii, 408 f.; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Tārīkh we edebiyyāt medjmūʿasî*, ii, Istanbul 1335, 508 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i, 306-9; V.D. Smirnov, *Očerk istorii turetskoy literaturî*, in *Vseobshčaya istoriya literaturî*, pod red. V.F. Korsha i A.I. Kirpičinkova, iv, St. Petersburg 1892, 478-81; idem, *Obraztsovîe proizvedeniya osmanskoy literaturî*, St. Petersburg 1891, 432-42, and 1903, 449-53; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 123-35; Ḥüseyin Ḥüsām al-Dīn, *Amasya tārīkhi*, Istanbul 1330, i, 217-18, Istanbul 1927, iii, 249; T. Ay, *Türk kadın şairleri*, Istanbul 1934, 52-4; M. Uraz, *Kadın şair ve muharrirlerimiz*, Istanbul 1941, 16 ff.; B. Ferman, *Mihrī Hanım, hayatı ve dîvânı* (unpubl. thesis, Istanbul 1951, Üniversite kütüphanesi, tez no. 1976); A. Karahan, in *İA*, s.v. *Mihrî Hatun*; E.I. Mashtakova, *K izdaniyu Divana Mikhri Khatun*, in *Kratkie Soobshčeniya Instituta Narodov Azii*, lxiii (1963), 124-35; idem, *Ob odnoy rukopisi stikhov Mikhri-Khatun*, in *Pis'mennie Pamyatniki Vostoka*, 1969, 208-19; P. Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976; C.P. Akhaladze, *K ponimaniyu lyubovnoy liriki Mihri Khatun*, in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR, seriya Yazîka i Literaturî*, 1980/4, 79-89; Ismail E. Erünsal, *Türk edebiyatı tarihine kaynak olarak arşivlerin değeri*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, xix (1980), 213-22; idem, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi'nin arşiv kaynakları I. II. Bâyezid devrine ait bir İn'âmât Defteri*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, x-xi (1979-80), 303-42; H. Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd. Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II. (1481-1512)*, Berlin 1983, 79-99.

(TH. MENZEL-[E.G. AMBROS])

MIHTAR [see MEHTER].

MIHYĀR B. MARZAWAYH (Marzōye) AL-DAYLAMĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (Ibn Khallikān) or Abu 'l-Ḥasan (other sources), poet who used the Arabic language, originally a Zoroastrian but becoming a convert to Islam in 394/1004 at the hands of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (359-406/970-1016 [*q.v.*]), dying in 428/1037.

The famous Shīʿī poet and *naḳīb* of the descendants of the Prophet took charge of the education of his protégé, into whom he inculcated not only the basic principles of Shīʿism but also the necessary skills for him to act as a secretary in the administration. He naturally took care also to teach him the rules of versification, but his pupil very soon showed the natural talents which were to make him one of the most famed poets of the 5th/11th century.

Apart from the items of information concerning his relations with the Sharīf, under whose protection he seems to have lived, we have virtually no other biographical information about Mihyār, whose extensive *Dīwān* nevertheless in itself supplies material for a substantial study.

This poet, who amply copied his master, attempted almost all the poetic genres, but did not display an equal talent for all of them. Thus his descriptions were considered to be prosaic, as also his eulogies, which seem lengthy; but on the other hand, he excelled in the sphere of the *ghazal* [*q.v.*], friendly or amorous reproach (*ʿitāb*), versified epistles addressed to his friends (*ikhwāniyyāt*) and above all in the funeral eulogy or elegy or *rithāʾ* [see MARTHIYA]. As a good disciple of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, he successfully celebrated the memories of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn (see e.g. *Dīwān*, Cairo 1344-50/1925-31, ii, 259-62, 367-70, iii, 109, etc.), and his poems of condolence (*taʿāzī*; *Dīwān*, i, 72-4, iii, 6-8, 54-8, etc.) are highly appreciated; but the poem in *-mīm* (*Dīwān*, iii, 366-70), in which he laments the death of his master, is considered to be a masterpiece and is used as a basis for comparison. The Sunnī sources, which naturally blame him for his Rāfiḍī beliefs and which cite a witticism according to which his conversion to Islam merely transferred him from one corner of Hell to another, nevertheless adjudge his poetry to be of an "extreme beauty" (e.g. Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, v, 26-7), and even the Spaniard Ibn Bassām (in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 243) is said to have praised him highly. A critic like ʿAlī Dj. al-Ṭāhir (*al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1958-61, ii, 205, 209) considers that the decline of Arabic poetry begins

after Mihyār and that the Saldjūḳ period is characterised by a tendency towards imitation and even towards making a pastiche of al-Raḍī and his pupil.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 276; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 242-3; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 195-7; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 41-2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix, index; D.S. Margoliouth, *The poems of Mihyar the Dailemite*, in *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London 1933, 286-92; Brockelmann, I, 82, S I, 132; ʿAlī al-Ḳallāl, *Mihyār al-Daylamī wa-shiʿruhu*, Cairo 1948; Ismāʿīl Ḥusayn, *Mihyār al-Daylamī, baḥth wa-naḳd wa-taḥlīl*, Cairo n.d.; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mūsā, *Mihyār al-Daylamī*, Beirut 1961; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 264; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, xiii, 32-3; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 566-7, ix, 301. (CH. PELLAT)

MĪKĀL, the archangel Michael [see also MALĀʾIKA], whose name occurs once in the Ḳurʾān, viz. in II, 92: "Whosoever is an enemy to God, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel or to Michael, verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers." In explanation of this verse two stories are told. According to the first, the Jews, wishing to test the veracity of the mission of Muḥammad, asked him several questions, to all of which he gave the true answer. Finally, they asked him, who transmitted the revelations to him? When he answered, Gabriel, the Jews declared that this angel was their enemy and the angel of destruction and penury, in opposition to Michael whom they said to be their protector and the angel of fertility and salvation (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 324 ff.). According to the second story, ʿUmar once entered the synagogue (*midrās*) of Medina and asked the Jews questions concerning Gabriel. They gave an account of that angel as well as of Michael similar to the one mentioned above, whereupon ʿUmar asked: What is the position of those two angels with God? They replied: Gabriel is to His right and Michael to His left hand, and there is enmity between the two. Whereupon ʿUmar answered: If they have that position with God, there can be no enmity between them. But you are unbelievers more than asses are, and whosoever is an enemy to one of the two, is an enemy to God. Thereupon ʿUmar went to meet Muḥammad, who received him with the words: Gabriel has anticipated you by the revelation of "Whosoever is an enemy", etc. (sūra II, 92; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 327; al-Zamakhsharī, 92; al-Bayḍāwī *ad* sūra II, 91).

We do not know of any Jewish traditions which ascribe to Gabriel a hostile attitude towards the Jews. For the statements regarding Michael as communicated above, there is sufficient literary evidence. In Daniel, xii, 1, Michael is called the great prince, the protector of the people of Israel; cf. *Targum Canticum*, viii, 9: "Michael, the lord of Israel"; Daniel x, 13, 21, where Michael is said to have protected the Jews against the kings of Persia and Greece; further I Enoch, xx, 5, where he is called the protector of the best part of mankind; *Testamentum Levi*, xv, 6; *Test. Dan.*, vi, 2.

In *Vita Adami et Evae*, ch. xii ff., it is Michael who orders Satan and the other angels to worship Adam. Although the story is mentioned several times in the Ḳurʾān [see IBLĪS], there is no trace in Muslim literature of the role ascribed to Michael in *Vita Adami et Evae*; the only mention of Michael in the Muslim legend is that he and Gabriel were the first to worship Adam, in opposition to Iblīs who refused to do so (al-Kisāʾī, 27).

Neither does Muslim literature seem to have preserved other features ascribed to Michael in Jewish Apocrypha (mediator between God and mankind, I Enoch xl, 9; *Test. Dan.*, vi, 2; 3 Baruch, xl, 2), or in the New Testament (*Jude*, v. 9: Michael disputing with the devil about the body of Moses; Revelation, xii, 7 ff.: Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon and the final discomfiture of the latter). Perhaps a faint recollection of Michael as the protector of mankind (the Jews, the Christians) may be found in the tradition according to which Michael has never laughed since the creation of Hell (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 224). Further, however, Michael is rarely mentioned in *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-khalk*, *bāb* 7, where he, together with Mālik, the guardian of Hell, and Gabriel, appears to Muḥammad in a dream; al-Nasāʾī, *Iftitāḥ*, *bāb* 37, where Michael incites Gabriel to urge Muḥammad to recite the Ḳurʾān according to seven *aḥruf*).

Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions a story of which we have no counterpart in Jewish or Christian literature either, which is not surprising, the story bearing an outspoken Shīʿī tendency. One day, God announced to Gabriel and Michael that one of them must die. Neither, however, was willing to sacrifice himself on behalf of his partner, whereupon God said to them: Take ʿAlī as an example, who was willing to give his life on behalf of Muḥammad (sc. on the night before the *hidjra*; al-Yaʿḳubī, ii, 39).

Michael is further mentioned by name as one of the angels who opened the breast of Muḥammad before his night journey (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1157-9; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 36-7), and as one of those who came to the aid of the Muslims in the battle of Badr (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 9, 18).

In the text of the Ḳurʾān, as well as in a verse cited by al-Ṭabarī (i, 329), the form of the name is Mīkāl as if it were a *mifʿāl* form from *wakala* (Horovitz). A direct reminiscence of the Greek, probably also of the Hebrew and Aramaic, forms of the name is to be found in the tradition preserved by al-Kisāʾī (12), which calls Mīkhāʾīl the attendant of the second heaven, in contradistinction to Mīkāʾīl, who is the guardian of the sea in the seventh heavens (15). Other forms of the name are Mīkaʾil, Mīkāʾil, Mīkaʾīl, Mīkāʾīn and Mīkāʾill. It is hardly necessary to say that, in the magical use of the names of the archangels, that of Mīkāʾīl is on the same level as that of his companions (see e.g. S.M. Zwemer, *The influence of animism on Islam*, 193, 197).

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, Eng. tr. W. Thackston, Boston 1978; Ṭabarī, i, 329-30; *LA*, xx, 159 (on the form of the name and its meaning); Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 328, 624; N. Rhodokanakis, in *WZKM*, xvii, 282; Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt, ed. F. Schulthess, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vii, no. lv, 1. 8 (spurious); J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig-Berlin 1926, 243; art. MALĀʾIKA. (A.J. WENSINCK)

MĪKĀLĪS, an Iranian family of Khurāsān prominent in the cultural and social worlds there and also active as local administrators and town officials under the Sāmānids and early Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*].

They were apparently of Soghdian origin, and amongst their pre-Islamic forebears is mentioned the Prince of Pandjkent Shīr Dīvāstič, killed at Mount Mugh by the Arabs in 104/722-3 [see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR. 2. History]; al-Samʿānī traces the family back to the Sāsānids Yazdagird II and Bahrām Gūr (*K. al-Ansāb*, facs. edn., fols. 548b-549b). It must nevertheless have become Muslim, for Islamic names now appear in its genealogy, and like many other families

from Khurāsān and the far eastern fringes of the Islamic world, its members were drawn westwards to the new capital Baghdād by the early ʿAbbāsids. Shāh b. Mīkāl (d. 302/914-15) was a protégé of the Ṭāhirids and the *mamdūḥ* of the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*]. Shāh b. Mīkāl's nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad began in the service of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] and became governor of Ahwāz. His son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl had the philologist Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] as his tutor, and the latter wrote for him his great dictionary, the *Djamharat al-lugha*, and dedicated to him his *Maḳṣūra* poem [*q.v.*].

Under Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl, the family moved back to Khurāsān and settled in Nīshāpūr. He himself was given the headship of the *Dīwān al-rasāʾil* or chancery in 347/958 by the Sāmānid vizier Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUtbī, holding this post till his death in 362/973, and was also apparently the first Mīkālī *raʾīs* (i.e. municipal head and representative of the town notables *vis-à-vis* the central government; see on this office, C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 184-5; A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 279-81; and R.M. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 66-8), corresponding as such with the author and stylist Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*]. His son Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh (d. 379/989-90) followed his father in these offices, and was known as an authority on *fiḳh* and as a fine poet, specimens of whose verses are given by al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, Damascus, iv, 397-8, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 417-18); the geographer al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*] stayed with him when visiting Nīshāpūr and participated in his *madjālis* (see A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm (La meilleure répartition ...)*, Damascus 1963, 350 and refs. there). Another son Abū Djaʿfar also became *raʾīs* and was praised as a poet and traditionist by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], with whom he frequently corresponded.

With the decay and collapse of the Sāmānid amīrate in Khurāsān, the Mīkālīs subsequently transferred their allegiance to the new masters of the province, the Ghaznawids. Abū Djaʿfar's grandson, Khwādja Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī, is often mentioned by the historian Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī* as *raʾīs* of Nīshāpūr; sultans Maḥmūd and Masʿūd employed him as a high-level diplomatic envoy, and in 423/1032 he led the glittering pilgrimage caravan of Transoxania and Khurāsān to the Holy Cities.

A parallel line of the Mīkālīs was that of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh's elder brother Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī (d. 376/986-7), known from his love of *djihād* as al-Muṭṭawwiʿ; he fought against the Byzantines in Cilicia and against the pagan Turks on the Central Asian desert fringes, founding *ribāṭs* at Farāwa and endowing them with *awḳāf* (al-Muḳaddasī, 320 n. *s*). His son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn was *katkhudā* or quartermaster of the Ghaznawid army in Khurāsān during its campaigns to stem the tide of Oghuz incursions; captured by the Turkmens in 426/1035, he went over to the Saldjūḳ side, and Ibn al-Athīr lists him as Ṭoghrïl Beg's second vizier, the *Raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ* the Ṣāḥib Ibn Mīkāl (see H. Bowen, *Notes on some early Seljuqid viziers*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 107-8; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Wizārat dar ʿahd-i salāṭīn-i buzurg-i Saldjūḳī*, Tehran 1338/1959, 39-40). Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn's nephew Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 436/1044-5) was perhaps the Mīkālī who enjoyed the greatest literary reputation as poet, stylist and traditionist, friend of the anthologist ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdalkānī, author of a (lost) commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, compiler of anthologies, including *al-Muntakhab al-Mīkālī* (extant in an Istanbul ms.), and composer of epistles and poetry (the latter edited by A. Moberg, *Die Gedichte* ..., Leipzig 1908). See Brockelmann, I², 340-1, S I, 503 (where the names given as ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and/or ʿAbd Allāh are to be corrected); Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 70, 77-8, 642-3; al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, Aleppo 1348/1930, 122-3, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 147-52; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 52-8, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, ii, 428-33.

Yet another collateral branch of the Mīkālīs was that whose best-known representative was Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, called Ḥasanak [*q.v.*], vizier and favourite of sultan Maḥmūd, but to be executed by Masʿūd in 432/1031 on a trumped-up charge of Ismāʿīlī sympathies. He, like other members of his family, had the reputation of a maecenas, being the *mamdūḥ* of the Ghaznawid court poet Farrukhī [*q.v.*], and was active in public and charitable works in Nīshāpūr. There seems to have been a feud between Ḥasanak and the sons of Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Mīkālī, father of the Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿUbayd Allāh mentioned above, for Ḥasanak dispossessed them of lands and rights in Nīshāpūr, and all these were only restored to them in 424/1033 by the Ghaznawid vizier Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Shīrāzī.

Finally, it should be noted that the Mīkālīs exercised political and social influence beyond the confines of Nīshāpūr itself: Ibn Funduḳ devotes a section of his local history of Bayhaḳ to the Mīkāliyān (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938, 117).

We lack information on the family after the mid-5th/11th century; it seems improbable that their influence could disappear abruptly, though it may well be that Saldjūḳ domination in Khurāsān was, in the long term, unfavourable to the maintenance of their social and political power in Nīshāpūr.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Muhammad, Shafi, *The sons of Mīkāl*, in *Procs. of the Idara-i Maarit-i Islamia, Lahore 1933, first session*, Lahore 1935, 107-68; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 179-85, and R.W. Bulliet, art. *Āl-e Mīkāl*, in *Encycl. Iranica*. Saʿid Nafisi gathered together uncritically much information on the Mīkālīs in the notes to his edition of Bayhaḳī, Tehran 1319-32/1940-53, ii. 969-1009, with a genealogical table at p. 1008; according to Bulliett, *Patricians*, 67 n. 23, the biographical historian of Nīshāpūr ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī mentions several further Mīkālīs not recorded by Nafīsī. See also H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse des Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, Wiesbaden 1959, 27-32 (= n. 17) [with family tree]. (C.E. Bosworth)

MĪḲĀT (A., *mifʿāl* form from *w-ḳ-t*, plural *mawāḳīt*) appointed or exact time. In this sense the term occurs several times in the Ḳurʾān (II, 185; VII, 138, 139, 154; XXVI, 37; XLIV, 40; LVI, 50; LXXVIII, 17).

1. Legal aspects. In *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, the term is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the *ḥaram* are bound to put on the *iḥrām*. For the latter meaning of the term, see IḤRĀM.

Although some general indications for the times at which some *ṣalāts* are to be performed occur in the Ḳurʾān (cf. II, 239; XI, 116; XVII, 80; XXIV, 29), it may be considered above doubt that during Muḥammad's lifetime neither the number of the daily *ṣalāts* nor their exact times had been fixed and that this happened in the first decades after his death.

A reminiscence of that period of uncertainty may be preserved in those traditions which apply a deviating nomenclature to some of the *ṣalāts*. The *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, e.g., is called *al-hadjīr al-ūlā*; the *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, *ʿishāʾ*;

the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ*, *ʿatama*; the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r*, *g̲h̲adāt* (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt al-ṣalāt, bāb* 13, 19). In other traditions, the term *al-ʿatama* as applied to the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* is ascribed to the Bedouins and prohibited (Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 228, 229; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd, bāb* 78; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 11, 10, etc.); cf. on the other hand, al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 20; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 129, etc., where the term *ʿatama* is used without censure.

From some traditions so much may be gathered, that the—or at least some of the—Umayyads showed a predelection for postponing the times of the *ṣalāt* (al-Buk̲h̲āri, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 7; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 166, 167; al-Nasāʾī, *Imāma, bāb* 18, 55; Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, no. 113).

In opposition to this, a *ṣalāt* in due time is declared the best of works (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *D̲j̲ihād, bāb* 1; *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 5; Muslim, *Īmān*, trads. 138, 139; al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 13; *Birr, bāb* 2). In other traditions, this is said of a *ṣalāt* at its earliest time (al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 13).

This early state of things is reflected in several respects in a tradition according to which ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz once postponed one of the *ṣalāt*s and was rebuked for this by ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who related to him that al-Mug̲h̲īra b. S̲h̲uʿba had once been rebuked for the same reason by Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, on account of the fact that Gabriel himself had descended five times in order to perform the five *ṣalāt*s at their exact times in the presence of Muḥammad. Thereupon ʿUmar admonished ʿUrwa to be careful in his statements (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 166, 167; al-Nasāʾī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 10).

Some early groups of traditions affect to reproduce reminiscences of the practice in Medina in Muḥammad's lifetime.

a. The *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* was performed at noon, when the sun was beginning to decline (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 11);

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was shining into ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's room, no shadows being yet cast there (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 13; Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trad. 168). After this *ṣalāt*, people had still time to visit the remotest parts of the town, while the sun was still "alive" or "pure" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb*s 1, 13, 14, 18, 21);

c. the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* was finished at a time when people could still perceive the places where their arrows fell down (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 21);

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* was sometimes postponed till a late hour, sometimes till the first third of the night had passed (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb*s 11, 20, 21, 24);

e. the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r* was performed by Muḥammad at a time when a man could discern his neighbour (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 13); but the women on their way home could not yet be recognised (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb* 27).

In a second layer of traditions, these general indications are specified by the mention of the first and the last limits allowed for the different prayers (cf. e.g. Muslim, *Masād̲j̲id*, trads. 176, 177). On one day, Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* when the sun began to decline;

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was still high, white and pure;

c. the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* immediately after sunset;

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿis̲h̲āʾ* when the twilight had disappeared;

e. the *ṣalāt al-fad̲j̲r* at daybreak.

On the following day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ẓuhr* later than the day before;

b. the *ʿaṣr* later than the day before, the sun being still high up;

c. the *mag̲h̲rib* before the twilight had disappeared;

d. the *ʿis̲h̲āʾ* when the first of the night had passed;

e. the *fad̲j̲r* when sunrise was near (*asfara bihā*).

In a tradition communicated by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, i, 62), the fixing of the *mawāḳīt* just mentioned is ascribed to the example of Gabriel (cf. Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, no. 109). These *mawāḳīt* have for the most passed into the books of *fiḳh*. We cannot reproduce all details here. The following scheme may suffice:

a. *ẓuhr*: from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon. The Ḥanafīs alone deviate in one of their branches, in so far as they replace the ultimate term by the time when the shadows are twice as large as their objects. In times of great heat, it is recommended to postpone the *ẓuhr* as late as possible;

b. *ʿaṣr*: from the last time allowed for *ẓuhr* till before sunset. According to Mālik, the first term begins somewhat later;

c. *mag̲h̲rib*: from the time after sunset till the time when the red twilight has disappeared. Small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term;

d. *ʿis̲h̲āʾ*: from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-mag̲h̲rib* till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or till daybreak;

e. *fad̲j̲r*: from daybreak till before sunrise.

Side-by-side with these *mawāḳīt*, we find in the books of Tradition and of Law the times at which it is not allowed to perform prayer, viz. sunrise, noon, and sunset (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Mawāḳīt, bāb*s 30-2; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 285-94; cf. al-Nawawī's commentary for controversies regarding this point, and further Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muh. trad.*, 192a). According to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, it is only forbidden to await sunrise and sunset for prayer (Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 296). In Mecca, prayer is allowed at all times (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲, bāb* 42).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited, see Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Mad̲j̲mūʿ al-fiḳh*, ed. Griffini, Milan 1919, 23-6; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Kitāb S̲h̲arāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, 26; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, 50 ff.; Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, ch. *Wuḳūt al-ṣalāt*, i, 12 ff.; K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*, Paris 1318/1900, 13 f.; I. Guidi and D. Santillana, *Il Muḫtaṣar o sommario del diritto malechita di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, Milan 1919, i, 45 ff.; S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321-5, i, 61 ff.; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 53 f.; Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marg̲h̲īnānī, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-kifāya*, Bombay 1280, i, 83-9; al-S̲h̲aʿrānī, *al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1279, i, 158-60.

(A.J.WENSINCK)

2. Astronomical aspects. *ʿIlm al-mīḳāt* is the science of astronomical timekeeping by the sun and stars and the determination of the times (*mawāḳīt*) of the five prayers. Since the limits of the permitted intervals for the prayers are defined in terms of the apparent position of the sun in the sky relative to the local horizon, their times vary throughout the year and are dependent upon the terrestrial latitude. When reckoned in terms of a meridian other than the local meridian, the times of prayer are also dependent upon terrestrial longitude.

The definitions of the times of prayer outlined in the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲* [see 1, Legal aspects] were standardised in the 2nd/8th century and have been used ever since. According to these standard definitions, the Islamic day and the interval for the *mag̲h̲rib* prayer begin when the disc of the sun has set over the

horizon. The intervals for the *ʿis̲h̲āʾ* and *fad̲j̲r* prayers begin at nightfall and daybreak. The permitted time for the *ẓuhr* begins either when the sun has crossed the meridian, or when the shadow of any object has been observed to increase, or, in mediaeval Andalusian and Mag̲h̲ribī practice, when the shadow of any vertical object or gnomon has increased over its midday minimum by one-quarter of the length of the object. The interval for the *ʿaṣr* begins when the shadow increase equals the length of the gnomon and ends either when the shadow increase is twice the length of the gnomon or at sunset. See Figs. 1 and 2.

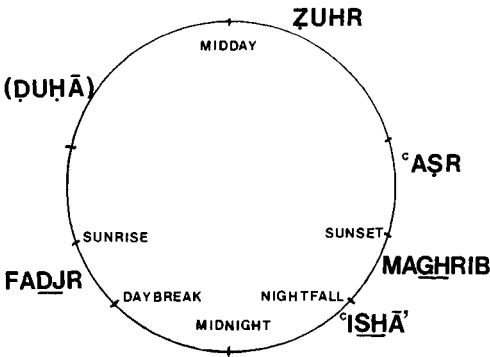



Fig. 1. The Islamic day.

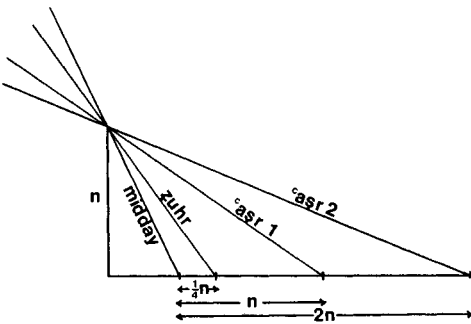



Fig. 2. Shadow increases at the *ẓuhr* (Andalusī/Mag̲h̲ribī definition) and at the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*.

The names of the prayers are derived from the names of the corresponding seasonal hours [see SĀʿA] in pre-Islamic classical Arabic, the seasonal hours (*al-sāʿāt al-zamāniyya*) being one-twelfth divisions of the day and night. The definitions of the times of the daylight prayers in terms of shadow increases (as opposed to shadow lengths in the *ḥadīt̲h̲*) represent a practical means of regulating the prayers in terms of the seasonal hours.

In some circles, a sixth prayer, the *ḍuḥā*, was performed at the same time before midday as the *ʿaṣr* was performed after midday. These definitions of the *ḍuḥā*, *ẓuhr*, and *ʿaṣr* correspond to the third, sixth and ninth seasonal hours, the links being provided by an approximate Indian formula relating shadow increases to the seasonal hours (see below). The Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] is reported to have used a (Graeco-Roman) sundial (marked with the seasonal hours) for regulating his prayers. The early ʿAbbāsid astronomer al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī [*q.v.*] was still toying with different definitions of the *ẓuhr* intended to associate it with the sixth and the seventh seasonal hours.

The regulation of the times of prayer was conducted at two different levels. At the popular level, the simple techniques of folk astronomy were used. Muslim astronomers, on the other hand, used sophisticated tables and instruments for timekeeping.

As we see from treatises on folk astronomy and on the sacred law, in popular practice the daylight prayers were regulated by simple arithmetical shadow schemes of the kind also attested in earlier Hellenistic and Byzantine folk astronomy. The night prayers were regulated by observation of the lunar mansions [see MANĀZIL]. As the 7th/13th century Yemeni legal scholar al-Aṣbaḥī wrote in his treatise on folk astronomy: "The times of prayer are not to be found by the degrees (marked) on an astrolabe and not by calculation using the science of the astronomers; they are to be found only by direct observation ... The astronomers took their knowledge from Euclid and the *Sindhind*, and from Aristotle and other philosophers; all of them were infidels."

Some twenty different shadow schemes have been located in the Arabic sources. In most cases, they are not the result of any careful observations. Usually a single one-digit value for the midday shadow of a man 7 *ḳadams* ("feet") tall is given for each month of the year. One such scheme, attested in several sources, is (starting with a value for January):

9 7 5 3 2 1 1 2 4 5 (or 6) 8 10.

The corresponding values for the shadow length at the beginning of the *ʿaṣr* prayer are 7 units more for each month.

Other arithmetical schemes are sometimes presented in order to find the shadow length at each seasonal hour of day. The most popular formula advocated in order to find the increase (Δs) of the shadow over its midday minimum at T (<6) seasonal hours after sunrise or before sunset is:

$$T = 6\ n\ /\ (\Delta s + n),$$

where n is the length of the gnomon. This is the formula which was first used to establish the values $\Delta s = n$ for the 3rd and the 9th seasonal hours of daylight, the beginnings of the *ḍuḥā* and *ʿaṣr* ($T = 3$), and $\Delta s = 2n$ for the 10th hour, sometimes taken as the end of the *ʿaṣr* ($T = 2$).

The Muslim astronomers had a passion for compiling tables, and some of these were specifically for the purpose of timekeeping. Al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī prepared the first known tables for regulating the times of the daylight prayers. Computed for the latitude of Bag̲h̲dād, his tables display the shadow lengths at the *ẓuhr* and the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*, with values for each 6° of solar longitude (corresponding roughly to each six days of the year): see Pl. IX, 1. He also compiled some simple tables displaying the time of day in seasonal hours in terms of the observed solar altitude.

The 3rd/9th century astronomer ʿAlī b. Amād̲j̲ūr compiled a more extensive table for timekeeping based on a simple approximate formula which serves all latitudes. The underlying formula is

$$T = 1/15 \text{ arc sin } (\sin h\ /\ \sin H),$$

where h is the observed altitude and H is the meridian altitude. (Note that $T = 0$ when $h = 0$ and $T = 6$ when $h = H$, as required for the cases when the sun is on the horizon and the meridian; in fact this formula is accurate only when the sun is at the equinoxes.) Ibn Amād̲j̲ūr simply tabulated $T(h, H)$ for each degree of both arguments ($h \leq H$).

In astronomical handbooks [see ZĪD̲J̲] from the 3rd/9th century onwards, we find descriptions of an

accurate method for finding $T(h, H)$. These involve the semi-diurnal arc D and the use of the versed sine function (vers $\theta = 1 - \cos \theta$). The standard mediaeval formula is (in modern notation):

$$\text{vers}(D-T) = \text{vers}\, D - \sin h \,\text{vers}\, D \,/\, \sin H,$$

which can be derived with facility by means of an analemma construction applied to the celestial sphere. This formula was adopted by Muslim astronomers from Indian sources.

The modern formula for the hour-angle t ($= D - T$) can also be derived by these procedures. It is:

$$\cos t = (\sin h - \sin \delta \sin \varphi) \,/\, (\cos \delta \cos \varphi),$$

where δ is the solar declination and φ is the local latitude (note that $H = 90° - \varphi + \delta$), and is used in this form by later Muslim astronomers (see al-Khalīlī, below).

Likewise, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, we find descriptions of how to find the time of day or night using an analogue computer such as an astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB] or using a calculating device such as a sine quadrant [see RUBᶜ]. In the first case, there is no need to know the formula; in the second case, one uses the formula to compute specific examples.

ᶜAlī b. Amādjūr also compiled a table of $T(h, H)$ for Baghdād based on an accurate trigonometric formula. Some prayer-tables for Baghdād preserved in the *Zīdj* of the 7th/13th century astronomer al-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Baghdādī, which display, for example, the duration of twilight for each day of the year, were probably another early ᶜAbbāsid production. Quantitative estimates of the angle of depression of the sun at nightfall and daybreak occur in the *Zīdj* of the 3rd/9th century astronomer Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib [*q.v.*]. Quantitative estimates of the effect of refraction at the horizon were first made in the 4th/10th century by the Cairene astronomer Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]. Isolated tables displaying the altitudes of the sun at the *ẓuhr* and *ᶜaṣr* prayers and the duration of morning and evening twilight occur in several early mediaeval Islamic astronomical works, usually of the genre known as *zīdj*. Several early examples of extensive tables for reckoning time by day from the solar altitude or for reckoning time of night from altitudes of certain prominent fixed stars have come to light. All of these tables were computed for a specific locality, and to use any of them one needed an instrument, such as an astrolabe, to measure celestial altitudes or the passage of time. There is no evidence that these tables were widely used.

In practice, at least before the 7th/13th century, the regulation of the prayer-times was the duty of the *muʾadhdhin* or muezzin [see ADHĀN and MASDJID]. The muezzins were appointed for the excellence of their voices and their character, and they needed to be proficient only in the rudiments of folk astronomy. They had to know the shadows at the *ẓuhr* and the *ᶜaṣr* for each month, and which lunar mansion was rising at daybreak and setting at nightfall, information which was conveniently expressed in the form of mnemonics. They did not need astronomical tables or instruments. The necessary techniques are outlined in the chapters on prayer in the books of sacred law [see FIḲH], and the qualifications of the muezzin are sometimes detailed in works on public order [see ḤISBA and IḤTISĀB]. See, for example, the discussion of their responsibilities by Ibn al-Ukhuwwa [*q.v.*] (ed. R. Levy, text, 176-8, tr. 63-5) and the criticism of their mentality by the scientist al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (E.S. Kennedy, *Shadows*, i, 75-6, 226-30, and ii, 28-9, 142-3).

In the 7th/13th century, there occurred a new development whose origins are obscure. In Egypt we find the first mention of the institution of the *muwaḳḳit* [*q.v.*], a professional astronomer associated with a religious institution, whose primary responsibility was the regulation of the times of prayer. Simultaneously, there appeared astronomers with the epithet *mīḳātī* who specialised in spherical astronomy and astronomical timekeeping (*ᶜilm al-mīḳāt*), but who were not necessarily associated with any religious institution.

In Cairo later in that century, a *mīḳātī* named Abū ᶜAlī al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*] compiled a compendium of spherical astronomy and instruments from earlier sources which was to set the tone of *ᶜilm al-mīḳāt* for several centuries. His treatise, appropriately entitled *Djāmiᶜ al-mabādiʾ wa-'l-ghāyāt fī ᶜilm al-mīḳāt* ("An A to Z of astronomical timekeeping"), was investigated by the Sédillots *père et fils* in the 19th century.

Al-Marrākushī's contemporary, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳsī, compiled a set of tables displaying the time since sunrise as a function of solar altitude h and solar longitude λ for the latitude of Cairo (based on an earlier set by the 4th/10th century astronomer Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*]), which in the 8th/14th century was expanded and developed into a corpus of tables covering some 200 manuscript folios and containing over 30,000 entries. The Cairo corpus of tables for timekeeping was used for several centuries and survives in numerous copies, no two of which contain the same tables. Besides tables displaying the time since sunrise / hour-angle (time remaining until midday) / solar azimuth for each degree of solar altitude, which make up the bulk of the corpus (see Pl. X, 3), there are other tables displaying the solar altitude and hour-angle as the *ᶜaṣr*, the solar altitude and hour-angle when the sun is in the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*], and the duration of morning and evening twilight. In some later copies of the corpus, there are tables for regulating the time when the lamps on minarets during Ramaḍān should be extinguished (*ṭafy al-ḳanādīl*) and when the muezzin should pronounce a blessing (*salām*) on the Prophet Muḥammad: see Pl. X, 4. In some copies, early and late, there is a table for orienting the large ventilators (*bādahandj* [see BĀDGĪR in Suppl.]) on Cairo rooftops so that their south-eastern sides face winter sunrise [see MAKKA. 4. As the centre of the world].

Al-Maḳsī also compiled an extensive treatise on sundial theory, including tables of coordinates for marking the curves on horizontal sundials for different latitudes and vertical sundials for Cairo with any inclination to the local meridian [see MIZWALA]. The latter were particularly useful for constructing sundials on the walls of mosques in Cairo, and the special curves for the *ẓuhr* and *ᶜaṣr* enabled the faithful to see how much time remained until the muezzin would announce the call to prayer.

A contemporary of al-Marrākushī and of al-Maḳsī named Nadjm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī was clearly disturbed by the fact that the available tables for timekeeping served only specific latitudes and that they were either for timekeeping by day of for timekeeping by night. He compiled a table for timekeeping which served all latitudes and could be used for timekeeping by the sun or by the stars. In his table, one feeds in the instantaneous altitude of the sun or any star, as well as the meridian latitude and half arc of visibility of the sun or of that star, and simply reads off the time since rising of the sun or of the star. The table contains over 250,000 entries and survives in a unique manuscript probably copied by Nadjm al-Dīn himself.

Another region of the Islamic world in which the writings of al-Marrākushī and the output of the early

Cairo *muwaḳḳits* were influential was the Yemen. Under the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], mathematical astronomy was practiced and patronised. In particular, the Sultan al-As͟hraf (1295-6) compiled a treatise on instrumentation inspired by that of al-Marrākus͟hī. The Yemeni astronomer Abu 'l-ʿUḳūl, who worked for the Sultan al-Muʾayyad in Taʿizz, compiled a corpus of tables for timekeeping by day and night which is the largest such corpus compiled by any Muslim astronomer, containing over 100,000 entries.

In Cairo in the 8th/14th century there were several *muwaḳḳits* producing works of scientific merit but the major scene of *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* was Syria. The Aleppo astronomer Ibn al-Sarrād͟j, who is known to have visited Egypt, devised a series of special quadrants and universal astrolabes and trigonometric grids; his works represent the culmination of the Islamic achievement in astronomical instrumentation.

Two other major Syrian astronomers, al-Mizzī and Ibn al-S͟hāṭir, studied astronomy in Egypt under Ibn al-Akfānī [*q.v.*] and others. Al-Mizzī returned to Syria and compiled a set of hour-angle tables and prayer-tables for Damascus modelled after the Cairo corpus. Ibn al-S͟hāṭir compiled some prayer-tables for an unspecified locality with latitude 34° (the new Mamlūk city of Tripoli?). Al-Mizzī also compiled various treatises on instruments, but Ibn al-S͟hāṭir turned his attention to theoretical astronomy and devised a new series of models which represent the culmination of the Islamic endeavour in this field [see ʿILM AL-HAYʾA]. This notwithstanding, he also devised the most splendid sundial known from the Islamic Middle Ages, the fragments of which are preserved in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Damascus; a replica made in the late 19th century by the last Syrian *muwaḳḳit* of any reknown, al-Ṭanṭāwī, is still *in situ* on the main minaret of the Umayyad Mosque [see MIZWALA].

It was a colleague of al-Mizzī and Ibn al-S͟hāṭir named S͟hams al-Dīn al-K͟halīlī who made the most significant advances in *ʿilm al-mīḳāt*. Al-K͟halīlī recomputed the tables of al-Mizzī for the new parameters (local altitude and obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL]) derived by Ibn al-S͟hāṭir. His corpus of tables for timekeeping by the sun (*i.e.* functions $t(h,\lambda)$ and $T(h,\lambda)$) and for regulating the times of prayer for Damascus was used there until the 13th/19th century: see Pl. XI, 5. In addition, he compiled some tables of auxiliary trigonometric functions for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude. The functions tabulated are:

$$f(\varphi,\theta) = R \text{ Sin } \theta \ / \text{ Cos } \varphi,$$
$$g(\varphi,\theta) = \text{Sin } \theta \text{ Tan } \varphi \ / \ R, \text{ and}$$
$$K(x,y) = \text{arc Cos } (R\ x \ / \ y),$$

where the trigonometric functions are to base $R = 60$. Values are given to two sexagesimal digits and are invariably computed accurately. Using these tables, the hour-angle can be found with a minimum of calculation. Al-K͟halīlī describes a procedure equivalent to:

$$t(h,\ \delta,\ \varphi) = K\{\, [f(\varphi,h) - g(\varphi,\delta)],\ \delta\ \}$$

which is mathematically equivalent to the modern formula noted above. Al-K͟halīlī also compiled a table displaying the *ḳibla* or local direction of Mecca as a function of terrestrial longitude and latitude [see ḲIBLA]. These tables represent the culmination of the Muslim achievement in the computation of tables for spherical astronomy.

Some of the activities of the Damascus school became known in Tunis in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries. Extensive auxiliary tables and prayer tables for the latitude of Tunis were compiled there by astronomers whose names are not known to us. Prayer-tables were also prepared for various latitudes in the Mag͟hrib.

More significant was the influence of the Cairo and Damascus schools on the development of *ʿilm al-mīḳāt* in Ottoman Turkey. Cairene and Damascene astronomers of the 8th/14th century had already prepared sets of prayer-tables for the latitude of Istanbul, as well as for Jerusalem, Mecca, and Aleppo, but several new sets of tables were prepared by Ottoman astronomers for Istanbul and elsewhere in Turkey after the model of the corpora for Cairo and Damascus. Prayer-tables for Istanbul are contained in the very popular almanac [see RŪZNĀMA] of the 9th/15th Ṣūfī S͟hayk͟h Wefāʾ (see Pl. IX, 2), and in the less widely distributed almanac of the 10th/16th century scholar Darendeli. These remained in use until the 19th century.

Large sets of tables for timekeeping by the sun and/or stars were prepared for Istanbul and for Edirne. One set for the sun was compiled by Taḳī 'l-Dīn b. Maʿrūf [*q.v.*], director of the short-lived Istanbul Observatory in the late 10th/16th century. In the 12th/18th century, the architect Ṣāliḥ Efendī produced an enormous corpus of tables for timekeeping which was very popular amongst the *muwaḳḳits* of Istanbul. A feature distinguishing some of these Ottoman tables from the earlier Egyptian and Syrian tables is that values of the time of day are based on the convention that sunset is 12 o'clock. This convention, inspired by the fact that the Islamic day begins at sunset (because the calendar is lunar and the months begin with the sighting of the crescent shortly after sunset), has the disadvantage that clocks registering "Turkish" time need to be adjusted by a few minutes each few days. Prayer-tables based on this convention were compiled all over the Ottoman Empire and beyond; examples have been found in the manuscript sources for localities as far apart as Algiers and Yarkand, and Crete and Ṣanʿāʾ: see Pl. XI, 6.

In the 19th/20th centuries, the times of prayer were and are tabulated in annual almanacs, wall calendars and pocket diaries, and the times for each day are listed in newspapers. In Ramaḍān, special sets for the whole month are distributed. These are called *imsākiyyas* and indicate in addition to the times of prayer, the time of the early morning meal (*suḥūr*) and the time before daybreak—called the *imsāk*—when the fast should begin. Modern tables are usually prepared by the local survey department or observatory or some other agency approved by the religious authorities (see Fig. 3). Recently, electronic clocks and watches have appeared on the market which are programmed to beep at the prayer times for different localities, and to pronounce a recorded prayer-call [see AD͟HĀN].

Bibliography: On the definition of the times of prayer as they appear in the astronomical sources, see E. Wiedemann and J. Frank, *Die Gebetszeiten im Islam*, in *SBPMSE*, lviii (1926), 1-32, repr. in E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 757-88. For al-Bīrūnī's detailed discussion, see E.S. Kennedy, *The Exhaustive Treatise on Shadows by ... al-Bīrūnī: translation and commentary*, Aleppo 1976, i, 210-30, ii, 132-43, and idem *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 299-310. On the formulae for timekeeping used by the Muslim astronomers, see the papers by M.-L. Davidian, N. Nadir and B.R. Goldstein repr. in Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies*, 274-96, and the studies listed below. On the detailed treatment of spherical astronomy by Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī, see, respectively, D.A. King,

الأربعاء

ميلادية	هجرية	شمسية
١٩٧٤	١٣٩٤	١٣٩٠
مايو	ربيع ثاني	نيسان
١	٩	١٨

الأوقات

فجر	٩–٥٦	للتوقيت العربية المعيدة	عصر	٨–٤٣
شروق	٦ –١١		مغرب	١٢
ظهر	٥–٣٨		عشاء	١

البرج	منزلة الشمس	معالم الزراعة
الثور	البطين	غروب كامه
٩	٨	٨

زيارتك لمكتبة الجيل الجديد بصنعاء جولة في عالم جديد

a

الاربعاء ١١ جادى الاول ٢١ مايو ايار ٣٠ الثور

عرض	فجر	اشراق	ظهر	عصر	عشاء
مكة	٩٫٢٢	١٠٫٤٩	٥٫٢٧	٨٫٤٢	١٫٣٠

الخميس ١٢ جادى الاول ٢٢ مايو ايار ٣١ الثور

المدينة	٩٫٧	١٠٫٣٨	٥٫٢٢	٨٫٤٧	١٫٣٠
نجد	٩٫١١	١٠٫٤٠	٥٫٢٣	٨٫٤٥	١٫٣٠

استخفافاً بحقهن كان له عند الله عهد ـ

b

SAMEDI السبت

MOHAREM 30 محرّم
1397 1397

12
برج الدلو

31

الازدياد سابق 28 دقيقة

فجر 5.39	عصر 3.24
شروق 7.23	مغرب 5.42
ظهر 12.48	عشاء 7.12

JANVIER جانفي

FEVRIER فيفري

1976 18 يناير

JANVIER 1976 جانفي

واخلاق ذي الفضل معروفة ببذل الجميل وكف الأذى

c

٨) شعبان (برائت) آيى

٢٩ كون (١–١٥ گەچە)

١٤٠٤ نچى هجرى سنه 1984 نچى ميلادى ييلى

شعبان	هفته كونلرى	Mai	صبح تانگ س	صبح تانگ م	طلوع كون چيقيش س	طلوع كون چيقيش م	قيام توش س	قيام توش م	عصر نماز ديگر س	عصر نماز ديگر م	مغرب كون باتيش س	مغرب كون باتيش م	عشاء خفتن س	عشاء خفتن م
١	سيهشنبه	1	٤	٤٨	٦	٢١	١	٢٠	٦	٢١	٨	٢٠	٩	٥١
٢	چهارشنبه	2	٤	٤٦	٦	١٩	١	٢٠	٦	٢٢	٨	٢٢	٩	٥٢
٣	پنجشنبه	3	٤	٤٦	٦	١٨	١	٢٠	٦	٢٣	٨	٢٣	٩	٥٣
٤	جمعه	4	٤	٤٣	٦	١٧	١	٢٠	٦	٢٤	٨	٢٤	٩	٥٣
٥	شنبه	5	٤	٤١	٦	١٦	١	١٩	٦	٢٥	٨	٢٥	٩	٥٥
٦	يكشنبه	6	٤	٣٩	٦	١٥	١	١٩	٦	٢٦	٨	٢٦	٩	٥٦
٧	دوشنبه	7	٤	٣٨	٦	١٣	١	١٩	٦	٢٧	٨	٢٧	٩	٥٧
٨	سيهشنبه	8	٤	٣٧	٦	١٢	١	١٩	٦	٢٨	٨	٢٨	٩	٥٨
٩	چهارشنبه	9	٤	٣٦	٦	١١	١	١٩	٦	٢٩	٨	٢٩	٩	٥٩
١٠	پنجشنبه	10	٤	٣٥	٦	٩	١	١٩	٦	٣٠	٨	٣٠	١٠	٠

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AY 7 GÜN 31
Yılın 211. günü
Kalan gün: 154

Hicri: 1394, Recep: 10, Rumi: 1390, Temmuz: 17, Hızır: 86
Gündüz: 14.36 D., Gece: 9.24 D., G. kısalması: 2 D.

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İSTANBUL'DA

Vasatı		Ezani
2.46	İmsak	7.22
4.52	Güneş	9.23
12.20	Öğle	4.51
16.16	İkindi	8.47
19.28	Akşam	12.00
21.18	Yatsı	1.50

SALI

	İmsak	Güneş	Öğle	İkindi	Akşam	Yatsı
Ankara:	2.36	4.39	12.05	15.59	19.10	20.57
İzmir:	3.09	5.06	12.28	16.19	19.29	21.12
Erzurum:	2.02	4.05	11.31	15.26	18.36	20.25

SÖNMEZ NEŞRİYAT ve MATBAACILIK A.Ş. (1959) yılında bugün kuruldu.

SÖNMEZ TAKVİMİ

e

كل عام وانتم بخير
امساكية
شهر رمضان المبارك
لعام ١٣٩٥ هـ

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الايام	رمضان	ايلول	الامساك افرنجي س	الامساك افرنجي د	الامساك عربي س	الامساك عربي د	الفجر افرنجي س	الفجر افرنجي د	الفجر عربي س	الفجر عربي د	الشمس افرنجي س	الشمس افرنجي د	الشمس عربي س	الشمس عربي د	الظهر افرنجي س	الظهر افرنجي د	الظهر عربي س	الظهر عربي د	العصر افرنجي س	العصر افرنجي د	العصر عربي س	العصر عربي د	المغرب س	المغرب د	العشاء افرنجي س	العشاء افرنجي د	العشاء عربي س	العشاء عربي د
السبت	١	٦	٣	٢٣	٩	١٦	٣	٤٣	٩	٣٦	٥	١٦	١١	٩	١١	٤١	٥	٣٤	٣	١٦	٩	٩	٦	٧	٧	٣٠	١	٢٣
الاحد	٢	٧		٢٣		١٨		٤٣		٣٨		١٦		١١		٤٠		٣٥		١٤		٩		٥		٢٨		٢٣
الاثنين	٣	٨		٢٤		٢٠		٤٤		٤٠		١٧		١٣		٤٠		٣٦		١٤		١٠		٤		٢٦		٢٣
الثلاثاء	٤	٩		٢٥		٢٢		٤٥		٤٢		١٨		١٥		٤٠		٣٧		١٤		١١		٣		٢٥		٢٣

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Fig. 3. Extracts from some modern tables for regulating the times of prayer for different localities. The examples shown serve (a) Yemen; (b) Mecca (?); (c) Tunis; (d) Tashkent; (e) Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Erzerum; and (f) Nābulus (for Ramaḍān, 1396/1975).

Spherical astronomy in medieval Islam: the Ḥākimī Zīj *of Ibn Yūnus* (forthcoming), and M.-Th. Debarnot, *La trigonométrie sphérique chez les Arabes de l'est à la fin du Xe siècle*, Damascus 1985. On al-Marrākus͟hī and his treatise, and the rise of the institution of the *muwaķķit*, see King, *The astronomy of the Mamluks*, in *Isis*, lxxiv (1983), 531-55, esp. 539-40 and 534-5, repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy* (hereafter *IMA*), London 1986, III. On the earliest known tables for regulating the prayer times and reckoning time of day from solar altitude, see King, *Al-Khwārizmī and new trends in mathematical astronomy in the ninth century*, in *Occasional Papers on the Near East* (New York University, Hagop Kervorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies), ii (1983), 7-11. On the corpora of tables for Cairo, Taʿizz, Damascus and Jerusalem, Tunis and Istanbul, see respectively, King, *Ibn Yūnus'* Very Useful Tables *for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for history of exact sciences*, x (1973), 342-94, repr. in idem, *IMA*, IX; *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen* ..., Malibu, Calif. 1983, 31-2; *Astronomical timekeeping in fourteenth-century Syria*, in *Procs. of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science (Aleppo, 1976)*, ii, 75-84 and plates, repr. in idem, *IMA*, X; (with E.S. Kennedy) *Indian astronomy in fourteenth-century Fez* ..., in *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, vi (1982), 3-45, repr. in idem, *IMA*, VIII, esp. 8-9; and *Astronomical timekeeping in Ottoman Turkey*, in *Procs. of the International Symposium on the Observatories in Islam (Istanbul, 1977)*, 245-69, repr. in idem, *IMA*, XII. Three sets of auxiliary tables are analysed in R.A.K. Irani, *The* Jadwal al-taqwīm *of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, unpubl. Master's diss., American University of Beirut 1956; C. Jensen, *Abū Naṣr's approach to spherical astronomy as developed in his treatise* The Table of Minutes, in *Centaurus*, xvi (1972), 1-19; and King, *Al-K͟halīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110, repr. in idem, *IMA*, XI. See further King, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in Islam, I. A survey of tables for reckoning time by the sun and stars; II. A survey of tables for regulating the times of prayer; III. A survey of shadow schemes for simple time-reckoning; IV. On the origin of the prayers in Islam;* and *V. On the role of the Muezzin and the Muwaqqit in medieval Islamic society* (forthcoming, I-II with Springer-Verlag, New York, III-IV in *Oriens*). On the Ottoman convention of reckoning sunset as 12 o'clock, see J. Würschmidt, *Die Zeitrechnung im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Deutsche optische Wochenschrift* (1917), 88-100. On the *muwaķķit-k͟hānas*, the buildings adjacent to the major Ottoman mosques which were used by the *muwaķķits*, see A.S. Ünver, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim tarihinde muvakkithaneler*, in *Atatürk konferensları*, v (1975), 217-57. See also the *Bibl.* to MIZWALA. (D.A. KING)

AL-**MIĶDĀD** B. **ʿAMR** b. T͟HAʿLABA AL-BAHRĀʾĪ, a well-known Companion of the Prophet. He is attested in all the available historical sources, which more or less concur that his father ʿAmr fled to the Kinda [*q.v.*] tribe after he had become involved in a blood feud in his own tribe of Bahrāʾ [*q.v.*], a group of Ķuḍāʿa. There, in Kinda, al-Miķdād was born *ca.* 585 A.D. Then al-Miķdād, in his turn, had to flee Kinda after he had wounded a fellow-tribesman in the foot. He made good his escape to Mecca. Having been adopted by al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yag͟hūt͟h al-Zuhrī, he became a *ḥalīf* (confederate) of the Banū Zuhra. It is reported that he used to be called al-Miķdād b. al-Aswad until Ķurʾān, XXXIII, 5, declaring adoption in Islam illegal, was revealed, whereupon he once more became known as the son of ʿAmr b. T͟haʿlaba. He is listed among the first seven persons who openly professed Islam (al-D͟hahabī, *Siyar*, i, 251), but, initially, the *mus͟hrikūn* may have forced him to recant. Then al-Miķdād participated in the emigration to Abyssinia (the second wave, cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 111f.), from where he returned just before the *hid͟jra* to accompany Muḥammad to Medina (contrary to what is implied in Watt, *Medina*, 3). As part of the *muʾākhāt* [*q.v.*] or "brothering" measures, Muḥammad paired him with D͟jabr b. ʿAtīk (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 73), but we also find D͟jabbār b. Ṣak͟hr (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 115).

During a raid under the leadership of ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārit͟h in the year 1/623, al-Miķdād and another man sought to curry favour with the Meccans, but their intentions seem to have been thwarted and they had to fall back on the Muslims. Then al-Miķdād is recorded as having fought at Badr, where he was the only one, or one of the very few, who rode his own horse. He is said to have participated in all the other campaigns launched during the Prophet's lifetime. Al-Miķdād was one of Muḥammad's archers. On subsequent raids he was given several commands, e.g. at Uḥud he was the commander of the main body of the army together with Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], and at the G͟hazwat al-G͟hāba he commanded the cavalry. When a delegation of his South Arabian tribe came to Medina, they were lodged by him (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 66).

After the Prophet's death, al-Miķdād is listed among those who took part in the conquest of Syria and his name is mentioned particularly in connection with Ḥimṣ. The people of Ḥimṣ used to rely on al-Miķdād's Ķurʾān recitation (cf. Ibn al-At͟hīr, iii, 86), a report rejected by Bergsträsser (*G. des Q.*, iii, 172), but which could conceivably be read in connection with his having been appointed as the official Ķurʾān reciter of the army fighting in Syria in the year 13/634 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2059). Then the sources depict al-Miķdād as the commander of a force of one thousand men sent by ʿUmar in aid of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who dispatched him to Dimyāṭ. Al-Miķdād conquered it. It is also alleged that he was present at a raid into Ifrīķiya. He supposedly was one of eighty people who helped in establishing the *ķibla* in the mosque said to have been built at the instigation of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ. His last military activities seem to have been displayed during a raid on Cyprus in 28/649 under Muʿāwiya.

After ʿUmar's assassination, al-Miķdād is said to have actively been engaged in the organisation of the *s͟hūrā* [*q.v.*], the electoral body which was to determine ʿUmar's successor. Al-Miķdād is recorded as having been a staunch adherent of ʿAlī, so much so in fact that this earned him the esteem of the later Imāmiyya [*q.v.*], who declared him to be one of the few Companions who had not become unbelievers when ʿUt͟hmān, and not ʿAlī, received the nomination.

Al-Miķdād seems to have become a man of affluence. Not only is it reported that he acquired some possessions at K͟haybar at one time, but he also had an estate built for himself three miles outside Medina at a place called al-D͟juruf. Here he died, possibly as the result of an unsuccessful medical operation performed by a Byzantine servant of his who had sought to rid his master of his obesity. According to another account he died after drinking a potion made of the castor-oil plant. As seems to have been the custom with other people who died in al-D͟juruf (e.g. Usāma b. Zayd, cf. Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 51), his body is said to have been carried to Medina, where

1. Al-Khʷārazmī's prayer-tables for latitude 33° (Baghdād). For each 6° of solar longitude the lengths of the shadow of a gnomon of length 12 units are tabulated for the beginning of the *ẓuhr* and for the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr*. Note that some entries are written in Hindu-Arabic numerals [see ḤISĀB] and others in the more usual alpha-numerical system [see ABDJAD]. Taken from Ms Berlin Ahlwardt 5793 (Landberg 56), fol. 94a, with kind permission of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

2. An extract from some anonymous prayer-tables for an unspecified latitude (about 40°). The function tabulated is the ascendant at ten different times of the day and night, and values are given for each 6° of solar longitude. The times served are dusk (*mughīb al-shafaḳ*) and daybreak (*al-fadjr al-ṣādiḳ* and *al-fadjr al-kādhib*) and the seven moments which divide the length of daylight into eight equal parts. The table is evidence of a survival of the early tradition of associating the *ḍuḥā* and the *ʿaṣr* with the seasonal hours. Taken from Ms Cambridge U.L. O.1, fol. 179a, with kind permission of Cambridge University Library.

3. An extract from the corpus of tables used for timekeeping in mediaeval Cairo. These tables display the time since sunrise (*al-dā᾽ir*), the hour-angle (*faḍl al-dā᾽ir*) and the solar azimuth (*al-samt*) as a function of solar altitude (here 15°) and each degree of solar longitude (*al-ʿadad*). Time is reckoned in equatorial degrees (1° = 4 minutes since 360° = 24 hours). Taken from Ms Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 690, fols. 15b-16a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

4. Another extract from the tables in the Cairo corpus displaying the times since sunrise up to the prescribed moments for the *mu᾽adhdhin* to extinguish the lamps on the minarets during Ramaḍān and to announce a benediction on the Prophet Muḥammad. Taken from Ms Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 954,2, fols. 3b-4a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

5. An extract from al-Khalīlī's corpus of tables for Damascus showing some 12 functions for regulating the times of prayer. Values are displayed for each degree of solar longitude (this extract serves the first few degrees of Aquarius). Taken from Ms Paris B.N. ar. 2558, fols. 10b-11a, with kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

6. An extract from some Ottoman prayer-tables for the latitude of Algiers. For each day of each month (here February) the times of the *ḍuḥā* (here called *ṣadjāḳ*), the *ʿaṣr* and the *imsāk* are tabulated. The times are expressed in hours and minutes and are reckoned according to the Ottoman convention that sunset is 12 o'clock. Taken from Ms Cairo Ṭalʿat *falak turkī* 9, fol. 41a, with kind permission of the Egyptian National Library.

ʿUthmān performed the funeral *ṣalāt* for him. This was in 33/653-4, when al-Miḳdād was allegedly some 70 (lunar) years old (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 115).

Al-Miḳdād is supposed to have transmitted a few traditions from the Prophet. An analysis of the *isnāds* seems to suggest that his role in these traditions is to be regarded as fictitious, the majority of these *isnāds* showing up "common links" who may be held responsible for the *matns* attached to these *isnāds*. Thus al-Miḳdād is said to have lost a hand in the fighting at Badr, a report which, after analysis, is most likely due to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (cf. al-Bukhārī, *diyāt* 1 = ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 314 f., and al-Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, viii, no. 11547); then there is the story of how he was on one occasion tempted by the Devil (cf. Muslim, *ashriba* 174, and al-Mizzī, viii, no. 11546). Perhaps the best-known report featuring al-Miḳdād is the one in which he maintains that sycophants deserve no more than having earth thrown in their faces (apparently a severe humiliation, cf. Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 93). This report seems to have later been raised to the level of a Prophetic *ḥadīth* at the hands of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*], imitated by Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 285 ff.; idem, *Iṣāba*, vi, 202ff.; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, index; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Madjd al-Dīn al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, index; Fasawī, *K. al-maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 368; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, v, 132 of the French text; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 1582, 1599; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 576; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 213, 289, 295, ii, 247; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mizzī, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, viii, nos. 11542-51; al-Miḳdād's *musnad* in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is in vol. vi, 2-6, and 8. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MĪKHĀʾĪL al-ṢABBĀGH, Arab scholar and littérateur. He was born *ca.* 1775 (thus acc. to Shaykhū, in *Mashriḳ*, viii [1905], 29) in Acre, Palestine, into a Melkite family, and died in 1816 in Paris. His grandfather was Ibrāhīm al-Ṣabbāgh, the personal physician and steward of Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, ruler of ʿAkkā (so Shaykhū, *op. cit.*, 27), and also his secretary and minister (so al-Khūrī Ḳusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā al-Mukhalliṣī in his introduction to M. al-Ṣabbāgh, *Taʾrīkh al-Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī*, 5).

Mīkhāʾīl spent his early years in Damascus, from where he and his family fled to Egypt, and he then pursued his studies there. He returned to Syria in 1792, but had to leave again in 1794. The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 offered him new opportunities. He served General Reynier as secretary, and accompanied him to France in 1801. Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh found employment there as a compositor and corrector of oriental languages at the State Printing House until the government elected him to become one of the secretaries of the Royal Library (Bibliothèque du Roi), charged with the preservation and restoration of Oriental manuscripts. In this latter function, he copied some 60 mss., among them Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa* and the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. He was praised for his work by orientalists like A.I. Sylvestre de Sacy, L.M. Langlès, H.G.L. Kosegarten, C.F. von Schnurrer and J. Humbert. Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh's own writings consist of a curious book about the use and training of carrier-pigeons, a number of historical works, which, with one exception, have remained in manuscript form, an essay on poetry, a number of poems in honour of Pope Pius VII, in honour of Napoleon on the occasion of his marriage, and again on the occasion of the birth of the King of Rome, and one congratulating Louis XVIII. All were translated into French and published in booklets containing both versions. There is also a study of the Arabic vernaculars, published by H. Thorbecke in 1886.

Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh's works comprise: 1. *Kitāb Musābaḳat al-barḳ wa 'l-ghamām fī suʿāt al-ḥamām*, tr. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1805, as *La colombe, messagère plus rapide que l'éclair, plus prompte que la nue.* Other translations mentioned by Shaykhū (*op. cit.*, 30) and by Graf (*GCAL*, iii, 250) are an Italian one by A. Cattaneo, Milan 1822, and a German one by Lorsbach, 1806, not mentioned by Graf), repr. with appendices by G. Löper, Strassburg 1879. 2. *Taʾrīkh al-shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī ḥākim ʿAkkā wa-bilād Ṣafad ʿuniya bi-nashrihi wa-taʿlīḳ ḥawāshīhi al-Khūrī Ḳusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā al-Mukhalliṣī*, Ḥarīṣa [*ca.* 1928]. In this, Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh describes the rise and fall of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, whom Mīkhāʾīl's grandfather had served as a physician; this concern "prevails over the traditional pattern used for annals" (T. Philipp, in *IJMES*, xvi [1984], 161-75, esp. 168). "In his unpublished history of Ibrahīm aṣ-Ṣabbāgh and his family, Mīkhāʾīl did not even try to uphold the form of annals" (*loc. cit.*). The manuscript of the *Taʾrīkh* is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cod. Arab. 901). The same collection also comprises literary selections by Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh (Munich, Cod. Arab. 899) as well as the manuscript of his "*Short history of the Melkites*" (Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh ṭāʾifat al-Rūm al-Kāthūlīk) (Shaykhū, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.). Al-Khūrī Isḥāḳ Armala (*Mashriḳ*, xxxiv, 381) mentions two more "histories": *Taʾrīkh Ḳabāʾil ahl al-bādiya* ("History of Bedouin tribes"), and *Taʾrīkh al-Shām wa-Miṣr* ("History of Syria and Egypt"). 3. His *Risāla al-tāmma fī kalām al-ʿāmma wa 'l-manāhidj fī aḥwāl al-kalām al-dāridj* (Munich, cod. Arab. 880, 644-80) was published by H. Thorbecke under the title *Mîḫâʾîl Ṣabbâg's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*, Strassburg 1886. The author writes that he had to rely on actual speech only, written documentation on the subject being non-existent and the field until then unexplored. The first chapter deals with the Arab language as it was "before and immediately after Islam", the beginning of its corruption, the intrusion of alien matter and the diversification of the present vernaculars in the various countries. Then follow chapters on elisions, additions and contractions, on pronouns, nouns, verbs, and particles. The ninth chapter deals with inversions, and the tenth with loanwords and their origins. Thorbecke describes the manuscript as an unfinished draft, with many corrections, additions and deletions, written in a scrawling, barely legible hand (pp. III-X). 4. The *Kitāb fi 'l-Shiʿr wa-fi 'l-arūd wa-mulḥaḳātihi ka 'l-zadjal wa 'l-muwashshaḥ wa 'l-mawāliyā*, a study of poetry and its metres, is mentioned by Freytag in his *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, 458-61. Freytag writes that this study is of little value and unreliable in detail, but interesting since it describes poetical forms such as the *mawwāl*, the *zadjal* and the *kān wa-kān*. 5. The *Nashīd ḳaṣīdat tahānī li-saʿādat al-Ḳayṣar al-muʿaẓẓam Nābūliyyūn* has been translated into French by Silvestre de Sacy as *Cantique à S.M. Napoléon le grand, empereur des Français et roi d'Italie, à l'occasion de la naissance de son fils Napoléon II, Roi de Rome. Allégorie sur le bonheur futur de la France*

et la paix de l'univers, Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1811; and the *Nashīd tahānī li-saʿādat al-kullī al-diyāna Lūʾīs al-thāmin ʿashar malik Faransā wa Nāwār* by Grangeret de Lagrange, as *Cantique de félicitation à sa M. très-chrétienne Louis le Désiré, Roi de France et de Navarre*, Paris 1814. Humbert, *Anthologie arabe*, 293, mentions three more poems: *Hommage au Grand-juge Ministre de la justice, visitant l'Imprimerie de la république*, 1803; *Vers à la louange du Souverain Pontife Pie VII*, 1805; and *Vers à l'occasion du mariage de Napoléon*, 1810.

Bibliography: G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, repr. Osnabrück 1968, 458-61; J. Humbert, *Anthologie arabe*, Paris 1819, 174-8, 291-3; H.G.L. Kosegarten, *Carminum orientalium triga*, Stralsund, 34 ff., 41; L.M. Langlès, *Voyages de Sind-Bad le Marin*, Paris, 1814, p. xxiii; Th. Philipp, *Class, community and Arab historiography in the early nineteenth century. The dawn of a new era*, in *IJMES*, xvi (1984), 161-75; C.F. von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811, 491; A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, Paris, 1806, 349, 362, 363, 519; H. Thorbecke, *Mîḫâʾîl Ṣabbâġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten*, Strassburg 1886, pp. iii-x; L. Shaykhū, *Mīkhāʾīl al-Ṣabbāgh wa-usratuhu*, in *Mashriḳ*, viii (1905), 24-34; idem, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, in *ibid.* (1907), 469-73; idem, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar. Al-djuzʾ al-awwal*, Beirut 1924, 15, 22-3, 34-5; Al-Khūrī Isḥāḳ Armala, *al-Malakiyyūn*, in *Mashriḳ*, xxxiv (1936), 381.

(C. Nijland)

MĪKHĀL-OGHLU, an old Ottoman noble family.

This family traced its descent to the feudal lord Köse Mīkhāl ʿAbd Allāh, originally a Greek (cf. F.-A. Geuffroy, in Ch. Schefer, *Petit traicte de l'origine des Turcqz par Th. Spandouyn Cantacasin*, Paris 1696, 267: *L'ung desdictz Grecz estoit nommé Michaeli ... Dudict Michali sont descenduz les Michalogli*), who appears in the reign of ʿOthmān I as lord of Chirmenkia (Khirmendjik) at the foot of Mount Olympus near Edrenos, and later as an ally of the first Ottoman ruler earned great merit for his share in aiding the latter's expansion (cf. J. von Hammer, in *GOR*, i, 48, 57, following Idrīs Bidlīsī and Neshrī). Converted to Islam, Köse Mīkhāl appears again in the reign of ʿOthmān's son Orkhan. The rank of commander of the *akîndjîs* [*q.v.*] became hereditary in the family of Köse Mīkhāl, which is even said to have been related to the royal house of Savoy and of France (cf. Paolo Giovio, *Michalogli di sangue Turcheco e per via di donna si fa parente del Duca di Savoia e del Re di Francia*; in this case Mīkhāl [Μιχαὴλ], alias Köse Mīkhāl, must have been descended from the Palaeologi; cf. *GOR*, i, 572), and along with the Malkoč-oghlu (properly Malkovič, i.e. Markovič), the Ewrenos-oghlu [*q.v.*], Tīmūrtash-oghlu [*q.v.*] and Turakhan-oghlu [*q.v.*], was among the most celebrated of the noble familes of the early Ottoman empire. Köse Mīkhāl, called ʿAbd Allāh, died in Edirne and was buried in the mosque founded there by him in the western Yîldîrîm quarter. As Edirne was certainly not conquered till 763/1362 (see F. Babinger, in *MOG*, ii, 311), he must therefore have lived into the reign of Murād I and had a remarkably long life.

Köse Mīkhāl had two sons, namely Meḥmed Beg and Yakhshî (Bakhshî?), of whom only the former acquired some renown. He was vizier under Mūsā Čelebi and a close friend of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Simaw [*q.v.*]. Under Mūsā he was *Beglerbeg* of Rūmeli, and died in 825/1422 at Isnīḳ at the hand of the judge Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu and is said to have been buried at Plevna in Bulgaria (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 305), after being previously (816/1413) detained as a state prisoner in the prison of Bedewī Čardak near Toḳat. His son was Khiḍr Beg, who distinguished himself in the wars of Murād II's reign. He died in 870/1465 and was buried at Edirne beside his ancestor Köse Mīkhāl. Khiḍr Beg seems to have had three sons, namely Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, Ghāzī Iskandar Beg and Ghāzī Balî Beg, of whom only the first two are of any historical importance. Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg in 865/1461 distinguished himself in the battle against Vlad (see *GOR*, ii, 64), in 878/1473 ravaged the lands of Uzun Ḥasan (*ibid.*, ii, 118), invaded Hungary in 880/1475 (*ibid.*, ii, 144) with his brother Iskandar Beg, in 881/1476 (*ibid.*, ii, 156) was in command of the *akîndjîs* before Scutari in Albania, and appears once again in Transylvania (*ibid.*, ii, 172); but in the next 13 years nothing is heard of him. In 897/1492 he seems to have met his death at Villach in Carinthia, defeated by Count Khevenhüller, although other sources mention him at a still later date. According to them, he died in Plevna. His brother Iskandar Beg in 881/1476 commanded the light cavalry at the siege of Scutari, as *sandjaḳ beg* of Bosnia (880/1475, 885/1480 and 890/1485, *GOR*, ii, 156); and in 895/1490 in the Ḳaramān campaign, in which he lost his son, the governor of Ḳayṣariyye Mīkhāl Beg (see *GOR*, ii, 300), who was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt. He seems to have lived till 903/1498. The military exploits of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg were celebrated by Sūzī Čelebi (d. 930/1534 at Prizren; cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 34-5) in a long epic (said to have been 15,000 couplets), fragments of which have recently been discovered (one in Berlin, ms. Or., no. 1468 containing 1,700 *bayts* and the other in Zagreb, South Slav Academy of Sciences, Coll. Babinger, no. 535, i, with 212 *bayts*). In some sources, a Meḥmed Beg, who was distinguishing himself at that time, is described as a fourth son of Ghāzī Khîḍr Beg; in others, however, he appears as the son of Ghāzī ʿAlī Beg, which is not at all probable if he really was twice governor of Bosnia, namely as early as 897/1492 and again in 949/1542, and did not die till 950/1543.

The family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu now begins to fall into the background. About the middle of the 10th/16th century, an Aḥmad Beg is again mentioned, perhaps as the last of the Mīkhāl-oghlu holding the hereditary office in the family of leader of a body of *akîndjîs* (see *GOR*, iii, 293); and lastly, a Khîḍr Pasha is mentioned in a history as a descendant of Köse Mīkhāl (see *GOR*, iv, 512). The family at a later date had estates in Bulgaria (around Ihtiman, cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 390, and C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, 138, and at Filibe, Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 379-80) and survived down to modern times. As we learn, however, from the *Sālnāme* of Edirne for 1309, 82 ff., the Mīkhāl-oghlus had already at an early date large estates around Edirne. They had the country round Buñar-Ḥiṣār, Tirnovo, Ḳîrḳ Kilīse and Wīze as a hereditary fief. The Anatolian district of Mīkhālidj (Μιχαηλίτζη, Μιχαλιχίου in Chalkondyles, 225; Ewliyā Čelebi, v. 293-4; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in *SBAK. Wien*, Phil-hist. Cl., cxxiv [Vienna 1891], 95 and J.H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 101) seems to be connected with the family of the Mīkhāl-oghlu. Ewliyā, *loc. cit.*, further mentions estates and *awḳāf* of the family in the Amasya and Bursa regions.

Bibliography: The well-known histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. Under the title *Aḥwāl-i Ghāzī Mīkhāl* (Istanbul 1315; cf. Babinger,

GOW, 35, n. 1), Nuzhet Meḥmed Pas͟ha published a work glorifying Köse Mīk͟hāl and his descendants. See also *İA* art. *Mihal-Oğulları* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin), with a detailed genealogical tree.

(Fr. Babinger)

MIK͟HLĀF (a., pl. *mak͟hālīf*), a term of mediaeval Islamic administrative geography used particularly in Yemen. The sources usually state that it is the equivalent of Arabic *kūra* [*q.v.*]"administrative province" (Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben im Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leiden-London 1916, 34) or Persian *rustāḳ* [*q.v.*] "rural area" (al-K͟halīl b. Aḥmad, cited by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, i, 37, tr. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-7), with a fanciful explanation that the progeny of Ḳaḥṭān, the Yemen, remained behind (*tak͟hallafa*) in the region of that name, hence the district of each tribe was called its *mik͟hlāf*. The term may be tenuously related to Sabaic *k͟h.l.f* "vicinity of a town", cf. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome 1931, 136. Al-Yaʿḳūbī states in his *K. al-Buldān*, 317-19, tr. 156-8, that Yemen comprises 84 *mak͟hālīf*, with a list, and in his *Taʾrīk͟h*, i, 227-9, gives a further one; however, the total number of names amounts to only 74, and some of these are tribal and not geographical names.

From the period of Ayyūbid rule in Yemen onwards, the term gradually falls out of use there and is no longer used at the present time, although Ibn al-Mud͟jāwir (early 6th/13th century) defined it in his *Taʾrīk͟h al-Mustabṣir* (ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1954, ii, 170) as having the restricted sense of the settled and cultivated lands around a fortress as well as having the larger one of a district or province, and noted that the term was only used in the mountain zone of Yemen and not in the coastal Tihāma.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MIKINDANI (in Swahili, "the places of young coconut trees") a small East African port which has now yielded in importance to its modern neighbour of Mtwara.

It lies near the Tanzanian border with Mozambique. The nearby coast is thick with mangrove plantations, whose wood is the principal attraction today for Arab dhow traffic from ʿUmān and the Gulf. The Swahili traditional history *Asili ya Mikindani* ("The origin of Mikindani") states that it began as a centre for the slave and gum copal trades, in exchange for grain and cloth, for which Sayyid Barg͟has͟h of Zanzibar (1870-88) established a customs post. Before this there was a resident local "sultan"—in Swahili the word *sultani* need not mean more than a headman—of Arab descent, but intermarried with the Makonde tribe, with the result that the descent and succession of the ruler was reckoned matrilineally. Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the East India Company, mentions the sultanic residence on a chart dated 1796. Lt. Thomas Boteler, who visited Mikindani in H.M.S. *Barracouta* in 1824, says that the place consisted of three "neat and extensive villages" inhabited by Arabs. On a nearby hill there were the remains of a fort, which he ascribes to the Portuguese, albeit Portuguese records do not record one here. Rather, it may have been an Arab slave barracoon, of which no trace now remains. Livingstone began his last journey from here in 1866. Boteler's villages had now become six. Livingstone hired a house in Pemba village which still exists; it had ninety houses and a ruined mosque of coral and lime. There was another Arab stone ruin on the other side of the bay. He formed a poor opinion of the local Arabs: "The Arabs here are a wretched lot physically, thin, washed-out creatures—many with bleared eyes ... They are low coast Arabs, three-quarters African, and, as usual, possess the bad without the good qualities of both parents. Many of them came and begged brandy, and laughed when they remarked that they could drink it in secret, but not openly." A report by a naval officer in 1874 mentions three villages only. By then there was a prosperous trade in wild rubber, gum copal, millet, rice, ivory and, surreptitiously, in slaves.

Bibliography: Sir J.M. Gray, *Mikindani Bay before 1887*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 28 (1950), 29-37; D. Livingstone, *Last journey*, i, 15, 17; *Asili ya Mikindani*, in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907. 273-8.

(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MIKNĀS and Miknās al-Zaytūn, French form meknès, a town of Morocco which is one of the traditional residences of the ruler (long. 5° 32′ W., lat. 33° 53′ N.; average altitude 1,700 feet/520 m.), situated 80 miles/130 km. to the east of Rabat and 40 miles/60 km. to the south-west of Fās.

It occupies the centre of the transitional zone which lies between the Middle Atlas, 30 miles/50 km to the south, and the Sebū. It commands the exit towards the G͟harb of the depression which separates the massif of the Zarhūn from the plateau of al-Ḥād͟jib. At Meknès intersect the roads from Rabat to Fās, from Tāfīlālt through the land of the Benī Mgīld and Azrū, from Marrākus͟h through the Tādlā.

The temperature rarely exceeds 30° C. or falls below 5°. The rainfall is remarkably equal from one year to the other. The excellent water supply of the plain of Meknès and the quality of its light soil, resting on a subsoil of permeable limestone, make it one of the best agricultural districts of Morocco.

The population in 1902 was estimated at 20,000, of whom 9,000 were Bwāk͟her and 5,000 Jews, but it grew considerably during the Protectorate (175,900 inhabitants in 1960).

Meknès is built on the flank of a mountain spur. Beyond the ravine dug out by the Wādī Bū Fekrān, the modern town has been built. The houses of the *mdīna*, often substantial, are always very simple. There are only fifteen or so houses of an artistic interest. They date for the most part from the reigns of the sultans Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. The *sūḳs*, which lie between the Madrasa Bū ʿInāniyya and the D͟jāmiʿ al-Nad͟jd͟jārīn (*sūḳs* of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*], the booths of which were ornamented with shutters of painted wood. The *mellāḥ* [*q.v.*] of Meknès is to the south of the *mdīna*. A new *mellāḥ*, three times the extent of the old one, has been occupied since 1925. The *mdīna* of Meknès is one of those which have retained their local character most unaffected. Only one artery, the Rouāmzīn (<*rwābziyyīn* "bellows-makers") street, is accessible to European trade and traffic. The centre of the town's activity is the Hedīm square. To the south-east lie the vast ruins of the *ḳaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder, but surround the Djinān Ben Ḥalīma, a charming garden, and the Dār al-Bayḍāʾ which is now a school for Moroccan officers. The Dār al-Mak͟hzen is sometimes used as a royal residence. Begun at the end of the 17th century, this palace was built in several periods. The Bāb Dār al-Mak͟hzen dates from 1889. In the old Agdāl of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, among waste lands, an

ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, has been laid out, beside an experimental garden. Farther on there is a horse-breeding establishment. The visitor goes along miles of massive walls and finds enormous ruins: the Herī 'l-Manṣūr (used as a stable and storehouse for forage), the stables, the granary and the ornamental waterbasin left to go to ruins.

There is very little industry in Meknès: only carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Idrīsī. The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroideries of large irregular point lace and painted wood. The public services endeavour to keep these trades going, in which purely Berber influence is marked. European competition is severely affecting, at Meknès as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters. The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing. *Sūḳs* are held outside the town and are attended by the country people: the Sūḳ of Bāb Jdīd, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the Sūḳ al-Khamīs and that of the Lanterns. The market of Meknès does not extend beyond the environs of the town; it exports nothing except in years of abundant harvest. The region was already famed in the last century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables. The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period. During the French occupation, colonisation developed considerably. The colonists, most of whom came from Algeria, cultivated mainly wheat, of which they obtained increasing yields. The cultivation of the vine is increasing each year.

The government of Meknès, which is a *makhzaniyya* town, was in the hands of a *bāshā*. He was also *bāshā* of the Bwākher, who till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to Le Chatelier). In the administrative organisation of the protectorate, Meknès was made the capital of a very considerable area.

The population of Meknès consists of many distinct elements: Shorfāʾ, Bwākher, Berbers and Jews. The Idrīsid Shorfāʾ, who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawlāy Idrīs, only the families residing in Fās and Meknès are allowed to share in the income of the *zāwiya* of Fās), and the Ḥasanī Shorfāʾ, who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally penurious. The Bwākher, descendants of the *ʿabīd al-Bukhārī*, a black guard of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble. Since that date they have been taking up the trades of mat-makers and farriers. They lived close to the town of old *ḳaṣbas* and gardens which belong to the Makhzen, and in the old *ḳaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in the Bāb Mrāḥ quarter. Their houses, roofed with thatch, looked like African encampments. But it is the Berber (*Brāber*) element which predominated at Meknès and gave it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fās. It is the Berbers of the mountains who gave it its tone; when they come down to the town, their women give colour to the streets of the *mdīna* with their short skirts, their leather gaiters and their wide-brimmed hats. The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes. A considerable part of the population of Meknès consists of transient elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans. These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tāfīlālt in particular (potters, tanners and porters), from Sūs (grocers), from Tuwāt (oil-makers), from Figīg and Darʿa (masons). The Rīfans and Jbāla supply most of the agricultural labourers. A small number of Fāsīs, who have in recent years merged into the population of the town, are cloth-merchants, dealers in old clothes and shoemakers.

Jews formed a quarter of the native population. Père Ch. de Foucauld estimated the *mellāḥ* of Meknès to be half that of Fās. Chénier remarked on its prosperity.

Religious life. From the presence of the Idrīsid and Ḥasanid *Shorfāʾ*, the proximity of the sanctuary of Mawlāy Idrīs and the religious event of the celebrations of his *mūsem* (class. *mawsim* [*q.v.*]) every year, Meknès is one of the most important centres of Sharīfism. At the same time, for the Berber population it is a centre of marabout rites of the most elementary kind. All the brotherhoods that have *zāwiyas* in Morocco are represented in Meknès. The most important are those of the Ḳādiriyya, Tīdjāniyya, and especially Ḥmādsha [see ḤAMĀDISHA in Suppl.] and the largest, the ʿIsāwa, to which half the population are attached. Meknès, whose patron saint is Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā and which contains his tomb under the *ḳubba* erected by Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, is the centre of the order. This saint came here at the end of the 9th/15th century. His teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance, which he overcame so completely that, when the governor of the town sought to take steps against him, the people protected him. Before his death he acquired an estate, constituted in *ḥubūs*, and men of religion are buried there. The celebration of his *mūsem* on the first day of the *mūlūd* (*mawlid* [*q.v.*]) festival is the great event of the year. The preparations for it begin forty days before. On the day before or on the preceding day of the festival, delegations flock in from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional routes. The most generous hospitality is given to the pilgrims by the descendants of Shaykh al-Kāmil, who have the *niḳāba* (Brunel). The excesses committed on the occasion of ths pilgrimage have been frequently described. Many other special cults are observed in Meknès, including that of a contemporary holy man, Mawlāy Aḥmad Wazzānī. As it was his custom to wear simple dress and to sit by the highway, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a *ḳubba* at the request of Mawlāy Yūsuf. The *ḳubba* is at the entrance to a dispensary, and the admirers of the saint came there daily to keep him company.

History. We know nothing certain about the history of the region in the Roman period nor in the centuries which followed. The most advanced Roman stations were on the slopes of the Zarhūn guarding the plain, out of which the warriors of the Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps throwing out a screen as far as the plateau of al-Ḥādjib.

We do not know at what date the people here had their first contact with Islam, nor even if it was not till the Hilālī invasion that Islām became securely established here. The Berber tribes of the Sāʾis and Sebū made the most of the fertility of their country. A tradition records that a fire destroyed the gardens there in 305/917. It was at this period that the country was covered, from Tāzā to Meknès, by the migration of a Zenāta tribe, the Miknāsa, a section of whom, who received the name of Miknāsa al-Zaytūn to distinguish them from the Miknāsa Tāzā, who lived father to the east, established themselves securely in

the plain. The Idrīsids met with a vigorous resistance from the Miknāsa. They always found in them opponents whom they could not overcome in spite of several campaigns, and who were the instigators of Umayyad intervention.

At this date, a few villages stood on the site of Meknès. One cannot say at what date, perhaps in the 4th/10th century, they were grouped together to form the Tākrart (Tagrart) mentioned by al-Idrīsī (*Opus geogr.*, iii, 244, 245). The population seems to have been more numerous in the Almoravid period than later, and prosperous. Enclosed by a wall, Meknès looked like a pleasure resort, with its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths and water channels.

The Miknāsa vigorously opposed the Almohad onslaught. When passing through this region in 514/1120-1, Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] preached here but he was not well received. Twenty years later, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin laid siege to Meknès, but it was not he who took it. He left it to enter Fās, leaving the conduct of the siege in the hands of Yaḥyā b. Yag͟hmur. The *Ḳirṭās* says the siege lasted seven years. The town fell in 545/1150. It was plundered, the defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated and all its garrison put to death, except the governor, who is said to have escaped. On the site, or beside the ruins, Meknès rapidly rose again under the shelter of the fortifications built by the Almohads. At the end of the century, it had regained some importance and the mosque of al-Nad͟jd͟jārīn was finished. This is the oldest monument in Meknès: in 1170/1756-7 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh had it restored and built the present minaret. The Almohads brought water hither from Tad͟jenna, five miles away. In 578/1182 the *k͟huṭba* was said in five different places in Meknès and there were six gates in the wall which surrounded the town.

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the Almohads was particularly lively. In 629/1231-2, al-Maʾmūn had to intervene against the Banū Fāzāz and Meklāta, who were ravaging Meknès. In 634/1236-7, as a result of the Marīnid success in the battle in which al-Saʿīd's son was slain, Abū Bakr entered the town. This occupation was only temporary, but the Almohad restoration was not secure. In 643/1245-6, the governor left there by al-Saʿīd was slain in a rising in the town in favour of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ. Al-Saʿīd again returned victorious, causing Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ to fly to Tāzā. The Marīnid had only two years to wait; after the death of the Almohad governor, he returned to Meknès to occupy it definitely.

The first period of greatness for Meknès dates from the Marīnids. They set out to make it beautiful like Rabat and Fās. Abū Yūsuf moved from Fās Jdīd to Meknès, which owed to him a *ḳaṣba* and a mosque (675/1276). Abu 'l-Ḥasan improved its water supply, built bridges on the road to Fās and began the *Madrasa D͟jadīda* which Abū ʿInān was to finish. It bears the latter's name and is still the most notable building in Meknès, in spite of the indiscreet restorations carried out in 1917-22. Other *madrasas*, the ʿAṭṭārīn and Filāla, were built by the Marīnids.

During this period the politieal organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction. The Idrīsid S͟horfāʾ, having assisted the Marīnids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them. Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the 9th/15th century into practically independent divisions. The S͟horfāʾ were numerous in Meknès. When the weakening of the Marīnids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, the S͟horfāʾ supplied leaders. History has preserved the name of Mawlāy Zayyān. The Waṭṭāsids only intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Masʿūd b. al-Nāṣir, having rebelled against Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī, found an asylum at Meknès. The Sultan besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāṣir al-Ḳiddīd there, who however did not prove faithful to him. The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknès were not particularly glorious. They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant.

The rise of the brotherhoods of the 9th/15th century found a favourable soil among the Miknāsa. The *zāwiya* of the D͟jazūliyya was established there, as in other places in Morocco. A few years later, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā was teaching there.

Meknès was thus well prepared to welcome the Saʿdids [*q.v.*]. When Maḥammad al-S͟hayk͟h approached in 955/1548 he entered the town without much trouble. The Marīnid al-Nāṣir al-Ḳaṣrī is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Aḥmad Bū Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement. Maḥammad al-S͟hayk͟h however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority; when the *k͟haṭīb* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥarzūz began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death. When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts. The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6-8,000 hearths. It was the only town in the region. The Saʿdids took little interest in Meknès, which never attracted their attention. The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrākus͟h by the Tādlā was regularly used. It was the practice to make Meknès the residence of one of the sons of the Sultan. There was, however, no important command attached to it. Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the viceroyalty of Fās, which is astonishing. Under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī lived there and then after the second partition, Zaydān and, lastly Mawlāy al-S͟hayk͟h, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father's life.

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Manṣūr placed Meknès at the mercy of the Berber risings and marabout intrigues. In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the *zāwiyas*, and especially the Zāwiya of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1023/1640-1, Muḥammad al-Ḥād͟jd͟j was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fās and Meknès after his victory over Mawlāy Maḥammad al-S͟hayk͟h b. Zaydān. He won over the Berber tribes, and Mawlāy al-Ras͟hīd in 1076/1666 found the Banī Mṭīr against him, allied with the Dilāʾī Abū ʿAbd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1076/1668.

Mawlāy al-Ras͟hīd seems to have been interested in Meknès, the *ḳaṣba* of which he restored. In burying him in the mausoleum of al-Mad͟jd͟hūb [*q.v.*], Mawlāy Ismāʿīl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased. But the most important event was that al-Ras͟hīd sent Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to Meknès. The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad *ḳaṣba*, as a landed proprietor managing his estates. In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like

this. He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire. For fifty years, Meknès was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances.

He at once decided to build himself a palace, and a grandiose scheme was projected. He began by clearing a space. The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the débris off to a site which has retained the name of Hedīm, then to rebuild on a site which the *sharīf* enclosed by a wall to the north-west of the *mdīna*. The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town. His palace was built, and another one even more splendid for his women. This first edifice, Dār Kbīra, was finished in 1090/1679. It was a series, without intelligible plan, of *riyāḍs* embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble; the apartments opened on to three galleries. The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his. His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed. The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage. At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles. The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale; one of them had forty rooms. The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty *ḳubbas*. The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall, pierced by twenty gates. It was triple in the north-east with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the *ḳaṣba*. The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars. The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them. Another had been begun in 1083/1672, communicating with the town by the Bāb ʿĪsā. Lastly, the palace with its dependencies contained four mosques; two are still in use, the Djāmiʿ al-Akhḍar and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the Djāmiʿ al-Ruwā. To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *mdīna*, an orchard in which olive trees predominated. Farther on were the stables to which the sultan admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200: two parallel rows of arcades about 100 feet apart. In the centre ran running water. Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment. Opposite was a storehouse, the *herī*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions. Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough, it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco. At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege.

The buildings did not stop here. To the south-west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madīnat al-Riyāḍ, where the officials had palaces, where Mawlāy Ismāʿīl himself had his mosque, his *madrasa*, his *ḥammām*, his *funduḳs* and the offices of the *umanāʾ* of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharīfian tailors. In 1145/1732-3 Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sūs, had the Madīnat al-Riyāḍ destroyed by Christian slaves. There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bāb al-Khamīs, dated 1078/1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city.

Lastly, a site was reserved for the troops. To the west of Meknès a large *duwwār* was settled with *ʿAbīd* and their families. To the east of the Dār al-Makhzen, five *ḳaṣbas* for the 130,000 men of the *gīsh* were gradually incorporated in the great *ḳaṣba*.

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed. It was in 1144/1731-2 that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bāb Manṣūr, the most finished example of the Ismāʿīlian gateway, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bāb al-Bardāʿīn and the Bāb al-Nuwwār are the two other finest examples at Meknès at the present day. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl directed all the operations himself. During the first twenty-four years of his reign, he never spent twelve months on end at Meknès. But he returned there after each expedition; in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose; the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again. The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied.

All the country helped in the work. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl collected materials wherever he could. Volubilis, Chella and Marrākush were plundered. If he destroyed al-Badīʿ, it was perhaps out of jealousy of Saʿdid work, or perhaps simply to get material. Like Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, he procured marble from Pisa. One day when a corsair ship had become stranded near Tangier, he ordered the Ghumāra to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour. When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside.

Labour was recruited by a similar means. The Sultan imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen. From 1091/1680 the work was pushed on frantically. All the Christians in Morocco were collected there and were at first housed in siloes [see MAṬMŪRA] near the building-yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Makhzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to lodgings built from mud brick along the north wall of the Dār al-Makhzen. They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries. A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction"; this was the means by which humane relations were established with the local people, even with the dwellers in the palace. Their latest historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl to its real figure: they did not as a rule reach a thousand, and the Sultan, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Koehler).

The Sultan revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his cupidity; he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but not only to hide it. The consuls and ambassadors, who came to negotiate the ransom of captives, he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour. Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired; he loved to torture his wives and cut off heads to show his skill. His amusements were of a similar character; he liked to shoot with his *ḳāʾids* at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spear thrusts. "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder," says Chénier.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl was buried like his brother in the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb. His sons, the rebel Mawlāy Muḥammad, killed at Tārūdānt in 1118/1706, and Mawlāy Zaydān in 1191/707, had already joined Mawlāy Rashīd. In

1859 the ashes of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were also deposited there.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the Bwāk͟her and the soldiers of the *gīs͟h* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times. The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fās, especially in the Ūdāya; pretenders stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them. Gradually the Bwāk͟her sank into misfortune. It was in vain that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl for them. The worst of it for Meknès was that every one ended or began by plundering it.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh almost re-established order and restored to the town its past glory. He did a great deal for it; his palace of Dār al-Bayḍāʾ, the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive grove of al-Ḥamriyya; in the *ḳaṣba*, he built the portal of the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Anwār and in the *mdīna*, the minaret of the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Bad̲j̲d̲j̲ārīn, the *ḳubba* of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, and several mosques (al-Azhar, al-Bardāʿīn, Bāb Mrāḥ, Berrīma and Sīdī Bū ʿUt̲h̲mān). It was he who made the 12,000 books of the library of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl *ḥubūs* for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco. As regards the tribes, his policy was to break them up. He transplanted many of them and tried several repressive measures. The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers, whose attacks had been resumed about 1189/1775.

Soon nothing was left of the work of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd and did not survive the persecution of this *s͟harīf*. The earthquake of 1168/1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice. The renegades, who had gathered together at Ḳaṣba Agūrāy, were gradually absorbed.

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811. Communication with Fās was continually being cut and it was something to boast about for the sultan to go out of Meknès. Mawlāy Slīmān (Sulaymān), who had undertaken to restore the *ḳaṣba* and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fās and who would have liked to get rid of the Bwāk͟her, decided to settle in Fās. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whom Delacroix saw there and who built a *ḳubba* in Jnān Ben Ḥalīma, left the Berbers in semi-independence and at last disbanded the *ʿabīd* without even granting those who remained in Meknès the character of Mak͟hzen troops. His son carefully avoided all quarrels.

Mawlāy al-Ḥasan revived the tradition of the great sultans and made his authority felt. He was able to enter Meknès after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes. In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Benī Mṭīr. In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Benī Mgild in his campaign towards the Nūn. On his death, the Berbers regained their independence. After the fall of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Meknès recognised all the competitors in succession. It was Meknès that proclaimed ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ, who had come via the Berbers of Tādlā in 1908; in 1909 it summoned the *s͟harīf* al-Kattānī; and in 1911 rallied to Mawlāy Zayn. It was in this year that General Moinier entered Meknès.

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(C. FUNCK-BRENTANO)

MIḲYĀS (A.), measurement, means of measuring, any simple measuring instrument; in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i.e. the gauge in which the annual rise of the river can be measured.

Originally the rising of the Nile was measured by the gauge (*al-raṣāṣa*). According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, al-Ḳuḍāʿī, and others, Joseph, the son of Jacob, built the first Nilometer at Memphis; at a later date, the "aged Dalūka" built Nilometers in Ak͟hmīm and Anṣinā (Antinoë). These were the Nilometers in use throughout the Hellenistic period till the conquest of Egypt by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. The latter erected a Nilometer at Assuan and a second at Dendera. Others were built in the reigns of Muʿāwiya and al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Finally, the caliph al-Mutawakkil had a large Nilometer built on the island of Rawḍa at Fusṭāṭ on the site of a Nilometer built in the reign of al-Walīd, which had subsequently been swept away by floods. This Nilometer, which still exists, was completed in 247/861-2 by Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib according to the inscription around the top of the pit. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (i, 207-8) says that the construction was supervised by Aḥmad b. Kat̲h̲īr al-Farg̲h̲ānī but speaks disparagingly of his technical ability, so it may well be that al-Farg̲h̲ānī acted simply as the caliph's representative and had little to do with the actual con-

struction of the instrument. When it was complete, al-Mutawakkil appointed Abu 'l-Raddād to look after it, and the office remained hereditary in his family down to the time of al-Maḳrīzī, who died in 846/1442 (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāk, 1270, i, 57 ff.).

The Nilometer was surveyed and described by K.A.C. Creswell (*A short account of early Muslim architecture*, Harmondsworth 1958, 292-6, with a diagram at p. 293). It consits of a tall graduated octagonal column, which serves as a measuring gauge, standing in a stone-lined pit, roughly 6.20 metres square, with a staircase running down to the bottom. Below this is a cylindrical section with steps cut into its masonry walls. The four sides of the square pit are relieved by recesses, each covered by a pointed arch vault resting on a pair of engaged colonettes with clock-formed capitals and bases. This type of arch was, of course, an essential part of Gothic architecture, but the arches in the Nilometer are three centuries older than any Gothic example. The measuring column is a tall octagonal shaft measured into 16 cubits, averaging 54.05 cm, by transverse lines, and the ten uppermost are each subdivided into 24 "fingers" by 24 divisions, grouped four by four alternately on either side of a vertical line. Creswell then mentions that the column has been broken in two places: "(1) in the twelfth cubit, the length of which has been reduced, between 1798 and 1853, to 22.5 cm (9 in.), and (2) at the junction of the 16th and 17th (*sic*), the length of the cubits remaining unchanged." The column rests on a pedestal 83 cm square and 1.17 metres in height and this rests on a millstone 1.50 metres in diameter and 32 cm thick. The length of the column before it was broken, including these supports, was 19 cubits. The millstone rests on a floor of wooden planking supported by four heavy timber beams. Connection to the Nile is made by three tunnels, all opening into the east side.

Descriptions by Arab writers agree essentially with the foregoing details given by Creswell, except for the length of the column. According to Ibn Djubayr (ed. Wright-de Goeje, 54-5), this was 22 cubits; a water-level of 17 cubits was most beneficial for agriculture but up to 19 was acceptable; the sultan was entitled to levy *kharādj* if the level reached 16 cubits and the actual amount of tax levied depended upon the measured level above that point. Al-Idrīsī, writing perhaps three decades earlier than Ibn Djubayr, has much the same information, including the fact that the sultan could levy *kharādj* once the level had reached 16 cubits. If the level exceeded 20 cubits it was detrimental because trees were uprooted and houses ruined, while a maximum level below 12 means a year of drought and sterility (ed. Dozy-de Goeje, Arabic, 144, French tr. 173). There is therefore an indication that the column was longer in the 6th/12th century than it is today.

Al-Muḳaddasī (206) gives little information about the construction of the Nilometer, saying simply that it was a pit in the centre of which was a long column divided into cubits and fingers. He tells us something, however, about the importance of the device to the people of the Nile Delta. When the water started to rise, the supervisor reported daily to the sultan the mark reached by the water on the measuring column. No public annoucements were made until the level reached 12 cubits. Thereafter the crier made his rounds every day, announcing "Allah increased the blessed Nile today by such-and-such an amount." The people rejoiced when the water level reached 16 cubits, since they knew it would be a good year.

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(J. Ruska-[D.R. Hill])

MĪLĀD (a.). According to some Arabic lexicographers, the meaning of this term is time of birth in contradistinction to *mawlid*, which may denote also "place of birth". The latter is the usual term for birthday, especially in connection with the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad and Muslim saints [see MAWLID]; *mīlād* denotes also Christmas. For other special meanings, cf. Dozy, *Supplément, s.v.*

Bibliography: See the Arabic lexicons.

(A.J. Wensinck)

MILĀḤA (a.) "navigation, seamanship; seafaring". Like its English and French counterparts, *navigation*, the Arabic term has both a narrower and a broader connotation. The former refers to the mariner's art of determining the ship's position, charting her course and assuring that her progress and ultimate arrival is performed efficiently and safely; the latter, to seafaring in general. The term is attested in its *faʿʿāl* form, *mallāḥ*, at least since the ʿAbbāsid period (Lane, vii, 2733); it appears to go back to Akkadian and ultimately Sumerian (*Chicago Akkadian dictionary, Letter M*, Part 1, Chicago 1977, 149-52: Akk. *malāḫu* "sailor, boatman"; R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*[2], Paris 1976, 93: MÁ "boat", MÁ.LAḪ$_4$ ("boatman"), no doubt via Hebrew (*mallāḥ*) and Aramaic. Association of the term with *milḥ* "salt [water]", already proposed by early Arabic lexicographers (Lane, citing the *Tahdhīb* of al-Azharī, the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and the *Ḳāmūs*), as also by the Hebrew Bible commentators, would thus probably be a case of popular etymology. (S. Soucek)

1. In the pre-Islamic and early mediaeval periods.

I. NAVIGATION IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES. The early Near Eastern civilisations. In spite of the geopolitical position of the Arabs, with the Arabian peninsula being bounded by the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, they were not among the first seafaring nations of the Near East, like the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, because most of their ports were not accessible for navigation in ancient times (G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring*, New York 1975, 5 ff.).

In Mesopotamia, swimming floats or float-supported rafts were used on the Euphrates, as appears from Assyrian reliefs of the 4th millennium. The first Mesopotamian vessels were rivercraft, and even when the inflated skins were replaced by a line of pots the hulls were not constructed with any pre-erect inner structure, but instead they had a "backbone" (a prominent keel plank) and "ribs" (inserted frames) (L. Casson, *Ships and seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, 27; and for the Islamic descendant of the inflated skin craft, see KELEK).

It seems that the Mesopotamian vessels in ancient times carried no sails and were only propelled by oars. They were used for carrying timber, etc., but depictions on Assyrian reliefs show that such vessels could also become warships and carry soldiers.

The artistic evidence from Egypt is especially rich and offers ample light on the types of the Egyptian vessels of ancient times. Again, the shell-of-planks technique is used for the construction of ships. By the year 3100 B.C. a sail appears in an Egyptian drawing of a vessel, while a great number of drawings of Egyptian ships offer us detailed depictions of masts, oars, steering oars and spoon-shaped hulls (C. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, Paris 1935, Pls. III ff.). The Egyptian depictions reveal that

Egyptian vessels were used as cargo ships and warships as well. The vessels which the Egyptians used in the Red Sea were constructed on the River Nile, then dismantled and reassembled on the Red Sea (Abdel M.A.H. Sayed, *New light on the recently-discovered port on the Red Sea Shore*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, lviii [1983], fasc. 115-16, 23).

It is likely that ancient Egyptian vessels sailed coastwise to avoid the dangers of the open sea, and that the lengths of voyages were limited, going as far as Punt, i.e. Somaliland and Ḥaḍramawt, whence the Egyptians imported such products as ebony, myrrh, ivory, gold and wild animals (see Casson, *The ancient mariners*, London 1960, 12-13). Vessels were also used for warfare in Egypt, as is shown by a relief of the Pharaoh Sahure's pyramid (*ca.* 2550 B.C.), depicting ships carrying troops.

The mariners *par excellence* of the Near East were, however, the Phoenicians. Phoenician ships appear already in a relief of the third millennium B.C. at the time of the Pharaoh Snefru, sailing to Egypt loaded with cedar trees, but their maritime strength reached its peak in the first millennium, when they replaced the naval dominance of the Minoans and Greeks who had first dominated the Mediterranean.

In contrast to Egyptian naval architecture, which was based on riverboats, the vessels of the Phoenicians were from the beginning intended for seafaring, being half-moon in shape with high stern, and with bows distinguished by a wide beam. Phoenician galleys were surmounted by broad square sails and were often two or three-banked. Phoenician ships were propelled by oars and/or sails and two huge oars were used as rudders.

The Phoenicians firmly established the spice route to be followed for centuries later by the Persians and Arabs. Already at the time of King Solomon, Hiram, the Phoenician king from Tyre, sent his sailors to serve Solomon's newly-established fleet in Ezion Geber. King Solomon's fleet, as stated in I Kings, ix, 26-8, was manned by Phoenicians and sailed as far as Ophir, by which it is understood Oman and India. Gold, myrrh, parrots and other goods were thus transported by the Phoenicians from India and South Arabia to Palestine (see V. Christides, *L'énigme d'Ophir*, in *Revue Biblique*, lxxvii [1970], 240-7).

After the 9th century B.C., the Greeks started taking the upper hand in navigation in the Mediterranean, so that by the 5th century B.C., the Mediterranean had become a Greek lake and later a Roman one.

The pre-Islamic Arabs. The role which the pre-Islamic Arabs played in navigation in this early period was marginal, but should not be ignored. Certain Arabs used float-supported rafts in the Red Sea and appear in Greek sources as Ἀσχῖται. From such primitive rafts—whose model should be traced to Mesopotamia—boats sewn together with fibre, whose flat bottom consisted of a single plank, developed for navigation on the Red Sea.

In order to safeguard sea traffic, the Ptolemies had planted a number of coastal towns—or renewed and renamed old ports—on both sides of the upper part of the Red Sea: Clysma-Cleopatra, Arsinoe, Philothera, Myos Hormos, Berenice and Leuke Kome.

Goods from the Orient were unloaded in Myos Hormos on the African coast, from where they were transmitted, via the river Nile, to Koptos (Strabo, 780, 781), whilst Leuke Kome on the Arabian side of the Red Sea served as a port of discharge for these goods. With the advent of the Romans, Leuke Kome diminished in importance and the little island Iotabe at the entrance of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba acquired great importance, serving as a customs clearing-house for the ships which headed towards Ayla [*q.v.*], which developed into an important emporium in the 4th century A.D.

Meanwhile, the participation of Arab vessels, merchants, shipowners and seamen in the Red Sea traffic is explicitly attested in the Greek and Latin sources of the Hellenistic and Roman period. As pirates, some Arab tribes, living on the coastline of the Red Sea, forced the Romans to embark guards in their merchant ships (Pliny, *Natural History*, vi, 173). But it was mainly as sailing traders that they were known; Strabo reports that the Arabs of South Arabia used float-supported rafts (δερματίνοις πλόιοις) to sail across the Red Sea towards the African coast in order to trade with the African (Strabo, xvi, 4, 19).

The best information about Arabian ports, trade and seamen is found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written in the early Christian era, which mentions that Muzza at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, not far from the inland capital of the Ḥimyarites, Ẓafār, and the nearby port of Okelis, were the most important starting points for sailing to Western India.

For the 6th century, two contemporary Byzantine sources give information on Arab seafaring. The first, the *Martyrium of Arethas* (ed. Boissonade, in *Anecdota Graeca*, v, Paris 1833, 44-5), refers to Indian ships; since we know that Indian ships usually did not sail beyond the island of Ceylon or the Bāb al-Mandab, we should probably understand by the term "Indian" "South Arabian" vessels. In the second source, the *Acts of Gregentius*, there are also references to Arabian ports (see Christides, *The Himyarite-Ethiopian war and the Ethiopian occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius* [*ca. 530 A.D.*], in *Annales d'Éthiopie*, ix [1972], 115-46).

Arabic sources have only scanty references to Arab navigation in pre-Islamic times. The nautical terminology found in the Ḳurʾān and in the Arab lexicographers is exigous, but betrays a triple influence, i.e. Persian, Indian and Graeco-Roman, on Arab navigation. Thus the word *nāk͟hudāh* "captain" comes from the Hindi *nāo* and the Persian *k͟hudā* (cf. S.S. Nadvi, *Arab navigation*, in *IC*, xv [1941], 437, and for the Ḳurʾānic evidence, W. Barthold, *Der Koran und das Meer*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxiii [1929], 37-43).

Sea traffic in the Red Sea from the 4th to the middle of the 7th centuries A.D. The period from the 4th to the middle of the 7th century A.D. marks the most intensive sea traffic in the Red Sea and its extension on the one hand towards the Indian Ocean and on the other—through Egypt and Syria—towards Constantinople. At this time, Persian ships dominated in this busy traffic; Byzantine ships held the second place in this traffic, while there was also participation of Arab and Ethiopian ships.

The hagiographical works of the 5th and 6th centuries describe how the spices and aromatics from the Orient, along with Chinese silk, were sent to Tyre and Sidon and then forwarded to Constantinople via Rhodes and the coast of Asia Minor (see H. Magoulias, *The lives of the saints as sources of data for the history of commerce in the Byzantine Empire in the VIth and VIIth centuries*, in Κληρονομία, iii [1971], 303-30). This was the time of the florescence of Byzantine navigation and its international sea trade, and Byzantine shipowners enjoyed great freedom and prestige, one never to be repeated in later times when strict state controls were imposed.

The Red Sea traffic reached its peak in the reigns of the emperors Justin I (518-27) and Justinian (527-

65), with commercial competition in this area among the rival powers of the Persians and the Byzantines. There was no direct confrontation between Byzantines and Persians at sea or on land, but the Persians tried to infiltrate Yemen in order to support the local pagans and the Jewish Ḥimyarite rulers, while the Byzantines through their allies, the Christian Ethiopians, strongly supported the Christian Ḥimyarites.

Justin I, taking profit from the upheaval in Yemen, allied with the most important powers in the southern part of the Red Sea on both sides of the coast: the Ethiopians and the Blemmyes, who extended in a loose confederation from ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] as far as Ethiopia, hoping to use his Christian Ḥimyarite allies in order to extend his power as far as Aden, transforming the Red Sea into a Byzantine lake (see Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in late antique and early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*,, in *Listy Filologicke*, ciii [1980], 136).

Unfortunately for the Emperor, the situation was reversed when the Persians occupied Yemen, and his successor Justinian I failed equally in his attempt to persuade the Ethiopians to try to undertake the sailing to India in order to gain control of the silk trade with China and to exclude the Persian intermediaries.

Thus in practice, Persian cargo ships dominated the navigation, sailing side-by-side with the Byzantine ships; the 6th-century author Cosmas Indicopleustes informs us that Byzantine ships dared to sail as far as Ceylon, where again they competed with the Persian ships, and Greek inscriptions discovered in various parts of the Arabian and African coasts of the Red Sea and numerous coins discovered in Ceylon attest to the activities of Byzantine traders in these areas (N. Ahmad, *The Arabs' knowledge of Ceylon*, in *IC*, xix [1945], 224-5; B.J. Perera, *The foreign trade and commerce of ancient Ceylon*, in *Ceylon Historical Journal* [1951],, 110 ff.). During the time of K͟husraw I (531-78) the Persians imposed their rule on Yemen and their ships based on the port of Aden, controlled the Bāb al-Mandab, the entrance to the Red Sea, and nearly shut off the Byzantine route to the East (D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, *Sasanian maritime trade*, in *Iran*, xi [1973], 44).

II. Navigation in Islamic times. Although the newly-established Islamic caliphate did not possess any ample reservoir of trained navigators, it did control the Egyptian shipyards and their workers; it inherited the Phoenician tradition from the conquered Byzantine Orient; and there were a number of Arabs living on the southern coasts of the Arabian peninsula who were experienced sailors and skilful ship caulkers.

We know something of the nature of the ships sailing from the Phoenician shores in the period preceding Islam from e.g. the depiction of a Phoenician cargo ship incised on the wall of a burial chamber in the catacombs of Bet͟h-S͟heʾarim, between Haifa and Nazareth, dating between *ca.* the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D., in which this ship strongly resembles the late Roman vessels (see R.L. Bowen, *A Roman merchantman from Israel*, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, xlviii/1 [1962], 68-70); and the Phoenician tradition of the stern post ending in a horse's head was transmitted to Muslim naval architecture.

However, the construction of Muslim merchant ships owes also certain of its features to pre-Islamic Arab naval traditions; thus the imitation of the sewn boat—common in the Arabian Gulf from the pre-Islamic period until the present day—in the construction of Arab cargo ships can be easily understood (see Bowen, *Primitive watercraft of Arabia*, in *The American Neptune*, xii [1952], 196 ff.). The average mediaeval Arab dhow had a length of about 75 feet with a displacement of about 100 tons. Modern Arab dhows can be as small as 1-10 tons (*būt*) and as big as 100-200 tons (*būm*) (M. Lesourd, *Notes sur les nawakhid, navigateurs de la mer Rouge*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Arch. Naut.*, xxxii, ser. B, no. 25/1-2 [1960], 352).

The Umayyad period (661-750). After the most important Islamic conquests were accomplished in land warfare, the Umayyads eagerly undertook the development of the Islamic navy. The Umayyad period is characterised by efforts of the Arabs to construct warships; they realised that the consolidation of the rapidly acquired Islamic conquests and further expansion could not be achieved without a strong navy. But although there is ample information about the construction of ships and the recruitment of sailors at this period, little is known about attempts to build cargo ships and about the encouragement of the sea trade and activities of merchant shipping.

The recruitment of sailors in the Umayyad period, at least in Egypt, is recorded meticulously. Requisitions by the central government were addressed to the community, which had collectively the responsibility to recruit its share of sailors. The draftees were not forced to serve without pay, but received regular wages (H.I. Bell, *Greek papyri in the British Museum. The Aphrodito Papyri*, iv, London 1910, pp. xxxi ff.). The wages of the recruited crews were not, however, uniform. The marines who functioned as fighting men (μάχοι) received higher salaries than the sailors (ναῦται), and even among the marines, the *muhājirūn* (μωαγαρῖται) were paid higher salaries than the *mawālī* (Muslims of non-Arab descent) (μαυλοῖς) (Bell, *op. cit.*, Papyrus no. 2 1447). In addition, the bread which was prepared for the marines, as one Arabic papyrus states, was of better quality than that of the sailors (Christides, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984, 54 ff.). During the Umayyad period, most of the skilful sailors of Egypt were Christians, while the marines were Muslims; but by the end of this period, the situation gradually changed.

We do not have much information about the recruitment of sailors in Syria during the Umayyad period. Undoubtedly, a number of the inhabitants of the coastal towns were drafted into the Syrian fleets. There was, nevertheless, a considerable reshuffling of this population, famous from ancient times for its expertise in naval activities; Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80) transferred many Persian workers from Baʿlabakk to the Syrian coastal towns of Tyre and Acre to be used for ship building, perhaps an indication of the diminishing number of the Christian, Phoenician, shipbuilding workers.

Dockyards and naval bases; Muslim naval expeditions. After the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs continued the use of the Byzantines' dockyards [see dār al-ṣināʿa] in Alexandria and Clysma in Egypt as well as those in Syrian, that of Clysma (Ḳulzum [*q.v.*]) being of particular importance.

Trajan's canal, uniting Egyptian Babylon with Ḳulzum, had become silted up, but was cleaned and used before 23/644 for the corn fleet which now, instead of going to Constantinople, was diverted to D͟jār, the port of Medina, to feed the inhabitants of the holy cities. Later Jedda (D͟judda [*q.v.*]), the port of Mecca used for the pilgrims, replaced D͟jār. On their way to Mecca, the pilgrims stopped in ʿAyd͟hāb, the port controlled by the Sudanese people of the Bed͟ja [*q.v.*]. Thus the corn trade and the pilgrimage traffic contributed to the sea traffic on both sides of the

upper part of the Red Sea, whilst at the same time, the old incense route to the ports in the southern part of the Arabian Gulf and the Indian ports was also maintained. The Greek papyri of Aphrodito, in addition to the numerous references which they make to the construction and repairing of ships in Ḳulzum, report that Ḳulzum was also used as a naval military base, no doubt against the Red Sea pirates, whose activities had been notorious since Roman times.

The port of Alexandria still retained its fame in the Islamic period, though to a diminishing extent. Most of the Byzantines left Alexandria after its conquest by the Arabs, but a strong Jewish community, composed mainly of traders, remained there; moreover, the skilful Egyptian craftsmen continued the Byzantine tradition (see M. Rodziewicz, *Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of new discoveries*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, i [1982], 44). The landmark of Hellenism, the Pharos (lighthouse) [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA and MANĀRA], was partly preserved during the Umayyad period; and even three centuries later, the Persian author Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes the torches which were lit at night and which led safely the ships to the port of Alexandria. It is not, therefore, surprising that already from the time of Muʿāwiya, a great number of ships were constructed and repaired in Alexandria, and it was also from there that the most important Muslim sea raids originated.

While Alexandria in the Islamic period lost ground as a great entrepôt, the port of al-Faramā acquired great prominence. The group of Jewish merchants, known as al-Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*] sailed from southern France, carrying merchandise which was unloaded in al-Faramā, from where it was transported on the back of camels as far as Ḳulzum, thence by ship to the Orient.

Meanwhile, naval bases were established in other parts of Egypt, e.g. at Rosetta and Damietta [see DIMYĀṬ] at the mouths of the river Nile in the Mediterranean, and at Tinnis. Damietta, in particular, on the eastern arm of the Nile delta, acquires great importance in the ʿAbbāsid period, whilst the Tinnis base near Damietta was founded on a little island. Moreover, in 94/713, a base was also established in the Pentapolis of Cyrenaica [see BARḲA].

Syria also acquired bases from the beginning of the Umayyad period; the first dockyards started operating in ʿAkkā (Acre) in 49/669, while those of Ṣūr (Tyre) were also busy shortly afterwards (A.H. Fahmy, *Muslim sea power in the eastern Mediterranean*, London 1950, 52-3). The Syrian dockyards had the great advantage of drawing timber from the Syro-Lebanese forests, which also exported timber to Egypt, while iron was imported from the Sudan. These dockyards functioned also as bases from where naval expeditions originated, these being launched from the time of the governorship in Syria of Muʿāwiya, in 27/648 or 28/649 onwards. For details, see BAḤRIYYA. I. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250, in Suppl., and for the great naval battle off the Lycian coast in 31/651-2 or shortly afterwards between the Arabs and Byzantines, the so-called "Battle of the Masts", see DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl. To the bibliographies given there and in ḲUBRUS should be added, for the Arab attacks on Cyprus, R. Browning, *Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the early Middle Ages*, in *'Επετηρίς Κέντρου 'Επιστη Ουικῶν 'Ερευνῶν*, ix (1977-9), 101-16; C.P. Kyrris, *The nature of the Arab-Byzantine relations in Cyprus from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 10th century A.D.*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii (1984), 149-75; and for the "Battle of the Masts", the not very satisfying study by A.N. Stratos, *The naval engagement at Phoenix*, in *Charanis studies*, New Brunswick 1980, 229-47; and V. Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656, a classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in Βυζαντινά, xiii (1985), 1331-45. For the Arab naval attacks on Constantinople, see AL-ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA, to the bibliography of which should be added, for the image of Constantinople in the popular Islamic mind, M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, repr. in *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche-Orient*, London 1973, 80 ff.

The ʿAbbāsid period (750-1258). It was not until well into the ʿAbbāsid period at the turn of the 3rd/9th century that the Byzantine supremacy at sea was seriously challenged, and during the early ʿAbbāsid centuries there was a gradual development of the Muslim merchant and war fleets, reaching its peak in the 4th/10th century. The Arabs' land victories, in e.g. Sicily and Crete, were the result of a patient and persistent military preparation, backed by scientific progress in such fields as nautical instruments, efficient war machines and weapons. Also, the formation of large commercial Arab fleets was completed by this time, so that Muslim ships not only sailed side-by-side with the Byzantine vessels in the Mediterranean but dared to reach as far as India, South-East Asia and China (see S.M. Yusuf, *Al-Ranaj, the route of Arab mariners across the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam*, in *IC*, xxix/1 [1955], 75-103). One should also note that in Egypt, the semi-independent dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids [*q.v.*] paid special attention to their navy, and the Egyptian fleet in its attacks on the Byzantines, often cooperted with the Syrian fleets, i.e. those of the semi-independent naval states of Tarsus and Tripoli.

Arabic manuals of seafaring and warfare. The early Arabic manuals of navigational science are all lost. In his navigational text *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl ʿilm al-baḥr wa 'l-ḳawāʿid*, written in 895/1490, Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*], a pilot as well as an author, mentions that the earliest dated pilots were Aḥmad b. Tabarūya and Khwāsh b. Yūsuf (both apparently Persians) who sailed in *ca.* 400/1009-10 and were also authors of navigational texts. In addition, Ibn Mādjid informs us that one hundred years later three writers appeared, known as the "three lions" (*luyūth*), whose texts were read by him but which are no longer extant (see further below, 3. Muslim navigation in the Indian Ocean).

Information on Arabic naval warfare was usually incorporated into more general manuals of warfare, of which a certain number existed by the 4th/10th century. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* two such war manuals composed at the time of the caliphs al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) and al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) respectively (cf. J.T. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes*, in *JA* [Sept. 1848], 195 ff.; Christides, *The conquest of Crete*, 29-31). Special mention should be made of the works of the Mamlūk author Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whose works are a mine of information about Muslim ships, their technology, "Greek fire", etc. Most of his works are still unpublished, but his treatise *al-Aḥkām al-mulūkiyya fī fann al-ḳitāl fi 'l-baḥr wa 'l-ḍawābiṭ al-nāmūsiyya*, has been recently published by M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm in a typewritten dissertation of the University of Cairo (n.d.). In this treatise there are explicit references to and fragments of an Arabic translation of Leo VI's *Tactica* (see Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries): an Arabic translation of Leo VI's Naumachica*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 137-48). Information about navigation is also found abun-

dantly in the Arab geographers from Ibn Khurradādhbih onwards, and also in al-Masʿūdī, in whose *Murūdj al-dhahab* there is ample information about the seas, sailors and navigation in general [see further, DJUGHRĀFIYA], and in such material as that of the Cairo Geniza (see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967 ff.).

The replacement of the Byzantine merchant fleet by Muslim fleets in the Mediterranean. During the ʿAbbāsid period, although Arab navigation developed in the Mediterranean, the Byzantine long-distance navigation and trade heavily diminished. This is less to be attributed, according to H. Pirenne's theory, to the Muslim conquests which supposedly shattered the commercial unity of the Mediterranean (cf. A. Riising, *The fate of Henri Pirenne's theses on the consequences of the Islamic expansion*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, xiii [1952], 87-130; R. Lopez, *Beati monoculi: the Byzantine economy in early Middle Ages*, in *Cultus et cognitio, Festschrift Alexander Gieysztor*, Warsaw 1976, 341-52) than to the effects of the strictly-controlled Byzantine financial system and the loss of several important Byzantine ports in the Near East and North Africa. Heavy taxation and strictly-controlled profits choked the maritime activities of the Byzantines, leaving little room for personal incentive; and simultaneously, the activities of foreign ships in the territorial Byzantine waters were heavily curtailed, limited, out of fear of spying, to restricted areas and compulsory lodging houses known as μιτατα. Thus the great maritime Byzantine boom of the 7th century suffered a mortal blow, never to recover. Previously, at the end of the 6th and in the first half of the 7th century, Byzantine merchant ships had been very active in long-distance voyages. At this time, the word ναύκληρος was used almost interchangeably for "captain" and "shipowner", manifesting the participation of captains in the profits, and Byzantine hagiographical works describe the financial support of these long-distance voyages by the Patriarch of Alexandria and the great prestige which the shipping magnates enjoyed (see Magoulis, *op. cit.*, 303-30). But after this time, the land-bound Byzantine aristocracy showed little interest in investment in maritime ventures. Short-distance sailing uniting the various parts of the Empire continued, but this was a pale echo of former activities, and it was only in the second half of the 14th century that the Byzantine aristocracy, having lost its lands to the Turks, invested again its capital in maritime ventures (see N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins en Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Montreal 1979; A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis places this new tendency somewhat earlier in *The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period, a collective portrait*, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, lvii [1982], 105).

Nevertheless, some Byzantine ships continued to visit the Arabian ports; Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century) complains that, from the time when the Byzantine merchants were allowed to frequent the Muslim Mediterranean ports, the Muslims were exposed to dangerous Byzantine spying.

Muslim commercial navigation in the Mediterranean reached its peak in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when vessels plied as far as Spain [see TIDJĀRA]. The most important trade routes at this period were those connecting the Egyptian port of al-Faramā with Constaninople; al-Faramā with southern France; al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] in Ifrīḳiya with Sicily and Italy; and two maritime routes connecting Algeria with Spain (see T. Lewicki, *Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut moyen âge d'après les sources arabes*, in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1977*, xxv [1978], 439-80).

Nautical instruments. During the ʿAbbāsid period, the Muslims invented or improved some important nautical instruments—astrolabes were already used by them by the 4th/10th century—and their legacy contributed to the discoveries of the new lands by the Portuguese and other European nations in the 15th century (T.A. Shumovsky, *A fifteenth century Arabian marine encyclopaedia*, in *Procs. of the 25th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow 1960; for the Arab astrolabes, see ASṬURLĀB). They also used detailed sailing directories (*dafātir*) and charts (*ṣuwar*). In contrast to our scanty knowledge of Byzantine maps and portolans, of which little has remained, there is ample information about the cartography of the Arabs, with many Arabic maps preserved [see KHARĪṬA].

Ships and crews; naval tactics. Like the regular Byzantine type of warship called *dromon*, the average Muslim warship, the *shīnī*, carried a crew of about 140 to 180 oarsmen. The *shīnī* was a two-banked vessel, with a special officer in charge of each bank. The Arab warships were still equipped with the ram, but it was not used for sinking enemy ships; it was used for inflicting minor blows on them and for immobilising them in order to hit them with projectiles. The main characteristic of Arab warships was the use of superstructures on the ships, a sort of forecastle, which transformed the ships into fortified towns. Mariners, taking protection under them, engaged in throwing various types of missiles, e.g. heavy stones, pieces of iron, etc. Moreover, flame throwers, usually mounted in the bows, launched "Greek fire" onto the enemy ships [see NAFṬ].

The recruitment of sailors and marines, as recorded mainly in the papyri of Egypt, was done very carefully. Theoretically, men from various social classes and professions were liable to maritime service, but personal service could be usually replaced by a money compensation, and many recruits must have been experienced sailors. Thus the maritime expenses fell upon the entire population of Egypt, but the actual duties were performed mainly by professionals. It was not till the Fāṭimid and especially the Mamlūk periods that this system was changed, and non-professional sailors were recruited (Y. Lev, *The Fāṭimid navy, Byzantium and the Mediterranean Sea 909-1036 C.E./297-427 A.H.*, in *Byzantium*, liv [1984], 250).

Within the crews of ships, there was a rigid differentiation between oarsmen and marines. Ibn Manglī mentions ten officers who ran the ship (*al-Aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 39), among them the officer in charge of weather observations, the pilot and two lieutenants. There was also a clear distinction between the military commander of a warship (*ḳāʾid* or *muḳaddam*), in charge of the marines, and the captain (*raʾīs al-milāḥa*); and at the top, the Egyptian fleet had an *amīr* of the water (*amīr al-māʾ*) or the *amīr* of the sea (*amīr al-baḥr*). The numbers of ships employed in operations were not usually large, and as tactics, the Arabs, as their naval manuals advised them, generally preferred to fight in a crescent formation and less often in a compact one, trying to outmanœuvre the enemy by using various stratagems such as feigned flights, etc. Weapons employed are described in detail by Ibn Manglī, who further adds information about "Greek fire" and its use by the Arabs (*al-Aḥkām*, 54 ff.).

The decay of Muslim naval power. At the end of the 4th/10th century, there was an obvious decay of

Muslim naval power in the Mediterranean, signalled by the Byzantine reconquest of Crete (962) and Tarsus (965), and that of Sicily by the Normans (1090). In Spain, the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300-50/912-61) marks the turning-point in the development of its naval power. By the 4th/10th century, the Muslims of Spain had constructed formidable war flotillas in their shipyards as well as merchant ships whose naval architecture influenced the Western European equivalents (for the types of Spanish Muslim ships, see G. Oman, section "Imbarcazioni: tipi, costruzione", in his *Voci marinaresche usate dal geografo arabo al-Idrīsī (XII secolo) nelle sue descrizioni delle coste settentrionali dell'Africa*, in *AIUON*, xiii [1963], 9-13). The historian Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] describes in his *Muḳtabas* (*ca.* 450/1057) the activities of the Spanish Muslim ships against the "Franks", and also the commercial relations between al-Andalus and Italy (*Muḳtabas*, v, ed. P. Chalmeta and M. Ṣulḥ, Madrid 1979). But after 'Abd al-Raḥmān's death, the palmy days of the Spanish Muslim navy were over.

A similar decline is visible in commercial navigation. All this was not due to any single factor such as severe depletion of the forests of the Mediterranean Muslim countries, as is sometimes suggested, but mainly to internal weaknesses of the Islamic states system, and to the rise of new powers, i.e. those of the Italian towns of Pisa, Venice and Genoa which became the dominant powers in both merchantile navigation and naval warfare (see A.R. Lewis, *Naval power and trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton 1951, 183).

The decadence of Muslim navigation was accelerated by the Crusaders' seizure of such Syrian ports as Tyre and Acre, although Alexandria still remained a trade centre where foreign ships were allowed to approach and passengers were permitted to remain in the *funduḳs* [*q.v.*], whilst the Franks in the Latin Orient established their own *funduḳs* in which foreigners were allowed to remain.

While at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Muslim ships were still sailing as far as the Maghrib and Italy, by the end of this century most of the sailing between Western Europe and the Muslim Orient had fallen into the hands of the Italians (Cl. Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades*, Paris 1983, 137 ff.). Meanwhile, the Crusaders' conquest of Ayla opened up the Red Sea to the Franks, until it was retaken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1170, who transported thither dismantled ships on camel-back (see A.S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages*, in *JAOS*, lxxv [1955], 104). It was he who gave to the Egyptian navy a last ephemeral glory, using it in his reconquest of the coastal towns in Palestine and Syria in 583/1187, being the last mediaeval Arab ruler who understood the importance of the navy in military affairs.

The coming of the Mamlūks in the 7th/13th century marks the end of Muslim naval power. The Mamlūks' naval policy was marked by two actions which brought about the destruction of Muslim naval power. After their conquest of the Frankish cities in the Levant, they applied a deliberate policy of destroying the Syrian ports in order to make them unattractive to any further Crusades (see D. Ayalon, *The Mamluks and naval power*, in *Procs. of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, i/8 [1965], 7-12; D. Baraq, *A new source concerning the ultimate borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in *Israel Exploration Jnal.*, xxix [1979], 213); and the system of recruiting for the navy was altered. Al-Maḳrīzī laments that, while in the 4th/10th century the best were selected for naval service, which was considered an honour, now only the wretched served. Simultaneously, Muslim merchant ships lost their leading role not only in the Mediterranean but also in the Red Sea, where they were replaced after the 9th/15th century by the Portuguese.

The newly-developed science of underwater archaeology has yielded important information concerning navigation in the Mediterranean and Arab shipping activities in this sea. The recently-discovered ship wreck, dating to *ca.* 1025 A.D., at Serçe Liman off the southern coast of Asia Minor, just opposite Rhodes, is the most eloquent example of the invaluable services which underwater archaeology can offer.

The Serçe Liman wreck furnishes concrete evidence of an important change on the technology of shipbuilding in the early 5th/11th century. It is the earliest example we know of a seagoing ship, constructed in the modern skeleton-first manner (see G.F. Bass and F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey*, in *International Jnal. of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, vii/2 [1978], 119-32; J.R. Steffy, *The reconstruction of the 11th century Serçe Liman vessel*, in *ibid.*, xi/1 [1982], 13-14; Bass, *The nature of the Serçe Limani glass*, in *Jnal. of Glass Studies*, xxvi [1984], 64; van Doorninck Jr., *The Medieval shipwreck at Serçe Limani: an early 11th century Fatimid-Byzantine commercial voyage*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iv [1986].

Moreover, the shipwreck of Serçe Liman reveals that by the 11th century A.D. an international flavour prevailed in the composition of the crews of the merchant ships in the Mediterranean and that their cargoes could easily consist of objects originating from both the Byzantine and the Arab worlds. Some of the objects which were found in the Serçe Liman wreck, such as cooking utensils, remains of food, arms and luxury items, betray that there were, side-by-side, both Muslims and Christians among the members of the crew and passengers. The origin of the owner of the shipwreck of Serçe Liman cannot be identified, but most probably he was from Fāṭimid Egypt. It should be noted that this vessel, before its sinking at Serçe Liman, had headed freely towards the Byzantine ports of Asia Minor. Thus the evidence of underwater archaeology corroborates the information of the Greek and Arab literary sources, as well as that of the Geniza documents, that freedom of navigation for Arab and Byzantine cargo ships in the Mediterranean reached its peak at the turn of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966; Suʿād Māhir, *al-Baḥriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1967; W. Hoenerbach, *Araber und Mittelmeer, Anfänge und Probleme arabischer Seegeschichte*, Kiel 1967; A.M. Abbady and E.A.A. Salem, *Taʾrīkh al-baḥriyya al-Islāmiyya fī Miṣr wa'l-Shām*, Beirut 1972; J. Vernet, *La navegación en la alta edad media*, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, La Navigazione mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto 1977)*, xxv (1978), 323-88; J. Desange, *Recherches sur l'activité des Mediterranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*, Rome 1978; G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980; I. Shahid, *Byzantium in South Arabia*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxiii (1980), 23-94; M. Tolmacheva, *On the Arab system of nautical orientation*, in *Arabica*, xxvii (1980), 180-9; J.H. Pryor, *Transportation of horses by sea during the era of the Crusades, eighth century to 1285 A.D.*, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, lxiv/1 (1982), 9-25; Christides, *Two parallel naval guides of the tenth century:*

Qudāma's document and Leo VI's Naumachica. A study on Byzantine and Moslem naval preparedness, in *Graeco-Arabica* i (1982), 51-103; T.G. Kolias, *The Taktika of Leo VI the Wise and the Arabs*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iv (1984), 129-35. (V. CHRISTIDES)

2. In the later mediaeval and early modern periods.

This section will deal with both aspects of *milāḥa*, the mariner's art and seafaring in general, as they developed, chiefly among the Muslims of the Mediterranean, in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period; the treatment will also endeavour to reflect two stages, the earlier Arab one and the later Turkish one: although partly overlapping, they were distinctive in emphasis and intrinsic achievements.

The decline of Arab seafaring in the Mediterranean, mentioned in section 1 above of the article as beginning in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, became pronounced under the Mamlūks, and encompassed its three main aspects: military-naval, merchant shipping and corsair. It was contemporary with and partly due to the dramatic rise of European shipping in the Mediterranean that gained momentum in the 11th century.

An eventual result of the decline of Arab merchant shipping was the lack of Muslim participation in the new stage of improved navigational methods that characterised Mediterranean seafaring from the 13th century onwards. Three interrelated innovations marked these methods: the mariner's compass, the portolan chart, and an improved and expanded type of sailing directions.

The mariner's compass is first attested for 1187, and its perfection and widespread use became the domain of the Europeans. The term, of Latin derivation, only marginally appeared in Arabic (*kunbāṣ*: as in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo n.d., 54; tr. Rosenthal, i, 117), and then only with a shift in the meaning characteristic also of contemporary Italian, where it referred not to the instrument but to the portolan chart. The name of the instrument itself was replaced in the Mediterranean *lingua franca* by the Italian word *bussola* ("small box", on account of this improvement on the older unprotected magnetic needle; a "compass card", a windrose indicating four, eight or sixteen or thirty-two points of compass, attached to the needle and revolving with it, further characterised this improvement). This term does not appear to have been current in pre-modern Arabic, a symptom of the little use which the instrument received on the part of seafaring Arabs in the Mediterranean; on the other hand, it later became the standard term in Turkish, where its form *pusul* or *pusla* is attested from 1513 onwards (R. Kahane-A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana 1957, no. 133).

The portolan chart—also called compass chart—was a map of the Mediterranean, or of one part of it, produced specifically for use by mariners. It differed from contemporary land maps in several respects, the most prominent being a network of rhumb lines (lines indicating the points of compass) emanating from one or more centres, usually emphasised by a more or less elaborate windrose. The portolan charts, drawn with the help of the compass, reached a higher degree of accuracy than contemporary land maps, a fact of obvious importance to sailors; the rhumb lines had the additional function of facilitating the seaman's task of charting the ship's course. The earliest known portolan charts date from the 13th century; by the 15th they proliferated, and dominated the Mediterranean scene until the 17th. Most were produced by Italians and Catalans. Arabic portolan charts are known to have existed, but the small number of the extant ones, as well as the fact that they appear to be visual copies and lexical adaptations of the European ones, once more reflect the domination of Mediterranean seafaring, in the later Middle Ages, by the Christian half of that sea. The oldest known specimen dates from the 14th century and covers the western half of the Mediterranean (J. Vernet-Ginés, *The Maghreb chart in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, in *Imago Mundi*, xvi [1962], 1-16). A case apart is a group of atlases produced during the 16th and 17th centuries at the Tunisian workshop of the Safāḳusī family. They are a hybrid between the Italian portolan chart type and the world maps made by al-Idrīsī. Here, the non-functional (as far as use by mariners was concerned), mainly intellectual and aesthetical purpose, was carried to the extreme.

In addition to the portolan chart, there appeared the portolan proper: a text of sailing directions for a smaller or larger portion of the Mediterranean, as a verbal reflection and development in detail of the chart. Like the portolan chart, the portolan became possible only in the 13th century with the spread of the magnetic needle, for its essential feature was the indication of respective positions according to the points of compass. Here, the imbalance between the Christian and Arab Muslim halves of the Mediterranean is even more striking: in contrast to the great number of Christian portolans—again, chiefly Italian and Catalan—that have come down to us, not a single Arab one is known to have existed. The often mentioned "rutters", sailing directions included in the works of al-Bakrī (ed. de Slane, 81-6) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 257-309 = 3rd climate, sections 1-3) belong to an earlier, pre-compass method of navigation that went back all the way to classical antiquity.

Aside from using the above-mentioned three types of tools—mariner's compass, portolan chart and portolan text—Mediterranean seamen of the later Middle Ages continued to avoid availing themselves of the more sophisticated though still rudimentary instruments of incipient astronomical navigation such as the astrolabe [see ASṬURLĀB and section 3. below], characteristic of Muslim seafaring in the Indian Ocean. This was due, on the part of the Christians, not only to unfamiliarity with the methods of a different tradition, language and culture, but also to the reduced size of the Mediterranean where, unlike on the oceans, coasts and landmarks were never too far away; relative position according to the points of compass rather than latitude and longitude was the chief determining factor.

When viewed from a broader perspective, Muslim *milāḥa*, seafaring, in these final centuries of the Middle Ages lacked the rest of the growth features characteristic of the Christian one. A rapid evolution in ship-building technology was one of them. Enriched by elements introduced from the Atlantic, this technology developed newer and larger types of sailing ships driven by square sails and later by a combination of lateen and square sails; it remained the domain of the Christians and further contributed to the domination of long-distance Mediterranean shipping by them. The large Genoese and other Frankish (sailing) ships, called in the *lingua franca* simply that—a gamut of variations on the Romance terms derived from the Latin *navis*—or given more specific names such as adaptations of the Germanic "cog" or the

etymologically intriguing "carrack", became the great freighters of east-west trade, and their arrivals and departures were among the memorable events in the economic life of such ports as Alexandria. Venetian galleys, however, tenaciously endured the competition, partly by pushing their volume capacity to the limit, at which point they became the *gallere grosse di mercato*, the great merchant galleys of the Republic's convoys. We see nothing of the sort on the Muslim side. Although Arab coastal shipping must have retained its local vigour and importance, the galley—*s̲h̲īnī* or *ḳiṭʿa* in Arabic (cf. H. Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen*, Zwickau 1934, s.vv.)—did not develop into a large commercial vessel but remained essentially the traditional warship. Arab long-distance shipping between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coast on one hand and the Mag̲h̲rib and Spain on the other, still vigorous in the Fāṭimid period, appears to have receded under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. Characteristic of this are the voyages of Ibn D̲j̲ubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, the pious Muslim from Granada whose principal purpose was the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, nevertheless crossed the entire length of the Mediterranean on Christian ships (in 1183, Ceuta-Alexandria, in 1184-5, ʿAkkā-Cartagena; cf. *Riḥla*², ed. Wright and de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 35, 312); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed in the 1330s from Lād̲h̲iḳiyya to Alanya on a large Genoese *ḳurḳūra* (probably a carrack), and from Sinope to Kefe on a Greek (*Rūm*) ship (*Riḥla*, ii, 254, 354).

This imbalance manifested itself not only in peaceful commercial relations between the Christian and Muslim halves of the Mediterranean, but also in their confrontational aspect: Muslim coasts and coastal cities suffered considerably more from Christian naval raids than Christian coasts did from the Muslim ones, a situation of which the Crusades were a component, a partial cause and a symptom. On rare occasions, one of the Muslim states would muster enough determination to give an effective naval response to the Christians, e.g. the Mamlūk attack on Cyprus in 1425 in retaliation for the 1365 sack of Alexandria.

The naval imbalance was up to a point compensated by the activities of Muslim corsairs, especially in the western Mediterranean [see ḲURṢĀN]. In the latter zone, Muslim refugees from Spain swelled the ranks of local corsairs, making especially the harbours of Algeria bases for efficient pirate fleets that were using small and fast types of galleys. Even their activities, however, lacked the magnitude of "Sarasin" corsair fleets of the early centuries of Islam, and did not match the grand scale of the contemporary semi-official Christian, especially Catalan, piracy.

The later Middle Ages were thus marked in the Mediterranean by a relative Arab passivity on all maritime fronts: navigational techniques, shipbuilding technology, merchant shipping, military-naval enterprises. This situation changed up to a point with the expansion of the Ottoman Turks in the course of the 15th century.

Like the Arabs of the first decades of Islamic expansion, the pre-Ottoman Turks who spread over Anatolia in the last decades of the 11th century were nomads unfamiliar with the sea. Again like the Arabs of the 7th century, some of these Turks proceeded forthwith (perhaps—as in the case of the Arabs—due to a predisposition derived from the nomad's mobility and reliance on his *markab*) to learn the seafarer's art: the *g̲h̲azāʾ* of the Turkish horsemen quickly changed into a maritime *g̲h̲azāʾ*. It was led by the Sald̲j̲ūḳid prince Čaḳa Bey and his followers in the bay of Izmir: the conquests of the islands of Lesbos [see MIDILLI] and Chios [see SAḲĪZ] during the 1080s and 1090s were examples of their signal, though only ephemeral, achievements (see A.N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey*, Ankara 1966).

After a few years, the Turks withdrew from the Aegean coast, but filtered back in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries when they formed the coastal principalities of Ḳarasī, Ṣaruk̲h̲ān, Aydīn and Mentes̲h̲e [*q.vv.*]. Some of them—especially those of Aydīn—launched a maritime *g̲h̲azā* that rivalled in scope and energy the Umayyad and Cretan Arabs' campaigns against Byzantium. The exploits of Umur Beg of Aydīn (1328-48 [*q.v.*]) became legendary to the point of being evoked, a century later, by the epic of Enverī (see I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1953; P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"*, Paris 1957). The Anatolian coasts and nearby islands of the Aegean were the principal area of the Turks' contact with the sea. It was there that they first learned the mariner's trade, and their teachers were the indigenous Greeks who had been practising this art since antiquity. Conversion to Islam, intermarriage, turkicisation, all converged to produce a special seafaring population whose maritime vocation reflected this fusion in many ways. Turkish maritime terminology is one eloquent example. Thus the most characteristic type of the Mediterranean ships, the galley, became known in Turkish by its Greek loanword, *ḳadīrg̲h̲a* (Kahane and Tietze, no. 785).

Vigorous though it was, pre-Ottoman Turkish seafaring remained confined to the Aegean part of the Mediterranean. Turkish expansion over the rest of that sea took place only under the Ottomans, and became one of the most dramatic and noteworthy features of late 15th and 16th century Mediterranean history. Commensurably, Turkish maritime terminology further grew and absorbed much of the special professional vocabulary of Mediterranean seamen—the *lingua franca* that was based mainly on Italian but also included other components from Greek to Albanian and Arabic; this Turkish dimension of the Mediterranean *lingua franca* has been the subject of an outstanding scholarly study, the above-mentioned work by Kahane and Tietze.

The Ottoman Turkish *milāḥa* thus eclipsed the earlier achievements of the Mediterranean Arabs, but it retained some of the basic aspects of their seafaring that distinguished it from the Christian one. Thus in addition to its above-mentioned initial derivativeness from pre-Islamic elements, a characteristic feature of the Turkish *milāḥa* was its being based on the intimate relationship between the military-naval and corsair dimensions of seafaring; Ottoman merchant shipping, especially long-distance merchant shipping that crossed the boundaries between the Muslim and Christian halves of the Mediterranean, remained as restricted as it had been in the case of the Arabs.

The Ottoman Turks caught up with the Christians in those aspects of *milāḥa* where the Arabs had slipped behind since the Mamlūk period: in the art of navigation itself, in using and producing the principal types of nautical instruments, and in familiarising themselves with some of the newer types of ships and shipbuilding navigation technology. The Italian portolan chart and portolan text found their Turkish counterpart in the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, a book where the two principles became combined so as to produce a unique type of navigational tool that also asserted the Turkish individuality within the framework of Mediterranean seafaring. Its author, Pīrī Reʾīs (*q.v.*; see also P.

Kahle, *Pīrī Reʾīs, Bahrije*, Berlin 1926; S. Soucek, *A propos du Livre d'Instructions Nautiques de Pīrī Reʾīs*, in *REI*, xli [1973] 241-55), compiled it in two versions (926/1520 and 932/1526 respectively), producing a navigational description of the entire Mediterranean; the book is divided into a number of chapters of text, each of which is accompanied by a chart of the respective segment. Moreover, the second and longer version (one of whose manuscripts has been published in facsimile by the Türk Tarih Kurumu, Piri Reis, *Kitabı Bahriye*, 1935) is preceded by a versified introduction where the author expounds in considerable detail the art of navigation besides describing in broad terms the world's oceans and the ongoing voyages of Great Discoveries. As a book of sailing directions encompassing the entire Mediterranean and an atlas of enlarged charts of smaller segments of that sea, the *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye* is unique in portolan literature; and as a text that includes, in the second version, the latest information about the discovery of America and another great voyages, it stands out in contemporary Islamic literature.

Pīrī Reʾīs is also characteristic of the Ottoman *milāḥa* in another sense. His early training and vocation was that of a maritime *ghāzī*, whose trade combined piracy in quest of booty with the conviction of performing the *ghazāʾ*, Holy War for Islam, whenever the target was the Christian elements of the Mediterranean; intermittently, and especially in his later years, he also served the Ottoman sultan by joining the fleet on its naval campaigns. This double nature of the Ottoman *milāḥa*, sc. the individual, private one as an assortment of Turkish corsairs in constant struggle with the Christians, and the organised, governmental one as the *donanma-yi hümayūn*, the Imperial Fleet, represented two faces of the same coin, and carried to its extreme a phenomenon that was universal (cf. for example the role—not devoid of a religious hue whenever the Catholic Spanish were the target—of Sir Francis Drake in Queen Elizabeth's time). It was its degree and exclusiveness that set the Ottoman case apart from the rest. Another and steadily revitalising and growing source of strength for contemporary and early modern navies of the Christian powers, sc. the merchant marine, remained negligible in the Ottoman empire.

Corsair participation thus played an often decisive role in most of the naval campaigns of the Turkish fleet, in the extension of the Ottoman maritime frontier all the way to the western Mediterranean, and in the occupation of the post of chief admiral [see KAPUDĀN PASHA]. The case of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [see KHAYR AL-DĪN] illustrates and combines all these three elements. In 1520, he presented Algiers to the Ottoman sultan as the nucleus of a new *eyālet*; in 1534 he was appointed to the upgraded post of *ḳapudān pasha*; in 1538, he led the Turkish fleet to the victory at Preveza that gave the Ottoman empire its reputation of naval invincibility which lasted until the battle of Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTĪ] in 1571.

Although the Ottoman fleet was rebuilt remarkably rapidly after Lepanto, the decline—of which that battle was an incipient symptom—became accentuated in the course of the 17th century. The chief cause was the overall decline of the empire's earlier vigour, but among the contributing factors was the loss of ability to keep in step with the Christian powers' continuing modernisation of nautical sciences. Thus the shift from oar-driven galleys to sailing ships as the lynchpin of 16th and 17th century European war fleets only belatedly ocurred in the Ottoman navy, and then again due to the efforts of a former pirate and governor of Algiers, Mezzomorto Hüseyn Pasha [*q.v.*]. This seaman, appointed *ḳapudān pasha* in 1689, introduced this aspect of modernisation that had spread among the Algerian corsairs since 1605. The improvement bore fruit in two naval victories over the Venetians a few years later (1695). The inability to keep modernising on a par with European navies subsequently reasserted itself, however, and contributed to the destruction of the Ottoman fleet by a Russian one at the battle of Česhme [*q.v.*] in 1770.

The Turkish polygraph Kātib Čelebi (1609-57 [*q.v.*]) wrote a history of the Ottoman naval campaigns (*Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*; 1st printing, Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa Press, Istanbul 1141/1728-9), where he also recorded the organisation and structure of the Ottoman navy. The time of this compilation, mid-17th century, coincided with the first low ebb of the Ottoman Turkish sea power, exemplified by the recurrent Venetian blockade of the Dardanelles during the protracted conquest of Crete (1645-69), and the difficulties of the Ottoman fleet to break through it. This naval intrusion of a Christian war fleet into the Ottoman home waters was paralleled by a growing dependence on Christian merchant shipping. If in the Middle Ages and early modern period Christian shipping dominated only that part of the traffic that crossed the boundaries between Islam and Christendom, by the 18th century it began to assume an ever greater share of the Ottoman carrying trade as well, when European, especially French, vessels circulated along the entire stretch between Istanbul, Izmir and Alexandria (D. Panzac, *Les échanges maritimes dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 39 [1985], 7-34).

In the final decades of the 18th century, there began efforts to embark on a fundamental modernisation of the Ottoman navy that included the unprecedented novelty of theoretical training in naval schools established with the help of French and other European experts (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 507-11; S.J. Shaw, *Between old and new: the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 160-6). It was at this point that a counterpart to the term "navigation" in the narrow sense appeared, probably for the first time, in an Islamic language: *sayr-i sufun* or *sayr-i safāʾin*, no doubt a calque on the French model, as in a report of 1211/1797 to the sultan (Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 535). These efforts heralded a growing awareness at the centre of the state that adoption of European scientific methods was a prerequisite for the empire's survival; a realisation of Turkey's potential, based on her strategic maritime-economic position, to develop a strong merchant marine, however, occurred more gradually and only in the 20th century.

Navigation in the Indian Ocean and its Persian Gulf and Red Sea ramifications is covered in section 3 below, chiefly in the specific sense of the word; it may thus be appropriate to add a brief survey of Muslim seafaring there during the later Middle Ages and the early modern period as a counterpart to the sketch of its development in the Mediterranean.

The radical and all-embracing difference between the Muslim *milāḥas* of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean could hardly be over-emphasised, and is one of the intriguing aspects of Islamic history. Real enough since the appearance of Islam and during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, it became even more pronounced in the later Middle Ages. An almost total absence of military navies and naval warfare, in

contrast to their importance in the Mediterranean, continued to mark the oriental dimension until the arrival of the Europeans in 1498. Another difference was the complete mutuality of Muslim and non-Muslim merchant shipping in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to its increasing one-sidedness in the Mediterranean; this mutuality was compounded and in a sense caused by remarkably peaceful relations, in fact, the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims in India. The western coast of the Indian subcontinent could be compared in the maritime sense to that of southern Europe; but whereas the Arabs and Turks of the Mediterranean rarely and reluctantly crossed the religious boundary as merchant shippers, their Arab and Persian coreligionists of the Indian Ocean kept sailing to India and East Africa just as their ancestors had done before Islam. This activity had two significant results. One was the "maritime" spread of Islam to the Malabar [*q.v.*] region of India, East Africa and, eventually, also Indonesia; the other, more directly relevant to our subject, was a certain degree of "Islamisation" of seafaring in the Indian Ocean. If in the early 'Abbāsid period Arab or Persian shippers calling at such ports as Kh̲ambāyat [*q.v.*; anglicised as Cabay] were Muslims, the Indians sailing to Aden or other Near Eastern ports were not; by the time the Mamlūks ruled in Egypt, Kh̲ambāyat had become the most important port of Muslim-ruled north-western India (a good example of the two stages are the accounts of al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, i, 253-4 = § 269) and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 53), who visited Kh̲ambāyat in the 4th/10th and 8th/14th centuries respectively); its Gud̲j̲arātī sailors and merchants became the third group of Muslim seafarers, after the Arabs and Persians, characteristic of the Indian Ocean *milāḥa*. The Arabs and Persians retained primacy as the seafarers of the western Indian Ocean; in its eastern half and beyond to Indonesia, on the other hand, Gud̲j̲arātī Muslims appear to have played the principal role, especially when the Chinese in the post-Yung-lo (ruled 1403-24) period and after the final expedition of 1433 withdrew from those waters and chose Malacca, instead of such South Indian ports as Kūlam and Kalikat [*q.vv.*], as the western terminus of their voyages. Alongside the Gud̲j̲arātīs, the Māppilas [*q.v.*] of Malabar deserve mention as a prominent Muslim seafaring people of the Indian Ocean from the late Middle Ages onwards. In a sense relevant to our subject, the Māppilas stand out among all others, for they were formed as a distinct human group directly through the effect of Arab and Persian sailors and merchants visiting this part of the Indian coast, often settling there and intermarrying with certain castes of the Hindu population. This integration of Muslim seafaring and maritime trade with the non-Muslim ones in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to the rigid separation in the Mediterranean, is further exemplified by the fact that the Gud̲j̲arātīs pursued their maritime enterprise alongside the Hindu Vanyas (or Banyas), while both groups were subjects of an Indian Ocean sultanate (and eventually, of the Mug̲h̲al empire), and that the Māppilas never rose to the positions of the ruling class, but in this early period lived peacefully alongside the dominant Brahmi, Nayar and other Hindu groups (as well as the Christians of Malabar) and were well treated and in fact favoured by the Hindu rulers of Kalikat, the "Zamorin" (al-Sāmarī, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 88, who gives an excellent account of this situation).

One of the significant results of this purely commercial nature of seafaring (except for the often bothersome piracy, endemic on most seas) in the Indian Ocean was the above-mentioned lack of a military-naval tradition. This circumstance, no doubt beneficial for centuries, had near-catastrophic consequences when the Europeans made their entry on the scene once Vasco da Gama, guided by the Arab *muʿallim* Ibn Mād̲j̲id, crossed the Indian Ocean from Malindi [*q.v.*] to Kalikat in 1498. The Portuguese immediately began to suppress native seafaring between India and the ports of the Near East both for economic reasons—re-routing the Spice Route trade around the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon was the goal—and religious ones, especially when the target of their attack was Muslim ships or those whose destination was the Islamic Near East. Eventually, native seafaring recovered from the initial shock and by the 1540s, through its sheer volume and resilience, broke the Portuguese blockade; it was this vitality of the chiefly Muslim merchant marines of the Indian Ocean, rather than the sometimes over-emphasised effect of the entry of the Ottoman naval power on the scene, that caused the recovery of the Spice Route traffic through the Near Eastern ports. On the other hand, the natives never managed to create navies that could seriously challenge those of the Europeans; after the failure of the Mamlūks and Ottomans to defeat the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean (roughly between 1508 and 1552), and of the Javanese to wrest Malacca from the Portuguese in 1541, all the major naval battles were fought among the Europeans themselves once the British, Dutch and French joined the fray in the 17th century. This inability appears to have been caused by the absence of a native naval tradition rather than by a lack of the appropriate shipbuilding technology: for the natives, especially Indian shipwrights, had both the skill and resources to build large and sturdy sailing ships in no way inferior to European ones like the Portuguese carracks.

Finally, mention must be made of an aspect of commercial seafaring in the Indian Ocean whose effect was powerful and lasting: the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or pilgrimage traffic to Mecca. Despite the perils of sea voyages, the maritime route was the only really feasible way for most Muslims of peninsular India, Malaysia, Indonesia and East Africa, and the large numbers of pilgrims from such ports as Surat or Acheh contributed to the economic vigour and resiliency of Muslim *milāḥa* in the Indian Ocean.

The Arab-Persian inspiration of Muslim navigation in the Indian Ocean also left its permanent stamp on the maritime vocabulary of the seafaring peoples all the way to Indonesia. Thus *muʿallim* (whose principal connotation is "teacher"), the standard Arabic word for ship's captain or pilot, spread in this connotation over the entire span of the Indian Ocean; similarly, the Persian word *nāk̲h̲udhā* "ship's master, owner" (G. Ferrand, *L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in *JA* [1924], 238-9), also found universal application all the way to Indonesia.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see S. Soucek, *Certain types of ships in Ottoman-Turkish terminology*, in *Turcica*, vii (1975), 233-49; C.H. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 211-82; J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Soutien logistique et présence navale ottomane en Méditerranée en 1517*, in *ROMM*, xxxix (1985), 7-34; R. Mantran, *La navigation vénitienne et ses concurrents en Méditerranée orientale aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, in *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime*, 1962, 375-91; M. S̲h̲ukrī, *Esfār-i baḥriyye-yi ʿUt̲h̲māniyye*, Istanbul 1306; F. Kurtoğlu, *Türklerin deniz muharebeleri*, Istanbul 1932; H. Tezel, *Anadolu Türklerinin deniz tarihi*, Istanbul 1973; D.A.

Zakythinos, *Corsaires et pirates dans les mers grecques au temps de la domination turque*, Athens 1939; S. Soucek, *The "Ali Macar Reis Atlas" and the Deniz Kitabı: their place in the genre of portolan charts and atlases*, in *Imago Mundi* (1971), 17-27; W. Brice, C. Imber and R. Lorch, *The Aegean sea-chart of Mehmed Reis ibn Menemenli, A.D. 1590/1*, University of Manchester Seminar on Early Islamic Science, Monograph no. 2 (1977).

Literature on Muslim navigation south and east of Suez is vast, and only a brief typology combined with a few examples can be attempted here. The most important and directly relevant primary sources are the Indian Ocean/Red Sea/Persian Gulf counterparts of the Mediterranean portolans, the sailing directions by Ibn Mād̲j̲id and Sulaymān al-Mahrī discussed in section 3 below. Travel accounts are the next fundamental source; the Muslim ones are relatively few, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's is probably the single most valuable source. European travellers, whose testimony chronologically coincides with the period discussed in this section (13th century onwards) are truly remarkable, not only for their multitude but frequently also for their power of observation and comprehension of an initially alien world. The earliest generation, in which Marco Polo and Odoric of Pordenone stand out, is accessible in Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*; a later generation has recorded the situation at the inception of the Great Discoveries; here, the Bolognese Ludovico di Varthema and the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires (English trs., the Hakluyt Society, 1863, 1921 and 1944 respectively) tower above all the others. Finally, the British, French and Dutch accounts compiled in the 17th and 18th centuries gradually evolved into reports by employees of the semi-official trading companies and eventually of the incipient colonial administrations now often integrated in governmental archives; Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of The East Indies*, 1st ed. Edinburgh 1727, new ed. William Foster, London 1930, can serve as an example. Official documents in the archives of European powers have been fairly exhaustively used by historians, but those of Ottoman Turkey, relevant for the period of the Great Discoveries, have only recently begun to be studied. Aside from the pioneering essays by Ṣafvet (for example *Bir ʿot̲h̲mānlī filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, i [1327], 606-9, 680), it has been chiefly the late C. Orhonlu (*Hint kaptanlığı ve Piri Reis*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv [1970], or his *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun siyaseti: Habeş eyâleti*, Istanbul 1974) and S. Özbaran who have worked on this subject; the latter's concomitant use of Portuguese and other European archival documents (his ongoing research is at this point exemplified by *Osmanlı imparatorluğu ve Hindistan yolu*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 31 [1977]) complements J. Aubin's recourse to Portuguese, Persian and Arabic sources (see e.g. his *Les Princes d'Ormuz du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, in *JA* [1953], 77-138, and *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVI^e siècle*, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii [1972], 77-179). The brief but significant "report" by Selmān Reʾīs published by M. Lesure, *Un document ottoman de 1525 sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge*, in *ibid.*, iii (1976), 137-60, is revealing for an Ottoman naval commander's perception of seafaring in the Indian Ocean. The usefulness of Arabic sources in conjunction with the European ones has also been demonstrated by R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast: Hadrami chronicles, with Yemeni and European accounts of Dutch pirates off Mocha in the seventeenth century*, Oxford 1963. The extensive secondary literature has so far focused chiefly on the European dimension of seafaring in the Indian Ocean; here, C.R. Boxer's *Dutch seaborne empire*, New York 1965, and *Portuguese seaborne empire 1415-1825*, London 1969, alongside his articles such as *A note on the Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Atjeh, 1550-1600*, in *Jnal. of Southeast Asian History*, xxv (1969), as well as V. Magalhaes-Godinho's *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1969 (and the still more recent expanded editions of the Portuguese original), stand foremost. The more specifically Islamic or Asian focus is best represented by such works as W. Moreland, *The ships of the Arabian Sea about 1500 A.D.*, in *JRAS* (1939); A.R. Lewis, *Maritime skills in the Indian Ocean, 1358-1500*, in *Islam and the trade of Asia*, Oxford 1970, 238-64; A.C. Hess, *The evolution of the Ottoman seaborne empire in the age of the oceanic discoveries, 1453-1525*, in *American Historical Review*, lxxv (1970), 1892-1919; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilization in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985, M.A.M. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague 1962; A. Das Gupta, *Indian merchants and the decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden 1979; A. Jan Qaisir, *Merchant shipping in India during the 17th century*, in *Medieval India: a miscellany*, ii, Aligarh 1972; M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat: the response to the Portuguese in the 16th century*, Berkeley 1976; S.D. Dale, *Islamic society on the South Asian frontier. The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford 1980; T. Raychaudhuri, ch. "Foreign trade" in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, i (1982), 382-433. Finally, the contributions published as a result of the meetings of the *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime*, which convened under the leadership of Michel Mollat for the first time in Paris in 1956, should also be mentioned (especially the eighth *Colloque*, Beirut 1966, with the theme "Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient dans l'Océan indien", and the tenth *Colloque*, Brussels 1968, with the theme "Les Grandes Escales").

(S. SOUCEK)

3. In the Indian Ocean.

Navigation was well developed in the Indian Ocean by mediaeval times, and utilised the regular monsoon winds of that Ocean. These winds and the general shape and situation of the Indian Ocean encouraged homogeneity in nautical matters throughout the whole area, and the techniques of navigation were probably common throughout the Ocean in spite of the different cultures which could be found around its coasts. However, our knowledge of Indian Ocean methods comes almost entirely from Muslim sources, hence it is difficult to generalise. These navigational techniques differed considerably from those used in the Mediterranean, which were again common throughout that Sea, and Muslim sailors were usually conversant with the techniques used in their own sea and were not normally capable of navigating in both seas.

Quite a corpus of Middle Eastern navigational literature has survived in Arabic and Turkish relating to the Indian Ocean, so that we are able to reconstruct easily and in some detail the methods used. The earliest navigational texts to survive are those of Aḥmad b. Mād̲j̲id [see IBN MĀD̲J̲ID], who was also the most prolific and most important writer of such

works. He was an Arab from Djulfār, who lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century, and his dated works range from 866/1462 to *ca.* 1500. About forty of his writings are extant (although not all navigational), and most are short treatises in rhyme used for mnemonic purposes. His longest poem, the *Ḥāwiya*, and his large prose work, the *Fawāʾid*, are mines of information regarding Indian Ocean navigation.

Ibn Mādjid was followed by Sulaymān al-Mahrī from Shiḥr, who wrote around 917/1511 and died some time before 960/1553. His works are arranged more clearly than those of his predecessor, and deal systematically with theory and with practical results. It is from his works that the principles of mediaeval Arab navigation can be extracted and formulated. The details can then be filled in from the more verbose works of Ibn Mādjid.

Finally, the Turkish naval commander Sīdī ʿAlī Čelebi wrote a work on navigation in 961/1554 entitled *al-Muḥīṭ* which is a compilation of material translated directly from the Arabic of the two preceding authors (mainly from Sulaymān al-Mahrī).

The art of navigation was known as *ʿilm al-baḥr* or *al-ʿulūm al-baḥriyya*. Arab sailors and ocean pilots (*muʿallimūn*) presumably learned their profession through a long apprenticeship, and much of their art was learned by rote through the medium of *radjaz* poems. It is these poems, written down by the more literary Ibn Mādjid, which form the basis of the surviving literature. Ibn Mādjid then devoted himself to writing navigational poems in *ḳaṣīda* and other forms, finally attempting his long prose work as a sort of navigational encylopaedia.

As all the precepts of this art were committed to memory, no actual recording or logging of information was regarded as necessary. No charts of the oceans seem to have been kept; at least, charts are never mentioned by the writers. Measurements were taken, but the only instrument for measurement used was a plate of wood through which a knotted string was threaded. This is called a *khashaba* by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and in the Turkish of Sīdī Čelebi, a *lawḥ*. The *khashaba* was used for measuring the altitude of a star above the horizon. It was held at fixed distances from the eye using the knots placed on the string, and this enabled the height of the plate to measure different angular altitudes. Some models, however, had strings of different length for the different measurements, and some had several different-sized plates. The latitude of the observer could then be estimated from the altitudes of certain stars. Latitudes of well-known ports, as well as the latitude of the observer, were given in terms of the height of the Pole Star (*al-Djāh*) above the horizon, and when the Pole Star was out of sight, the Guards of the Little Bear (*al-Farḳadān*) (Bγ Ursae Minoris) were used and after them the handle of the Plough (δεζη Ursae Majoris) (*Banāt Naʿsh*). Measurements were taken on many bright stars and often on combinations of stars, and the readings were usually converted to a figure representing one of the groups given above. However, some altitudes like those of the Southern Cross (*al-Murabbaʿ*) were memorised as they were and not converted.

The *khashaba* originally represented the hand of the navigator held at arms' length and the unity of measurement was a finger (*iṣbaʿ*) [*q.v.*]. The standard *khashaba* was four *iṣbaʿ*s wide, i.e. a handbreadth, and this angular distance was known as a *dhubbān*. This art of measurement (*ḳiyās*) of stellar altitudes became very involved. The navigators took into account the variation in the height of the Pole Star at certain seasons (*bāshī*) and many other refinements (see Tibbetts, *Arab navigation*, 312-53).

In addition to the *khashaba*, in the later Middle Ages the Indian Ocean sailors used the magnetic compass [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2]. At the time of Ibn Mādjid, the compass was so well-known to the ordinary navigator and its use was so self-explanatory that the texts have very little to say about it. It was known in Arabic as *al-ḥuḳḳa*, with the compass needle as *al-ibra*. The latter was re-magnetised by a loadstone (*al-maghnāṭīs* [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 1.]). One must possibly imagine some form of a dry compass, perhaps with the needle fixed to a pivoted card. However, this is by no means certain from the text. The compass rose, known as *bayt al-ibra*, consisted of a circle divided into thirty-two rhumbs (*akhnān*) and these were named after prominent stars whose risings (*maṭlaʿ*) and settings (*maghīb*) were approximately on these rhumbs. Thus each star name was used twice, e.g. *maṭlaʿ Suhayl* and *maghīb Suhayl*, the rising and setting of Canopus for SSE and SSW respectively. In addition, the North Pole was *ḳuṭb al-Djāh* (Polaris) and the South Pole *ḳuṭb Suhayl*, so that the latter star (Canopus) was used three times in the system. The finer points of compass work, like the recognition of magnetic variation, were hinted at by the Arab authors but were probably circumvented by them in practice. Bearings (*madjrā*) were known for all well-known routes, and as bearings were never read off a chart, magnetic variations would be incorporated into the bearing. As the risings and settings of stars were used for the equidistant rhumb system in conjunction with the magnetic compass, it seems certain that a system based on these risings and settings was used in earlier times before the compass was available. Polynesian sailors used a similar system in much more recent times, and traces of this system occur in Arabic classical literature, when al-Masʿūdī speaks of *ḳuṭb Suhayl* and al-Hamdānī uses *maṭlaʿ Suhayl*. Other stars are occasionally mentioned by Ibn Mādjid in connection with bearings, and these may be survivals from an earlier period.

These two components, stellar altitude (*ḳiyās*) and bearings (*madjrā*), enabled the Indian Ocean navigator to make a course across the ocean, but there were other fundamental tenets of their art. *Ishārāt* were landmarks and signs in the sea such as fish life, sea snakes and the occurrence of certain weeds. All this was important for locating one's position, especially as, with only stellar altitude available for position finding, one could only find one's position latitudinally and could not pinpoint it accurately. *Masāfāt* were distances; but technically, only distances which were due east-west along a latitude line. How they were measured practically is not given, although much is said about measuring them theoretically, using departures (*tirfāt*) and working by triangulation. They were measured in watches (*zām*) and the difference between practical and theoretical *zām*s were given prominence in the texts. *Siyāsāt* was the art of dealing with the crew and the passengers, and was regarded as a serious part of navigational practice. Legally, the navigator was responsible for maintaining order and seeing that the ship and its contents, human and material, arrived safely at its destination.

Finally, the theory of the monsoon [see MAWSIM] and also of irregular winds was an important part of navigational technique. It involved a knowledge of the calendar, using the stars as a guide, i.e. a knowledge of what the position of the heavens was at any date and time. A corollary of this was the use of the Great Bear as a clock for calling the watches during the night. The calendar was based on 365 days counted

from the new year (*Nayrūz*) which was originally the Sāsānid year of Yazdagird III. However, as this had no intercalation, the *Nayrūz* made a slow retrograde movement through the solar year until it appeared in November in the time of Ibn Mād̲j̲id and Sulaymān. In more modern times, it reached mid-September, when it coincided with the beginning of the South Arabia-India sailing season and at that date became fixed.

Using this calendar, the navigator memorised the correct times for starting any major voyage so as to coincide with the correct monsoon wind, the word monsoon itself being derived from the Arab word used for these sailing seasons, sc. *mawsim*, pl. *mawāsim*. *Mawsim* was actually the time for setting out on a particular voyage. The navigational texts give long and detailed lists of these *mawāsim*, divided into three sailing seasons, one with the north-east wind (*azyab*) and two with the south-west monsoon (*kaws*). There was a closed period (*g̲h̲alḳ*) during the middle of the *kaws* season, because of the height of the swell and generally heavy seas. Before this was the *awwal al-kaws* and after it the *dāmānī* seasons.

How much of the Indian Ocean was covered by this system of navigation, and for how long a period of time, is difficult to determine, as the detailed texts come only from the Arabian peninsula shores and from the mid-9th/15th century to the mid-10th/16th century. As shown above, al-Masʿūdī uses a term common in the navigational texts, and he claimed to have interrogated sailors in the Persian Gulf. These sailors sailed during the heyday of Sīrāf [*q.v.*] when there was considerable trade between the Persian Gulf and China, and there is no reason to suppose that the same navigational techniques were not used then as were used in the time of Ibn Mād̲j̲id, except for the use of the magnetic compass (which first appear around 1230 A.D. in the western Indian Ocean). This same tradition could have gone back to the beginning of Muslim trading journeys, but the close relationship between the Indian navigators' code of the *D̲j̲atakamāla* dating from the 1st century A.D. and Ibn Mād̲j̲id's section on *siyāsāt* would incline one to believe that navigation almost a millennium back was based on the same principles, although we have no proof for the more practical side of the art.

The Arab texts refer to navigation from D̲j̲idda as far east as Formosa and the Banda Islands and from Hormuz to Sofala and Madagascar. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲-bih (272/885) mentions trading almost as far south and south-east, but in the China region his text covers as far as Silla (Korea?). Thus for most of the mediaeval period, Muslim ships sailed to the majority of the ports of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, but there is a fringe area where navigational details are sparse and where only general directions are given. This is the area where other races probably had the sailing monopoly and Arab knowledge was second-hand, but alternatively, it may be direct knowledge remembered indistinctly from an earlier period. Such areas were beyond Kilwa [*q.v.*] on the coast of Africa and beyond Malacca and Fanṣūr (Barus) in South-East Asia. Peculiar omissions in the more important navigational texts are the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea north of Djidda. There is, however, a separate poem by Ibn Mād̲j̲id dealing with the Persian Gulf alone.

The end of this navigational tradition began with the arrival of the Portuguese. The Arabs were not slow to pick up information from Europeans. Sulaymān al-Mahrī already quotes them concerning the route round South Africa, and Sīdī Čelebi, being brought up as a Mediterranean sailor, was well-acquainted with European methods, although it is doubtful if his work had any influence on Indian Ocean practice. Among other things, the Arabs soon learnt from the Portuguese how to use the sun for navigation. However, there is a gap in Arab navigational literature until the 19th century when the few surviving pilot guides were written, and these are based completely on European guides of the same sort. Surviving examples of Ibn Mād̲j̲id's *k̲h̲as̲h̲aba* were found in the Maldives in the early 19th century and were known there as a *kamal*, and the same century produced examples of a compass rose on which appear the mediaeval names for the rhumbs. There are little beyond these few traces, and the dhow captains of the 20th century have forgotten even these, so that Ibn Mād̲j̲id's methods of navigation have become a lost art.

Bibliography: A guide to the publications relating to this subject can be found in G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, General introd. pp. xi-xv. There is also a bibliography of works on the subject, pp. xix-xxvi. This work was based on the manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale given by G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, 3 vols., Paris 1921-8, and those from Leningrad given by T.A. S̲h̲umovski, *Tri neizvestnie lotzii Aḥmada ibn Mād̲j̲ida*, Moscow 1957, together with a manuscript which is now in the library of the Arab Academy in Damascus.

While this work was in the press, an edition of the Arabic texts was prepared by Ibrahim Khouri, *Arab nautical sciences: navigational texts and their analysis (al-ʿUlūm al-baḥriyya ʿind al-ʿarab)*, 3 vols., Damascus 1970-1. For this edition, another text from Baḥrayn was used in conjunction with the preceding. He also mentions another manuscript existing in Baḥrayn and several other navigational manuscripts.

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them into Russian in *Kniga pol'z ob osnovakh i pravilakh morskoy nauki*, Moscow 1985 (this work contains a full bibliography). Grosset-Grange has also produced *Les manuscrits nautiques anciens (Ocean Indien). Considérations relatives à certains termes particuliers*, in *Arabica*, xxvi (1979), 90-9, and *Les marins arabes de l'Océan Indien* in *Jeune Marine*, xlvii-xlviii (1983). (G.R. Tibbetts)

4. In modern times.

There exist at least four lists of names of boats of the historical past: Gildemeister 1882, Kindermann 1934, Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt 1949 and Darwīsh al-Nukhaylī 1974. The number of the Arabic names for boats ranges from Gildemeister's 40 to al-Nukhaylī's 247 [see safīna]. It should be noted that these lists were probably put together by combing through the literary sources. Consequently, they do not usually have any mention of technical details, such as tonnage, length, breadth or crew, which might give a clue to what type of vessel is involved. Also, in the second place, these names have no geographical locus and appear to be hard to date; taking into account their number, one might imagine that these names vary according to the place of construction. In this section of the article, the region under consideration is restricted to the seas around the Arabian peninsula; the terminology has been brought into prominence by specialists, and its chronological stretch is, *grosso modo*, from 1900 to 1980.

The geographical conditions along the coasts of the Arabian peninsula washed by the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea would not appear very much to favour human settlement. In fact, the number of ports there is relatively limited. In the Red Sea, along the Saudi coasts which stretch for about 2,000 km, there are only six ports, only two of which are important. Along the 640 km of the Sudan coast, there is practically only one port, Port Soudan, since Sawākin was abandoned. In Ẓufār (Dhofar), there exist two ports, Raysūt and Mirbāṭ [*q.v.*], and this last is virtually just an anchorage. In the north, apart from Masḳaṭ and Maṭraḥ [*q.vv.*] there are Sūr, once upon a time famed for its shipyards, and Shināṣ.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the proportion of the human population engaged in nautical activities, since in certain areas of the Gulf, in particular, some types of fishing activity have almost disappeared. Boat building has equally ceased with the adoption of vessels constructed from plastic materials or aluminium. In 1942, Hornell mentioned 17 centres of boat building: In the Gulf, Kuwayt and Baḥrayn; in the Arabian Sea, Masḳaṭ and Sūr (ʿUmān) and Mukallā and Aden (South Yemen), and in the Red Sea, Ḥudayda and Djudda. To these, six more in Africa should be added: Sawākin and Port Soudan in the Sudan; Maṣawwaʿ (Massawa) in Eritrea; Djibouti and Ras Aloula in Somalia; and finally, Zanzibar. These centres of construction, rather than shipyards, owe their fame to the master carpenters and certainly not to the tools used, which are restricted to the simplest of instruments: saws, a plane, an adze, a bow drill, a hammer and nails. This makes it possible to set up a workshop on any coast, provided that there is a master carpenter and a certain amount of wood available.

Regarding the description of boats, these are all fairly brief and lack, above all, any sort of uniformity. One element which seems to be common to every type of boat and on which the authors all seem to be in agreement, is the sails (A. *shirāʿ*, pl. *ashriʿa*). The wooden boats of the seas around the Arabian peninsula hoist on their masts a sort of lateen sail, but one which is not exactly triangular because the lower, external end is cut off to form more precisely a rectangular trapezoid. The proportion between the two parallel sides is in general 1:6. The sails are made locally from canvas of cotton generally imported from India. Yet there existed at Ṣuḥār and Madjis some manufacturing involving the weaving of canvas. Occasionally one finds some indications about the functions of the various members of the crews, but usually, their number is only rarely mentioned. Moreover, the number of sailors may be increased according to the function of the bọat, e.g. those used for pearl fishing.

The criteria for classification of the boats are based either on their use (pearl fishing, ordinary fishing, the transportation of people or goods) or on the type of construction (square or pointed poop). Amongst the boats typical of local use, one should mention: (1) the open boats made from palm fibres, known in Kuwayt by he name *wardjiyya* (see Al Saidan, *Encyclopedia*), simplified into *wariyya* or *huwayriyya* (see Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*) and in ʿUmān and the United Arab Emirates as *shāsha* (see Lorimer, *Gazetteer*); (2) dug-out canoes, carved out of a tree-trunk, generally known as *hūrī*, which seems to be of Indian origin; (3) rafts or sorts of rafts made up of tree trunks or lengthy pieces of wood tied together by coconut fibre, and called *ramath* (vars. *ramas* at Massawa and Port Soudan, *ramaṣ* at Ghardaḳa in Upper Egypt); at ʿAḳaba, in Jordan, the raft is called *safīna*, a classical term which is used for ships in general.

Boats driven by a motor include: (1) *abū būz* (= "having a snout"), a simple but functional transport vessel with a prow which resembles that of a schooner and with a square stern, built at Sūr in ʿUmān; (2) *landj* or *lansh* (<Eng. "launch"), in Kuwayt, a motor launch, provided with one or two sails, and employed, though not a great deal, along the Bāṭina, whereas in the Red Sea, the term is found from ʿAḳaba to as far as Ghardaḳa and Port Soudan; (3) *balāns* and (4) *māʿūna*, which according to Cifoletti, *La terminologia*, are large boats with motor drive.

The two generic terms which are most frequently applied to "local" type boats are, for French speakers, *sambouc* and for English ones, *dhow*. In fact, there still exist some thirty names, several of which refer to types of boat which have at present completely disappeared. Amongst those still in use, two further types may be mentioned, the *balam* and the *badan*, as being, in some ways, model types, representing precisely-defined sectors. *Balam* is a typically ʿIrāḳī term for a barque which has both bows and stern pointed in shape, with a flat deck and a capacity of transporting from 5 to 10 tonnes, and used on the Euphrates river. The *badan* is typical of northern ʿUmān, and is constructed according to two models, one for fishing (*badan ṣayyād*), and the other for the transportation of goods and for cabotage (*badan saffār*). This is the typical boat with an entirely sewn hull, a procedure which is resorted to in order to avoid damage to the hull in case of a collision with reefs at water level; it is however a procedure which appears to have been completely abandoned at the opening of the present century.

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AL-MILAL WA 'L-NIḤAL (A.), "the religions and the sects", one of the stock phrases employed, in the literature known as "heresiographical" (which would be more accurately described as "doxographical"), to denote an enumeration of religious and occasionally philosophical doctrines, as well as the various groups or schools which profess them.

The origin of the expression is obscure, and its meaning is imprecise and variable. On the general sense of the first term, see MILLA. Al-<u>Sh</u>ahrastānī claims, in one passage, to establish a distinction between *milla* and *dīn*, the latter signifying religion as such while the former would represent a certain "form of society" (*ṣūrat al-id<u>j</u>timāᶜ*), in other words, the community of adherents of this religion (*al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1951-5, 48, ll. 13-16). In fact, the usage current in the classical period does not seem to make this distinction, seeing *milla* simply as an equivalent of *dīn* or *<u>sh</u>arīᶜa*, as is attested, *inter alia*, by various formulae of al-Masᶜūdī, such as *al-<u>sh</u>arāʾiᶜ wa 'l-milal, al-ma<u>dh</u>āhib wa 'l-milal, al-ārāʾ wa 'l-milal* (*al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 4, ll. 2 and 19; 155, l. 10; 334, l. 18). As for the adherents of a given religion, thery are called *ahl millat* (*ka<u>dh</u>ā*): thus Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Ta<u>dj</u>addud, Tehran 1971, 411-12 (on the various faiths of India), Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, i, 98, l. 19 (on the Jews); *ahl al-milla* without further qualification being the Muslims (cf., for example, al-Bāḳillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, 358, l. 8 and 359, l. 4).

While *milla* is widely represented in the Ḳurʾān, *niḥla* occurs there only once, in the verse IV, 4: *wa ātū 'l-nisāʾa ṣaduḳātihinna niḥlat^an*, and its interpretation is controversial; see especially the commentary of al-Rāzī. One of the meanings accepted by the exegetes makes it an equivalent of *dīn, diyāna, milla* and *<u>sh</u>arīᶜa*. The only distinction normally established by the "heresiographers" seems to be that *niḥla* is said to be a concept of narrower scope than *milla*; *al-niḥal* is said to denote the various doctrinal trends within a particular religion. In any case, this is the sense in which it is quite clearly meant by Ibn Ḥazm (cf. *al-Fiṣal*, i, 98, ll. 19-20; ii, 110, l. 11, and 111, ll. 2-6 on the *niḥal ahl al-Islām*); the same applies apparently to al-Nā<u>sh</u>iʾ al-Akbar, presumed author of the book published by J. van Ess under the title *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal* (*Frühe muᶜtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1971, Arabic text, 9, § 2), and also to al-<u>D</u>jāḥiẓ. *al-Ḥayawān*, i, 9, l. 8, and iv, 206, l. 12.

The expression *ahl al-milal* is attested in *ḥadī<u>th</u>* (al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *<u>sh</u>ahādāt*, 29, in a formula attributed to al-<u>Sh</u>aᶜbī; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 410, l. 1 and 17), to denote the followers of religions other than Islam, essentially, no doubt, Jews and Christians. Among the works of the Muᶜtazilī theologian Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr, there is mention of a refutation of the *ahl al-milal* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 215, ll. 4-5).

It is not known how the expression *al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*, which hardly seems to have been used before the end of the 4th/10th century, came to be constituted. It is found (for the first time?) in the *K. Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm* of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-<u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī, ed. G. van Vloten, 35, l. 12: *al-faṣl al-<u>kh</u>āmis fī asāmī arbāb al-milal wa 'l-niḥal al-mu<u>kh</u>talifa*. Under this heading, al-<u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī describes the followers of religions other than Islam, Christianity and Judaism (which form the subject of the three preceding chapters), these being atheists, Buddhists and Brahmans, Sabians, Mazdaeans, dualists of various persuasions and "sophists".

The first work to have born the title of *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* is that of the A<u>sh</u>ᶜarī theologian and "heresiographer" Abū Manṣūr al-Ba<u>gh</u>dādī [*q.v.*]. This book, unfortunately, has not been preserved. Albert N. Nader claims to have rediscovered it, following information from the *<u>shaykh</u>* al-Kaw<u>th</u>arī, in an unheaded ms. of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, which he has published under this title (Beirut, Dār al-Ma<u>sh</u>riḳ, 1970); but in the opinion of the present writer, examination of the text shows that this identification is mistaken (see on this point, Gimaret-Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Peeters/Unesco 1986, 11, n. 2). As for the ms. of Istanbul mentioned by Brockelmann, S. I, 667, this is in fact a copy of the *K. al-Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm (information supplied by S. Yıldırım). However, from various references made to it by al-Ba<u>gh</u>dādī in his *K. al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, 109, l. 15, 230, ll. 9-11, 272, ll. 1-2, 276, ll. 20-1, 334, ll. 2-3, 358, ll. 22 ff.) as well as in his *Tafsīr asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* (ms. B.L., Or. 7547, fol. 273b, ll. 1-3), it emerges that the work in question dealt with all religions and doctrines without exception: Muslims of all sects, adepts of metempsychosis, philosophers, "astrologers" and other varieties of *mulḥidūn*. The work seems also to have contained (as is implied by *Farḳ*, 334, ll. 2-3) considerations comparable to those of *Tafsīr*, fols. 257a-273a, concerning dualists, Mazdaeans, Sabians, etc. The fact remains that it is not known exactly what al-Ba<u>gh</u>dādī means by the two words *milal* and *niḥal* and how he distinguishes between them.

Well-known, on the other hand, is the work of Ibn

Ḥazm [*q.v.*] entitled *K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*. Although the author does not explain the precise meaning of his title, it may be assumed that the first element, *al-milal*, corresponds to the first part of the book, i.e. as far as ii, 110 (cf. ii, 111 ll. 2-3: *ḳad akmalnā... al-kalām fi 'l-milal*), where there is discussion of religions and doctrines other than Islam: "sophists", *Dahriyya*, philosophers, Mazdaeans, dualists, Brahmans, Jews and Christians; and that the second element, *al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, corresponds to the second part, from ii, 111, to iv, 227 (cf. iv, 227 l. 21: *tamma 'l-kalām fī shunaᶜ al-mubtadiᶜa ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal al-muḍilla)*, which deals with heresies internal to Islam.

A disciple of Ibn Ḥazm, Ṣāᶜid al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] refers in his *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* (Cairo ed. Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜāda n.d., 18, ll. 15-16), in the context of the religions of the Indians, to a book which he says he has written *fī maḳālāt ahl al-milal wa 'l-niḥal*.

Al-Shahrastānī [*q.v.*], author of a very famous *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, gives, for his part, a new sense to these conventional terms. Linking *diyānāt* with *milal* and *ahwā'* with *niḥal* (in the context of the formula *arbāb al-diyānāt wa 'l-milal wa-ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, cf. ed. Badrān, 1. ll. 8-9, 6, ll. 18-19, 44, ll. 3-5), he compares these two pairs of terms as representing two contrary types of doctrines: on the one hand, revealed religions, based on obedience to a Book, authentic or otherwise; on the other hand, doctrines of purely human origin, the product of "free thought" (*al-istibdād bi 'l-ra'y*, cf. *ibid.*, 45-6, 659-60, 666, ll. 5-6). It is to these major categories that the two parts of the work correspond: (1) *arbāb al-diyānāt wa 'l-milal* (47 ff.), dealing with, in this order, Muslims, Jews, Christians, then Mazdaeans and dualists, labelled as disciples of a "pseudo-Book" *shubhat kitāb*); (2) *ahl al-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal* (659 ff.), where there is consideration of Sabians, philosophers, pre-Islamic Arabs, and then Indians.

In the bibliography of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa and al-Ṣafadī mention a *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*; the reference is apparently—although these terms do not appear in it—to a monograph otherwise known, and edited, under the title *Iᶜtiḳādāt firaḳ al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn* (cf. Fathalla Kholeif, *A study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī...*, Beirut 1966, 193, no. 38). In an extremely condensed fashion, al-Rāzī deals here successively with the whole range of religions or doctrines (Muslims, Jews, Christians, Mazdaeans, dualists, Sabians and philosophers), without taking account of the distinction proposed by al-Shahrastānī, whose work, in fact, he criticises very severely (cf. F. Kholeif, *op. cit.*, text of the *Munāẓarāt*, §§ 98-100).

To be mentioned in conclusion is a *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* by the Zaydī Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437), placed at the head of the corpus entitled *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār...*; to this there corresponds, at the head of the second corpus of the same author (and commentary on the first) entitled *Ghāyāt al-afkār...*, a commentary bearing the title *K. al-Munya wa 'l-amal fī sharḥ Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*. The two works have recently been published by Djawād Mashkūr (Beirut, Dār al-Fikr 1399/1979). It is from the second of these, it may be recalled, that there are drawn the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muᶜtazila*, definitively edited by S. Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961).

Bibliography: Given in the article, with the addition of G. Monnot, *Les écrits musulmans sur les religions non-bibliques*, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 5-48.

(D. Gimaret)

MĪLĀS, modern Turkish spelling Milas, in mediaeval and modern Western sources Milaso, Milaxo, Melaso, Melaxo, the classical Mylasa, capital of Caria, a town in south-western Anatolia and an important centre of the *beylik* of Menteshe [see MENTESHE-ELI and MENTESHE OGHULLARĪ] in pre-Ottoman times. It lies at an altitude of 60 m./185 feet in lat. 37°19′ N. and long. 27°48′ E. and is 25 km./15 miles inland from its seaport Güllük on the Gulf of Mendelia (Mandalya Körfezi).

1. Geography and history. Mīlās lies on a low eastern spur of the Sodra Dağı (Gr. St. Elias) in the centre of a very fertile plain surrounded on all sides by hills, and watered by the Sarı Çay which flows round the Sodra Dağı on the north and west. The road to the sea, however, does not follow this marshy watercourse but crosses the hills south of the Sodra Dağı, here commanded by the once powerful mediaeval fortress of Pečin (three miles south of Mīlās). The bay itself was in the Middle Ages defended by the island citadel of Asīn Kalᶜesi (Judeich, Iasos; *Athen. Mitteil.*, xv, 139) and later by a castle at the harbour built by Meḥemmed II (Pīrī Re'īs, *Baḥriyye*, ed. P. Kahle, ch. 21). At Milas met the old, and although difficult, only roads to the west to the important mediaeval port of Balāṭ [*q.v.*] (Miletus), to the north into the fertile plain of Karpuzlu Ovası and Çine and into the Maeander valley, and eastward to Mughla [*q.v.*], the other important town of the district. This, and its protected situation near the sea within a broad fertile plain, destined the town to be once more a capital when the region again attained political independence under the Turkish dynasty of the Menteshe-Oghullarī.

The region first passed temporarily under Turkish rule when after the victory of the Saldjūḳs at Mantzikert in 463/1071 [see MALĀZGIRD], the western Anatolian coast with Nicaea, Smyrna and Ephesus and even islands like Samos and Rhodes were occupied by the Turks. Although we have no definite information about Mīlās itself, we know that the monks of the neighbouring Patmos had to leave their monasteries on account of the Turks (in 1079; cf. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, iii/1, 185). But Byzantine rule was soon restored. It was only when the centre of the imperial government was withdrawn to Constantinople after the victory over the Latins in 1261 that this region finally passed into Turkish hands. When and how the final conquest took place we do not exactly know. Melanudion, which with Mīlās formed a theme from the period of the Comnenoi (W. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie Kleinasiens im Mittelalter*, in *Abh. Wiener Ak. W* (1891), 38), and is therefore to be located in the neighbourhood of Mīlās and was Byzantine till 1273 at least, was again taken for a time from the Turks of Menteshe in 1296, so that it must have been occupied by them a few years before (Wiegand, *op. cit.*). That Menteshe is called Σαλπάχις (= Sāḥil Begi, Amīr al-Sawāḥil) in Pachymeres (i, 472; Bonn ed. ii, 211), in Sanudo (Hopf, *Chron. gréco-romaines*, 145) Turquenodomar (read: Turqmenodomar = "Turkoman of the sea") suggests a conquest from the sea. There is no longer any record at this period of the bishopric of Mīlās, which as a church of the eparchy of Caria (see G. Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatuum*, 32, 112, etc.) was under the metropolis of Stavrupolis, which still existed in the 14th century (A. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrh.*, 34 ff.) (Stavrupolis, the ancient Aphrodisias, at the village of Gere, twenty miles west of Denizli).

Mīlās appears as the capital of the principality of Menteshe about 730/1330 in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ᶜUmarī (ed. Taeschner, 21: ملاس, corrupted from

ملاس, while Fōkeh = Phocaea which appears as a capital in the Genoese report, *ibid.*, 47, is probably an error of the writer and is not to be corrected to Mughla) and in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 278-80, Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 428-9) also, who here enjoyed the hospitality of the Akhī [*q.v.*] gild (on a *Futuwwet-nāme* written in Mīlās at the end of the 8th/14th century, see Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv, 40) and who admires the wealth of the town in gardens and orchards and gives the name of the lord of the country as Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Orkhan b. Menteshe, whom he visited in his capital Pečin, not far away. The Menteshe-Oghullarî built very little in Mīlās, as they were engaged in embellishing their residence. It is noteworthy that the two mosques of this period lie outside the old town, still largely enclosed in its old walls; one to the south, in the Ḥādjdjī Ilyās quarter, the little Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Djāmiʿi with outer court and stepped minaret, built under Orkhan Bey in 730/1330; the other just outside the walls to the east, the mosque of Aḥmed Ghāzī, built in 780/1378, which with its entrance in the narrow side (without an outer court) and the stepped minaret built above it (Ismail Hakkı, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, fig. 47) looks as if it had once been a church (cf. Wulzinger, *Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas*, in *Festschr. d. Techn. Hochschule in Karlsruhe*, 1925, p. 10 of the reprint). The *minbar* of this mosque, also dated 780/1378, is now in the Çinili Kiosk in Istanbul. From the position of these mosques, it may be deduced that the old town remained in the occupation of the Christians, who still held most of it in quite recent times. The only mosque in the old town, just in its centre, and in the highest part of it, the Bülend Djāmiʿ, seems also to have been a church and was probably used by the garrison, if it is old. The *madrasa* of Khōdja Bedr al-Dīn, which dates from the period of the Menteshe-Oghullarî, unfortunately cannot be exactly dated (*TOEM*, v, 58).

Mīlās received its first important building from the first Ottoman governor Fīrūz, whom Bāyezīd I appointed over Menteshe-ili (*Düsturnāme-i Enwerī*, ed. Mükrimin Halil, Istanbul 1928, 88) after the conquest (792/1390) (the date given by most Turkish sources is supported by Bāyezīd's confirmation of the Venetian privileges for Balāṭ of 21 May 1390, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice 1899, ii, no. 134). The Menteshe who fled to Egypt (*Düsturnāme, l.c.*) was probably the prince of the house ruling in Balāṭ, while the senior Aḥmed Ghāzī may have held out in Mīlās and Pečin till July 1391 (according to his tombstone, he died in Pečin in Shaʿbān 793 as a *shahīd*). In 796/1394, Fīrūz built to the north of the old town and outside of it a splendid mosque in the style of the Bursa private mosques (cf. Wulzinger's monograph). Ottoman rule was interrupted by Tīmūr, who passed through Mīlās on his return from Izmir in the winter after the battle of Ankara (1402) (Ducas, Bonn ed., 76), for about twenty years by the restoration of the former dynasty. This last period of the Menteshe-Oghullarî has left no memorials in Mīlās or Pečin. The Ottoman commanders then made their headquarters in Pečin, after which this *ḳaḍāʾ* of the Menteshe *sandjak* was long called (Abū Bakr b. Bahrām, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 638, i.e. in the second half of the 11th/17th century) and only moved to Mīlās at a later date, when a magnificent official residence was erected, with defensive towers, which is still partly inhabited.

From the second half of the 11th/17th century we have Ewliyā's description of the town (in vol. ix of his *Siyāḥet-nāme*, ms. Beşir Ağa, no. 452, fol. 51 = ed. Istanbul 1935, 208-11). He says the town had 4 mosques, 3 *masdjids* and two large *khāns*. At this time, the garrison was still in Pečin. He praises the gardens of the town but rightly describes the climate as unhealthy. Among the products, he mentions tobacco, with which Mīlās supplied the whole of Anatolia. Among the holy places mentioned by him, we may note that of Shaykh Shushtarī because it probably belongs to the Baba al-Shushtarī met here by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ewliyā's description of the old ruins is much exaggerated, although he saw a good deal more than now exists. Pococke (*Travels*, ii/2, ch. 6) at the end of the 18th century was still able to sketch a temple of Augustus and Roma here. All that now survives in addition to the town walls is the Balṭa Ḳapu (a Corinthian gateway with the Carian double axe) and a mausoleum called Gümüshkesen (filigree worker) (Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, i, 234 ff., pls. 85-92). In the adjacent village of Shaykh Köy is the *türbe* of Shaykh Bedr al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ḳāsim, who died at Bursa in 884/1479 and is buried here, a *khalīfa* of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (see *TOEM*, v. 311 ff.), on the site of a church of St. Xene, who died here (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xiv, 616-17).

In late Ottoman times, Mīlās was the chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the same name in the *wilāyet* of Mughla, earlier the *sandjak* of Menteshe; it is now the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district in the *il* or province of Muğla. Towards the end of the 19th century, Cuinet numbered the town's population at 9,373 Muslim Turks and 1,930 Greeks, but the *Sālnāme-yi Aydīn* of 1326/1908 gave a total population of 7,261, including 3,200 Greeks and 739 Jews. The Greeks were removed in the exchange of populations of 1922, and the urban population in 1955 was 10,145, which has grown now (1985 final census reports) to 23,622 for the town itself and 67,765 for the surrounding rural area, marking a grand total for the *ilçe* of 91,387.

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2. Mīlās rugs. A notable product of Mīlās has for centuries been fine rugs (used in the modern definition of small pile objects, "carpets" being larger ones). They are predominantly village products of medium size, made in the hinterland of the town. The three main types are *Ada Milas* ("island", after an offshore island), *Tahtacı* (after the Türkmen group called "woodmen") and *Karaova* (after a village to the south-west of the town). Warp, weft and pile are of wool. and the symmetric or "Turkish" knot is used for the medium-to-coarse pile. Most surviving examples date from the late 18th century, though earlier ones are known, but the largest output was during the middle

to late 19th century. Like other provincial Turkish rugs, including those of Gördes and Bergama, they show the influence of 17th century Uşak and Transylvanian carpets, particularly in the borders of meandering plant ornament. Mīlās knotters used only plant and geometric ornament, and these are stylised, with flattened palmettes, serrated leaves, carnations and rosettes. A features of Mīlās rugs is the choice of soft yellow as the second colour to red instead of the more common blue. Ivory and aubergine are used for detail. "Traditional" floor rugs are distinguished by very narrow central fields, the so-called "stripe" group, or the less common square boxes or "compartments" with wide borders which predominate in late 19th century pieces. A later "Baroque" or "Medjīdian" style is a Europeanised one popularised by Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd (1839-61 [*q.v.*]), builder of the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul. The most distinctive type is the prayer rug, which retains the *miḥrāb* arch and columns of earlier Ottoman prayer rugs but in different detail. The distinctive Mīlās type has an angular, waisted arch, supposedly derived from the horseshoe arch, on a ground of sharp red, the "columns" made up of floral ornament, and ivory spandrels filled with plant detail. The wide floral borders are generally on a yellow ground.

Bibliography: Celal Esad Arseven, *Les arts decoratifs turcs*, Istanbul n.d., 282, 290; The Textile Museum, Washington, Prayer rugs, Washington D.C. 1974; R. Hubel, *The book of carpets*, 2nd English edn., London 1977; U. Schürmann, *Ullstein Teppichbuch*, Berlin 1964, Eng. tr. *Oriental carpets*, London 1979; P. Bensoussan, *Melas rugs from Asian Minor*, in *Hali*, v/2 (1982), 120-4.

(JOAN ALLGROVE)

MILETUS [see BALĀṬ].

MILḤ (A.), salt.

1. In the mediaeval Islamic world. In pre-Islamic times, the ancient Arabs were already familiar with salt and used it, not only for seasoning their food but also in certain rites, e.g. for the oath which cemented an alliance, made around a fire (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 472-3; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 39; al-Nadjīramī, *Aymān*, 1924, 30-1; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, ii, 623; al-Marzūḳī, *Amkina*, ii, 155; cf. T. Fahd, *Le feu chez les anciens Arabes*, in *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Leiden 1973, 61). But it appears that certain tribes were not able, or did not want, to utilise salt for these rites, Now following their custom, even when the salt used symbolically to seal this alliance was substituted by milk, the latter substance continued to bear the name of *milḥ*.

The two types of salt known in the Islamic world were sea salt (*milḥ baḥrī*) and rock salt (*milḥ barrī*, lit. "earth salt") (see Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Dj. Djabbūr after the 1593 edn., Beirut 1980, 196). Certain salt mines were well-known: e.g. in Africa, Awlīl was called "the salt town" (see Gaden, *Les salines d'Aoulil*, in *RMM*, xii, 436-43); on the trade in salt within the Sahara, see AZALAY. In the Persian province of Fārs, salt was produced; thus it was extracted from the fringes of the Djankan lake. Mountains of salt which remained unexploited are mentioned in the sources, near the Dead Sea, whilst near Dārābdjird in Persia, the "salt mountain" was situated; its deposits contained salt (probably in a sense wider than that of table salt, see below) in a very solid form, from which various objects were carved, e.g. trays, platters, etc., which were exported to other countries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 300/294; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Tehran 1963, 134, tr. Minorsky, 128; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 560; al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, Beirut 1983, ii, 314). Speaking of these deposits, Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, explains that, in all the mines of other countries, fairly deep mining was necessary to reach and extract the salt; the author thus reveals to us a very important factor regarding the exploitation of rock salt. Salt was also obtained from certain salt marshes (*sibākh*, sing. *sabkha*) near al-Baṣra, where a great number of slaves were employed in the production of salt (Yāḳūt, iii, 30; Sontheimer, *Ebn Baithar*, ii, 531. *sandjī*; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 625: *milḥ sabkhī*). Near Alexandria, on the sea coasts, according to a 17th century traveller, "holes and channels were made into which the sea water ran, and then the sun's heat evaporated this water and in the end turned it into salt", whilst another traveller in the same century describes how quantities of salt were derived from the Nile's bed (probably in the Delta; the exact region is not pinpointed), for "when the Nile recedes, one finds salt on the surface of the ground like a white covering". He adds that Egyptian salt is the best in the world and is cheap (J. Wild, in the series *Voyage en Égypte*, Fr. tr., 152 [298], and E. Brown, in ibid., 160 [310-11]). Alpin (*Hist. naturelle d'Égypte*, Fr. tr. 21 [14] and n. 36, 270 [140] in the 16th century and G. de Nerval in the 19th one (*Voyage*, 1, 286) praise the Delta salt, above all that called *rashīdī*, i.e. of Rosetta, which was very cheap. In 1320 the Egyptian authorities levied a tax on the sale of salt (E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 323). Despite its low price, it is related that a certain person gave a box full of salt to someone as a present, but it appears that the originality of the idea was much more important than the present itself and indicates that it was an isolated case (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, 111, 39; al-Khālidiyyān, *Tuḥaf*, ed. S. Dahhān, 120, 192, 207; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, i, 261; al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ghurar*, Cairo 1248/1832-3, 448).

As in other languages, the word denoting salt contains several senses in Arabic: not only that of table salt (sodium chloride, see A. Siggel, *Ǧābir*, Wiesbaden 1968, 215) but also several kinds of natron and other substances resembling salt. There is found tanners' salt (*milḥ al-dabbāgha*), naphtha salt, goldsmiths' salt (*milḥ al-ṣāgha*), etc. (Thābit b. Ḳurra, ed. Sobhy, 39; Sontheimer, *op. cit.*, ii, 531; Meyerhof, *Maïmonide*, glossary; Anawati, *Drogues*, 142). The medical qualities of salt, with or without garlic, etc., are well-known in medical literature and in *ḥadīth* (al-Rāzī, *Manāfiʿ al-aghdhiya*, Beirut 1982, 203; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, Cairo 1957, 309-10; *al-Raḥma fi 'l-ṭibb*, attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Beirut n.d., ch. 85; Sontheimer, *loc. cit.*; and see section 2 below); It is called "the king of spices" (Ibn Ḳayyim, *loc. cit.*); it was added to several items of food and used to preserve the freshness of fish and other products (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. al-Ḥādjirī, 120; Rodinson, in *REI* [1949], 141, 152, 154), and mixtures of salt and spices were prepared called *milḥ muṭayyab* (lit. "perfumed salt") (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ms. Oxford, Hunt. 187, fols. 33a ff. = Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. Kaj Öhrnberg and Sahban Mroueh, Helsinki 1987).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also H. Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten*, Leiden 1964, 308-9.

(J. SADAN)

2. In medicine. Knowledge of the manifold healing powers of salt, already praised by Dioscurides, was taken over by the Arabs and enlarged by their own observations. Together with common salt, rock-salt (ἅλες ὀρυκτόν), to which probably corresponded Ar. *milḥ andarānī*, was considered to be the most valuable. Distinction was also made between salt

smelling of naptha (*al-nafṭī*) and of boiled eggs (*al-bayḍī*), the black Indian salt, uric salt (*milḥ al-bawl*), potassium salt (*al-ḳily*), and others. All salts have astringent power, while many are effective as emetics and laxatives, dissolve viscous phlegm and purge the bowels. Salt stimulates the appetite and aids the digestion, but excessive use heats the blood, weakens the power of vision, diminishes potency and causes itching and scabies. Bitter salt (*al-milḥ al-murr*) purges black bile, Indian salt the gastric juices. Wool saturated in a salt solution, if put on a fresh wound, stops the bleeding. According to the *K. al-Tadjribatayn ʿalā adwiyat Ibn Wāfid* of Avempace [see IBN BĀDJDJA], the manuscript of which has been lost but which is quoted at length by Ibn al-Bayṭār, salt also plays an important rôle in dentistry: dissolved in vinegar and used as mouthwash, it stops the bleeding of the gums and of open wounds after an extraction; the same solution, if heated, soothes teeth and, used as gargle, removes phlegm from the mouth.

Bibliography: Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, iii, Berlin 1914, 79-82 (= lib. V, 109) = *La "Materia médica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Ar. tr. Iṣṭafan b. Basīl), ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 424 f. = *K. al-Hashāʾish fī hayūlā 'l-ʿilādj al-ṭibbī li-Dīsḳūrīdūs min iṣlāḥ ... al-Nātilī*, ms. Leiden 1301, fols. 206b, 25-70b, 2; *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, ed. Kühn, xii, 372-4 = Djālīnūs, *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Escorial 793 (Renaud), fols. 180b, 19-181a, 16; ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. Ṣiddīḳī, Berlin 1928, 395; Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, 554-61 (no. 830); Ibn Abi 'l-Ashʿath, *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 291, fols. 276-7; Abū Manṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, ed. Bahmanyār and Ardakānī, Tehran 1346, 314 f.; Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 259, tr. E. Wiedemann, in *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, i, 709; ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, *Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn*, Ḥaydarābād 1383/1964, 380; Zahrāwī, *Taṣrīf*, ms. Istanbul, Beşir Ağa 502, fol. 506b, 8-12; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, 1294, i, 371-2; Ibn Biklārish, *Mustaʿīnī*, ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. III, F. 65, fol. 66b, 7-9; Ghāfiḳī, *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 155 I, fol. 64b, 20-1 *alaṣ* = ἅλες, salt; Idrīsī, *Djāmiʿ*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 3610, fols. 280, 8-281, 20; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 130; Maimonides, *Un glossaire de matière médicale*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 221; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iv, 163-6, tr. Leclerc no. 2164; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, Beirut 1395/1975, 504-6; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib...*, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 240; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 169a, 3-18; Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 323-4; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 610. (A. DIETRICH)

3. The salt trade in the Ottoman empire. Salt was a very significant contributor to Ottoman state treasury revenues, both from taxation (*resm-i milḥ*) and through export to foreign countries. Although Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ [*q.v.*] distinguishes seven distinct types and grades of salt in his *Menāẓir al-ʿawālim* (ms. Topkapı Saray, III. Ahmed 1578, fol. 369b), his categories may be simplified to two basic ones: salt produced through evaporation in above-ground pools (*mamlaḥa tuzu*), and subterranean deposits of crystallised or rock salt (*maʿden tuzu*). Based on Ḥüseyn Hezārfenn's [*q.v.*] description of goods supplied in 1071/1671 to the palace kitchens as part of the housekeeping funds (*odjāklïḳ*), sent in cash and kind from various part of the empire (Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii, 335), it may be inferred that salt from three different regions was regarded as top grade:

provenance	*quantity supplied in 1071/1661*
1. *nemek-i Eflāḳ* (Wallachian or Transylvanian rock salt)	460 *kiles* = 11.8 tons
2. *nemek-i Akhyolu* (sea salt from the Black Sea coast)	2,295 *kiles* = 58.9 tons
3. *nemek-i Ḳočḥiṣār* (lake salt from the central Anatolian salt flats near Sherefli Ḳočḥiṣār)	2,000 *oḳkas* (100 *kiles*) = 2.6 tons

Like other minerals, salt was subject to the assessment of a one-fifth tithe, the *khums-i sharʿī*, and the state typically farmed out the management of salt works to private interests and collected its share by means of the *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] mechanism. However, in order to ensure maximum profitability and productivity of this resource, the government imposed special conditions on the operation of salt works. A detailed description of the terms of leasing and conditions of operation at a salt bed in Zwornik province (Handžić, in *Prilozi...*, 171-3) provides a solid framework for analysing state concerns. From this document, we learn that to prevent the works from remaining idle due to lack of sufficient fuel to operate the crystallising pans, the state ensured that the available wood supplies should first be distributed for use on the days devoted exclusively to the production of treasury salt (*mīrī tuz*), and only if any surplus should remain was it to be made available for production benefitting the mine workers and shareholders (*rendjberān*) at the salt works. Furthermore, to prevent loss of revenues due to price competition, government regulations provided that all treasury salt had to be sold first before the shareholders' salt could be put on to the market. These measures helped to ensure a regular and steady income to the treasury from its tax-farm leases for salt production. The location and level of production of some of the principal sites in Anatolia and Rumelia as indicated by the *aḳče*-value of a one-year's lease of the tax-farm are shown in Tables A and B below.

Table A: Anatolia

Location (province name)	*Annual Valuation of the tax farm in* akčes
1. Belas (Ḥaleb)	30,000
2. Djabbūl (Ḥaleb)	1,800,000
3. Ḳočḥiṣār (Ḳïrshehir)	450,000
4. Ṣarïḳamïsh of Čorūm (Ankara)	100,000
4. Khorkhūn (Sivas)	230,000
6. Ḥïnïs (Erẓurūm)	66,640
7. Ṭortūm (Erẓurūm)	84.252
8. Čanḳïrï (Ankara)	117,879
9. Batnos (Aydïn)	505,000
10. Pečin (Mughla)	333,328
11. Ḳaresi province	40,000
Total for Anatolia and northern Syria	3,757,099*

Source: Başbakanlık Arşivi, MM 7075, summary tax-farm register for Anatolia and parts of northern Syria for the year 1046/1636-7.

* cf. the figure of 12,000 ducats (× 50 = 600,000 *aḳčes*) given in Iacopo de Promontorio's account of 1475 (Babinger, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* [1956], 68). Note that this earlier figure excludes both eastern Anatolia and northern Syria, which at that time had not as yet been made part of the empire.

Table B: Rumelia

Location (*province name*)	*Annual Valuation of the tax-farm in* aḳčes
1. Aḵẖyolu/Pomorie (Edirne)	3,300,000
2. Avlonya/Valona (Elbaṣān)	1,500,000
3. Enez and Ḳavāḳ (Edirne)	1,901,501
4. ʿUrfān/ʿOrfāni (Selānik)*	586,000
Total for the four sites in Rumelia	7,207,501**

Source: Aḵẖyolu—Istanbul, BBA, KK 2024, 127; entry dated 1051/1641. Avlonya, etc.—State treasury budget for the year 1079-80/1669-70; Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii, 210; notations dated 1101/1690-1.

* The salt works at ʿUrfān situated east of Thessaloniki on the Gulf of Stromonikos (Mostras, *Dict. Géographique*, 34; Inciciyan, *Osmanli Rumelisi*, 37) is also singled out for mention in the *Menaẓir al-ʿawālim, loc. cit.*, as one of the empire's most important sources of sea salt, a concentrated form extensively used for both industrial and domestic purposes.

** cf. the figure of 92,000 ducats (× 50 = 4,600,000 *aḳčes*) in Iacopo de Promontorio's account (Babinger, *op. cit.*, 63). Güčer (in *IFM*, xxiii, table at 130-1) calculates the composite revenues derived from 27 separate Rumelian and Anatolian *muḳāṭaʿa*s, dating mostly from the late 10th/16th century and about equally distributed between the two halves of the empire, as having yielded an annual revenue of 8,387,943 *aḳčes*.

Although the combined production of these scattered salt works in the Anatolian and Rumelian provinces was by no means inconsequential, major concentrations of salt lay in areas outside the sphere of direct Ottoman administrative control. Large quantities of salt entered the Ottoman territories via the Danubian ports from Wallachia. According to the data presented by Güčer (in *IFM*, xxiii, 115) a yearly quantity amounting to some 4,000 wagon loads of salt entered Ottoman lands as a commodity of trade, and it is known that still further amounts were sent as part of a yearly tribute to the Ottoman sultan, both from the voyvodas of Wallachia and from the *ḵẖān*s of the Crimea. According to a document housed in the Istanbul archives (BBA, KK 5024, 122), the annual contribution of the *ḵẖān*s was set at the level of 40,000 *kile*s which, using the conversion rate of 32 *oḳḳa*s per *kile* or 41 kg. specified in the document, equalled 1,640 tons. Of the several sites in the Crimea which were exploited for purposes of salt extraction, Perekop (Or-ḳapî) was the most productive. The vital importance of the salt trade to the *ḵẖān*s as a source of revenue was already noted in the mid-13th century account of William of Rubruck (*Hakluyt Soc.*, 2nd Series, iv, 52), and the continuing large scale of operations at Perekop is indicated in a succession of later sources as well. Ewliyā Čelebi estimated the value of the state-operated concession at Perekop in the mid-11th/17th century as 10,000 *guruṣẖ* (× 100 = 1,000,000 *aḳčes*) (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, 561), but this clearly only represented a fraction of the total production which was estimated *ca.* 1900 to have been in the neighbourhood of 759 million pounds or 345,000 metric tons (Rubruck, *loc. cit.*). A large proportion of this was consumed internally and used for preservation of the fish catch and as an important element in regulating the diet of the sheep flocks, both mainstays of the Crimean economy (on the use of salt to help maintain the body weight of sheep, administered on a regular basis after their return from evening pasture, see Peysonnel, *Traité*, i, 172-3; and S. Parkes, *A letter to farmers...*, 50-2, 66-7). The extent of the export trade in salt in the 10th/16th century may be gauged from the figure of 4,000 wagon loads referred to above. While a "wagon load" constitutes a rather imprecise basis for measurement, and varied from as little as 1,000 to as much as 8,000 *oḳḳa*s, if we take the conservative value of 1,500 *oḳḳa*s or 1,942 tons to represent the average *araba*, and use it as a basis for estimating the proportion of total production destined for export, the 4,000 *araba* figure corresponds to about 7,768 tons, only a small fraction of what was consumed locally. This situation, in fact, matches rather well with what we know of the strictly-controlled system of market distribution, both for salt and for other minerals, which was based on spatially-confined production districts known as *örü* [see MAʿDIN. 3]. As was the case with other forms of mining, the method of labour organisation involved registration of elements among the population of villages near the centres of salt production as *tuzdju reʿāyā*. For salt production, the labour force was divided, according to the scale of production at each evaporation pond (*gölek*), into work crews of various sizes with 30, 50, 60 or even 80 members, each group under its individual foreman called *reʾīs*, each of whom in turn reported to their common administrative director, either a tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*) or the sultan's commissioner (*emīn*) (for further details and examples, see Güčer, in *IFM*, xxiii, 101-8).

On the celebrated salt mines of Wallachia and Transylvania, we have information dating from a variety of different periods which indicates a continuous, intensive production of salt throughout the Ottoman period. Fichtel's classic account of the late 12th/18th century refers to the operation of as many as 120 separate mines in Transylvania alone, while from the mines centred around Targu-Ocna on the eastern skirts of the Carpathian mountains (presumably the same as the "Hosni" mentioned in Peysonnel's account, i, 188), the annual production of the five principal state-operated mines approached the 100,000 ton mark (detailed figures for the years 1887 and 1888 may be found in Istrati, *Steinsalzwerke...*, 423).

After the state monopoly (*inḥiṣār*) on salt production in the Ottoman empire passed to the jurisdiction of the Public Debt Administration in 1882, a more centralised system of accounting was introduced to replace the system of individual taxfarm leases (*muḳāṭaʿa*). Under the new system, the empire was divided into regional and provincial bureaux (*müdüriyyets*), each of which regularly reported its production statistics to the central office in Istanbul (for a report of one of the roving treasury inspectors (*māliyye müfettishi*) named ʿAlī Bey on the operations of the salt flats at Djabbūl and at Siirt in the late 19th century, see his *Seyāḥat zhurnalî*, 6, 15-16). As a consequence of these administrative changes, very detailed and accurate figures are available, both for overall salt

production, and for export destinations in the post-*Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period. From figures for the first decade of the 20th century, it appears that, despite the existence of much greater potential reserves, production of salt was deliberately limited to about one-half of full capacity, presumably in part to maintain a resonably high price on the international market. The regular annual production of all mines and salt ponds in the empire at this time varied between 230,000 tons (table in the *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt-i māliyye* for 1325 A.H., 192-3) and 300,000 tons (table in Solakian, 83). In contrast to the situation of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, a very large proportion of this increased production, ranging from one-third (Solakian, 3) to almost one-half (*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 194: 114,000 tons exported out of a total production of 240,000 tons) was set aside for export, especially to the Muslim East (on this, see *Iḥṣāʾiyyāt, loc. cit.*; 114,000 tons were sent to the following destinations:

India	79,000 tons
Singapore	23,000 tons
Rangoon	9,500 tons
Montenegro	2,500 tons
Total exports	114,000 tons).

The explanation for this reversal of traditional patterns is clearly to be sought in the compelling necessity, especially after the fiscal crisis of the 1870s, of generating expanded sources for revenues in cash in order to help reduce the national debt. As part of this process, production of salt at certain sites was greatly increased over former levels in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The largest contributor for export to the Indian market was the Yemen, where the salt works at Salif alone sent a quantity of 40,000 tons in 1324/1906 (*Iḥṣāʾiyyāt*, 191). This quantity represented nearly 40% of the total production of the Yemen for that year (Solakian, 83; the Yemen's total production for 1908 was 100,500 tons).

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C. Archival sources and documentary studies: documents recording the terms of assignment for tax-farm leases on salt from the records of the *bash muḳāṭaʿa* department of the Ottoman central treasury: R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık (eds.), *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mücib-i ʿörf-i ʿosmānī*, Ankara 1956 (documents nos. 20-5, pp. 28-35); Ö.L. Barkan (ed.), *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943. The most important regulations in this collection bearing on the question of salt production are the following: 1. *Ḳānūnnāme-i iskele-yi Ṭrābulus-i Shām (979/1571)*, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 214; 2. *Ḳānūnnāme-yi Rodos ve Istanköy (1061/1650)*, in Barkan, *op.cit.*, 340; 3. *Fātiḥ ḳānūnnāmesi*, para. 18, in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 394; 4. *Ḳānūnnāme-i wilāyet-i Bosna (922/1516)*, in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 399. See also idem (ed.), *1079-1080 (1669-1670) malî yılına ait bir Osmanlı bütçesi*, in *IFM*, xvii (1955-6), 304-47; L. Güčer, *XV-XVII. asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda tuz inhisarı ve tuzlaların işletme nizamı*, in *IFM*, xxiii (1962-3), 81-143; A. Handžić, *Zakonska odrebda (kanun) o tuzlanskim solanama*, in *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju*, viii-ix (1958-9), 169-79 (contains text of a document from *Tapu defteri*, no. 260, dated 955/1548). (R. Murphey)

MILIANA [see MILYĀNA].

MILITIA, MILITARY [see DJAYSH; DJUND].

MILK (A.), a legal term denoting ownership.

One must not expect to find in the earliest *fiḳh* texts a definition of ownership. Certainly, the term *milk* is found, but forms part of such expressions as *fī milkihi* "in his ownership", *fī ghayr milkihi* "not in his ownership" and *kharadja min milkihi* "it left his ownership". The verb "to own", *malaka*, is often used, and the phrase *malaka ʿalayhi* is employed when the object in question passes from one person's ownership into another's. Ownership (*milk*) is to be distinguished from possession (*yad*). The characteristic feature of ownership is its perpetual nature. If a tenant or lessee has only temporary possession, the ownership itself cannot be the subject of an act of relinquishment (*isḳāṭ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

The person exercising ownership is the owner or proprietor. The term *mālik* is very little used; *rabb al-māl* or *ṣāḥib* is prefered to it.

The object of ownership is the thing taken into ownership, *mamlūk*. Slaves, landed estates, houses, etc., can be the subject of this.

Ways of acquiring ownership. The thing, the object of ownership, can be acquired or become the property of a person by means of purchase (*shirāʾ*), of a gift (*hiba*), an act of charity (*ṣadaḳa*) or of a testamentary disposition (*waṣiyya*).

Confusion between the right of ownership

and the thing or object of ownership. Al-Djurdjānī defines the term *milk* thus: "It is a legal relationship (*ittiṣāl sharʿī*) between a person (*insān*) and a thing (*shayʾ*) which allows that person to dispose of it to the exclusion of everyone else". Yet for the classical Muslim jurists, the right of ownership became confused with the thing which is its object. For them, ownership is not a right (*ḥaḳḳ*) but a piece of property (*māl*) which has become ownership. Moreover, *milk* is so typically a material thing forming part of a person's patrimony that the question arose whether *milk* could have as its object an immaterial thing. The difficulty arises in effect from the fact that in Islamic law, a piece of property can only be corporeal and material, and a thing which is not considered to be a piece of property cannot be the object of an act of disposition. This is the reason why claims are not transmissible. By a kind of legal fiction, certain departures from this principle are admitted in practice. Ḥanafī law, for example, allows ownership of a tenure. On the other hand, the term *milk* is sometimes applied to an obligation (*dayn* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). In any case, the ideal of ownership (*milk*) predominates over that of obligation (*dayn*), and in certain texts, one even reaches a point where the obligation is reduced to a kind of ownership whose object is a piece of property taken in a figurative sense (*māl ḥukmī*).

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(A.M. Delcambre)

MILLA (A.), religion, sect.

Although the Arab philologists claim this term as a native Arabic word (cf. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, lvii [1903], 413), their explanations are so farfetched as to render it almost certain that the term stems from Hebrew and Jewish and Christian Aramaic *milla*, Syriac *melltā* "utterance, word", translating the Greek *logos*. It does not seem to have any pre-Islamic attestations, hence may have been a borrowing by Muḥammad himself. In the Ḳurʾān, it always means "religion". It occurs fifteen times, including three times for the heathen religions (VII, 86-7/88-9; XIV, 16; XVIII, 19/20), once for the religion of the Christians and Jews (II, 14/15) and twice for the religion of former prophets (XIV, 6, and ? XXXVIII, 6/7). The word acquired a special significance in the Medinan period, in which the Ḳurʾān speaks no fewer than eight times of the "religion of Abraham", the *millat Ibrāhīm* [see IBRĀHĪM] (II, 124/130, 129/135; III, 89/95; IV, 124/125; VI, 162/161; XII, 38; XVI, 124/123; XXII, 77/78). Islamic literature follows this Ḳurʾānic usage, but the word is not in frequent use. With the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muḥammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Islamic religion (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 813, 15, 883, 4), just as its opposite *al-dhimma* is an abbreviation for *ahl al-dhimma*, the non-Muslims who are under the protection of Islam; e.g., Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 238, 21; cf. also the derivative *millī* opposed to *dhimmī*, client (al-Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 121).

In more recent and modern Arabic, *milla* still means "religion, confession, religious community", although the word is largely obsolete; but in Persian and Turkish, it has undergone semantic change. In modern Persian, *millat* means "people, nation", and the adjective from it, *millī*, means "national". In Ottoman Turkish, *millet* [*q.v.*] became a technical term and came latterly to denote the internally-autonomous religious groups within the Ottoman empire (Jews, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, etc.); but in 20th century Turkish it has come rather to mean (as in Persian) "nation, people", with *millî* meaning "national", *milliyet* "nationality" and *milliyetçi* "nationalist".

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MILLET (Tkish. rendering of A. *milla* [*q.v.*]) indicates religion, religious community, and nation. These three basic meanings of the term were used in the Ottoman empire concurrently until the *Tanẓīmāt* period and afterwards.

(1) Religion, confession, rite. In the Ḳurʾān, *milla* is largely identical with *dīn* and in fact only to be translated with "religion" (R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 30-1). The term occurs here most frequently as the *millat Ibrāhīm*, "the religion of Abraham", i.e. "the only true, monotheistic religion" and less frequently *milla* refers to the religion of the heathens; only rarely does it indicate the Christian and Jewish religions (in contrast with the confession of Muḥammad, 120). For further details, see MILLA. No example in the Ḳurʾān suggests the translation of *milla* as "congregation, people, nation".

In post-Ḳurʾānic usage, *milla/millet/millat* (the latter being the Persian form) appears in the meaning of "religion" or has this as it sole legitimate meaning. Whenever *al-milla* (with the article) indicates "the followers of the religion (of Muḥammad)" (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 813, 883), it is used as an ellipse for *ahl al-milla* [cf. MILLA]. Documentary evidence for this is found in a decree of Ṭalāʾiʿ, a vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Fāʾiz, dated 593/1158, *al-milla wa 'l-dhimma* stands here for "Muslims and non-Muslims" (S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, 76 ff.). *Milla/millet/millat* in the (Ḳurʾānic) meaning of "religion, confession, rite" is still recorded in the 19th century. The term appears here primarily in the language of official documents, such as those of the Ottoman empire and neighbouring Muslim states, including Mamlūk Egypt and Ṣafawid Persia, and in particular, when they are intended for (prominent) Christians (and occasionally Jews). Such documents are not necessarily limited to the international correspondence between states; they can also originate from internal administration. For example, a letter of Ḳāʾit Bāy to the Doge Nicolo Trono, dated 10 Shaʿban 877/10 January 1473, is addressed to the "Glory of the Christian religion" (*madjd al-milla al-masīḥiyya*), an expression which, in the contemporary Venetian translation, is rendered by "Honor de la fede de christiani" (J. Wansbrough, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 [1961], 204-5). A permit for the Carmelites of Iṣfahān of 1052/1642, issued by Shāh ʿAbbās II, speaks of the Pope as "Chief and leader of the followers of the Christian religion" (*muḳaddam wa muḳtadā-yi tābiʿān-i millat-i masīḥiyya*) (H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, 191). In a *hüküm*, containing the answer to a petition of the Armenians of Istanbul and dated 1108/1697, the *dhimmī*s (whose names are listed) are said "to have abandoned their old customs and to be now ready to follow the papal rite" (*kadimi âyinlerin terk idüb papa milletine mütabaat eylediklerinden*) (A. Refiḳ [Altınay],

Istanbul hayatı 1100-1200, 21-2, no. 34). Parallel to *papa milleti*, the same text uses *firenk medhhebi* with the meaning of "Latin rite". Likewise, *millat* and *madhhab* are used analogously in an undated charter which Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn adressed to Pope Innocent XII (*ca.* 1113/1701-2, see L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, 543-8, no. 99). The formula *īn millat-i bayḍā*ʾ is here found in parallel to the expression *īn madhhab-i gharrā*ʾ, both meaning something like "this shining, radiating confession". Fekete-Lorenz's translation of *millat* by "people" does not seem acceptable, because the meaning "religion, confession" (see Wansbrough, quoted above) can also be based on lexicographical sources of approximately the same period. Bernardo di Parici, for example, in his *Vocabulario Italiani-Turchesco* (1665) renders *millet* with "religione", and *millet-il-mesīḥiyye* with "religione di Christo" (this was followed by Meninski and other lexicographers, see B. Braude, *Foundation myths*, 72). The formula *ḳudwet ümerā*ʾ *el-millet el-mesīḥiyye*, often used and enlarged upon in Ottoman chancelleries at the reception of high-ranking Christians, is translated by Zenker with "Model of the chiefs of the Christian religion" (J. Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, 876). Examples of early usage of this formula are found in a *firmān* and a *nīshān* of Bāyazīd II, both of 891/1486, for Mara Branković, stepmother of Meḥemmed II (see Boškov, in *Hilandarski zbornik*, v, 208 f.; however, he interprets *millet* as "people"). *Millet-i mesīḥiyye* in the meaning of "Christian creed" is still part of the formula used in a *berāt* for the metropolitan bishop of Manāstīr (Bitola), Gerasimos, of the year 1249/1833 (see P. Džambazovski (ed.), *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija V (1827-1839)*, 71, no. 230). It should be pointed out here that the expression *millet-i mesīḥiyye* is also the equivalent of "Christianity", and not only in documents originating from Ottoman chancelleries. A document to be dated before November 1650, issued by Islām Girāy III, ruler of the Crimean Tatars, and addressed to the Polish king, mentions John Casimir IV as "the noble ruler of the entire Christianity" (*barča millet-i mesīḥiyyeniñ ulugh pādīshāhī*; T. Gemil (ed.), *Relaţiile Ţărilor Române cu Poarta Otomam în Documente Turceşti 1601-1712*, Bucharest 1984, 274-5, no. 123).

(2) When *millet* is mentioned in the meaning of "religious community, community of the same confession or the same rite", the question whether those who are designated in this way are (Ottoman) *dhimmīs* is important in view of the discussion around the so-called *millet* system. For, on the one hand, this system is traditionally understood as being the structural framework which was destined specifically for the Ottoman *dhimmīs* whereas, on the other hand, it has been maintained that *millet*, in one of its traditional meanings, indicated "the Christians outside the (Ottoman) empire", and that it was not typically used to indicate the *ahl al-dhimma* specifically until the 19th century (Braude, *Foundation myths*, 73-3). It has rightly been pointed out that *millet* may very well also denote the Islamic religious community. But it is not correct that, before the beginning of the period of reform, the notion has been used in Ottoman-Turkish sources mainly in the meaning of "the community of Muslims" (Braude, *op. cit.*, 79). The documents from the *mühimme defterleri* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, published by Refīḳ in *Istanbul ḥayātī*, which are informative for the Ottoman practice, rather bear witness of the opposite. Wherever the term *millet* is used here in the meaning of "religious or confessional community" (at least fifty times in eleven documents dating from before the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*: 1689-1785, nos. 34, 194, 223, 224, 249, 264, 265, 268; 1786-1839, nos. 20-2), it refers invariably to non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman empire (Greek Orthodox, Armenian and Roman Catholic Christians as well as Jews with the status of *dhimmīs*). A few examples may illustrate this. In the above-mentioned document of 1108/1697, the activities of Latin missionaries are described as follows: "they travelled from province to province and instigated the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and (many) other Christian religious communities to give up their former practices and to submit to the Latin rite, while sowing discord and trying to divert them from the right path" (*vilâyet vilâyet gezüb gerek Rum ve gerek Ermeni ve gerek sair milleti nasarayı idlal ve ifsad ile kadimî âyinlerinden döndürüb firenk mezhebine mütabaat itdirüb*). The formulation used here proves that, at least from the end of the 17th century onwards, the Orthodox and Armenian religious communities, comprising Ottoman *dhimmīs*, were known as *millets* to the Ottoman authorities in the capital of the empire, or at least to the inditer of the document. Even if this document does not indeed give information about whether and to what extent such a *millet* was already understood as being an empire-wide corporation (i.e. as a religious community holding the same status throughout the entire empire and as such deserving the same protection everywhere), yet such a claim is already clearly expressed here by part of the members of the *millet*, namely the Armenians of Istanbul, who request the same position, and consequently the same treatment, as was given to their co-religionists in the province of Ṭarābulus al-Shām.

In another document from the *mühimme defterleri*, dated 1591/746, the *millet-i Ermeniyan* is already designated as an empire-wide religious community (*memaliki mahrusede sakin milleti Ermeniyān*) (see Refīḳ, *op. cit.*, 160 ff., no. 194). In the same *mühimme defterleri*, the Greek-Orthodox *millet* is mentioned as *millet-i Rūm* for the first time in a document of 1170/1757 (*ibid.*, 183 ff., no. 223; other examples of *millet-i Rūm*/*Rūm milleti* in 184 ff., no. 224, 205-6, no. 249, 219 ff., no. 264, 227 ff., no. 268), while the notion *Yahūd milleti* (religious community of the Jews) and *Katolik milleti* (religious community of the Roman Catholics) occurs here only in 1255/1839 (Refīḳ, 31 ff., no. 22). Towards the end of the 18th century, the Ottoman fiscal administration even used the collective notion of "the three (non-Muslim) religious communities" (*milel-i thelāthe*; see Y. Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi*, 185). Evidently, Muslims cannot be meant here, for the subject is the dues on alcoholic beverages (*zedjriyye*). The term thus can refer only to the Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish *millets*, and should be considered as an indication that the notion *millet* had become an accepted element in the administrative language of the central bureaucracy to indicate the non-Muslim religious communities of the Ottoman empire before the 19th century had even begun.

On the analogy of the above-mentioned communities of Ottoman *dhimmīs* of the same confession, *mustaʾmina* of the same nationality, living in the Ottoman empire under the Capitulation Treaties, have apparently been indicated as both a *ṭāʾife* and a *millet* [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. Even non-Muslim religious communities who did not live (or no longer lived) under Islamic rule, such as the Ḳipčaḳ Turkish-speaking Armenians in the kingdom of Poland, occasionally indicated themselves and others as *millets* (or as *ṭāʾifes*) (J. Deny, *L'Arméno-Coman et les "Ephémérides" de Kamieniec 1604-1613*, 62: *Ermeni*

mivlati [for *Ermenī millati*]). They also indicated "nations" or "peoples" with these terms, e.g. *Olakh millati* "la nation valaque (ici: moldave)" (*ibid.*, cf. *Noms propres*, 85 ff.: Alans, Syrian Christians, Abyssinians, Hellenes, Indians, Huns, Goths, Medes, Persians and Egyptians were all designated as *millets*). This use of the term may have been influenced by the notion of *nationes* in the Middle Ages, if *millet* is not simply the translation of *natio*. This observation leads to a third use of the term.

(3) Millet in the meaning of "[sovereign] nation, part of a people". In various Ottoman documents of the period between 1652 and 1687, the so-called Transylvanian "three nations", called Madjar, Sigel and Saz in the Turkish sources, are indicated as the *üč millet*. Here are meant "nations" as the term is used in the context of estates whose delegates, together with the ruler of Transylvania, represented the territory which was a vassal state (*Erdel* [*q.v.*] in Turkish) of the Ottoman empire, until it was officially annexed by the Ottomans in 1691 (Gemil (ed.), *op. cit.*, 40, and nos. 126, 175, 178). *Millet* in the meaning of "peoples under direct Islamic rule" occurs in translations from western languages. In the Turkish translation of a document issued by George Rájozcy I, Prince of Transylvania, dated 4 Radjab 1046/2 December 1636, the peoples ("Nations") of the Ottoman empire are designated as *ʿOthmānlu milletleri* (*ibid.*, 233, no. 101). In the Turkish text of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynarča (1774), the European nations (i.e. England and France) which are provided with commercial privileges, are occasionally designated as *millets*. art. xi of the Treaty in Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, 1st ed., i, 283). From the Islamic point of view, these states belong to the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*] and thus the term *millet* means something like "a sovereign nation in the enemy's territory". The rebellious Serbs who, as Ottoman *reʿāyā*, had risen in armed revolt against Ottoman rule, were also considered as *ḥarbīs* (*memleketleri dār ül-ḥarb we kendüleri ḥarbī*, in *Manāstīr sidjilli*, no. 82, fol. 27a, dated *ewāʾil-i Ṣafer* 1222/10-19 April 1807), because they had forfeited the protection which had been granted to them and lost their *dhimmī* status. Some years later, the Porte commented upon this by saying that the Serbs had claimed to form a "separate nation (*bashkadja bir millet*) with Belgrade and the other fortresses and fortified places under their own control, with Ḳara Yorgi as chief of all of them" (S. Kemura, *Prvi Srpski Ustanak pod Karagjorgjem*, Sarajevo 1332/1914, 314). In the official correspondence with the Bosnian governors after the Peace of Bucharest (28 May 1812), published in Kemura's work, the Serbs are indeed more often than not mentioned as "the Serbian nation" (*ṣīrb milleti*) (*ibid.*, 313-25), and it is repeatedly emphasised that one should try at any price to bring the Serbs back into the *raʿiyyet* relationship. After this had been realised, the same documents, inasmuch as discernible, speak only of "Serbs" (*ṣīrblu* or *ṣīrb ṭāʾifesi*), "Serbian rebels" (*ṣīrb ʿuṣātī*) or "Serbian traitors" (*ṣīrb khawenesi*). As in the case of the Serbs, the Porte began to speak of the rebellious Greeks of the Peloponnesus as "nation, group of people" (*millet*) only after it had become clear that the "treaty of protection" (*dhimma*) had to be considered as definitely retracted. In November 1827, one-and-a-half years after the fall of Missolonghi, representatives of the Porte indignantly stated that the Greeks "by having infringed upon the frontiers established by the *raʿiyyet* relation, finally had begun to call for (the status of an independent) group of people (*millet*)" (*ḥadd-i raʿiyyeti tedjāwüz ile millet daʿwāsīna čīkub*; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 330) (quoted after the Ottoman text of the minutes of a confidential discussion between the Porte and the representatives of the great powers in the office of the Reʾīs Efendi on 5 Djumādā I 1243/24 November 1827. This text contains important information about the way the Ottomans understood *millet* before the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*). An undated document from the *sidjills* of Manāstīr (*ca.* Shaʿbān 1243/February 1828) says that both England and France, in collaboration with Russia, "would try to tear the people of the Greeks (of the Peloponnesus) completely away from their *raʿiyyet* relation (with the Porte) and to establish them as an independent power" (*Rūm milletini külliyyen raʿiyyetden čīkarub ḥükūmet-i mustaḳilla ṣūretine ḳonmaḳ üzere*; no. 97, fol. 81-b). Yet, until long afterwards it was being argued on the Ottoman side that "all the Greeks (including those of the Peloponnesus) form one (single) *millet*, because even their rites and their patriarch are one and the same" (*Rūmlarīn djümlesi bir millet olub ḥattā āyīnleri we paṭrīḳlarī dakhī bir oldīghīndan*; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 332). Here, in the uniform garment of *Rūm milleti*, the meanings of *millet* as given above under (2) and (3) are irreconcilably opposed to one another.

Some general remarks may follow the expositions given above of the three basic meanings of *millet* until the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt*. From the apparent "lack of a general administrative term" for the non-Muslim religious communities of the Ottoman empire (Braude, *op. cit.*, 74), it has been concluded—though in unawareness of the evidence given above under (2)—"that there was no overall administrative system, structure, or set of institutions for dealings with non-Muslims.... As for the so-called *millet* system, or, perhaps better, the communal system, it was not an institution or even a group of institutions, but rather it was a set of arrangements, largely social, with considerable variation over time and place" (*ibid.*). Although the premise for such a conclusion cannot be considered unlimitedly valid any more, it remains nevertheless true that the term *millet*, in the meaning of "non-Muslim religious community (in the Ottoman empire)", was by no means used exclusively or at all consistently before the 19th century. This turns out to be true even in documents where the notion occurs more or less regularly. So far, this regular use can only be demonstrated in some central organisations of the Ottoman empire, but not in provincial or local administrations, *ṭāʾife*, for example, being a frequently used alternative in the latter. Occasionally, *millet* and *ṭāʾife* are found in the same document next to one another with the same meaning, or also in combination: *millet-i mezbūre ṭāʾifesi* (see Refīḳ, *op. cit.*, no. 194). Sometimes, in writings of the same date, the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* used *millet*, the Grand Vizier on the other hand *ṭāʾife* (*ibid.*, no. 268). It is in any case noteworthy that, even when the documents of the sultan do not shrink from using the notion *millet* (see the charters published by Kemura, mentioned above), the term is missing in the corresponding documents issued by governors and *ḳāḍīs*. This state of affairs reflects certainly more than just the inadequate stage of research. It rather looks as if the individual religious communities, which, on the local level, had to live under conditions which were varying according to place and time, in the perspective of the central government were seen as parts of religious and juridical communities which, under the leadership of their (ecclesiastical) heads, ideally had an empire-wide dimension. At a period as yet to be determined more closely, the term *millet*, probably current in the office of the *reʾīs ül-küttāb* in the first place, was used for this

viewpoint of the central authorities. It is perhaps permitted to interpret the material provided by Refīḳ's *Istanbul ḥayātī* in such a way that the term *millet* was given the above-mentioned meaning only after the religious regulations of the empire became increasingly threatened by the intensified missionary activities from the West in the 17th century. The consequence of the latter may have been that the central government, as the guarantor of the existing order, saw itself more and more forced to interfere in extensive parts of the empire in order to protect the traditional religious communities (for the missions of Jesuits, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans in the Ottoman empire, and the attitude of the Porte towards them, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, 226-319). It is conceivable that the idea of describing as empire-wide *millets* traditional religious communities based on identity of confession may only have emerged in the course of the development of this kind of empire-wide "religious policy" of the Porte.

Bibliography: An extremely informative collection of sources for the use of the notion *millet* in Ottoman administration is Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altinay]'s work in 4 vols. on life in Istanbul: vol. i. *On altïncï ʿaṣïrda Istanbul ḥayātī (1553-1591)*, Istanbul 1917; vol. ii: *Hicrî on birinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1000-1100)*, Istanbul 1931; vol. iii: *Hicrî on ikinci asırda İstanbul hayatı (1100-1200)*, Istanbul 1930; vol. iv: *Hicrî on üçüncü asırda İstanbul hayatı (1200-1255)*, Istanbul 1932 (reprint of all four volumes, Enderun Kitabevi, Istanbul 1988, under slightly different titles). The most comprehensive and critical discussions on the notion and the phenomenon of *millet* are found in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The functioning of a plural society*, New York-London 1982, in particular, Braude, *Foundation myths of the Millet system*, i, 69-88, containing the severest criticism so far of the traditional concept of the Ottoman *millet* system. From the point of view of legal history, serious doubts of the traditional interpretation, overlooked in the above-mentioned discussions, had already been formulated by H. Scheel, *Die staats-rechtliche Stellung der ökumenischen Kirchenfürsten in der alten Türkei*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* (1942), Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 9, Berlin 1943. (M.O.H. Ursinus)

MILYĀNA, Miliana, a town of Algeria, situated 56 miles/91 km to the southwest of Algiers. It is built on a raised plateau at an altitude of 2,361 ft./720 m. on the side of the Zakkār G͟harbī (5,179 ft./1,579 m.) and dominates to the east and south the valley in which an important river, the Chélif, flows and drives numerous mills. The comparative freshness of the temperature and the abundance of flowing streams support a rich vegetation. The town itself is surrounded by gardens and orchards cultivated by the indigenous people, whilst European colonists raised on the nearby slopes vines with notable products. Miliana is an agricultural and market centre for the peoples, mainly Berber, who occupy the Zakkār massif, and has acquired a certain importance as a centre for mineral exploitation, sc. for the iron extracted near to the town itself. Moreover, it is a centre of pilgrimage for the Muslims of the region and even for those of the Mitid͟ja and Algiers, who come to visit the tomb of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a marabout who lived at the beginning of the 8th/14th century and who was famed for his satirical pronouncements about the towns of Algeria. In *ca.* 1930, the town had some 12,000 inhabitants.

Miliana has grown up on the site of the Roman town of Zucchabar, whose ruins were still visible in the time of al-Bakrī and of which some traces, noted by Schaw in the 18th century, still existed at the time of the French occupation. The actual town dates from the 4th/10th century, its foundation being attributed by al-Bakrī to the Ṣanhād͟jī chief Zīrī b. Manād, who assigned it to his son Buluggīn. The same author mentions it as a prosperous, well-populated town, well-supplied with foodstuffs and with a well-frequented market. Al-Idrīsī records the many streams there and the fertility of the surrounding countryside. After the fall of the Ḥammādid dynasty, Miliana passed into the power of the Almohads, was temporarily occupied by ʿAlī and Yaḥyā b. G͟hāniya, and was then, for a century and a half, disputed by the Ḥafṣids, the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen and the Marīnids.

In the 9th/15th century, Miliana, together with Médéa and Tenès, formed part of an independent principality founded by a Zayyānid pretender; it became once again dependent on Tlemcen when this pretender's son brought together under his own control the united principality. Nevertheless, Leo Africanus states that the inhabitants enjoyed a virtually complete independence. But they lost this when the Turks arrived, for ʿArūd͟j [*q.v.*] seized control of Miliana soon after the capture of Algiers. Under the Turkish rule, the town came within the *dār al-sulṭān*, sc. the territory directly administered by the Pas͟ha of Algiers. Various Turkish officials resided there, one of them having the job of going round the tribes each year and extracting taxation with the aid of troops specially sent for this task from the capital. After the capture of Algiers by the French, Miliana was for a while independent, and was then occupied in 1834 by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who installed there a bey. The French in turn took control of the town on 8 June 1840, but were closely blockaded within it by the *amīr*'s partisans until 1842, when operations conducted in the western part of the Mitid͟ja, in the district of Médéa and in the Chélif valley, assured freedom of communications.

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MĪM, the twenty-fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transliterated as *m*, with the numerical value of 40 according to the eastern order [see abd͟jad].

Definition: *occlusive, bilabial, voiced, nasal* (Cantineau, *Études*, 28; Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 58). For Sībawayh (*Kitāb*, ii, 454), its place of articulation is situated between the lips; it is an "open sound" (*mad͟jhūr*), emitted from a base in the mouth and the nasal cavities (*k͟hayās͟hīm*), where nasalisation (*g͟hunna*) is produced; it is also a "hard sound" (*s͟hadīd*), by means of which the sound (*ṣawt*) is transmitted. As for al-K͟halīl, he calls this letter "occlusive" (*muṭbiḳ*), because it closes the mouth when one articulates it (*K. al-ʿAyn*, 65). For Ibn Sīnā, the place of articulation of *mīm* is partly between the lips and partly the nasal region, so that the air, when it passes through the nasal cavities and the open space there, produces a humming sound (*dawī*) (Roman, *Étude*, i, 263).

In phonology, the phoneme *m* is defined by the oppositions *m-f*, *m-b* and *m-n* (Cantineau, 167).

Alterations: in final place in a word, *-m* in Semitic tends to pass into *-n* in Arabic. Between the final place in a word and the initial of the following one, one finds either the assimilation *-mb*>*bb* or its disappearance (*ikhfāʾ*) leaving just nasalisation. Before a dental, palatal or velar, one has the assimilation *m*>*n*. In the neighbourhood of a nasal *n* or *m* of the bilabial *w*, one finds the dissimilation *m*>*b* (Cantineau, 29-30; Fleisch, i, 74, 80, 94).

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MIME, MIMIC [see ḥikāya].

MĪMIYYA [see muḥammadiyya].

MINĀ, later often pronounced *Munā*, a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to ʿArafa [*q.v.*]. The distance between the two is given by al-Muḳaddasī as one *farsakh*, while Wavell calls it five miles and says the continuation to ʿArafa is nine miles. Minā lies in a narrow valley running from west to east, 1,500 paces long according to Burckhardt, surrounded by steep barren granite cliffs. On the north side rises a hill called Thabīr. Travellers from Mecca come down into the valley by a hill path with steps in it; this is the *ʿAḳaba* [*q.v.*] which became famous in connection with Muḥammad's negotiations with the Medinans. The town consists of stone houses of fair size which form two long streets. Close beside the ʿAḳaba is a rudely-hewn short pillar leaning against a wall: this is the "great *djamra*" or the "ʿAḳaba *djamra*", at which the pilgrims cast stones [see djamra]. A little to the east in the middle of the street is the "middle *djamra*" also marked by a pillar and lastly at a similar distance the third (the so-called "first *djamra*"). As one approaches the east end of the valley, there is on the right of the road a square mosque surrounded by a wall, the Masdjid al-Khayf, which was rebuilt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and in 874/1467 reconstructed by the Mamlūk Sultan Ḳāʾit Bey. Along the west side of the surrounding wall is a colonnade with three rows of pillars, but there is none on the other sides. It was different earlier, for Ibn Rusta (*ca.* 300/912-13) tells us that the mosque had 168 pillars, of which only 78 supported the west wing. The north side of the wall is pierced by several doors. In the centre of the court of the mosque is a little domed building with a minaret built over a fountain. There is another dome over the colonnade on the west side.

The most striking feature of Minā is the very great difference, noted already by al-Muḳaddasī, between the quiet and empty streets of the greater part of the year and the tremendous throng and bustle of the pilgrimage month when, as Wavell says, half a million people with heavily laden beasts of burden hope to cover nine miles in the period between sunrise and 10 a.m. Every spot in the valley is then covered with tents in which the pilgrims spend the night. Al-Muḳaddasī talks of fine houses built of teak and stone (among them was a frequently-mentioned *Dār al-Imāra*), and large stone buildings are still to be found in Minā; but these are usually empty and are only let at the pilgrimage to the more wealthy pilgrims and even among these many prefer to live in tents. This depopulation of the city has been a subject for discussion among the legists, for some held that this circumstance enables Minā and Mecca to be regarded as one city (*miṣr*), a view which others reject. But another circumstance must have contributed to prevent a permanent settlement of the town, which is also true of other places on the pilgrims' route, namely the incredible filth and dreadful stench which is caused by such masses of humanity at the Ḥadjdj. Complaints are made even of the uncleanness of the Masdjid al-Khayf, and at Minā there are further the decomposing remains of the countless animals sacrificed.

The Ḥadjdj ceremonies in Minā date back to the old pagan period [see ḥadjdj], for Muḥammad, as usual in taking over old customs, contented himself with cutting out the too obviously pagan elements, the result being that we can no longer reconstruct the old forms with certainty. The old poets make only passing references to them [see djamra]; that they were similar to the Muslim practices is evident, for example, from an interesting passage in the Medinan poet Ḳays b. Khaṭīm (ed. Kowalski, no. 4, pp. i ff.), where there is a reference to the "three days in Minā" and where we further learn that the festival held there offered an occasion for entering into and carrying on love-affairs. The stone throwing is certainly very ancient; its significance is quite unintelligible in Islam, although it is doubtful if there were already three heaps of stones in the pre-Islamic period [see djamra]. It is also clear that the ceremonies in Minā formed the conclusion of the Ḥadjdj even in ancient times. Muḥammad, however, made some serious alterations here, for he inserted a visit to Mecca before the stay in Minā, whereby the ceremony first received its legitimate Islamic character; but the old elements remained the important factors, for the Ḥadjdj ends not in Mecca but, as before, in Minā, to which the pilgrims return after the digression to Mecca. A survival of the pagan period probably exists in the slaughtering place preferred by the majority on the southern slopes of Thabīr "the place of sacrifice of the ram" (cf. sūra XXXVII, 101 ff.), as its association with the story of Abraham probably enabled an old pagan sacred spot to be adopted into Islam. From Burton's description, it is a square rocky platform reached by a few steps. Muḥammad himself did not directly forbid the use of the pagan place of slaughter, but deprived it of its importance by saying that all Minā is a place of sacrifice: a clever procedure which he also followed at ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa.

According to the law of Islam, pilgrims who arrive in Mecca on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja should leave this town in time to be able to perform the mid-day *ṣalāt* in Minā and remain there till sunrise on the 9th and only then go on to ʿArafāt. The majority, however, do not do this but go on the 8th straight on to ʿArafāt where they arrive in the evening. After performing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa [*q.v.*], they go before sunrise on the 10th to Minā to celebrate the day of the great sacrifice (*yawm al-aḍḥā* or *yawm al-naḥr*) (in contrast to the pre-Islamic practice, which was to start only after sunrise). Here the concluding rites are gone through, the slaughtering, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation. There is not complete agreement on the order of these ceremonies, which one tradition (al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 429) makes Muḥammad declare to be quite irrelevant. The modification of the stone throwing is noteworthy, for on the day of sacrifice it is only done at the ʿAḳaba heap, while on the three following days each pilgrim daily throws seven little stones on all three heaps (see Burton, ii, 205). The conclusion of the whole pilgrimage is the three Minā or *tashrīḳ* days, the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja [see tashrīḳ]. They are days of rejoicing which are celebrated with great jubilation, illumination and the firing of shots. All the pilgrims, however, do not wait for these three days but set off on their return journey before then.

Bibliography: Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 423, 426, 428; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/2, 125; Muḳaddasī, 76; Ibn Rusta, 55; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 642-3; J.L. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, 415-31; Sir Richard Burton, *A pilgrimage to al-Madīnah and Meccah*, Memorial Edition 1893, ii, 203-22; Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjaziyya*, Cairo 1329; A.J.B. Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim*, 153-71; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 80, 88; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880, esp. 158-67; T. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 151-7; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 1923, 238-95; see the *Bibl.* to DJAMRA, and add: M.T. Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het Steenwerpen te Minā*, in *Versl. Med. Ak. Amst.*, *Afd. Letterkunde*, 4. Reeks, vi, 104-217; V. Chauvin, *Le jet de pierres et le pèlerinage de Mecque*, in *Annales de l'Acad. d'Archéologie de Belgique*, ser. 5, vol. iv, 272 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muh. tradition*, *s.v.* where also are given the passages from *ḥadīth* referring to the prohibition of fasting during the days of Minā, and to the order to stay in Minā during the "nights of Minā"; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, London 1931, 74-5, 96, 241.

(FR. BUHL)

MĪNĀ' (A.), port, harbour.

(a) *The term.* Arabic *mīnā'* has been little used in either Persian or Turkish, although it is routinely listed in their dictionaries (thus J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, 205; F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, 1364; 'Alī-Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Tehran n.d., s.v.).

In Persian, the standard term is *bandar* [*q.v.*], in Turkish, *liman*. *Bandar* was widely used in Ottoman Turkish and, in later centuries, also in Arabic (thus Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 89, in reference to Ḳāliḳūṭ, has *iḥdā 'l-banādir al-'iẓām*; Ibn Mādjid: *bandar Djudda*, in G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XV[e] et XVI[e] siècles*, Paris 1921-23, i, fol. 78b; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 132, in a late 18th century reference: *bandar Maskat*).

Mīnā' itself is attested since the 3rd/9th century (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. Munadjdjid, 151; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 327), and appears to be of non-Arabic origin, derived either from the accusative of the Greek *limen* (Nöldeke), or from ancient Egyptian; if the latter is the case, the word would have entered Arabic either via the above-mentioned *limena*, or directly through Egyptian's Coptic stage (M. Lubetski, *The early bronze age origin of Greek and Hebrew liman, "Harbor"*, in *JQR*, n.s., lxix/3 [Jan. 1979], 158-68). The non-Arabic origin of *mīnā'* is also suggested by the hesitancy of classical Arab authors whether to treat this word as a masculine or a feminine, and whether to write it with or without a *hamza*. Moreover, a passage in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safar-nāma*, ed. Wazīnpūr, Tehran 1350/1971, 20, shows that the term was new to this author otherwise familiar with Arabic, and that he understood it to denote a special type of harbour along the Syro-Palestinian coast, the region where the borrowing is believed to have taken place.

Mīnā' has become the comprehensive term for both nuances expressed by the English words "port" and "harbour", at the expense of the classical terms *marsā*, *furḍa* and *marfa'*, of which the first two were common in the early centuries and expressed the two nuances: *marsā* (as well as *mīnā'*) referring more specifically to the maritime aspect implied by "harbour", *furḍa* to the economic function implied by "port" (thus Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 248: *Bayrūt furḍat Dimashḳ ... wa-lahā mīnā' djalīl* = "Beirut is the port of Damascus, and has a fine harbour". Moreover, *marsā* is attested in the Ḳur'ān, XI, 41, in the passage *Irkabū fīhā bismi 'l-Lāhi madjrīhā wa-mursāhā* = "Embark in it! In God's name shall be its course and its berthing."

In contrast to this relative proliferation and differentiation in Arabic, *bandar* remained the only widely used term in Persian; on the other hand, Ottoman Turkish, in addition to *liman* and *bandar*, also used *iskele*, a Mediterranean word that has been used both in the general sense and for designating the specific landing place rendered in English as pier, wharf or quay (thus Meḥemmed II orders Yūnus to go to the *iskele* [of Istanbul] and sail with ten ships to the *limun* of Enoz (Enez); cf. 'Āshiḳ-Pasha-zāde, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. F. Giese, 135-6; see also A. Tietze and A. Kahane, *The lingua franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, no. 801 (*liman*), no. 841 (*iskele*); the broader meaning approached the connotation of Arabic *furḍa*, as in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 803, *Mekke'nin iskelesi Djiddedir* "Djudda is the port of Mecca."

(b) *Historical survey.* A general distinction can be made between the Islamic ports of the Mediterranean basin and those on the other side of the isthmus of Suez. The harbours of the Mediterranean often displayed a sophisticated building technique, a bequest of their Phoenician or Roman past: those of the Syro-Palestinian coast, the prime examples, found their counterparts in Carthage and Izmir. The distinctive feature was that of an inner harbour, partly man-made, and an outer one, as a rule a natural harbour formed by a bay or just an adequate anchorage. The inner harbour was symptomatic of the military dimension of the Mediterranean where ships had to be shielded not only from natural elements but also from enemy fleets. Inner harbours often had a special entry gate formed by guard-towers on either side; the entrance was further protected by a chain stretched at will, especially at night, between the two towers. In contrast, the ports south and east of Suez lacked such features and were as a rule natural bays or inlets, coastal or island anchorages, or river estuaries: Ubulla, Sīrāf, Ṣuḥār, Aden, Djudda, for example, although some of them did have fortifications protecting them from landward. This was due to a relative absence, in comparison with the Mediterranean, of naval warfare in those seas until the arrival of the Europeans and Ottomans in the 16th century.

It is worth nothing that this dichotomy, which antedates Islam, was reinforced and received a special character due to the confrontational nature of the Islamic and Christian halves of the Mediterranean; Muslims displayed a lasting reluctance to frequent Christian ports as cargo shippers and traders, whereas Christians seldom suffered from reciprocal inhibitions (in this respect, a *fatwā* given by a *faḳīh* of Mahdiyya in 484-6/1091-3 is significant; see H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 664). In eastern waters, on the other hand, no religious confrontation of such magnitude and nature occurred, and Arab and Persian Muslims kept sailing, chiefly as merchants, to India and East Africa. As a result, a number of harbours along the western coast of India became regular ports of call of these Muslims, some of whom proceeded further east to the ports of Malaya and Indonesia, a penetration that proved of capital importance for the eventual Islamisation of those regions.

1. *The ports of Arabia.* The ports of the Arabian peninsula—from 'Umān in the east to those of Ḥidjāz in the west—were those from where the Arab seafaring tradition had issued well before the appearance of Islam. It was at the same time an international tradition: Persians, Ethiopians, Indians had a share in

it as well. Persian participation was the strongest; some of the basic Arabic maritime terminology is of Persian origin, and Persian was the language of one of the principal ports of ʿUmān in the ʿAbbāsid period, Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*]. To quote the 4th/10th century geographer al-Muḳaddasī, "The language of this province (i.e. ʿUmān) is Arabic except in Ṣuḥār, where they speak Persian; the majority of the people of ʿAdan and Djudda are Persians [too] but [now] they speak Arabic..." (96). The Arab mariners of Ṣuḥār and Masḳaṭ, as well as their companions from the ports of the southern coast, acquired a remarkable skill at exploiting the seasonal monsoon winds for voyages to India and East Africa.

The ports of Arabia were connected by caravan routes with inland market towns such as Mecca, or by coastal shipping with ports in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. These market towns and ports in turn often functioned as relay posts for goods that ultimately reached the Mediterranean ports of the Syro-Palestinian coast and Egypt. At the height of the prosperity of ʿIrāḳ in the ʿAbbāsid period, however, the Persian Gulf ports rose proportionately in importance and some of the Orient trade passed directly to Sīrāf, Ubulla and Baṣra; at other times, Aden may have been bypassed by ships that proceeded directly to Djudda. However, both the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea were fraught with navigational problems and dangers different from those of the Indian Ocean, and it seems that except for the three centuries of ʿAbbāsid prosperity, during which Baghdād and Baṣra resembled magnets attracting "China ships" to their outposts of Sīrāf and Ubulla, most of this long-distance ocean traffic preferred to use the more familiar termini along the coast of ʿUmān, Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. In the later Middle Ages, Aden [see ʿADAN] became the most important trans-shipment port for the Orient trade, much like Alexandria did for Mediterranean trade. The two ports, linked by a combination of local maritime, overland and river connections, functioned in tandem as the two termini of the Spice Route, the maritime counterpart of the transcontinental Silk Road. The heyday of Aden's supremacy coincided with the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, but the port stood out already in the early ʿAbbāsid centuries. Thus al-Yaʿḳūbī (319) mentions it as "the port of the China [traffic] ships"; al-Muḳaddasī (97), describing its trade, speaks of the wealth of its merchants much as other contemporary authors do of the wealth of those of Sīrāf [*q.v.*], stating that "the wealth of its merchants has become proverbial." Aden may have been the most international of Arab ports. Its principal direct partners overseas were the ports of India, and Indians as well as Egyptians seem to have formed a sizeable proportion of Aden merchants, judging from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description (ii, 177-9). Another important segment of the business people of Aden in this period were Jews, who stood out among all others on account of their far-flung connections from Europe to India (S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, see *Bibl.*).

2. *Baṣra and the Persian Gulf.* Baṣra, founded by Muslims in 17/638 on the order of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, lay some 4 *farsakhs* (about 24 km) west of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 235), with which it was connected by two canals, the Nahr al-Ubulla on the south and the Nahr al-Maʿḳil on the north. These two, issuing from the Shaṭṭ, formed a semi-circle and met in the vicinity of Baṣra, ramifying into a network of smaller canals that criss-crossed the city. The two principal canals were affected by the tide and ebb which, if expertly exploited, allowed sea-going ships of lesser tonnage to reach Baṣra's harbour quarter of al-Kallāʾ (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 57; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *loc. cit.*, and map on p. 20; this map shows a third canal to the south of the Nahr al-Ubulla, not mentioned in the text). The large merchantmen did not proceed to Baṣra but stopped at Ubulla, situated on the Shaṭṭ's western bank, or at Sīrāf on the Persian coast; these two ports were the termini of the ships that came from India and China (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 323, 365; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384). Islamic al-Ubulla was the classical Apologos, the port of the maritime merchant kingdom of Mesene or Characene [see MAYSĀN], thus suggesting a continuity in the role played by the Shaṭṭ in long-distance maritime and caravan trade. The importance of Sīrāf, despite the obvious convenience of Ubulla as a place of trans-shipment closer to Baṣra, may be sought in two factors. One was the difficulty of approach and entry into the Shaṭṭ's estuary. The dangers facing ships heading for Ubulla were first of all treacherous shoals, whose avoidance was sought by means of wooden scaffoldings, the *khashabāt* [*q.v.*], some distance offshore, with guards and fires lit at night forewarning the arriving ships (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 230 = §242); the other danger was a whirlpool (*khūr*) inside the Shaṭṭ close to Ubulla's harbour itself, where many ships met their doom until an ʿAbbāsid princess reportedly solved the problem, at her own expense, by dumping large quantities of rubble on the site (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 237). The other reason for Sīrāf's prosperity was its additional function as a terminus for caravan routes linking it with Shīrāz and other centres of Iran's interior.

The fact that large sea-going ships could not proceed beyond Ubulla was no obstacle. Goods were transferred on to smaller craft that could reach not only Baṣra but also Baghdād and even proceed further north; in any case, the river harbour of al-Kallāʾ on the eastern side of Baṣra was paralleled by the caravan quarter of al-Mirbad [*q.v.*] on the west, just as the river harbour of Baghdād was near the place where the Tigris communicated with the Euphrates by means of the ʿĪsā canal. All these factors combined to form an interdependent network of maritime, river and caravan routes between Sīrāf, Ubulla, Baṣra and Baghdād, playing an essential role in the vast dimension of East-West trade. Classical Arab historians and geographers recorded this in their works, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, who makes the caliph al-Manṣūr, while founding Baghdād in 145/762, assess the role of its location in the following manner; "This is the Tigris: there is no obstacle between it and China; everything that is overseas (lit. "in the sea") comes to us by it. And the provisions from al-Djazīra and Armenia and from what lies beyond them come to us [here]. And this is the Euphrates: everything from Damascus and al-Raḳḳa and from what lies beyond them comes to us by it" (iii, 272).

The first three ʿAbbāsid centuries thus witnessed the primacy of the Persian Gulf ports as the great stages on the route that linked the Islamic Near East and the Mediterranean with the Orient; it was at this time that Muslim ships may have sailed as far as China itself. Khānfū, usually identified as Canton, was the Far Eastern terminus of these Muslim mariners and merchants of Sīrāf, Ubulla, Baṣra and Baghdād, while Sīrāf may have been the regular port of call of their Chinese counterparts, if this is how we are to understand the *marākib al-ṣīniyya* of the Arab authors of the period. This remarkable direct connection between the ports of the Islamic Near East and China has not only been duly recorded by Muslim historians and geographers (J. Sauvaget, *Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn*

wa l-Hind: Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851, Paris 1948), but it has also been paraphrased in the bellelettristic vein of Sindbad's voyages in the *Alf layla wa-layla* cycle (a remarkable demonstration of both the feasibility and dangers of such voyages was carried out in 1980-1 by T. Severin; see his *The Sindbad voyage*, London and New York 1983, and *In the wake of Sindbad*, in *National Geographic Magazine*, vol. 162, no. 1 [July 1982], 2-40). However, a political and economic decline of ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ that began in the 4th/10th century eventually led to a collapse of this role. By the 5th/11th century, Baghdād and Baṣra shrank to a pale reflection of their former selves, and Ubulla and Sīrāf ceased functioning altogether. These factors may have contributed to a partial re-orientation of the maritime route to the ports of southern Arabia and of the Red Sea, a change that led to a re-emergence of the Egyptian ports, especially Alexandria, as the main emporia of East-West trade.

The ports of ʿUmān and of the Persian Gulf did retain some of this traffic, however. Sīrāf was to some degree replaced by the island port of Kīsh (its Persian name; the Arabic name was Ḳays [*q.v.*]) and by Hurmuz. There developed an intense rivalry between Kīsh and Hurmuz; at first, however, the ruler of Kīsh placed emphasis on the piratical potentials of his location and of the large fleet he owned; the activities of this fleet, reported by al-Idrīsī (2nd climate, part 6, 156-7) contributed to a progressive deflection of the maritime routes from the Persian Gulf to Aden and the Red Sea (activities that found a latter-day analogue in the effect the Raʾs al-Khayma Arabs had on British shipping in the Persian Gulf in the 18th and early 19th centuries, before the "Pirate coast" was transformed into the "Trucial coast" [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM]). The rulers of Hurmuz eventually gained the upper hand, and their possessions intermittently straddled the sea so as to include also ports of ʿUmān and Baḥrayn. The international prominence of Hurmuz continued even after the arrival of Europeans in the Indian Ocean and the eagerness of Ṣafawid rulers to trade with them. As the Portuguese for a brief period in the 16th century, and others, especially the British, lastingly in the 17th, captured much of the Indian Ocean trade, they added to their mainstream routes along the Cape of Good Hope the route to the ports of the Near East; there, those of the Persian Gulf were favoured over those of southern Arabia and of the Red Sea. Hurmuz [*q.v.*] succeeded in the 17th century by Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], thus came to play a role similar to that of Sīrāf half-a-millennium earlier; Baṣra left its former location (marked today by the town of Zubayr) and moved eastward towards the Shaṭṭ, where it combined the functions of its ancestor and of the defunct Ubulla; and Baghdād again received and dispatched fleets of river craft and caravans. This renascence of the Persian Gulf ports contributed to an enhancement of their inland partners such as Aleppo and Tabrīz and, ultimately, of such ports as Iskenderun, Trebizond and Izmir.

3. *Alexandria and other ports of Egypt.* Alexandria's [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA] role as the greatest emporium of East-West trade coincided with the later Middle Ages, mainly the 5th-9th/11th-15th centuries, but it functioned as the principal Egyptian port ever since its its foundation by Alexander the Great in 332 BC. From among the factors that caused Alexandria's dominating position in the later Middle Ages, one may have been the above-mentioned decline of the Persian Gulf ports, and the other the phenomenal growth of the European economy with the concomitant expansion of Italian, French and Catalan shipping from the 5th/11th century onwards. The manner in which Alexandria received spices and other products of the Orient varied in the course of the centuries, but it retained certain constant features. One was the prevalent use of the Nile as part of the route: goods were unloaded at such Red Sea ports as ʿAydhāb or Ḳusayr, transported by caravans to the river ports of Aswān, Ḳūs or Ḳunā, and thence carried on barges to the Mediterranean coast; in addition, the ports at the northern end of the Red Sea (Ḳulzum and its successor Suez, Ṭūr, Ayla) were also used. The fact that the westernmost branch of the Nile did not extend to Alexandria never prevented it from overshadowing the ports at the estuaries—Rosetta, Damietta, Tinnīs. The reason for this was the vastness of Alexandria's two harbours, as well as other factors such as the canal that branched off at Fuwwa and connected the Nile with Alexandria; this canal, intermittently silting up and being dredged and repaired, may have been used as a waterway during the Nile flooding in the early centuries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 140), but later, judging from the testimonies of European travellers, the standard mode of transportation between Alexandria and the Nile was the short overland march to the Rosetta estuary. Overland transportation on pack animals to points further south or to Cairo itself became exceptional: the cheapness of water transport (thus Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 53, where he states that one river barge carried a load equivalent to that of 200 mule-loads), combined with the difficulty of fording or crossing the numerous canals of the Delta, especially in the flood season, led to the almost exclusive use of the Alexandria-Rosetta route.

The harbours of Alexandria were a product, as in many other cases, of both natural and man-made features, but the former predominated. A narrow peninsula, protruding northward, had a tip that extended eastward and westward, thus creating two large and somewhat sheltered bays: these were the sites of the two harbours of Alexandria, the eastern and western (see for example Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, 700-3, and map on 704-5). The western side of the eastern harbour was the main international port and the only one accessible to non-Muslim ships; the western harbour, also called Old Harbour, was reserved for Muslim ships. The famous lighthouse built in antiquity, that stood on the peninsula, still evoked the marvel of classical Arab geographers and gave rise to such legends as that of the magic mirror, but it was ruined by the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's second visit in 1349 (i, 30). The Mamlūk sultan Ḳāʾit Bāy built a guard-tower on the ruins of this lighthouse in 877/1472-3, and the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Süleymān the Magnificent further fortified it and equipped it with heavy cannon (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 691).

At the height of Alexandria's prosperity, William of Tyre (1130-86) calls it "the mart of the two worlds" and states that "all the aromatics, jewels and other precious objects that Europe lacks are brought from the two Indias, from Saba, Arabia, the two Ethiopias, Persia and neighbouring countries, by sea and by the Nile to Alexandria..." (*Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC*, i [1844], xix, 26,27). The sultan's customs house levied various types of taxes on ships, goods and passengers, and the inspection of both in- and out-bound traffic was thorough, without much distinction between Christians and Muslims, or merchants and pilgrims, judging by such testimonies as Ibn Djubayr's, who passed through this port in 579/1183 (*Riḥla*, 40-5). The revenue to the sultan's treasury must have been considerable, but the

scattered nature of the reports makes it difficult to form a consistent picture; thus in 703/1303 a Frankish ship paid 40,000 *dīnārs'* duty on its cargo; in the entire year of 721/1321, the revenue was 50,000 *dīnārs*; a governor in the 9th/15th century assessed Alexandria to be worth 1,000 *frinti* (*dīnārs*) a day [see AL-ISKANDARIYYA]. In any case, customs revenues were only one part of the asset to Egypt represented by Alexandria as a port; the main benefit rested in the role it played for trade and economic activity in general. Moreover, at least in the initial centuries of the boom characteristic of the later Middle Ages, the ships owned by the sultan as well as by other high officials on a private basis also participated in this trade. Traffic between Alexandria and the main ports of Christian Europe, however, appears to have been assured chiefly by Christian merchants and ships. Moreover, the principal trading partners such as Venice, Genoa, Marseilles or Barcelona established permanent commercial missions and facilities usually referred to as *fondacchi* (*funduḳs* [*q.v.*] in Arabic) in Alexandria as well as in some other Muslim ports. The goods passing through Alexandria were of various kinds, but the single most important article was spices from the Orient on the way to Europe; an always coveted type of imports from Europe was strategic materials such as timber, iron, pitch and weapons—all subject to frequent papal interdictions and exemptions. Importation of slaves, chiefly from the Pontic and Caucasus regions via Turkey, also figured prominently. Furthermore, a special and lasting type of traffic through the port of Alexandria was that of pilgrims, both Muslim and Christian. Muslim pilgrims from the Mag͟hrib often arrived by sea to Alexandria and thence proceeded on the Nile to such river ports as Ḳūs or Aswān, then overland to Ḳusayr or ʿAyd͟hāb in order to cross over to D̲j̲udda, the port of Mecca; others crossed lower Egypt to Ḳulzum, and from there they either continued overland or again embarked and sailed to D̲j̲ār or D̲j̲udda. Christian pilgrims, although they more commonly sailed to Jaffa or other ports closer to Jerusalem, also often passed through Alexandria: this applied especially to those who added a visit to Mount Sinai to their pilgrimage.

The discovery of the Cape route proved fatal to Alexandria's pre-eminence as the foremost port of East-West trade, but this happened only gradually; moreover, Alexandria did retain some importance in all respects, and only the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 may be considered as the terminal date of this port's function as a hub of transit trade and travel. Thus in the 11th/17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi describes Alexandria as a large port frequented each year by some three to four hundred Frankish ships, and as a place where there reside consuls of several (lit. "seven") [Christian] kings (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 678-9; Ewliyā's description of Alexandria, 668-707, is especially thorough and informative).

Cairo functioned in combination with Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta and Tinnīs as a river port, not unlike Bag͟hdād in combination with Baṣra, Ubulla and Sīrāf. This function shifted in the Ottoman period to Cairo's suburb of Būlāḳ, whose role is vividly portrayed by such observers as Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] and Ewliyā. According to the former, one could sometimes see as many as one thousand barges in the harbour of Būlāḳ, and a certain number of the sultan's customs officials were stationed there (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1958, 508-9). Ewliyā Čelebi mentions it as a port whither converge goods "from the seven climates", which is annually visited by ten thousand ships of various kinds, and where there is the sultan's arsenal; moreover, the records and administration of the traffic passing through other Egyptian ports such as Damietta, Rosetta and Aswān were located in Būlāḳ. Ewliyā also states that there were in Būlāḳ 73 *k͟hāns* belonging to rich merchants who had partners in India, Yemen, Europe and Turkey (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 291-4). Nevertheless, Būlāḳ did not really function as a full-fledged maritime port in the proper sense of the word; all the evidence suggests that most goods were transferred at the Rosetta or Damietta estuaries on to such river craft as *d̲j̲arīms* for further transportation.

Other busy ports of Egypt's Mediterranean coast were Rosetta [see RAS͟HĪD], Damietta [see DIMYĀṬ], and Tinnīs [*q.v.*]. Rosetta, long a military port, became open to foreign shipping only towards the end of the Mamlūk period (Heyd, ii, 428-9, see *Bibl.*; for the Ottoman period, see Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 707-16). Damietta declined after the 7th/13th century, when Crusaders' attacks and Mamlūk countermeasures blocked its harbour to sea-going ships; nevertheless, the town, which moved further upstream, did continue to function as a port, even though goods had to be hauled from ships anchored at the estuary by means of small boats (for the Ottoman period, see *Seyāḥat-nāme*, x, 737-45). Tinnīs, situated on an island in Lake Manzala connected with the Damietta branch of the Nile, also functioned as a port; Nāṣir-i K͟husraw mentions as many as 1,000 ships mooring there (*Safar-nāma*, 50). Tinnīs, however, eventually disappeared because of repeated attacks by Christian warships and pirates.

A special case was that of al-Faramā (or al-Farmā), the ancient Pelusium, which still functioned as a port in the first Islamic centuries. Its location on the coast due north of al-Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] offered the shortest overland connection between the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Al-Faramā is singled out by Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih (153-4) as the port used by the Rad͟hāniyya Jewish merchants, who arrived there from western Europe (Firand̲j̲a) with their goods and transported them across the distance of 25 *farsak͟hs* to al-Ḳulzum; there, they re-embarked and sailed to D̲j̲ār, the port of Medina, and D̲j̲udda, the port of Mecca; from these ports, they would then sail to India and China. Likewise on their return trips, they brought oriental goods to al-Ḳulzum, transported them to al-Faramā, and re-embarked for western Europe or Constantinople. Al-Faramā, however, ceased to function by the end of the 4th/10th century, in part due to the drying-up of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

4. *The ports of the Syro-Palestine coast.* The ports along this coast can be divided into three groups: those in the south that communicated mainly with Jerusalem, those in the middle that connected with Damascus, and those in the north that served mainly Aleppo. The principal ports of the southern group were G͟hazza [*q.v.*], Ascalon [ʿASḲALĀN] and Jaffa [see YĀFĀ]; of the middle group, Acre [see ʿAKKĀ], Tyre [see ṢŪR], Sidon [see ṢAYDĀ], Beirut [see BAYRŪT], and Tripoli; of the northern group, Lād͟hiḳiyya, Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*], Antioch [see ANṬĀKIYA], Iskenderun [see ISKANDARŪN] and Payas. Coastal roads also linked these ports with each other and with Egypt and Anatolia at the two ends. It was here that Muslims initially and lastingly came into contact with the Mediterranean Sea, although this contact received a traumatic upheaval during the two centuries of Crusaders' principalities. It is difficult to single out any one of these ports as surpassing the others in importance, but certain general trends can be discerned. Jaffa stood out as the Jerusalem-

bound pilgrim's port. The role of Damascus as one of the major inland termini of that part of the Spice Route which proceeded from Aden or Djudda northward through Arabia instead of swerving, across the Red Sea, to Egyptian ports, enhanced the role of the ports of the middle groups such as Beirut, Tyre and Acre. In the Ottoman period, the northern group gained prominence; this was due to the growth of Aleppo as an entrepôt of long-distance trade resulting from the renascence of the Persian Gulf and Iran routes, as well as to the proximity of the route from the Ottoman capital to Aleppo and ʿIrāḳ.

The fate of the above-mentioned inner harbours of many of these ports displays an evolution characteristic of much of the Islamic Mediterranean. Those of the inner harbours which relied on man-made structures such as walls in the sea declined, because that technology, chiefly of Roman origin, gradually became forgotten; an example of this process is cited by al-Muḳaddasī in his description of Acre (162-4). He narrates how Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn (254-70/868-84) wished to have the breakwater wall of Acre strengthened, but was told that architects expert in such techniques no longer existed; eventually, one—the geographer's own grandfather—who still knew the art, was found. On the other hand, harbour fortifications flourished throughout the Islamic period: the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) had a whole series of Mediterranean harbours further fortified, in order to counter devastating raids by Byzantine fleets. The inner harbours continued to decline, however, and judging by Pīrī Reʾīs's *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, by the 10th/16th century most were silted up or accessible only to small vessels.

5. *The ports of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib.* Both historical continuity and dramatic change due to partly external circumstances marked especially these ports. Continuity was dominant throughout the Middle Ages, when such ports as Bougie (Bidjāwa), Tunis, al-Mahdiyya, and Tripoli functioned much as their direct or indirect predecessors had done since antiquity, namely as commercial ports, naval bases and centres of pirate activities. Commercial links with the Islamic East and Christian Europe remained the dominant feature, despite the above-mentioned confrontational nature of the two sides of the Mediterranean. The change occurred in the 10th/16th century, when the transformation of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli into corsair principalities, nominally subordinate to Istanbul as *eyālet*s but in fact independent [see ḲURṢĀN], reversed that order and made the confrontation the chief theme. The purpose was again economic, but the religious zeal of these initially Turkish maritime *ghāzī*s played a catalytic role in the formation of the three principalities.

In Umayyad Spain, both its economic prosperity and the need for a war fleet stimulated the development of busy ports, especially on the Mediterranean coast. Almeria (from Mariyyat Badjdjāna, or just al-Mariyya [*q.v.*]), the principal naval base and site of the caliph's arsenal, was also the busiest commercial port; its overseas connections included Alexandria and the ports of the Syro-Palestinian coast; ships sailing between it and Alexandria often did so directly without stopping (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 302). From among the other ports, that of Denia [see DĀNIYA] deserves mentioning as the seat of the principality of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], whose maritime *ghazwa* in the 5th/11th century presaged the formation of the Turkish principalities in North Africa half a millennium later. Finally, Cordova and Seville, both on the Guadalquivir, played some role as river ports. The gradual completion of the Reconquista eventually put an end to the functioning of all these harbours as Muslim ports, a situation not without effect on the configuration of Muslim shipping in the Mediterranean.

In conclusion, one general observation can be made in respect to the ports of the Islamic West. In comparison with those of the eastern Mediterranean, they played a secondary role. The reason may be sought in the fact that those of the East occupied a vital position on the hub of long-distance East-West trade, travel and, eventually, European expansion. The ports of the West, on the other hand, fulfilled only a local role, however important it often was; the trans-Saharan movement of gold and slaves through these ports never approached the magnitude of the Orient trade.

6. *The ports of Turkey and of the Black Sea.* In pre-Ottoman Anatolia, the ports of the south and north coasts had a significant share in transit trade that linked the Pontic regions of Russia, the Caucasus and Inner Asia with the Mediterranean and Europe. Mention should also be made of Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS], the principal naval base of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the Mediterranean during its first three centuries. That role, however, was extinct by the time much of Anatolia entered the *Dār al-Islām* through Saldjūḳid conquests. It was under this dynasty that Alanya and Antalya on the south coast rapidly developed and became connected by caravan routes with Samsun and Sinope on the north coast; the latter two in turn had as their main partners the ports of Sudaḳ, Kefe and Tana (Azaḳ in Turkish, present-day Azov) on the north side of the Black Sea. Lajazzo (Ayas in Turkish; the site, on the north-western coast of the bay of Iskenderun, is marked today by the settlement of Yumurtalık) and Trebizond, longer in Christian hands than the others, played a parallel role and also received a greater share of the Silk or Spice Routes traffic coming from Central Asia or from the Persian Gulf. Among the goods passing through the ports of the Black Sea, slaves from southern Russia and the Caucasus were the most valuable and constant commodity: this trade lasted well into the Ottoman period and flowed toward the Turkish and Egyptian capitals as well as toward other countries, including Italy.

The ports of western Anatolia such as Balat, Ephesus, Izmir or Foča played a relatively secondary role in pre-Ottoman times. The dramatic rise of Izmir (Izmīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) to a position of primacy in the Levant and possibly the entire eastern Mediterranean occurred only toward the end of the 10th/16th century. This prosperity, which peaked in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, was partly due to the above-mentioned renascence of the Persian Gulf route, for which Izmir became one of the Mediterranean outlets; another cause seems to have been the hitherto underestimated economic strength of 11th/17th century Anatolia itself. Izmir functioned as the terminus of a latter-day silk route, or silk-and-mohair route, for the silks from Iran and mohair from Anatolia formed a valuable portion of exports to Europe. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions large and frequent caravans that kept arriving from Iran, and ships from a whole gamut of European countries that called regularly—some 1,000 ships annually. The inner harbour had long silted up, but the large bay offered a comfortable anchorage. A European merchant colony became permanently established in Izmir to the point where "one would think one found oneself in Frengistan." The Franks had their own quarter along the harbour waterfront, and small boats handled the loading and unloading of goods, for large ships had to anchor some distance off

shore (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 96-7). From among the European merchants, consular representatives and visiting ships, those of England, France and Holland were the foremost: the supremacy of Italian and Catalan ships and merchants was by then a thing of the past. As for the Ottoman subjects, alongside Muslims, an active role was also played by Armenians, Jews and Greeks.

While Izmir was the principal international port of Ottoman Turkey, Istanbul [*q.v.*] as a port functioned mainly as the receiving end of a traffic designed to sustain the imperial capital. This alone sufficed to make its harbour, situated along both sides of the Golden Horn, a busy place. The northern side, whose main part in fact extended along the Bosphorus, served international shipping; the southern side with its many *iskeles* was reserved for Ottoman ships. Further west toward the end of the Golden Horn, on its northern side, was the imperial arsenal of Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a (a description of these features can be found in Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, Turkish tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952, 15-19, 37-9).

7. *Ports of the Caspian Sea.* The ports of the land-locked Caspian [see BAḤR AL-K̲H̲AZAR] played a naturally restricted role, without the magnitude of maritime trade, naval warfare or piracy affecting other seas. Nevertheless, there was a lively local traffic since the early centuries of Islam (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 25 = § 463). Thus Abaskūn [*q.v.*] situated in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian (near the location of present-day Bandar S̲h̲āh, the northern terminus of the Trans-Iranian railway), functioned as an outlet (*furḍa*) for the towns and regions of Astarābād̲h̲ and Gurgān, with ships leaving from it for Khazaria and Bāb al-Abwāb (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 213-14). The prosperity of Abaskūn in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries made it the target of piratical raids by the still heathen Russians (or, more exactly, Rūs [*q.v.*]); two such raids, between 250-70/864-84 and in 297/909, are reported in Ibn Isfandiyār's *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān* (ed. A. Eghbal, 266; tr. E.G. Browne, 199; see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 19-25 = §§ 458-61, and B. Dorn, *Caspia. Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, St. Petersburg, 1875 = *Académie Impériale des Sciences, Mémoires*, xxiii/1). Another Caspian port, raided in 301/913-4 by Rūs pirates, was Bākū [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 21 = § 460); Bākū was also one of the earliest oil-exporting ports, a role which it conserved throughout the subsequent centuries. Thus ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd Ṣāliḥ al-Bākūwī (*fl.* 806/1402) reports how the inhabitants made seal-skin bags from seals (*kilāb al-māʾ*) which they hunted on a nearby island; they filled these bags with oil, and had them exported by ships to various other ports of the Caspian (*Kitāb Talk̲h̲īṣ al-āt̲h̲ār wa-ʿad̲j̲āʾib al-malik al-ḳahhār*, ed. and tr. Z.M. Buniyatov, Moscow 1971, Arabic text 122, Russian tr. 89). Finally, Derbend [*q.v.*], called in Classical Arabic texts Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*], had a harbour similar to those of the Mediterranean with seaside walls and an entrance gate protected by two guard-towers and a chain (al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 184-5; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 145).

8. *Ports of the Islamic Orient.* Two groups of ports ruled or used by Muslims can be distinguished here: those of the Indian subcontinent, and those of Malaysia and Indonesia. From among the former, Daybul, Ṣūrat and Ḳāliḳūt can serve as characteristic examples. Daybul [*q.v.*] situated in the delta of the Indus not far from modern Karachi, was won for Islam by conquest in 92/711-12; the other ports received their Muslim populations chiefly through emigration and proselytisation that travelled along the sea-trade routes. Daybul combined the industry of trade and piracy both in the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, and its merchants were an example of those Indians who reciprocated the enterprising spirit of the Arabs and Persians by sailing to the ports of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa. Ṣūrat, located on the eastern side of the entry into the Gulf of Cambay [see K̲H̲AMBĀYAT], added to its commercial role that of a favourite gateway of Mecca-bound pilgrims. Ḳāliḳūt [*q.v.* in Suppl.] owed its eminence in part to a strategic position in the southern part of the Malabar coast, where it functioned not only as an Indian port but also as a relay post and exchange mart for trade with Indonesia and China. It rose to prominence in the later Middle Ages and surpassed Kūlam Malāy (Quilon) [see KŪLAM], a port still closer to the southern tip of India, which had a similar function in early ʿAbbāsid times (Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 8, 42-3). Ma Huan, the chronicler of Chinese maritime expeditions of the early 15th century, mentions Ḳāliḳūt as the usual goal of Chinese fleets arriving from the east, and as a point of departure on their further sailings to such ports as Aden, Ẓafār or Hurmuz (Ma Huan, *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, "*The overall survey of the ocean's shores*" *(1433)*, tr. Feng Ch'eng-chun, Cambridge 1970 (Hakluyt Society, Extra series, xlii, 151-71). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed in April-May 1347 from Ḳāliḳūt to Ẓafār (iv, 310-11); and it was at Ḳāliḳūt that Vasco Da Gama, reportedly guided by the Arab pilot Ibn Mād̲j̲id [*q.v.*], arrived in 1498, after having crossed the Indian Ocean from the East African port of Malindi [*q.v.*].

The final group of important harbours of the Islamic world begins with Atjèh [*q.v.*] of Northern Sumatra and extends through the archipelago all the way to Sulawesi (Celebes). Their Islamisation had begun by the time Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed through these waters in the 13th and 14th centuries, and was well-nigh complete when European penetration and colonisation started gaining momentum in the 16th and 17th centuries. In northern Sumatra, the ports of Pedir, Lamuri (Lambri), Pasei and Perlak were among the earliest exporters of spices and receptors of Islam. They were by the 16th century eclipsed by Atjèh, the chief port and capital (also known in the latter capacity as Kutaraja, a name that reveals the older pre-Islamic Indian influence) of a sultanate whose prosperity and might rested on spice—mainly pepper—exports and piracy. Atjèh lay at the northern tip of Sumatra; across the narrowing strait further south, the port of Malacca [*q.v.*] became the seat of a sultanate on Malay peninsula. Like the ports of Sumatra, Malacca was useful as a relay station along the strategic passage through the strait of Malaysia on the route to other Indonesian ports such as the pepper-exporting port of Bantam at the western tip of Java, and to China. In early ʿAbbāsid times, a role similar to that of Malacca had been played by Kalāh [*q.v.*] further north near the narrow neck of the peninsula (Sauvaget, *Ak̲h̲bār*, 8, 43).

Once converted, Indonesians and Malays became fervent Muslims, and such ports as Atjèh served as the principal gateways on their pilgrimage to Mecca, and in general as the points of communication with the centres of Islam further west. The rise of Atjèh in the 16th century coincided with two dramatic developments in the Indian ocean: the arrival of the Europeans, and the attempts of the Ottomans to stave off the consequences of that event. One quaint result of this clash was an embassy sent by the third sultan of Atjèh, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat S̲h̲āh al-Ḳahhār (1573-71) to Istanbul in 973/1563, requesting military aid from Süleymān the Magnificent. Eventually, a fleet of nineteen vessels left the Ottoman naval base at Suez,

but most remained in Yemen. Two ships did reach Atjèh, however, and delivered cannon and other ammunition as well as gunnery experts (Saffet, *Bir ʿOthmānli filosunun Sumatra seferi*, in *TOEM*, x [Oct. 1911], 604-14; xi [Dec. 1911], 678-83).

9. *Khānfū and Zaytūn.* These two ports, identified with Canton and Ch'üan-chou (the latter located at the level of Taiwan), never came within the *Dār al-Islām*, but their special role as the Oriental termini of Muslim sea-farers and traders should allow us to include them in this discussion. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 69, mentions Khānfū as the greatest *marḳā* (port of call) [of China]. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 302-3 = § 329) states that Khānfū lay on a river which was the destination of ships coming from Baṣra, Sīrāf, ʿUmān, India and other countries, and adds that there lived in Khānfū colonies of Muslims, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. One of al-Masʿūdī's sources was the above-mentioned *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, dated 236/851, which refers to Khānfū as a port of call of ships and a market place of Arabs and Chinese (ed. and tr. Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, 6-7). Moreover, the interior of T'ang China was open to Muslim merchants if provided with a passport issued by Chinese authorities; there was also a Muslim colony in the T'ang capital city of Chahgan, the eastern terminus of the transcontinental Silk Road. The simultaneous presence of Muslim and other Near Eastern traders in both Changan and Canton may then have resulted in some linkage between the overland Silk Road and the maritime Spice Route (Rita Rose di Meglio, *Il commercio arabo con la Cina della Ǧāhiliyya al X secolo*, in *AIUON*, n.s., xiv [1964], 523-52). Disturbances that accompanied the final decades of T'ang rule also proved fatal to the Muslim colony in Khānfū/Canton: the death-blow was dealt by a rebellion in 879 A.D., when the entire colony was reported destroyed or driven out; some merchants then adopted the above-mentioned Kalāh in Malaysia as their base of operations. The long-range effect of this upheaval, however, cannot have been absolute, for western visitors such as Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speak of Yüan Zaytūn in terms not unlike those of the *Akhbār* and al-Masʿūdī about T'ang Khānfū: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found there a thriving Arabo-Persian merchant colony, up to a point self-governing; he also states that Zaytūn was one of the largest, if not the largest, ports of the world (iv, 269).

Bibliography: For the pre-modern period, the main scope of this article, few specific studies of ports and harbours exist, and information must be culled from a variety of sources. Only examples of especially helpful or representative titles can be mentioned here. The Mediterranean: A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, Munich-Berlin 1906, esp. 122-222; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, Leipzig 1885-6; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley 1970-84, 4 vols., esp. i, ii; S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, 1171-1517*, Wiesbaden 1965; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides, Xe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1962; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-7; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-Leiden 1950; Ch.-E. Dufourq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1966; F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1966; Cl. Cahen, *Ports et chantiers navals dans le monde méditerraneen musulman jusqu'aux Croisades*, in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio, xxv, 14-20 aprile 1977, Spoleto 1978, 299-319; idem, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhādj d'al-Makhzūmī*, in *JESHO*, vii (1964), 218-314; J. Aubin, *La ruine de Siraf et les routes du Golfe Persique aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, ii/3 (1959), 295-301; idem, *La survie de Shilau et la route du Khunj-o-fāl*, in *Iran*, vii (1969), 21-37; idem, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle*, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii (1972), 77-179. From among the primary sources, the standard geographers and historians such as Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and Maḳrīzī are indispensable; to these, the special category of portolans and portolan charts should be added; a fundamental study of the Italian ones is K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1909; of the Greek ones, A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège-Paris 1947; the Muslim side is represented by the unique case of Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, facs. ed. Istanbul 1935; see also S. Soucek, *À propos du Livre d'Instructions Nautiques de Pīrī Reʾīs*, in *REI*, xli (1973) 241-55. From among the travel accounts, Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-1938, 10 vols., is invaluable for the Ottoman period. The Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean: Some of the above-mentioned studies, especially Heyd, Goitein and Labib; A. Kammerer, *La mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo 1929-50; G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early Islamic times*, Princeton 1951; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, esp. 79-91; O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte zur Kenttnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, Uppsala 1936-50, esp. i, 56-7; G. Le Strange, *Lands*; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*; W. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984; A. Iḳtidārī Lāristānī, *Āthār-i shahrhā-yi bāstānī-yi sawāḥil wa djazāyir-i khalīdj-i Fārs wa daryā-yi ʿUmān*, Tehran 1348/1969-70; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun güney siyaseti: Habeş eyâleti*, Istanbul 1974; N. Steensgard, *The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century*, Chicago-London 1974; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1985. From among the primary sources, Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, the Indian Ocean counterparts to Pīrī Reʾīs, deserve special mention; see also G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1921-3 and G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971.

(S. Soucek)

MINĀʾĪ, a term used by modern authors to describe a type of ceramics with polychrome under- and over-glaze painting produced during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Figural decoration which depicts stories from the Persian epic tradition is characteristic of some *mināʾī* wares.

When these objects first became known in the late 19th century they were described as "Rhages Polychrome Ware" because they were said to come from the ruins of mediaeval Rayy on the outskirts of modern Tehran, but this link was not substantiated by textual documentation or archaeological evidence. More recently, O. Watson has suggested that *mināʾī* vessels were produced in Kāshān [*q.v.*] by the group of potters who also made lustre-painted vessels and architectural revetments. Fragments of *mināʾī* vessels and tiles have been found in Turkey and Syria, but it is unclear where these objects were produced.

The designation of this polychrome painted ware as

mināʾī began only in the 1930s. A.U. Pope, writing in the *Survey of Persian art* (1939-40), describes *mināʾī* as "simply a name given currency by the Persian dealers." Other authors of this period such as K. Erdmann and R. Ettinghausen use the term in quotations marks or qualify it as "so-called Mināʾī faience." More recently, however, the term *mināʾī* has gained acceptance among both scholars and their public, and qualifications are seldom used.

The precise mediaeval name of this ware is uncertain. It may have been "seven-colour ware", a term used by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kās͟hānī, a member of the family of potters who are thought to have produced both *mināʾī* and lustre-painted ceramics.

Certain examples of this ware have been repeatedly published, and a substantial quantity of it is found in public and private collections; overall, however, it is poorly documented. Only a few signed pieces have been noted: two by "ʿAlī b. Yūsuf" and two by "Abū Zayd al-Kās͟hānī". Dated pieces are also rare, and curiously, four of the six published examples are dated to either Muḥarram 582/1186-7 or Muḥarram 583/1187-8. The authenticity of those dates was questioned already in 1939 by R. Ettinghausen, who noted that the dates were written over the glaze and should be subjected to technical examination before they were accepted as fact. Similar reservations were voiced by A. Lane. These caveats, however, have seemingly been largely ignored, for the objects continue to be cited in current publications and used as the foundation for a wider chronology.

Iranian authors of the 11th/14th centuries link the terms *mināʾī* and *mināʾ* to translucent or luminous substances such as the sky or wine vessels. Often, *mināʾī* is said to be blue. *Mināʾ* is also used as a technical term to describe a type of glass. The most detailed references are found in the *Tansūk͟h-nāma-yi Īlk͟hānī* by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who describes *mināʾ* as a type of lead glass of which the best quality is made in Syria, Egypt and the Mag͟hrib. Green *mināʾ* was most prized and was used to imitate emeralds as well as to make vessels that were sometimes decorated with inlays in precious materials. This suggests that *mināʾ* was cast rather than blown and worked as if it were stone.

Later authors use the terms *mināʾ* and *mināʾī* to describe glass vessels that had been painted and gilded. During the 18th and 19th centuries vessels of this type appear to have reached Iran from India or Europe, although some were also made locally. It is probable that the description of emerald glass as *mināʾ* led to the designation of polychrome glazed ceramics as *mināʾī*.

Bibliography: Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūk͟h-nāma-yi Īlk͟hānī*, Tehran 1348, 58, 59, 148, 218; A.A. Dehkhoda, *Lug͟hat-nāma*, s.v. *mināʾ*, *mināʾī*; F. Sarre, *Persisch-islamische Keramik des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, in *Amtl. Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, xxx (1908), 70-1; H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre and R. Winderlick, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul 1935, 27-8, 45; K. Erdmann, *A note on so-called Mina'i Faience*, in *Bull. of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iii (1935), 80-2; R. Ettinghausen, *Two signed mina'i bowls*, in *ibid.*, v (1937), 29-32; idem, *Ceramic art in Islamic times. B. Dated faience*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A.U. Pope, New York 1939-40, 1688-9; Pope, *Ceramic art in Islamic times*, in *SPA*, esp. 1596-8, 1627-9; A. Lane, *Early Islamic pottery*, New York 1948, 41-3; J.W. Allan, *Abu 'l-Qasim's treatise on ceramics*, in *Iran*, xi (1973), 115, 120; O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985, 23-5, 36-44, 60, 79, 84. See also K͟HAZAF. (P. SOUCEK)

MINANGKABAU or MENANGKABAU, the most numerous of the peoples of the island of Sumatra [*q.v.*] in the Indonesian Republic (1980 population estimate, 6 million). They inhabit the Padang highlands of west-central Sumatra, but there are also appreciable numbers of Minangkabau emigrants, including to Negro Sembilan in the Malay peninsula [*q.v.*]. Originally under Indonesian cultural and religious influence, as the centre of the Hindu-Malayan empire of Malayu, by the early 17th century much of their land had become Muslim through the influence of the Sultanate of Atjèh [*q.v.*] at the northern tip of the island. Although the Minangkabau are enthusiastic Muslims, they retain many of their former matrilineal practices in the reckoning of genealogies, marriage and inheritance, in flat contradiction to the *S͟harīʿa*. They are also skilled farmers, with terraced agriculture on the hill slopes, and notable woodcarvers, metalworkers and traders, in this last respect rivaling the Chinese. In the movement for Indonesian independence in the earlier half of this century, they played a significant rôle, and several of the Minangkabau filled important government positions in the post-1949 republican period.

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MĪNĀR, MINARET [see MANĀRA].

MINBAR (A.), the raised structure or pulpit from which solemn announcements to the Muslim community were made and from which sermons were preached.

1. Early historical evolution and place in the Islamic cult.

In contrast to the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*], the *minbar* was introduced in the time of the Prophet himself. The word, often pronounced *mimbar* (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 161), comes from the root *n-b-r* "high"; it could be derived from the Arabic quite easily with the meaning "elevation, stand", but is more probably a loanword from the Ethiopic (Schwally, in *ZDMG*, lii [1898], 146-8; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, 49). Its case is therefore somewhat similar to that of *masd͟jid*. It means "seat, chair" (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 8; *Ag͟hānī*², xiv, 75) and is used, for example, for saddle (al-Ṭabarī, *Gloss.*) and of a litter (*Ag͟hānī*, xiii, 158; cf. Schwally). It is therefore identical with *mad͟jlis* (al-Buk͟hārī, *D͟jumʿa*, *bāb* 23), with *sarīr* (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 20; *Ag͟hānī*, iii, 3), *tak͟ht* or *kursī* (Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd al-g͟haba*, i, 214; cf. also Becker, *Kanzel*, 8). The use of the word for the pulpit is in keeping with its history.

When the *k͟haṭīb* [*q.v.*] spoke among the Arabs, he usually did so standing (cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci²³; al-D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i, 129, ii, 143) frequently beating the ground with bow and lance (*ibid.*, i, 198; Labīd, 7, 15, 9, 45); or he sat on his mount as did e.g. Ḳuss b. Sāʿida (*Bayān*, i, 25, 31, ii, 141). The Prophet did both of these things. In ʿArafa he sat on his camel during his *k͟huṭba* and on other occasions, when addressing the community during the early period, even as late as the day of the capture of Mecca, he stood (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXII, 11). The people sat on the ground around him (al-Buk͟hārī, *D͟jumʿa*, *bāb* 28; *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 6). In the mosque in Medina, he had a particular place, as is mentioned in the stories

of the introduction of the *minbar*. Sometimes, we are told, he stood beside a tree or a palm-tree (al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25; ed. Krehl, ii, 400); as a rule however, beside a palm-trunk (*djidhʿ*, so Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 9, 10, 11, 12) and on a few occasions beside one of the pillars (al-Bukharī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25, ed. Krehl, ii, 401; al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75). This is undoubtedly the original tradition: the Prophet stood beside one of the palm-tree trunks used as pillars in the mosque. For "beside" (usually *ḳāma ilā*; al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 32: *ʿinda*) "up against" (*ḳāma ʿalā*; already in al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 26) is sometimes found later and for the column or trunk, we find a stump on which he sat.

Various passages record how the *minbar* was introduced, notably the following: Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 9-12; al-Bukhhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 18, 64, 91; *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 26; *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 32; *Hiba*, *bāb* 3; *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 25; Muslim, *Masādjid*, tr. 10; see also Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Pulpit*; *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 43 below, 214; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 62-3; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 275-6; the whole material is in al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, i, 129, ii, 75-6, and *Sīrat al-ḥalabī*, ii, 146-7. The details are variously given. The *minbar*, we are told, was built of *ṭarfā* wood or tamarisk from the woods near Medina; the builder was a Byzantine or a Copt and was called Bāḳūm or Bāḳūl, but the names Ibrāhīm (*Usd*, i, 43), Maymūn, Ṣabāḥ, Kulāb and Minā are also given. He was a carpenter, but a slave of the wife of one of the Anṣār or (al-Bukhārī, *Hiba*, *bāb* 3) of the Muhādjirūn. Others say he belonged to al-ʿAbbās. The suggestion is sometimes credited to the Prophet and sometimes to others. The palm-trunk is said to have whined like a camel or a child when the Prophet mounted his new seat, but was calmed by stroking and kind words from the Prophet. Most stories take it for granted that the *minbar* was primarily intended for the *khuṭba*; in some it is added that the object was to enable the large assembly to hear him (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 10, 11). We are told also that the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* on it and, during the *sudjūd*, he came down from it. He also took care that the people could see his *ṣalāt* and follow him (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 18; *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 26). This last tradition however presupposes the later custom of standing upon the *minbar* (note that the same idea of the palm-stump occurs in *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 26).

In this connection, it is interesting to note a tradition in Ibn al-Athīr according to which the Companions asked the Prophet to take up a raised position, as many *wufūd* were coming (*Usd al-ghāba*, i, 43). Another tradition is in keeping with this, according to which the Prophet, when he was visited by a man named Tamīm, stood on a *kursī* and addressed him from it (*ibid.*, 214; cf. Lammens, *Moʿāwia*, 204, n. 5). Here we have a seat of honour on which the ruler sits. This is undoubtedly in keeping with the character of the *minbar*; while the raised seat was in general use among the northern Semites, the Arabs usually sat on the ground, often leaning against a saddle. The raised seat was the special mark of the ruler or, what is the same thing, of the judge. We are told that Rabīʿa b. Mukhāshin was the first to sit on a *minbar* or *sarīr* when acting as judge (*Aghānī*[2], iii, 3; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6-7). Al-Ḥadjdjādj, for example, when he addressed the people (hardly in the mosque) sat on a chair which belonged to him (*kursī lahu:* al-Ṭabarī, ii, 959) and when he tried and condemned his enemies, a *sarīr* was erected for him (*ibid.*, 1119); in the same way a *kursī* was placed for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab when he issued his orders for a battle (*ibid.*, ii, 1107; see also Becker, *Kanzel*, 8).

If tradition usually suggests that the *minbar* was introduced exclusively for the *khuṭba*, this seems to be a somewhat one-sided view. The *minbar* was primarily, as Becker was the first to point out, the throne of the mighty Prophet in his capacity as a ruler. In keeping with this is the tradition that it was introduced in the year 7, 8 or 9 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1591; al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75; *Usd al-ghāba*, i, 23). The Prophet used it for the publication of important announcements, for example, the prohibition of wine. That he should also make his public speeches to the community from the new seat was only natural. His *khuṭbas*, however, were not confined to the Friday worship, and he could still deliver a *khuṭba* without a *minbar*, e.g. at the festival on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*], where Marwān was the first to put up a *minbar* (al-Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn, bāb* 6), and beside the Kaʿba after the capture of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, 823).

The Prophet's *minbar* is often called *aʿwād* from its material (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 64; *Djumʿa, bāb* 26). It consisted of two steps and a seat (*madjlis:* al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, ii, 75; al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 23; *maḳʿad:* al-Ṭabarī, i, 1591). After the time of the Prophet, it was used in the same way by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān (see below). Its significance as a throne is seen from the fact that in the year 50, Muʿāwiya wanted to take it to Syria with him; he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by 6 steps. At a later date, ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd are said to have wanted to take the Prophet's *minbar* to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 92-3; *Khamīs*, ii, 75; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 283; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 23-4; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 63). In the time of the Prophet, it stood against the wall so that a sheep could just get past (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 91). In the time of al-Muḳaddasī, in the centre of the Mughaṭṭā there was pointed out the position of the old *minbar*, above which Muʿāwiya was said to have built his new one (82; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 26, and al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 71). According to some *ḥadīths*, it was over the *ḥawḍ* of the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt fī Makka*, *bab* 5; *Faḍāʾil al-Madīna*, *bāb* 5, 12 and *passim*). At a later date, new *minbars* were erected in the mosque (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64, 96).

That the Umayyads should have a *minbar* of their own was natural; they sat on it, just as their predecessors had done (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 42). Muʿāwiya took it with him on his journey to Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 333); he also had taken it to the festivals on the *muṣallā* (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 265), just as Marwān used to do in Medina (see above); it was therefore still portable and indispensable for the sovereign when he wished to make a public appearance as such. In Ibn Djubayr's time, the *minbar al-khuṭba* in Damascus was in the central *maḳṣūra* (*Riḥla*, 265). According to Ibn Khaldūn, Muʿāwiya was the first in Islam to use the throne (*sarīr*, *minbar*, *takht*, *kursī*) but he is clearly not referring to the *minbar* of the mosque (*Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, 205-6, *faṣl* 3, 37).

The *minbar* taken to Mecca by Muʿāwiya remained there till the time of al-Rashīd; when the latter visited Mecca on his Pilgrimage in the year 170/786-7 or 174/790-1 a *minbar manḳūsh* with nine steps was presented to him by the *amīr* of Egypt and the old one was put up in ʿArafa. At a later date, al-Wāthiḳ made *minbars* for Mecca, ʿArafa and Minā (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 333, iii, 114). The Meccan *minbar* was a portable one. It usually stood beside the *maḳām* but was put beside the Kaʿba during the *khuṭba* (Ibn Djubayr, 95, 97; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iii, 429). According to al-Batanūnī, this custom was kept up until Sultan Sülaymān Ḳānūnī (926-74/1520-66) built a marble *minbar*, north of the *maḳām* (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 100).

It seems at first to have been doubtful whether

manābir should be put up in the provinces or not. According to al-Ḳuḍāʿī, ʿAmr had a *minbar* made in al-Fusṭāṭ but ʿUmar ordered him to take it away: he was not to raise himself above the Muslims so that they would have to sit below his heels (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 6-7; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 76; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 63, ii, 135). The idea obviously was that the throne belonged to the caliph alone. After ʿUmar's death, however, ʿAmr is said to have used a *minbar* (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8, 27). It stood there till Ḳurra b. S͟harīk [*q.v.*] rebuilt the mosque. During the rebuilding, it was put in the Ḳaysāriyya, which was used as a mosque; only when the mosque was completed in the year 92/711 did Ḳurra put up a new *minbar*. Tradition, however, is uncertain. The *minbar* removed by Ḳurra perhaps dated from the time of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, who had taken it from a church or had been presented with it by the Nubian king (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78). Ḳurra's *minbar* remained till 379/989, when the Fāṭimid vizier Yaʿḳūb b. Killis replaced it by a gilded one. A large new *minbar* was placed in the mosque of ʿAmr in 405/1014-15 by al-Ḥākim (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78-9).

We hear of no objections in other places to the *manābir* in the *amṣār*. In Madāʾin as early as the year 16/637, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ erected a *minbar* in the mosque improvised in the Īwān of Kisrā (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2451, 9). In Baṣra, Abū Mūsā put up a *minbar* in the middle of the mosque. This was, however, found inconvenient because the imām had to cross from the *minbar* to the *ḳibla* "over the necks" of the (seated) believers. Ziyād then placed the *minbar* against the south wall (Yāḳūt, i, 642). On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (governor of Baṣra 36-40/656-60) was the first to mount the *minbar* in Baṣra (al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 179). When Ziyād had to fly from Baṣra, he saved the *minbar* which he put up in his Masd̲j̲id al-Ḥuddān (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3414-15). The *minbar* was the symbol of the ruler, and the governor sat upon it as representative of the ruler. It therefore formed a feature of the Masd̲j̲id al-D̲j̲amāʿa, where the community was officially addressed. In the year 64/683-4, therefore, there were *minbars* in all the provinces. In this year, homage was paid to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam not only in the capital but in the other *manābir* in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, Miṣr, S͟haʾm, D̲j̲azīra, ʿIrāḳ, K͟hurāsān, and other *amṣār* (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 307). Special mention is made of the fact that Ṭabariyya had no *minbar*.

In the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd one, we find the *wālī* in the smaller towns delivering the *k͟huṭba* standing, with the staff only. But in 132/749-50 the governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had *manābir* put up in the *ḳurā* of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 8, 17 ff.; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 350-1). When the *k͟huṭba* became purely a religious exhortation and the ruler was no longer the *k͟haṭīb*, the *minbar* became the pulpit of the spiritual preacher, and every mosque in which the Friday service was celebrated was given a *minbar*. At the same time, i.e. after al-Ras͟hīd, the change was gradually completed and the preacher spoke, standing on the pulpit. *Ḥadīt͟h*s therefore came into existence, according to which the Prophet used to deliver two *k͟huṭbas* on Friday, standing "just as is done to-day" (al-Buk͟hārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, *bāb*s 27, 30) and ʿUmar (*ibid.*, *bāb* 2).

The *minbar* was thus now quite analogous to the Christian pulpit. It is very probable that this latter also influenced its form. We have already noted above, regarding a *minbar* in the mosque of ʿAmr, that it was said to be of Christian origin. The same thing came to be said of the Prophet's *minbar* (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 63). Muʿāwiya made the Medina *minbar* larger, while the one brought by him to Mecca had only three steps and was of course portable. We again hear of portable *minbars* later, which did not exclude their being large (cf. above, on the *minbar* of Mecca). Thus the *manābir* in al-Mag͟hrib are said to have been portable. Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ regards this (the oldest) custom as *bidʿa* and therefore ascribes it to al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (*Madk͟hal*, ii, 47, 13 ff.). The oldest *minbars* were all of wood. There is, however, one *ḥadīt͟h* which says that the Prophet had a *kursī* of wood with iron legs made for the reception of Tamīm (*Usd*, i, 214, 8 from below; cf. Lammens, *Moʿāwia*, 273, n. 3); it is however uncertain what relation this had to the *minbar*. A *minbar* of iron was made as early as the Umayyad period (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 78, 8: *al-minbar al-ḥadīd*, probably correct in spite of Becker, *Kanzel*, 10, n.; cf. 79, 4, and see below); and also of stone (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 42, n. 5, with a reference to Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar); later, they were also built of brick (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64, 96). As a rule, the *minbar* stood against the *ḳibla* wall beside the *miḥrāb*. Al-Mahdī had tried to reduce the *manābir* to their original small size (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 486, 12; al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 12, 13 ff.), but he could not arrest the development. In the larger mosques several *manābir* were even built. Ibn al-Faḳīh, in about 300/912-13, already mentions five *minbars* in the mosque in Jerusalem (100, 8 f.). In the Sulṭān Ḥasan mosque in Cairo, four were planned and three erected, when a minaret fell down in 762/1361 and diverted attention to other work (al-Maḳrīzī, iv, 117, 18 f.).

The importance which the *minbar* already had in the time of the Prophet caused special reverence to be paid to it, and the sanctity of the mosque was concentrated round this and around the *miḥrāb*. The governor of Kūfa, K͟hālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-38), received a letter of censure from the caliph because he had prayed for water on the *minbar* (*Kāmil*, 20, 15). A false oath taken on or beside the *minbar* of the Prophet absolutely led to hell (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 10, 3 f., 12, 19 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 329; cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 144, 147). Legends grew up which represented the Prophet seeing into the future from the *minbar* (al-Buk͟hārī, *D̲j̲umʿa*, *bāb* 29) and being able to follow the battle of Muʾta [*q.v.*] from it (cf. al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 311; Ibn His͟hām, 796) and also telling how his prayers on the *minbar* were specially efficacious.

Just as the Kaʿba was covered (*kasā*), so was the same thing done to the *minbar*. ʿUt͟hmān is said to have been the first to cover the *minbar* of the Prophet with a *ḳaṭīfa* (*K͟hamīs*, ii, 75, 1 from below). Muʿāwiya did the same thing when he had to give up his attempt to abolish it (*ibid.*, 76, 4; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 92, 4). It was not quite the same thing when al-Ḥākim rediscovered the already-mentioned iron *minbar* and covered it with gilded leather because it was covered with dirt (read: *ḳad͟har*) i.e. rust (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, i, 79, 5 f.). Under the ʿAbbāsids, a new *kiswa* was sent every year for the *minbar* of the Prophet from Bag͟hdād; the sultans later did not renew it so frequently (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 64). We find other references to the covering of the *minbar* on special occasions (Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, 149, 16). Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ (*Madk͟hal*, ii, 74) demands that the *imām* should put a stop to the custom of putting carpets on the *minbar*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see C.H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islām*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 331-51 = *Islamstudien*, i,

450-71; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 533, 739, ii, 68-9, 87, 213-14; H. Lammens, *Mo^cāwia*, 63, 204-8, 273; J. Horovitz, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 257-60).

(J. Pedersen)

2. Architectural features: the Arab, Persian and Turkish lands.

As noted in 1. above, the *minbar* was in early times used as a seat by the ruler or his governor, from which he addressed the Muslims at the Friday worship, consonant with the use of mosques in the Umayyad period as places of political assembly also (see MASDJID. I. E. 1, and J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 134-5, 142-4). According to C.H. Becker, the change in the purpose of the *minbar* from the ruler's or governor's seat to the purely religious pulpit occurred towards the end of the Umayyad period (*Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 344-7). Unfortunately, we do not have any examples or even descriptions of how *minbars* looked during the Umayyad period. Evidently it took some time before *minbars* were generally in use. In 132/749-50 provincial cities in Egypt were provided with *minbars* by order of Marwān II, and we may therefore presume that they became standard mosque furniture in other parts of the Islamic world as well.

Little is known of *minbars* during the ʿAbbāsid period. It is reported that the caliph al-Mahdī ordered Muḥammad b. Abī Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr in 161/777-8 to reduce the height of *minbars* to make them the same size as that of the Prophet (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1853, ii, 247). This incident would suggest that *minbars* at that time were high, a possibility borne out by the fact that the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā had, according to its *ḳibla* wall plan, a *minbar* which, on architectural evidence, was about 3.90 m high (J. Schacht, *An unknown type of Minbar and its historical significance*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii [1957], 156). The only surviving *minbar* from the early period of Islam is in the Great Mosque of Ḳayrawān in Tunisia. Made of teak and measuring 3.31 m with eleven steps, it is a magnificent example of carved woodwork. It is said to have been brought from Baghdād by the Aghlabid *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-249/856-63), and was probably completed in 248/862-3 (K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1940, ii, 314, 317-19, pls. 89, 90). It is the earliest extant example to have the basic elements of a wooden *minbar*, that is, a platform with steps and a portal without a door at the entrance to the steps. The framework consists of upright and transverse strips of wood with rectangular and triangular panels fitted in by the tongue-and-groove technique. The framework is decorated with vine tendrils forming circular loops enclosing a vine leaf and bunch of grapes, a composition found in the tie beams of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Most of the panels on the *minbar* are geometric grilles, but on the eastern side there are ten very beautiful panels carved in arabesque. The naturalistic style of the design on these ten panels and, in particular, the pine cones encircled by vines, recall wooden panels found near Baghdād. In Creswell's view, the resemblance strongly suggests that the ten panels were carved there. E. Kühnel has pointed out that their ornamentation resembles that of the Umayyad palace at Mushattā [*q.v.*] (*Die Islamische Kunst*, in A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig 1929, vi, 385). E. Diez remarked on the dissimilarity of the style of the naturalistic panels to the more abstract style of the early ʿAbbāsid period typified in the stucco and wood decoration in Sāmarrā, and believed that some of the carved strips and panels may have belonged to an Umayyad *minbar* before being assembled in the present structure (*EI*[1], MINBAR, at iii, 500). The *minbar* has been subjected to damage and restoration and, particularly, it must have been restored after Ḳayrawān was sacked by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 441/1049-50 (H. Saladin, *La Mosquée de Sidi Okba à Kairouan*, Paris 1899, 8, 104). According to Creswell, in the repairs of 1907 the panels were replaced in a new order. The rectangular panels with geometric designs, which are of varying quality, are difficult to date, and whilst some are more recent, others appear to have been made at an early period (L. Golvin, *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse musulmane*, Paris 1970, 228).

In early Islamic times, some *minbars* were movable, which would at once indicate that they were made of very light material, probably wood. Judging from the form and size of the *ḳibla* wall in the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā, it must have had a movable *minbar* which was kept in a special room close to the *miḥrāb* (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 156). The *minbar* of the Kaʿba in Mecca was on wheels and was normally kept in the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*], but was pushed out to stand beside the Kaʿba for the Friday sermon (Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*[2], ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden and London 1907, 95, 97). This was presumably the *minbar* donated by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/841-7) (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 157). The practice of moving *minbars* in and out of the assembly area has actually survived in certain parts of the Islamic world, mainly in North Africa. Few early ones remain, but the existence of a recess to the right of the *ḳibla* wall of some Friday Mosques proves that the original *minbars* of these mosques were movable. The series of movable *minbars* begins with that of the Great Mosque of Sfax built in 235/849, which has a recess for the *minbar* (see Schacht, *op. cit.*, 149 ff., for this and further examples).

Since the *minbar* was a symbol of authority, where the governor sat as representative of the ruling power, it was therefore an important feature of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ when the community gathered to be officially addressed. Al-Muḳaddasī refers to the *minbar* as an object of high regard in Muslim communities. A township, for instance, could only be called a city if it enjoyed the right to possess a *minbar* and held public assemblies. He frequently categorises towns according to whether they had a *minbar* or not. The significance of a *minbar* was such that in Iran townships fought hard for the right to have one. Several references from al-Muḳaddasī indicate that the number of *minbars* in a city was a sign of its prosperity (193, 261-2, 267, 273, 282, 306, 309).

No *minbar* survives from the early period in Iran, but Ibn Funduḳ mentions that he saw a *minbar* in the Ādīna Mosque in Sabzawār dated 266/879 (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. K.S.K. Ḥusaynī, Hyderabad 1968, 86). He also adds that the name of the ruler of Khurāsān, Aḥmad al-Khudjistānī, who held power there during the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtamid [see KHUDJISTĀN], was written on it. The earliest surviving *minbar* in Iran is in the Djāmiʿ Mosque of Shushtar and is dated Ṣafar 445/May-June 1053 (N. Meshkati, *A list of the historical sites and ancient monuments of Iran*, tr. H.A. Pessyan, Tehran 1974, 109). It is an early example of a *minbar* decorated with star- and polygon-shaped panels, filled with arabesque interlace pattern, fitted by the tongue-and-groove technique covering the sides, a type of decoration which became popular in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and other parts of the Islamic world from the 5th/11th century onwards. No other *minbar* with this type of decoration is known in Iran

from the Saldjūḳ period. In central Iran, five *minbars* survive from the period of Saldjūḳ rule. All of these reveal the same structure as that at Ḳayrawān, namely, a flight of steps with posts at their entrance leading up to the speaker's seat, which consists of a platform supported on four posts. The *minbars* are on a smaller scale than that of Ḳayrawān, but the sides, consisting of carved rectangular panels, are similar (for a detailed description and analysis of these Iranian *minbars*, see J. Golmohammadi, *Wooden religious buildings and carved woodwork in central Iran*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London 1988, unpubl.). One of the earliest of these five is the *minbar* in the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Abyāna, dated 466/1077. The second, dated 543/1148, is in the Imāmzāda Ismāᶜīl in Barz, and the third, dated 583/1187, is in the Masdjid-i Pāʾīn in Farīzhand. All these three *minbars* are in the Natanz region. The *minbar* in the Masdjid-i Djamiᶜ in Muḥammadiyya near Nāʾīn, and that called the Ṣāḥib-i Minbar in a building attached to the Ḥusayniyya in Farīzhand, have no dates, but they may be attributed to the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries on account of the use of the bevelled technique of carving in the arabesque decoration, and in the case of the Ṣāḥib-i Minbar, the style of the Kūfic inscription. A notable and important feature of these five Iranian *minbars* is the application of a so-called "bevelled" style of carving. This particular decorative technique was identified by E. Herzfeld as found on the stucco decoration of Sāmarrā (*Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, i, Berlin 1923, 5-8, 10-14). It consists of patterns cut at a deep slant giving contrast of light and shade. The patterns, often repeated and separated by curving lines, were covered with dots, notches and slits and rows of beads or pearls were frequently used as a decorative border. While this style and technique was first used in Sāmarrā during the 3rd/9th century, it survived in Iran, as R. Ettinghausen has pointed out, in a somewhat modified form, losing its repetitive arrangements, during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries (*The "Beveled Style" in the post-Samarra period*, in *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernest Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 76-81). This style of carving was outmoded in Egypt by the late 5th/11th century, but we can still observe it in other parts of the Islamic world right up to the end of the 6th-12th century, although the bevelling tended to be considerably shallower.

The *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Abyāna is perhaps one of the most outstanding works of the bevelled style still surviving in Iran. Its panels are carved with deeply bevelled patterns, including abstract leaves with spiral tips, which can be traced back to the stucco decoration of Sāmarrā. Also noticeable on it is the use of the tongue-and-groove technique, which existed in the early days of Islam (see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque Ayyoubide*, in *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire*, 1931, pl. II, nos. 4627, 4630, and pl. IV, no. 4739).

Although the Barz *minbar* has bevelled panels, the decoration is mainly arabesque interlace, showing the influence of new decorative trends. This *minbar* is also notable for its balustrade, which is composed of a lattice grille made up of geometric patterns formed by small pieces of turned wood fixed to each other by the technique that is well-known in the *mashrabiyya* [*q.v.*] work of Egypt; this is the earliest known dated example of such work in Iran. The existence of these *minbars* is significant, since they pre-date the Mongol invasion; it was previously thought that all Saldjūḳ *minbars* were destroyed by the Mongols.

The bevelled style of carving can further be observed on the *minbar* in the Great Mosque of ᶜAmādiyya in ᶜIrāḳ, dated 548/1153 (Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 74, Pl. X). Here polygonal panels set in a plain frame are decorated with semi-palmettes with spiral tips within curving scrolls. In Turkey there is a *minbar* from Malatya, which is now preserved in the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara (G. Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisinde süsleme ve el sanatlari*, Ankara 1978, 115). It has small polygonal pieces set in a plain framework carved in the bevelled style. The field of the panels is made up of deeply incised small scale arabesques with bevelled surfaces. It has been attributed to the 7th/13th century, but Ettinghausen has correctly pointed out that it must be earlier, namely dating from the 6th/12th century (*op. cit.*, 82). So far no other dated piece of woodwork carved with the bevelled style is known from the 7th/13th century; Ettinghausen's dating appears therefore justified.

The structure and decoration of the sides of *minbars* began to change towards the end of the 5th/11th century, when there appeared a new method of construction and design. This was to cover the sides with small pieces of wood in the shape of stars and polygons. The earliest known example of this type is the *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiᶜ in Shushtar already mentioned. The new composition appears in its fully developed form on the Fāṭimid *minbar* of the Shrine of al-Ḥusayn at Askelon, now preserved in the Museum of Hebron (L.H. Vincent and E.J.H. Mackay, *Le Haram el Khalil, sépulture des patriarches*, Paris 1923, 219-25, pls. XXV-XXVII). It is dated 484/1091-2. The entire surface of the sides is covered with elaborate geometrical patterns composed of small polygonal pieces of wood fitted into incised strapwork by the tongue and groove technique. The main elements of the pattern consist of hexagons, polygons and six-pointed stars. Each of the polygonal pieces is filled with interlaced arabesque designs. The carving, however, is no longer in the bevelled style, but executed in deep straight cuttings. Another interesting feature of this *minbar* is its balustrade grille composed as a *mashrabiyya*, making it a very early dated example of such work. The present canopy and door of the *minbar* are later, probably of the Mamlūk period.

During the Fāṭimid period in Egypt, the system of decoration was to continue appearing in two early *minbars*, that in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai dated 500/1106, and that in the Mosque of ᶜAmr in Ḳūs dated 550/1155 (C.J. Lamm, *Fatimid woodwork, its style and chronology*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, xviii [1935-6], 78). The latter example has a pavilion over the speaker's seat, and the decoration at the back of the seat recalls a *miḥrāb*. From the Fāṭimid period onwards, the *minbar* developed its standard form, having a domed canopy over the speaker's seat, a doorway and decorative elements consisting of stars and polygons made up of small carved pieces of wood. This form was to become standard in Syria and Turkey as well as Egypt. A good example of this type is the *minbar* of the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem, which was donated in 564/1168 by Nūr al-Dīn to Aleppo and later taken by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to Jerusalem (*ibid.*, 88).

A popular decorative feature of the 6th/12th century onwards, inlay work of ivory and mother of pearl, appears on this same *minbar* (M.S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, New York 1974, 216). Later on, Mamlūk *minbars* were noted for their elaborate inlay work, which included not only ivory and mother-of-pearls, but also ebony and bone. Such *minbars* are to be found in the mosques of Ibn Ṭūlūn and Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾīᶜ in Cairo (L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, pls. 82, 85). Towards the end of the Mamlūk

period, we witness the decline of both carved and inlay decoration. The *minbar* from the Mosque of Ḳāʾit-Bay, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, dated 872/1468-9, is a good example of these late Mamlūk works (V. and A., no. 1050-1869).

In Iran, star and polygon decoration was slow to become popular. Thus the *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ in Nāʾīn dated 711/1311-12 has sides still constructed with rectangular panels rather than stars and polygons (M.B. Smith, *The wood minbar in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, Nāʾīn*, in *Ars Islamica*, v[1938], 21-2, figs. 1-7). Part of its carved decoration consists of chains of lozenges or leaves, filled with comma-like volutes, which reflect a style that became popular in Iran during the 8th/14th century. It also has a lattice-work balustrade with a geometrical design made up of slats. This is an early example of this type of lattice-work in Iran, which was used for screens, windows, gateways and balcony balustrades. Another outstanding *minbar* from this post-Mongol period in Iran is that of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Sūryān in Fārs, now preserved in the Īrān-Bāstān Museum in Tehran (S.M.T. Muṣṭafawī, *Iḳlīm-i Pārs*, Tehran 1343 *sh*/1964, tr. R.N. Sharp, *The land of Pars*, Chippenham 1978, 5). According to its inscription, it was made in 771/1369. It is distinguished by the use on its sides of the star and polygon style, which was by that time applied in woodwork in Iran. Another feature of this *minbar* is the distinctly floral element of its carved decoration, which was later to become characteristic of the Tīmūrid period. The *minbar* of the Mosque of Gawhar Shād in the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad made in 840-50/1436-46 is a fine Tīmūrid piece. It is distinguished by profuse ornamentation of star and polygon patterns with tendrils carved in relief in the Tīmūrid style (Diez, *op. cit.*, 500). This *minbar* is unusual in Iran in having a canopy, in this case surmounted by a crown of stalactites (*EI*[1], *Miḥrāb*, fig. 8, which shows the *minbar*).

Wooden *minbars* carved to a very high standard were also produced in Anatolia. Wood was plentiful there, so its use for mosque furniture is easily understandable. One of the earliest wooden *minbars* in Anatolia is in the Alaeddin Mosque, Konya, and is dated 550/1155 (J.H. Loytved, *Konia. Inschriften der Seldschukidischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907, 22-4). It is made of walnut wood, and apart from its intricately carved star and polygon decoration it has a balustrade grille with a Ḳurʾānic inscription on the rails and a cusped arch with panels over the entrance. It bears no particular resemblance, either in structure or decoration, to the Saldjūḳ *minbars* in Iran, and in fact is in the Syro-Egyptian form. *Minbars* of the Alaeddin type became increasingly popular in Anatolia during the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. A good example of these is the *minbar* of the Ulu Cami of Siirt, now in the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara, which is carved to a very high standard (E. Akurgal, *The art and architecture of Turkey*, Oxford 1980, 202). Similar *minbars* still kept in their original places are those of the Ulu Cami of Sivrihisar dated 670/1272, and that of the Eşrefoğlu Cami in Beyşehir dated 696-8/1297-9. The tongue-and-groove technique, which is called *kündekārī* in Turkish, was applied to a full extent in the decoration of these *minbars*. It is remarkable, however, that in Anatolia a kind of false *kündekārī* was also frequently used, most likely for the reason that it cut the cost. Large panels were carved in polygonal patterns and mounted on the skeleton structure of the *minbar*. Sometimes the geometric patterns were made separately and glued on to the background. Small strips of incised wood were nailed between them to give the appearance of strapwork and also to hide the joins in the panels. This method, however, does not prevent warping, and in time slits appeared between the panels. Examples of such false *kündekārī* technique can be seen on the *minbars* of the Alaeddin Mosque, Ankara (594/1197-8), the Ulu Cami, Divriği (626/1228-9), and the Ahi Elvan Mosque, Ankara 784/1382 (Akurgal, *op. cit.*, 202).

Although *minbars* were most commonly made of wood, they were also constructed of other materials, such as brick, ceramic and stone. Al-Muḳaddasī, 77, mentions one in ʿArafa (in the Ḥidjāz) which was made of bricks. There is also an undated brick *minbar* in the 4th/10th century Tārīkhāna Mosque in Dāmghān, though it appears to be much later than the building itself. (R. Hillenbrand, *The mosque in the medieval Islamic world*, in *Architecture in continuity. Building in the Islamic world today. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture*, ed. S. Cantacuzino, New York 1985, 37). In central Iran, there are five known examples of ceramic tiled *minbars* dating from the period *ca.* 1445-1525 A.D. (B. O'Kane, *The tiled Minbars of Iran*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xxii [1986], 133-53, pls. XXXVI-XLIII). All are decorated with variations on a design of eight and twelve pointed stars, which include patterns of light blue stems with amber and white flowers, and floral arabesques of amber and light blue on a dark blue ground. Some have inscriptions giving the name of the donor, or of holy figures or religious texts. The finest is in the Masdjid-i Maydān in Kāshān and is decorated with mosaic faience of a standard far above average. One inscription on the left-hand side gives the name of the craftsman as Ḥaydar, the tile-cutter, and another inscription states the time of construction as being in the reign of Sultan Abū Saʿīd Gūrgān, which has led O'Kane to date the *minbar* to the year before Sultan Abū Saʿīd's death in 874/1469, when he was briefly ruler of the area. The *minbar* of the mosque of the *khānagāh* of Bundirābād is the largest of the five, and is dated by O'Kane to about the time of the repair works to the mosque itself, carried out in 848/1473. These tiled *minbars* belong to a period of growing use of tiles and mosaic faience in Iranian architecture. The taste for them did not last for long, probably because there was a need to retain mobility in certain circumstances. There are two late examples of tiled *minbars* from Khīwa, one in the summer mosque of the Old Arg, which is datable to the 1820s and the other in an unidentifiable building also probably 19th century. Both are low with four steps (O'Kane, *op. cit.*, 153).

There are a number of stone *minbars* in the Islamic world, such as those of the Shaykhū, Aḳsunḳur and Khāṭirī Mosques in Egypt. Perhaps the most famous is in the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan dated 757-64/-1356-63 (Hautecoeur and Wiet, *op. cit.*, 103, 300, pls. 119, 132). The Mosque of Barḳūḳ in the Cemetery of the Caliphs, dated 806-13/1403-10, has a fine stone *minbar* carved with intricate geometric patterns, the sides in particular having star and polygon designs similar to those on woodwork. It resembles the carved stone *minbar* in the Mosque of Shaykhū dated 750/1349 in having a door with a stalactite portal and canopy surmounted by an onion-shaped dome (*ibid.*, 261, 300, 314, 334, pls. 119, 157).

The Friday mosque of Harāt had a marble *minbar* of great beauty, which now no longer exists, carved for it at the end of the 9th/15th century by the stonemason Shams al-Dīn (*Khulāṣat al-akhbār*, part of Khwāndamīr's general history describing Harāt, ed. G. Iʿtimādī, Kābul 1345 *sh*/1966, 12). A.D.H. Bivar

has drawn attention to the stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad dated 789/1387-8 in Sīrdjān (see KITĀBĀT, pl. XXIII, 29).

The earliest stone *minbar* in Anatolia is in the Alaeddin Mosque in Niğde dated 620/1223. The *minbar* is simple with no decoration except arabesques carved on the stone balustrade (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie, Kayseri-Niğde*, Paris 1931, i, 120, 122, pl. XXXVI). Marble and stone *minbars* were mainly popular in the Ottoman period. The Mosques of Bāyazīd and Meḥmed Pasha in Amasya, both dated 891/1486, have fine marble *minbars* of high-quality workmanship. The *minbar* of the latter is particularly notable for its rich floriated decoration (Gabriel, *op. cit.*, ii, 37-8, 43, pls. VI-2, VII-2). The most interesting *minbar* is in the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne dated 961/1574, and is superior in its size, beauty and the quality of its workmanship. It is carved from a single block of stone, and the side is dominated by an equilateral triangle containing a sun disc. The fretted border and balustrade are composed of traditional polygonal designs and the conical canopy decorated with ceramic tiles. The stone *minbar* in the Sokollu Mosque in Istanbul dated 980/1572 also has a tiled canopy, as well as a lattice balustrade in stone imitating those in woodwork (G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 264-5, 274, pls. 253, 261; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971, 223, 225, pls. 174, 178).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(J. GOLMOHAMMADI)

3. In India.

In the various building styles of India (as defined in HIND, vii) the typology of the *minbar* is very variable, from a crude construction of three simple stone steps to elaborately carved canopied structures of nine steps or more. Stone is always the preferred material, even in the brick-building region of Bengal; however, the absence of any structural *minbar* in many well-preserved old mosques may suggest that wooden *minbars* were also known, although no early examples have survived.

Dihlī sultanate. In none of the earliest mosques is there an original *minbar* (that in the Djamā^cat-Khāna at Nizamuddin, the oldest mosque still in worship, is a modern replacement; old photographs, however, show a simple *minbar* of three stone slabs). This pattern is maintained up to the Lodī period, to judge by a very few extant examples in Dihlī (e.g. mosque at Baṛā gumbad; mosque at the *bā'olī* known as Rādjon kī bā'īn); only in the special case of the *ʿīdgāh* attributed to Mullā Iḳbāl Khan is there a more elaborate structure, a tall stone platform level with the top of the *miḥrāb* arch whence the voice of the *khaṭīb* might reach the great concourse gathered for the *ʿīd* assembly. Outside Dihlī itself, the *minbar* of the Djāmiʿ mosque of Iriċ, 815/1412, is a massive stone structure of seven steps, the last extended to a square platform supported on pillars.

Among the regional styles, no early mosques remain in the Pandjāb.

Bengal shows excellent early examples of canopied *minbars*; the earliest, in carved basalt, in the Baṛī *masdjid* in Čhōṭā Panḍu'ā [see PANḌU'Ā, Čhōṭā] of the early 8th/14th century, has nine steps leading to a domed upper chamber, with arched openings on three sides and what appears to be a *miḥrāb* representation against the western wall of the prayer-chamber. This design was followed in the great Ādīna masdjid of Ḥaḍrat Panḍu'ā [see PANḌU'Ā] of 776/1374-5, where as Ravenshaw's photograph shows (J.H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: its ruins and inscriptions*, London 1878) the *miḥrāb*-like decoration on the western wall is carved with the representation of a hanging lamp, and the outer surface carved with geometrical diaper patterns. Similar but plainer is the *minbar* of the nearby Ḳuṭb Shāhī (Ravenshaw's "Golden") mosque, 993/1585. Further instances of this type occur; but there are also many simple *minbars* of three simple stone slabs. One late aberrant *minbar*, in the mosque of Muḥammad b. Tipū Sulṭān, 1258/1842, consists of three polished stone steps occupying half of the central *miḥrāb*, space having been severely limited by the neo-Palladian design of this building.

In the few remaining buildings of the Djawnpur sultanate, in Djawnpur itself, in the Djāmiʿ mosque at Itāwā, and in the Aṛhā'ī kangūra mosque at Kāshī, Banāras, the *minbar* takes the form of a massive stone structure of nine steps up to a square stone platform, with no trace of there ever having been a canopy. The typological similarity to the Irič example mentioned above points to a geographical rather than a dynastic determinant of style.

The favourite style of *minbar* in the Gudjarāt sultanate is again the massive stone nine-stepped structure, although as Aḥmad Shāh's mosque, the earliest in Aḥmadābād (816/1414), shows, the upper platform was covered by a canopy; the canopy may be taken entirely from a Hindu temple *mandapa*, supported by pillaged pillars, although even when purpose-quarried stones are used they are often elaborately carved in accordance with the characteristic richness of the Gudjarāt style. The steps may further be enclosed by stone sides to form handrails, again with carved surfaces. In many mosques the canopies have been removed, probably when many fine stone buildings were plundered during the early years of Marāṭhā rule in the early 12th/18th century. A feature found in many Gudjarāt mosques is the presence of a low square platform in front of the lowest step of the *minbar*; its original purpose is not clear, but it is not uncommon now to see it covered with mats and used to seat young students when the mosque is in use as a Ḳur'ānic school.

In Mālwā the canopied *minbar* is again the preferred style, as exemplified in that of the early mosque of Malik Mughīth at Mānḍū, 835/1432, where the upper platform is surmounted by a square roof resting on pillars which appears to be temple spoil, with projecting eaves and a parapet surmounted by a row of shield-shaped merlons; to the west the wall takes the form of a *miḥrāb* of black polished basalt, with the characteristic Mālwā row of merlons in low relief. This is surpassed by the magnificient *minbar* of the Djāmiʿ mosque (completed 858/1454), perhaps the finest in the sub-continent: eleven steps lead to the upper platform, originally railed on north and south; the three open sides are of the same shape as the arches of the *miḥrābs*, slightly ogival; the canopy itself has its eaves supported by sinous brackets, of the same shape as those in the Djāmiʿ mosque of Dhār and of Hūshang's tomb in Mānḍū; above the row of merlons there is a marble dome of the characteristic Mālwā shape, i.e. stilted below the haunch by being raised on a cylindrical drum. Here, as in the Gudjarāt mosques, there is again a square low platform at the foot of the *minbar* steps. At Čanderī [*q.v.*] the *minbar* of the Djāmiʿ mosque is typologically similar, but without the sinuous brackets and more solidly built (now whitewashed); that of the great *ʿīdgāh* similar but plainer, and of only eight massive steps (the even number is unusual).

In the Deccan, however, the *minbar* is usually of

the plain pattern of three modest stone steps; so at the first Bahmanī mosque, the Djāmiᶜ mosque of Gulbarga (769/1367), and others in Bidar. In the massive ᶜīdgāh at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*], certainly of Bahmanī date, the *minbar* has nine stone steps leading to an open platform; in the arched opening of the west wall behind it is a flight of smaller steps leading to the top of the wall. In the buildings at Bīdjāpur (and Gōgī) of the ᶜĀdil Shāhīs, the most ornate of the Deccan styles, the *minbar* remains of the simple pattern of three (occasionally five) stone steps, and the same is true of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosques of Ḥaydarābād.

Throughout the Mughal period, the *minbar* is of the stepped uncovered type. Sometimes, as at the Djāmiᶜ mosque in Fatḥpur Sīkrī, the massive red sandstone steps have small pierced screens at their sides; in the time of Shāhdjahān, when many modifications were also made to earlier buildings, the *minbar* is often a simple structure of three steps but built of polished, sometimes also inlaid, marble, and a few have a chair-like back slab which may carry a brief inscription. The Djāmiᶜ mosques of Dihlī (Shāhdjahānābād) and Āgrā each have a central platform, approached by steps, in the *ṣaḥn*, outside the prayer-chamber, which may fulfil the functional purpose of the *minbar* when there is a vast concourse of worshippers to be addressed, even though there is a *minbar* in its normal position within the prayer-chamber.

Bibliography: For general stylistic discussion, and for many illustrations, see *Bibl.* to HIND, vii, above. To this should now be added T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, i, Tokyo 1967 (in Japanese); Catherine B. Asher, *Inventory of key monuments*, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Paris 1984; J. Burton-Page, *Mosques and tombs*, in *Medieval Ahmadabad = Marg*, xxxix/3, 30-119. For Irič, see J.F. Blakison, *The Jami Masjid at Budaun and other buildings in the United Provinces* = MASI, xix, Calcutta 1926. Information on Itāwā and Banāras from personal photographic collection.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

4. In East Africa.

Several different types of *minbar* are to be found on the East African coast. One type is apparently peculiar to it. In the Middle Ages and up to the 19th century the greatest number of Friday mosques had a stone *minbar* consisting of two steps and a seat. At Kisimkazi, Zanzibar, there is only one step and a seat, while at Kua, Juani Island, Mafia, and at Mgao Mwanya, on the Tanzanian mainland, there are three steps and a seat. In all these cases the lowest step is very shallow, and is known in Swahili as *kiapo*, or place for taking solemn oaths. The person taking the oath stands on the lowest step, and touches the *minbar*. A brief account of Swahili oaths is given by Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari of Bagamoyo, Tanzania, in C. Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli*, Göttingen 1903, 273-7, but without explanation of the ritual.

The later Friday mosque at Ungwana, Kenya, built *ca.* 1500-50, is alone in its period in having seven stone steps and a seat at the top, with masonry sides formerly surmounted by a wooden handrail. In recent times similar stone *minbar*s have been constructed in mosques in the Lamu archipelago.

Only two wooden *minbar*s are known. This does not arise from any distase for wood, but because it is vulnerable to the white ant, ubiquitous in eastern Africa. The wooden *minbar* in the Friday mosque at Lamu is dated by an inscription 917/1511, and that at Siu 930/1523, both of these being in Kenya. At Magogoni, a small village near Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, a portable *minbar* is used on feast days. It consists of a simple wooden upright chair constructed on a flat pedestal, the latter projecting to form a step in front, and the space between the legs being enclosed to form a cupboard. It is of recent and rough construction.

In a number of Friday mosques, however, the *minbar* takes the form of a recess, or of a raised platform within a recess built out behind the *ḳibla* wall. It may be reached by a staircase within its recess, or by a staircase from inside the *miḥrāb*. The *minbar* thus resembles a window on the right-hand side of the *miḥrāb*. It is sometimes provided with a balustrade for the preacher to lean on. Where the staircase leads out of the *miḥrāb*, it is sometimes connected with a room or office for the use of the *imām*, for whom often an external door is also provided. The dating of *minbars* of this type is uncertain, but local tradition, which is probably correct, assigns their construction to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Bibliography: J.S. Kirkman, *Gedi: the Great Mosque*, London 1954, 2, 6 and pl. IIA; J. Schacht, *An unknown type of Minbar and its historical significance*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 149-73, with numerous illustrations; Kirkman, *Ungwana on the Tana*, The Hague 1966, 28, 34, 35; P.S. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*, London 1966, 85-6 and pl. XIII, figs. 4, 21, 23, 24, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52, 53, 55, 56, 69; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and B.G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973).

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MINDANAO [see PHILIPPINES].

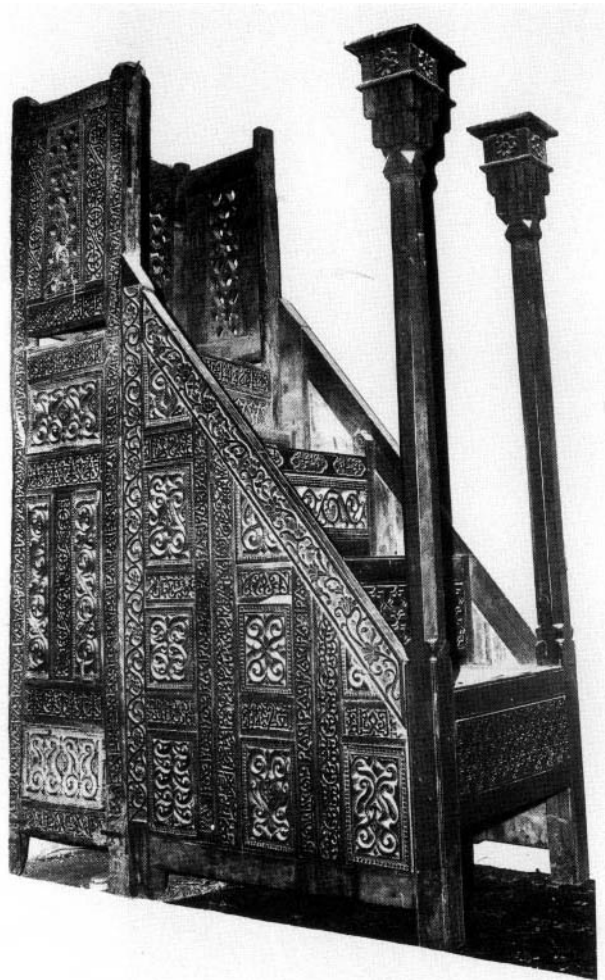
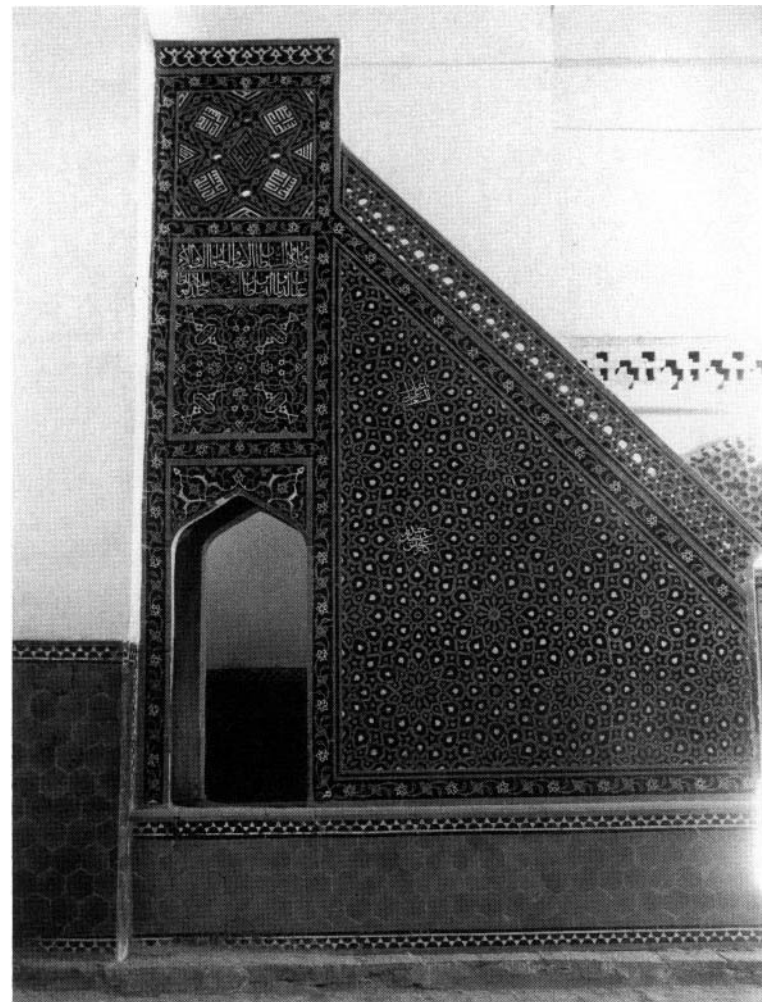
MINE, MINERAL, MINERALOGY [see MAᶜDIN].

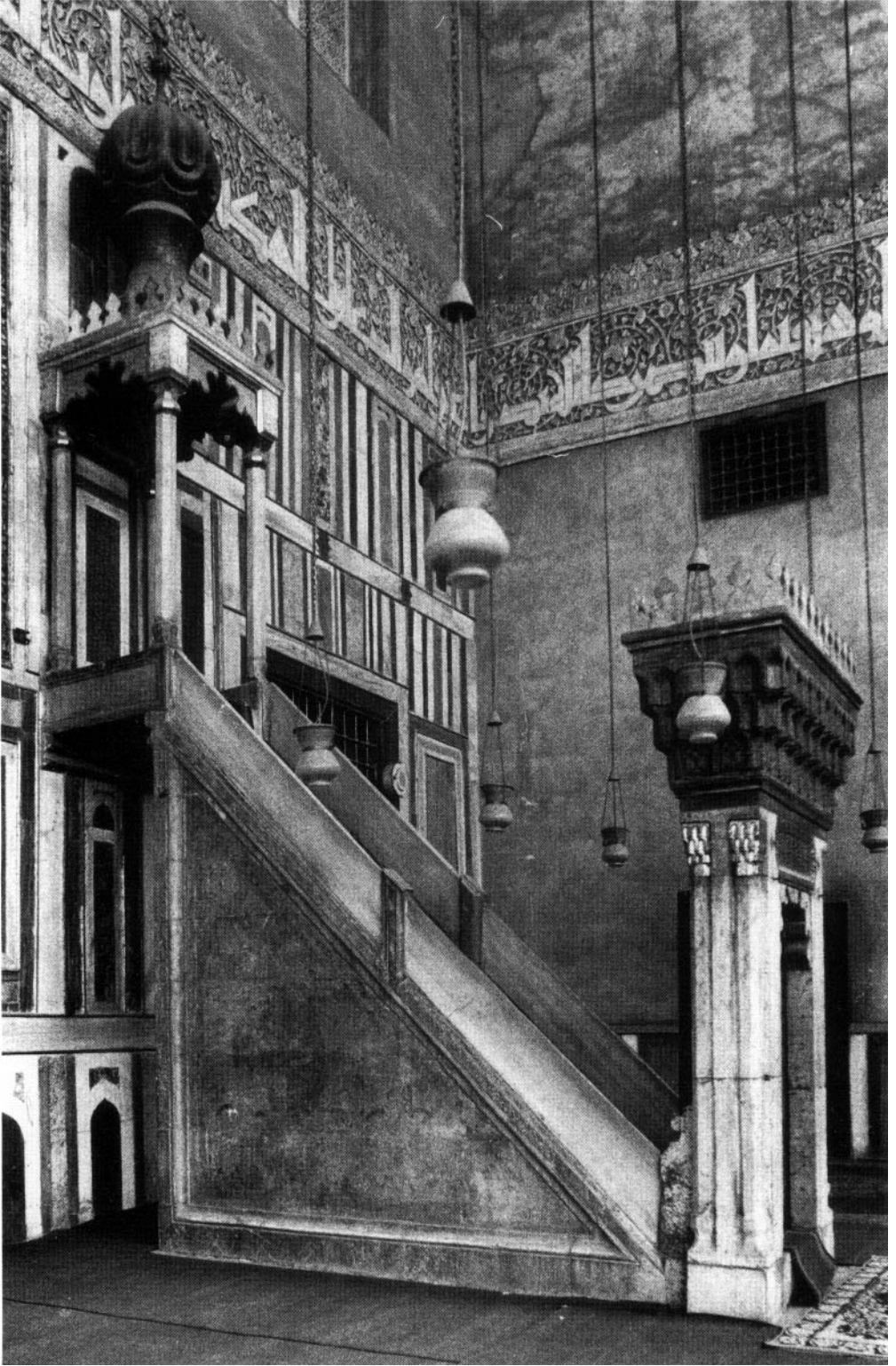
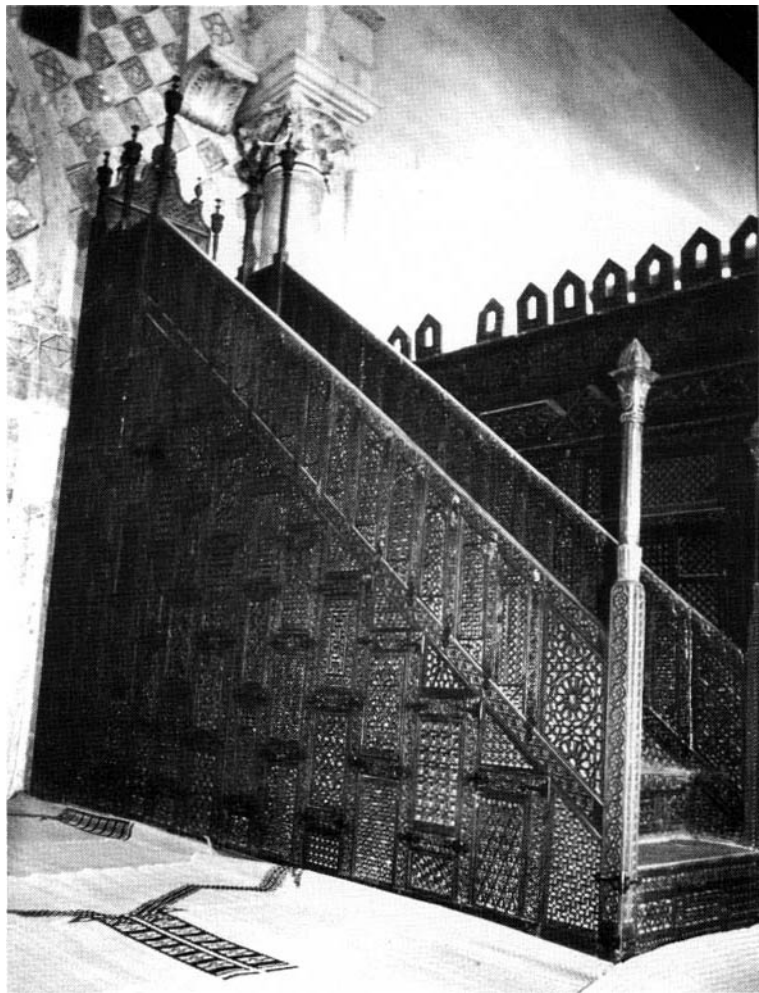
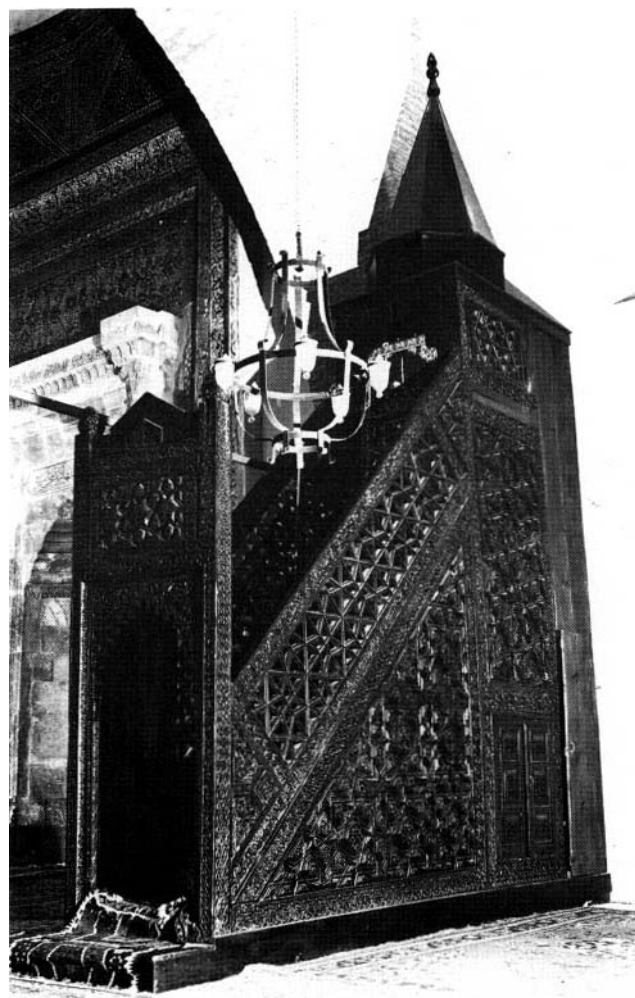
MINAEANS [see MAᶜĪN].

MINGLĪ GIRĀY KHAN [see MENGLĪ GIRĀY].

MINIATURE [see TAṢWĪR].

MINICOY, an isolated coral atoll, the southernmost of the Indian Lakshadvīp group [see LACCADIVES], situated in the south-eastern Arabian Sea, off the coast of Malabar [*q.v.*] in lat. 8°7′N, long. 73°19′E. The atoll comprises two islands—the main, inhabited island of Minicoy (known to its inhabitants as Maliku), and the much smaller, uninhabited islet of Vilingili, marked on British Admiralty maps as "Small-pox Island" (a reference to its former use by the islanders as a quarantine station)—as well as extensive coral reefs enclosing a broad lagoon. Maliku Island, an elongated crescent forming the southern and eastern rim of the atoll, is just over 6 miles/9.6 km long, but only half-a-mile/0.8 km across at its widest point; the total land area is about 1,120 acres/500 hectares, whilst according to the 1971 *Census of India*, the population totalled 5.342 persons (2,433 male and 2,909 female).

Little is known of the early history of Minicoy, which—in contrast to the more northerly, Malayalam-speaking, Dravidian-populated islands of the Lakshadvīp group—was settled by Indo-European, Divēhi-speaking Maldivian people, probably in the first centuries A.D., though whether these early settlers migrated directly from Malabar, or via Sri Lanka and the neighbouring Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that until the mid-10th/16th century the people of Minicoy remained culturally and politically attached to the Maldives, sharing a common ethnic origin, language, script, and religion; thus archaeological evidence indicates the former presence of Hinduism and Bud-

1. *Minbar* of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, Abyāna (Photo.: J. Golmohammadi)

2. Ceramic *minbar* of the Masdjid-i Maydān, Kāshān (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

3. *Minbar* of the Shrine of al-Ḥusayn at ʿAsḳalān (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

4. *Minbar* of the Sulṭān Ḥasan Mosque, Cairo (Photo.: B. O'Kane)

5. *Minbar* of the Sīdī ᶜUḳba Mosque, Ḳayrawān (Photo.: J. Golmohammadi)

6. *Minbar* of the ᶜAlā' al-Dīn Mosque, Konya (Photo.: Mevlana Museum, Konya)

dhism in the atoll, faiths which were fairly rapidly eclipsed by the introduction of Islam in the late 6th/12th century, probably some years after the conversion of the Maldivian Sultan Muḥammad al-ʿĀdil in 548/1153.

Minicoy's political link with the Maldives became increasingly tenuous from the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries onwards when certain of the northern Maldivian atolls (including, most certainly, Minicoy, the most isolated area from Māle and closest to India of the various Maldivian atolls) came under the influence of the Malabar principality of Kaṇṇaṇūr [*q.v.*]. The process of Minicoy's detachment from the Maldives was completed by *ca.* 973/1565, at which time (according to the Maldivian *Taʾrīkh*, corroborated by Pyrard and Zayn al-Din) the atoll had passed under the rule of the Ālī Rādjā (or "Āzhi-Rādjā", Malayalam: "Sea King") of Kaṇṇaṇūr. For the next three-and-a-half centuries, Minicoy remained attached to the Arakkal rulers of Kaṇṇaṇūr. By the mid-19th century, however, Arakkal rule had become increasingly a legal fiction, with the British authorities sequestrating the atoll in 1861 for a period of five years, and again in 1875, on this occasion permanently. In 1908, together with the more southerly islands of the Laccadives group, Minicoy was formally ceded by the Bībī of Kaṇṇaṇūr to the British Indian Empire. British rule was maintained until Indian independence in 1947. Most recently, in 1956, the atoll was incorporated within the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Lakshadvīp).

The indigenous inhabitants of Minicoy (excluding only members of the expatriate mainland, predominantly Malayali, administration) are, like the inhabitants of the Maldive Islands, uniformly Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab.* Religious observances and customs—including widespread belief in spirits and black and white magic, as well as the institution of *namād-ge* or prayer houses for women—are similar to those in the Maldives. Literacy is high (practically universal), and most islanders are conversant with Arabic script, as well as with their own Maldivian language (Divēhi, known on Minicoy as "Māhl") and Tāna script. As in traditional Maldivian society, the people of Minicoy are divided into four caste-like groups, or classes, viz. *Malikhan* (the highest group, predominantly landowners); *Mālimi* (the second highest group, expert sailors and navigators, cf. Ar. *muʿallim*); *Takkru* (the third group, less specialised fishermen); and finally *Rāveri* (the lowest group, specialising in tending coconut plantations). In isolated Minicoy, caste-like differentiations have persisted longer than in the Maldives; thus in Minicoy, the first two classes may intermarry, as may the last two, the child of such a marriage belonging to the class of whichever parent is higher. Similarly, the first two classes may eat together, as may the last two. Doubtless similar restrictions once existed in the Maldives, but these have long since disappeared.

The economy of the island rests on fishing and agriculture (predominantly coconut farming), whilst a substantial supplementary income is remitted to the island by sailors working for the Indian merchant navy; the men of Minicoy have long enjoyed a well-founded reputation for their seafaring expertise, and the widespread and long-standing practice of leaving the island to find such work has frequently led to the suggestion that Minicoy, bereft of many of its sons at work on the high seas, whilst the women traditionally till the land, might be identified with Marco Polo's "Female Island".

The people of Minicoy live in one large settlement spanning the centre of the island at its broadest point. This village, with its *Djāmiʿ Masdjid* (Ml. *Hukuri Miskit*) and a number of lesser mosques and *namād-ge*, is divided into nine wards (Ml. *atiri*), each under its own headman (Ml. *mūppan*), the whole island being traditionally administered by an *amīn*. Maliku Village is remarkable for its cleanliness and order, each *atiri* having its own mosque, bathing tank and cemetery. To the north of the village lies the Central and North *Paṇdāram* lands (formerly the property of the Arakkal Rādjās, but now common land) as well as a former leper colony. To the south and west lies the "Big South Paṇdāram" as well as, near the westernmost point of the island, Minicoy lighthouse (constructed in 1882-4), a major navigation point for shipping using the Eight Degree and Nine Degree Channels.

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MINISTER, MINISTRY [see WAZĪR].

AL-**MINḲARĪ** [see NAṢR B. MUZĀḤIM].

MINṬAḲAT AL-**BURŪDJ**, also *minṭaḳat falak al-burūdj*, are all used in Arabic to designate both the zodiac and the ecliptic. Strictly speaking, the zodiac is a "belt", or "zone", of the sky extending up to 6° (more correctly, 7°) north and south of the ecliptic due to the inclination of the orbits of the planets from the latter, while the ecliptic is a great circle in the sky running through the middle of the zodiacal belt and representing the path of the sun (*ṭarīḳ/ṭarīḳat al-shams*) in her apparent annual revolution. The knowledge of both the zodiac and the ecliptic was received by the Arabic-Islamic culture, through translations of scientific writings, from classical antiquity.

The ambiguity in the term—it being used for the zodiacal belt as well as for the ecliptic circle—existed already in antiquity; for greater exactness, therefore, the ecliptic specifically was sometimes called "the circle running through the middle of the zodiac" (cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, ii; iii; v, 1), a formula which is also reflected in some Arabic texts (see, e.g., the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium*, ms. Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2671, fols. 81b, 82a, 83b, etc.: *al-dāʾira allatī tamurru bi-wasaṭ al-burūdj*; cf. also al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīh*, 221, 6-7: *minṭaḳat al-burūdj hiya niṭāk al-burūdj wa-wasaṭ al-burūdj alladhī fīhi masīr al-shams*).

Other terms for the ecliptic, in Arabic astronomical writings, are also *falak al-burūdj* and *dāʾirat falak al-burūdj*. While in antiquity the zodiacal belt was indiscriminately called a "circle" (κύκλος), in the Islamic period *minṭaḳa* (lit. "belt") was also used for a [great] circle, such as the ecliptic and also the equator (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn*, i, 54, 14). This use of *minṭaḳa* in the sense of "[great] circle" seems to derive from antiquity, perhaps through Syriac mediation (cf. Severus Sebokht, *ca.* 660 A.D.: *hudhrē awketh zonas*, using the Greek word ζώνη, *Le Traité sur les Constellations*, ed. F. Nau, *ROC*, xxvii [1929-30],

395,9 = Syriac ms. Paris B.N. 346, fol. 103a, 15 f.; see also the same author's *Traité sur l'astrolabe plan*, ed. and tr. F. Nau, in *JA* [1899], where the zodiac is often called "the zone of the zodiac", *zona d-zodiaḳon*, always using the Greek words, and ch. xxii, where the ecliptic and other circles are also called *zona*, ζώνη). Arabic *minṭaḳa* (in both senses, as "belt" and "circle"), of course, is derived from Greek ζώνη. A very peculiar explanation for the use of *minṭaḳa* (as "great circle") is given by al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn*, i, 54, 14-15: it [sc. a great circle] is called *minṭaḳa* [lit. "belt, girdle"!] by comparison, because its location is in the middle [i.e. between two poles, just as a girdle is in the middle of a person, between head and feet].

Babylonia may with great probability be assumed to be the original home of the zodiacal circle. The period of its origin cannot be fixed with certainty: the first attempts at a grouping of the constellations on the path of the sun and the planets, however, date from before the period of Hammurabi and in any case into the third millennium B.C. Almost all the names familiar to us are already found in Sumerian inscriptions. The Bog̲h̲az-Köy list of about 1300 B.C. gives all the signs of the zodiac with the exception of Leo and Libra. The mulAPIN series (*ca.* 700 B.C.) shows a list of 17 or 18 "constellations in the path of the moon", among which all the twelve zodiacal constellations of later times were contained. The formation of the systematic zodiac (and ecliptic), subdivided into twelve equal sections of 30° length each, has followed some time later (van der Waerden; for the subsequent Greek reception of the zodiac, cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, and Scherer).

The only pictorial representation of the starry heavens of the early Muslim period, the fresco on the dome of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [see ARCHITECTURE], shows the ecliptic as a broad band, along which are arranged the twelve *burūd̲j̲*; it also shows the pole of the ecliptic and the 12 (ecliptical) degrees of longitude, as well as the equator and a series of parallel circles. The peculiarity of the arrangement of the heavens with considerable southern latitudes shown beyond the equator on the hemispherical inner surface of the dome results in the equator and ecliptic not being shown as the largest circles. The method of representing the separate constellations on the fresco, especially the *minṭaḳa*, is, broadly speaking, the same as that on the Atlas Farnese. (N.B. It should be noted that the fresco of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra represents the heavens as seen on a celestial globe.) For more details, see Saxl and also Beer.

The twelve *burūd̲j̲*. For exact astronomical and astrological observations and calculations, the zodiac and the ecliptic are both divided into 12 equal sections of 30° length each, the so-called zodiacal signs (Greek δωδεκατηφόρια), each of which was named in antiquity after the constellation lying next to it. Thus besides the twelve zodiacal signs (each of equal length, and invariably fixed in their location with respect to the vernal equinox), we have the twelve zodiacal constellations which are of various dimensions and are subject to precession. Due to the effect of precession, the vernal equinox, from which the division of the twelve signs begins, moves westward on the ecliptic at a rate of 50,37" per year (modern value). Therefore, the constellations fall back eastward from the vernal equinox about one sign in 2,140 years. Thus the vernal equinox (i.e. the beginning of the sign of Aries), which in antiquity was situated between the constellations of Pisces and Aries, in our days falls between Aquarius and Pisces; that means that in our days the zodiacal constellations are eastward roughly by one sign from the signs carrying their names, as, e.g., the constellation of Aries which nowadays falls into the sign of Pisces.

In Arabic, the zodiacal constellations and the signs are both called by the same word *burūd̲j̲* (sing. *burd̲j̲*). This term was already known to the Arabs before their acquaintance with the scientific Greek astronomy. In the Ḳurʾān, the term occurs three times: XV, 16; XXV, 61; and LXXXV, title and v. 1. As a common noun, *burd̲j̲* [*q.v.*] means "a fortress, or a tower" and is assumed to derive from Greek πύργος (of the same meaning). A reminiscence of this is found in some Arabic philologists who explain the word (in astronomical context) in that sense, cf. Ḳuṭrub (d. after 210/825-6): *wa 'l-burd̲j̲ ayḍan al-ḳaṣr al-mustaṭīl* (a "lengthy fortress", perhaps with the intended meaning, lengthy in vertical direction, i.e. a tower; see his *K. al-Azmina*, 133,3); Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889): *al-burūd̲j̲ al-ḥuṣūn wa 'l-ḳuṣūr* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, 120,5); ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀṣim (d. 403/1013): *wa-aṣl al-burūd̲j̲ al-ḥuṣūn* (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, fol. 3a,-2). There are only a few instances in Greek where the *burūd̲j̲* are really called πύργοι, mostly in late mss. of the 14th and 15th centuries (cf. the places quoted in O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic astronomy and computus*, Vienna 1979, 232 n. 4; D. Pingree (ed.), *The astronomical works of Gregory Chioniades*, i, Amsterdam 1985, 26, 27 and 399); the current term in classical Greek texts is τὸ ζῴδιον, apart from some other less frequent forms (cf. *RE*, art. *Zodiakos*, ii; v, 6; Scherer, 42-4). The exact reason and point of the borrowing of *burd̲j̲*, in the astronomical sense, from Greek remain, therefore, uncertain. An interesting suggestion was made by F. Hommel (in *ZDMG*, xlv [1891], 607 n. 2), that *burd̲j̲* = πύργος, in the astronomical-astrological sense, might be related to Babylonian *parakku* (= Sumerian *barag*), "a chapel, sanctuary", citing a passage "The Gods in the sky have settled down in their stations (*manzalti-shunû*) [cf. the Arabic *manāzil* !], their *parakkî* ... are visible," where the reference is obviously to the zodiacal constellations. Another, obviously speculative explanation of the term *al-burūd̲j̲* is given by al-Tīfās̲h̲ī (d. 651/1263; *Surūr*, 199, 14 = Ibn Manẓūr [d. 711/1311], *Nit̲h̲ār*, 174,3/2): the term *burd̲j̲* in the language of the Arabs is derived from *al-burūd̲j̲*, infinitive of the verb *barad̲j̲a*, meaning "to become visible, apparent", like the verb *ẓahara*). (The word *al-burūd̲j̲* is also used once in the more common sense of "tower" in Ḳurʾān, IV, 78: *fī burūd̲j̲in mus̲h̲ayyada.*)

The old Arabs, before their acquaintance with Greek astronomy, did not know the zodiac as a complete system. But, as it seems, some of the twelve zodiacal constellations had become known to them, most probably, through channels as yet unknown, from Mesopotamia. These few constellation names are occasionally used in poetry, and—what is of great interest—many of the lunar mansions [see AL-MANĀZIL] have been related to them (cf. the table given by al-Bīrūnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 349 f. = tr. 350. The table is not correct in some of the details). Later, when Greek astronomical and astrological texts were translated into Arabic, most of these constellations were assigned new names formed after their Greek models. Also, it became apparent that the astronomical location of several of the older Arabic constellations had shifted from those places in the sky which they occupied in Greek tradition. So it would seem that here we have a testimony of two branches of development in the transmission of the zodiacal constellations: a northern branch reaching from Mesopotamia to the Greeks (and hence into modern astronomy), and a southern branch reaching into the

Arabian peninsula (rather fragmentary, and obscured in the course of time).

After the introduction of Greek astronomy, the Arabic-Islamic culture adopted and continuously applied the Greek distribution of constellations and the fixed stars, and it came to know and use the zodiac and the ecliptic as a system of astronomical and astrological reference (cf. the ed. of the star catalogue from Ptolemy's *Almagest*, in the two surviving Arabic versions of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar and of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn, with amendments by Thābit b. Ḳurra, where the descriptions of the twelve zodiacal constellations and all their individual stars are given and which have served as the basic source for all the astronomers and astrologers of the Islamic period). Most of the Arabic philologists, in their *kutub al-anwā*ʾ [see ANWĀʾ; AL-MANĀZIL], give a description of the *burūdj*. But since all of them lived in the time after the introduction of Greek science, it came about that they usually give the complete list of twelve *burūdj* (which, as stated before, were not completely known to the old Arabs), thus mixing up foreign knowledge and indigenous Arabic traditions.

Now follows a list of the twelve *burūdj*:

1. Aries. *al-ḥamal* (lit. "the lamb"). The name seems to be of indigenous Arabic tradition, since the three lunar mansions nos. 1, 2 and 3 (*al-sharaṭān* or *al-naṭḥ*, *al-buṭayn* and *al-thurayyā* [the Pleiades]) are usually identified as the horns, the belly and the fat tail (*alya*) of the animal. Some Arabic authors have proposed, because of these "horns", that the constellation should be rather called *al-kabsh* ("the ram"), a name which, subsequently, was occasionally used instead of *al-ḥamal*. Note that the location of this Arabic *ḥamal* extends into the Greek Taurus (the Pleiades !). In the translations from the Greek, the same name *al-ḥamal* was retained for Greek ὁ Κριός.

2. Taurus. *al-thawr*. This name seems to be of scientific origin, translated from Greek ὁ Ταῦρος, since no indigenous asterism (from among the lunar mansions) has ever been related to it.

3. Gemini. In the indigenous Arabic tradition, the corresponding constellation is *al-djawzā*ʾ (of unknown meaning), frequently used in poetry and old texts. As a constellation, however, the old Arabic *al-djawzā*ʾ was located in the stellar figure called by the Greeks (and so on further in modern astronomy) Orion. The lunar mansion no. 5 (*al-haḳʿa*) is understood as the head of *al-djawzā*ʾ. The scientific translations from the Greek added the new name *al-tawʾamān* ("the twins"), after Greek οἵ Δίδυμοι. (For Orion, the translators introduced *al-djabbār*, "the Giant", perhaps adopting an older Syriac designation, *gabbārā*.) Subsequently, very often (and especially so in the mediaeval Latin translations from the Arabic) there arose confusion, since the Arabic-Islamic astrologers and astronomers continued to use al-*djawzā*ʾ in its two notions, as a name for Gemini (within the zodiacal constellations and signs) and for Orion, while otherwise the two could be distinguished as *al-tawʾamān* (Gemini) and *al-djabbār* (Orion). In all texts, therefore, special caution is required with regard to the name *al-djawzā*ʾ in order to distinguish whether the zodiacal sign is intended or the southern constellation of Orion, outside the zodiac.

4. Cancer. Arabic *al-saraṭān*. Like no. 4, it seems to be of scientific origin, translation from Greek ὁ Καρκίνος. No indigenous Arabic asterisms have been related to it.

5. Leo. *al-asad*. The name belongs to the indigenous Arabic tradition. Not less than eight (or even nine) lunar mansions (nos. 7 to 14, or 15) have been related to *al-asad* which, therefore, in modern research literature, became famous as "the huge Arabic Lion". It is to be noted that the indigenous Arabic Lion figure, in location, is again different from the Greek tradition in that it stretches from αβ Geminorum to α or even ιxλ Virginis. In the translations from the Greek, the traditional name *al-asad* was retained.

6. Virgo. Indigenous Arabic *al-sunbula* ("the ear of corn"). This "ear" seems to be of Mesopotamian origin, since this section of the zodiac was already called by a name of that meaning in the Babylonian texts. The name has migrated to the Greeks, where ὁ Στάχυς became the proper name of the star α Virginis while the constellation as such was developed into a maiden (Παρθένος) carrying the ear in her hand. With the Arabs, on the other hand, the knowledge of the stellar object named *al-sunbula* became obscured, and while, in consistency with the zodiacal series, it stands for Virgo, it was explained by some philologists as a name given by the common people (*al-ʿāmma*) to the asterism otherwise called *al-hulba* ("the hair", sc. on the tip of the Lion's tail) and located in what in modern astronomy is called Coma Berenices, i.e. considerably far away north of the ecliptic (cf. Kunitzsch, *Unters.*, nos. 117a/b and 275). This, therefore, is another remarkable case of dislocation. Later, in translating the Almagest, the constellation was termed *al-ʿadhrā*ʾ (from ἡ Παρθένος), while the proper name of the star α Virginis (ὁ Στάχυς) was translated as *al-sunbula* (but here, different from the indigenous Arabic *al-sunbula* !).

7. Libra. *al-mīzān*, translated from Greek ὁ Ζυγός. As constellation title, Ptolemy in the Almagest had retained an older designation, αἱ Χηλαί ("the claws", i.e. of Scorpius). Already in Babylonian texts this section of the zodiac was called *zibānītu* ("balance") and was equally understood as the "horns" of Scorpius. On the other hand, the 16th lunar mansion of the Arabs, *al-zubānā*, is understood as the claws of the scorpion. As it seems, there exists a relation between Babyl. *zibānītu* and Ar. *al-zubānā* (although the meaning, for the Arabs, has become obscured and they now understood what formerly meant "balance" as the "claws" of Scorpius). In translating Ptolemy's Χηλαί, both Arabic translators supplied the indigenous Arabic name *al-zubānā*, whereas the Ζυγός used elsewhere in the *Almagest*, and also in the latitude column in the star catalogue, was rendered into *al-mīzān*.

8. Scorpius. Here we have a case among the (zodiacal) constellations where a constellation is transmitted with the same name, and in the same location, continuously from the Babylonians both to the Greeks (and hence into modern astronomy) and to the old Arabs. Arabic *al-ʿaḳrab* was already known in pre-scientific times, and four lunar mansions (nos. 16 to 19; by one author also no. 15, as a fifth) have been related to Scorpius. It should be kept in mind that originally Libra, before made into an independent constellation of its own, was included, as the "claws", into the constellation of a major Scorpius. The translators from the Greek afterwards retained the older name *al-ʿaḳrab for* ὁ Σκορπίος.

9. Sagittarius. In old Arabic tradition, *al-ḳaws* ("the bow"). In indigenous Arabic stellar lore there existed an asterism called *al-ḳaws*, consisting of the six stars ξ^2,ο,π,δ,ρ,υ Sagittarii (otherwise also called *al-ḳilāda*, "the necklace", or *al-udḥiyy*, "the ostrich nest", cf. Kunitzsch, *Unters.* nos. 224, 229 and 307) which might be a remnant of the fuller constellation of the Archer. According to al-Ṣūfī, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. *ca.* 282/895) assumed that the zodiacal

constellation received its (old Arabic) name *al-ḳaws* from this asterism. The translators later introduced *al-rāmī* ("the archer"), from Greek ὁ Τοξότης.

10. Capricornus. Arabic *al-djady* (lit. "the kid"). The Arabic philologists occasionally report that there are two kids in the sky (*al-djadyān*), one of which is in the zodiac, while the other one rotates (about the North Pole) together with (the asterism) *banāt naʿsh*, i.e. the seven stars of "Charles' Wain". (This second one is the star α Ursae Minoris, which in the time of the early Arabs was not yet the "Pole Star"; in contrast to the *djady* in the zodiac, this second one is often called *al-djudayy*, in the diminutive.) It is, however, not clear whether *al-djady* (in the zodiac) is really an old Arabic name. At least, no other asterisms and no lunar mansions have ever been related to it. The translators of the *Almagest* retained the name *al-djady*; only Isḥāḳ added a tentative paraphrase of the Greek Αἰγόκερως, as *dhū ḳarnay al-ʿanz* ("the one having a goat's horns"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *aghūḳāris*, corrupted to *al-ḳawḳāris*, was re-transliterated in the mediaeval West into Latin as *alcaucarus* and is sometimes mentioned in modern books among the names of Capricornus as a pseudo-Arabic name, even degenerated into *Alcantarus*.)

11. Aquarius. In indigenous Arabic tradition, this was *al-dalw* ("the water bucket"), obtaining—in the series of the zodiacal constellations—the place of Aquarius, but as an asterism located in what Ptolemy (and hence modern astronomy) call Pegasus, more exactly in the big Pegasus-square formed by the four stars α Andromedae and αβγ Pegasi. The western two of these four stars form the 26th lunar mansion, *al-fargh al-muḳaddam* (or *al-awwal*), and the eastern two the 27th lunar mansion, *al-fargh al-muʾakhkhar* (or *al-thānī*); the two *fargh* ("outlets") are related to the zodiacal "bucket" (*dalw*). As it seems, of the former Babylonian figure of a man holding a vessel, the Arabs have only retained the vessel (cf. above, Virgo). But note again the displacement of the figure outside the zodiac, in the Arabic tradition! The Greeks, on the other hand, had retained the human figure together with the vessel (κάλπις, not mentioned in the star catalogue of the *Almagest*). As with Capricornus, the Arabic translators of the *Almagest* also here retained the older Arabic name, *al-dalw*. Only Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn added a tentative paraphrase of the Greek Ὑδροχόος ("Water pourer"), as *sākib al-māʾ* ("the pourer of the water"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *idhrūkhʾūs*, misspelled as *ʾdhrwdhrws*, etc., was re-transliterated by the mediaeval Latin translator as *ydrudurus*, thus suggesting, in the first two syllables, a reminiscence of the Greek ὑδρο-.) Other recent Arabic forms, all subsequent to the Greek name, were *al-sāḳī*, *al-dālī*, and even *ḥāmil al-dalw* ("the carrier of the bucket", developed on the basis of the old Arabic name and the Greek conception of a man carrying a vessel).

12. Pisces. The indigenous Arabic tradition has only one fish, *al-ḥūt*, located north of the ecliptic in Andromeda. The 28th lunar mansion, *baṭn al-ḥūt* (β Andromedae), is regarded the belly of that Fish. This is another case of reminiscence of a zodiacal constellation with the old Arabs, and also another case of displacement of the respective figure to a place outside the zodiac. The translators of the *Almagest* retained the older name *al-ḥūt*; only Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn translated the Greek Ἰχθύες as *al-samakatān* ("the two fishes"). (His transliteration of the Greek name, *ikthuwās*, misspelled as *ʾkywʾn*, was re-transliterated into *echiguen* in mediaeval Europe and became one of the many rarer names of Pisces in modern astronomical works.)

For some of the *burūdj*, the authors of the *anwāʾ* books mention certain alternative names which, however, might be mostly purely poetical or else speculative philological variants of the reported basic names, as *al-layth* for *al-asad* (no. 5); *al-tays* ("the he-goat") for *al-djady* (no. 10); and *al-samaka* for *al-ḥūt* (no. 12). Of a more peculiar character is *al-ṣūra* ("the figure"; later commonly used for "constellation") for *al-ʿaḳrab* (no. 8). *al-rishaʾ* for *al-ḥūt* (no. 12) seems merely to be a confusion with one of the names of the 28th lunar mansion. A special case is *al-djawzāʾ* (no. 3) for which Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066; *K. al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 12, 16—on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī) cites the alternative name *al-ṣūra* ("the figure"), while ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀṣim (*K. al-Anwāʾ*, fol. 3, 5) reports that the Arabs called *al-tawʾamān* [*sic*, as the basic name !] also *al-djawzāʾ* and *al-ṣūra* and *al-djabbār*. Both these statements are utterly mutilated; the fuller and correct wording is found in al-Tīfāshī (*Surūr*, 198, last two lines = Ibn Manẓūr, *Nithār*, 174, 6-7): ... *al-djawzāʾ wa-tusammīha ʾl-munadjdjimūn al-tawʾamayn fa-ammā ʾl-ṣūra fa-yusammūnahā al-djabbār wa ʾl-bashar wa-laysa humā ʿinda ʾl-ʿarab* ("... al-*djawzāʾ*, and the astronomers of Greek-based scientific profession call her 'the Twins'; however, the figure [i.e. the asterism, or constellation figure, obtained by *al-djawzāʾ* in the sky, i.e. Orion] they call *al-djabbār* [= Orion] and *al-bashar* ['the human figure'—not found elsewhere in the texts], but these two are not found among the Arabs").

In Persian, the common names of the zodiacal constellations are: 1 - *barra* ("lamb"); 2 - *gāw*; 3 - *du paykar*; 4 - *kharčang*; 5 - *shīr*; 6 - *khūsha* ("ear of corn"); 7 - *tarāzū*; 8 - *kazhdum*; 9 - *kamān* ("bow"); 10 - *buzghāla* ("kid"); 11 - *dūl* ("bucket"); and 12 - *māhī* ("fish", sing.).

It may be added that, through Latin translations of Arabic works on astronomy and astrology, the Arabic names of the twelve zodiacal constellations and signs also became known in mediaeval Europe. But these names did not gain the same popularity as the individual star names and never came into actual use in Europe.

Minṭaḳa in Astrology. The zodiacal figures no. 1, *al-Ḥamal*, no. 4, *al-Saraṭān*, no. 7, *al-Mīzān* and no. 10, *al-Djady* are known together as *burūdj munḳaliba*, Greek ζῴδια τροπικά; no. 2, *al-Thawr*, no. 5, *al-Asad*, no. 8, *al-ʿAḳrab* and no. 11, *al-Dalw* under *burūdj thābita*, ζῴδια στερεά; no. 3, *al-Djawzāʾ*, no. 6, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, no. 9, *al-Rāmī* and no. 12, *al-Samakatān* under *burūdj dhawāt al-djasadayn*, ζῴδια δίσωμα (i.e. "Signa bicorpora", "Double figures": Twins, Virgin and Ear of corn, Archer with Horse's body and the two Fishes).

Muthallathāt. By *al-muthallathāt* (sing. *al-muthallatha*) are meant in Arab astrology the Greek τρίγωνα, Lat. *trigona* or *triquetra*, which in the Middle Ages were usually translated by *triplicates*.

The twelve signs of the zodiac are here arranged in threes at the angles of four intersecting equilateral triangles of which one is allotted to each of the four elements. Each triangle is given two of the seven planets as its rulers (*rabb*, pl. *arbāb*, Greek οἰκοδεσπόται or τριγωνοκράτορες), one for the day and another for the night; a third is associated with the two others as "companion".

The arrangement is as follows:

1. *Muthallatha* - Element: Fire.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Ḥamal*, *al-Asad* and *al-Rāmī* (nos. 1, 5 and 9).

Ruler: by day *al-Shams* (Sun), by night *al-Mushtarī* (Jupiter).

Companion: *Zuḥal* (Saturn).

2. *Muthallatha* - Element: Earth.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Thawr*, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ* and *al-Djady* (no. 2, 6 and 10).
Ruler: by day *al-Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).
Companion: *al-Mirrīkh* (Mars).
3. *Muthallatha* - Element: Air.
Zodiacal sign: *al-Djawzāʾ*, *al-Mīzān* and *al-Dalw* (nos. 3, 7 and 11).
Ruler: by day *Zuḥal* (Saturn), by night *ʿUṭārid* (Mercury).
Companion: *al-Mushtarī* (Jupiter).
4. *Muthallatha* - Element: Water.
Zodiacal sign: *al-Saraṭān*, *al-ʿAḳrab* and *al-Samakatān* (nos. 4, 8 and 12).
Ruler: by day *al-Zuhara* (Venus), by night *al-Mirrīkh* (Mars).
Companion: *al-Ḳamar* (Moon).

The distribution of the *Muthallathat* has been settled since the time of Ptolemy (*τετράβιβλος*).

Wudjūh or *Ṣuwar.* By dividing each *burdj* into three we get 36 decans each of 10°, which in Arabic are called *wudjūh* (sing. *wadjh*), *ṣuwar* (sing. *ṣūra*) or *darīdjān* (from the Indian *drekkāṇa*, a loanword from the Greek) or *dahadj* (Pers.), in Greek *δεκανοί* or *πρόσωπα*, in mediaeval Latin *facies*, more rarely *decani.* The astrological significance is the same as with the Greeks, who in their turn go back to Egyptian models. The decans are not mentioned in Ptolemy. *Al-Ṣuwar* means properly the *paranatellonta* of the Babylonian Teukros, the constellations which rise at the same time as the separate decans according to his list. Abū Maʿshar and other Arab authors took over the list of the *paranatellonta* from Teukros unaltered, but not the astrological interpretations associated with them.

Buyūt. The Greek *οἶκοι* or *τόποι*, Lat. *domicilia* or (mediaeval) *domus*, are called in Arabic *buyūt* (sing. *bayt*). The sun and moon are each ruler (*ṣāḥib*, *rabb*, Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης* [cf. above *muthallathāt*]) over one sign of the zodiac; each of the other five planets rules over two signs at the same time, according to the following scheme, also already laid down in the *τετράβιβλος*:

Planet	day-house	night-house
Sun	Leo	—
Moon	—	Cancer
Saturn	Capricornus	Aquarius
Jupiter	Sagittarius	Pisces
Mars	Scorpius	Aries
Venus	Libra	Taurus
Mercury	Virgo	Gemini

If a planet is in its day-house during the hours of day or in its night-house at night, it is credited with particularly powerful astrological influence.

Sharaf and *Hubūṭ*. By *sharaf* (pl. *ashrāf*) we understand the *ὕψωμα* of the Greeks, *sublimitas* of Pliny, *altitudo* of Firmicus Maternus, *exaltatio* in mediaeval Latin; *hubūṭ* is the Greek *ταπείνωσις*, *ταπείνωμα*, more rarely *κοίχωμα*, class. Lat. *deiectio*, med. Lat. *casus.*

A planet attains its maximum astrological influence in its *sharaf*; its influence is least in the *hubūṭ*, i.e. the point in the heavens diametrically opposite the *sharaf* on the circle of the ecliptic.

Planet	*Sharaf*	*Hubūṭ*
Sun	Aries 19°	Libra 19°
Moon	Taurus 3°	Scorpius 3°
Saturn	Libra 21° (20°)	Aries 21°
Jupiter	Cancer 15°	Capricornus 15°
Mars	Capricornus 28°	Cancer 28°
Venus	Pisces 27°	Virgo 27°
Mercury	Virgo 15°	Pisces 15°

The only inaccuracy in the list of exaltations, already fixed in ancient times, is giving 20° instead of 21° to Libra for Saturn, which however goes back to a very old error; it is also found in Pliny, Firmicus and the Hindu astronomer Varāha-Mihira.

Al-Balʿamī assumed that at the time of the creation of the world the planets were in their *ashrāf.*

Various Arab writers since Abū Maʿshar also ascribe exaltations and dejections to the nodes of the moon (*ʿaḳdān* or *ʿuḳdatān*, sc. *al-ḳamar*):

ascending node (*raʾs*) as *sharaf* Gemini 3°, and as *hubūṭ*, Sagittarius 3°; *vice versa* to the descending node (*dhanab*) as *sharaf* Sagittarius 3°; as *hubūṭ* Gemini 3°. This allocation is not known to the Greek astrologers.

Ḥudūd. Each of the five planets (excluding the sun and moon) possesses in each of the 12 *burūdj* a field of influence covering several degrees (Arab. *ḥadd*, pl. *ḥudūd*, Greek *ὅριον*, Lat. *fines*, med. Latin *terminus*) which has the same astrological significance as the planet itself and can represent it at any time in horoscopes. On the distribution of these fields of influence within the zodiacal circle, opinions differed widely and unanimity could never be attained. Ptolemy added one more to the Egyptian and Chaldaean divisions already in existence. (The various systems are fully expounded in the *τετράβιβλος*, i. 20, fol. 43: Boll has studied this question very fully in *Neues zur babylonischen Planetenordnung*, in *ZA*, xxxviii [1913], 340 ff.) The Arab astrologers used almost exclusively the Egyptian system, which makes the different fields of very unequal sizes. (For the classical astrological doctrines, cf. Bouché-Leclerq.)

Minṭaka in Astronomy. The *minṭaḳa* is, as in the Greek astronomy, the fundamental basis for all calculations. It is divided into 360° degrees (*djuzʾ*, pl. *adjzāʾ* or *daradja*, coll. *daradj*, pl. *daradjāt*), each degree into 60 minutes (*daḳīḳa*, pl. *daḳāʾiḳ*), each minute into 60 seconds (*thāniya*, pl. *thawānī*), each second into 60 thirds (*thālitha*, pl. *thawālith*), and so on.

The points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator (*dāʾirat* or *falak muʿaddil al-nahār*) define the two equinoxes (*al-iʿtidālān*), the points of the greatest northerly and southerly declination the two solstices (*al-inḳilābān*). The position of a fixed star or planet with respect to the *minṭaḳa* is defined by giving its longitude (*ṭūl*, pl. *aṭwāl*, or in al-Battāni *al-djuzʾ alladhī fīhi al-kawkab*) and latitude (*ʿarḍ*, pl. *ʿurūḍ*). The longitudes are numbered from the vernal point (*al-nuḳta al-rabīʿiyya*). The axis erected perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic meets the sphere of the fixed stars in the two poles of the ecliptic (*ḳuṭbā dāʾirat* [or *falak*] *al-burūdj*).

On Arab star-maps and star-globes, we frequently find a mixed ecliptical and equatorial system of coordinates used (cf. the remarks above on the fresco on the dome at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra), which consists of ecliptical circles at longitude through the poles of the ecliptic and equatorial parallel circles.

Precession (in al-Battānī, *ḥarakat al-kawākib al-thābita*, in later authors more precisely *mubādarat nuḳṭat al-iʿtidāl*). Among the Arab astronomers, supporters were found for the theory of Ptolemy, who explained the precession as a continual revolution of the whole heavens around the pole of the ecliptic with a period of 36,000 years, as well as for that handed down by Theon of Alexandria (Thāwun al-Iskandarānī) from older sources, according to which the process of the precession consisted of an oscillation to and from around the "nodes of the path of the sun" (the so-called trepidation). The greatest amount of the precession according to this theory is 8° west or east of the nodes; the retrogression amounts to 1° in 80

years so that the whole phenomenon repeats itself after 2,560 years. The latter theory found particular approval in India and was further developed there. Th̲ābit b. Ḳurra gave an explanation for it which at the same time took into account the (more suspected than observed) diminution in the obliquity of the ecliptic and calculated the length of the period at 417½ years. (Recently, J. Ragep has shown that Th̲ābit cannot really have been involved in the transmission of the theory of trepidation.) Al-Battānī attacked and refuted this oscillation hypothesis of Theon and of the *Aṣḥāb al-ṭilsamāt* (ἀποτελεσματινοί); on a basis of new and comparative observations he found that the precession amounted to 1° in 66 years, which corresponds to a period of 23,760 years, which is roughly 10% too small. A more accurate rate of 1° in 70 years is given by several other Arabic-Islamic astronomers (cf. the survey in Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*, i, 292 f.).

Obliquity (*Mayl falak al-burūdj̲*, very frequently *al-mayl kulluhu* or *al-kullī* in contrast to *al-mayl al-dj̲uzʾī*, "declination of the separate points in the *minṭaḳa*", cf. al-Ag̲h̲zāwī, 21). The problem of estimating the obliquity of the ecliptic was during the classical period a centre of interest for the Muslim astronomers. As a first attempt at an exact estimate in the Muslim period, Ibn Yūnus (ch. ix, p. 222, of the Leiden Codex or of the Paris Codex, no. 2475) mentions an observation of the period between 778 and 786 which gave the value $\varepsilon = 23°31'$. We have an unusually large number of observations of later dates. (For details, see Nallino's notes on al-Battānī's *Opus astronomicum*, i, 157 ff.).

Al-Battānī in his observations used a parallactic ruler (triquetrum, *ʿiḍāda ṭawīla*) as well as a finely-divided wall quadrant (*libna*). He ascertained with these instruments in al-Raḳḳa the smallest zenith distance of the sun at 12°26′, the greatest at 59°36′; this gave $\varepsilon = \frac{47°10'}{2} = 23°35'$. This value is at the basis of all al-Battānī's calculations and tables and has been adopted by many other Arab astronomers.

The question whether the amount of obliquity remains constant at all times or is subject to a secular diminution was answered in different ways by different students. As a matter of fact, the degree of accuracy of observation was not sufficient to settle this point and the old Hindu value of $\varepsilon = 24°$, on which these investigations were often based, was based not on observations but only on a statement of Euclid's according to which astrologers of his time used to estimate the obliquity as a fifteenth part of the circumference of the circle.

The following table gives a survey of the Arab values for the obliquity of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum, loc. cit.*). The column "average obliquity" gives by Bessel's formula:
$\varepsilon = 23°28'\ 18''.0 - 0''.48\ 368.t - 0''.000\ 002\ 722\ 95.\ t^2$ (t = years after 1750) the true values calculated for the periods in question. The years given in brackets are only approximate, i.e. not given by the authors themselves.

Comparative table of the Arab values for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic

Observer	Place	Year	Obliquity observed	Average obliquity	Error
Eratosthenes	Alexandria	(230 B.C.)		23°43′45″	+ 7″35″
Hipparchus	Rhodes	(130 B.C.)	23°51′20″	42′57″	+ 8′23″
Ptolemy	Alexandria	(140 A.D.)		41′10″	+10′10″
Tabulae probatae (*al-Zīdj̲ al-mumtaḥan*)	Bag̲h̲ād	829	33′	35′41″	- 2′41″
Other observers under al-Maʾmūn	Damascus	832	33′52″	35′40″	- 1′48″
Banū Mūsā	Bag̲h̲dād	(860)	35′	35′26″	- 0′26″
al-Battānī	al-Raḳḳa	(880)	35′	35′17″	- 0′17″
Banū Amdj̲ūr	?	(918)	35′	35′0″	0′0″
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī	Bag̲h̲dād ?	(965)	33′45″	34′35″	- 0′50″
Abu 'l-Wafāʾ	Bag̲h̲dād	987	35′	34′25″	+ 0′35″
Wīdj̲ān b. Rustam al-Kūhī	Bag̲h̲dād	988	51′1″	34′25″	+16′36″
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	1001	34′52″	34′19″	+ 0′33″
al-Bīrūnī	G̲h̲aznī	(1019)	35′	34′10″	+ 0′50″
Alphonsine Tables	Toledo	(1250)	32′29″	32′19″	+ 0′10″
Ibn al-S̲h̲āṭir	Damascus	(1363)	31′	31′25″	- 0′25″
Ulug̲h̲ Beg	Samarḳand	(1437)	30′17″	30′49″	- 0′32″

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(W. Hartner-[P. Kunitzsch])

MINŪČIHRĪ [see manūčihrī].

MINŪF, MINŪFĪ [see manūf, manūfī].

MINŪRḲA, Minorca, name of the easternmost of the Balearic islands; it lies about 40 km east-north-east of Majorca [see mayūrḳa]. Its area of 669 km² is dwarfed by that of the centrally located Majorca (3,640 km²), but it slightly surpasses that of Ibiza (572 km² [see yābisa]). Minorca's elongated latitudinal shape is marked by two excellent harbours, at its western and south-eastern extremities, Ciudadela and Mahón, both of Carthaginian date.

For the greater part of the four centuries or more of Islamic rule on the islands, Minorca was politically and culturally eclipsed by Majorca. Like the other islands, it benefited from some of the agricultural innovations such as irrigation and windmills characteristic of Muslim Spain. It also participated in Majorca's corsair activities and shared its fate when in 1116 a combined Pisan-Catalan punitive expedition attacked the two islands and freed a great number of Christian prisoners. On the other hand, its easternmost position may have contributed to growing contacts with Christian maritime powers such as Genoa and Pisa, as reflected in the commercial treaties of 1177, 1181, 1184 and 1188. The island's special place in Islamic history, however, is due to the virtual independence its rulers enjoyed under the suzerainty of the kings of Catalonia-Aragon between 1231 and 1287. This happened when James I annexed the rest of the archipelago, but concluded two consecutive treaties with Abū ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam by which the latter conserved autonomy in return for the presentation of an annual *djizya* and of a few other symbols of vassalage. Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam, given in the sources such simple titles as *al-Raʾīs* "Chief" or *al-Mushrif*, a title that expressed one of his earlier functions as tax collector and that became his Spanish epithet as *Almojarife*, proved to be an able ruler (although often a harsh one, on religious grounds) and a cultivated man. Minorca attained under his half-a-century long rule (1231-82) the reputation of a prosperous island with a strong fleet, but it became especially renowned as a place where refined literary culture flourished and Islamic religious sciences were honoured; it also served as a refuge or point of transit for Muslims fleeing the Reconquista in Spain. Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam, an accomplished poet himself, maintained a lively correspondence with men of letters and science in other Islamic centres, but above all with those of the Western Mediterranean: Tunis, Bougie, Murcia and Granada.

Islamic Minorca's autonomy collapsed soon after Saʿīd b. al-Ḥakam's death. From among the reasons proposed for this collapse, one would have been the weak personality of the ruler, al-Ḥakam b. Saʿīd, who lacked his father's statesmanship; another would have been the irritation of al-Ḥakam's suzerain, Alfonso III of Catalonia-Aragon, by the warning which the Minorcan vassal had sent to Collo when in 1282 a Catalan fleet called at Mahón on its way to raid that North African port. The basic reason, however, should be sought in the historical inevitability of this stage of the Reconquista: the Christian suzerain, for once freed of the usual commitments to wars in the Iberian peninsula, put an end to an anomalous situation. A large fleet left the Catalan port of Salo and, after spending Christmas of 1286 in Majorca, anchored near Mahón in January 1287. Alfonso himself, displaying a Crusader's paraphernalia and bravura, took part in the ensuing battles. The Muslims put up a brave resistance but eventually had to surrender. The outcome presaged the events of 1492 for Granada. The ruler, his family and retinue were allowed to leave for Muslim-held territory; they embarked in a Genoese ship that took them to Almeria. Eventually they moved to Ceuta, where al-Ḥakam buried the remains of his father, and whence he and his family sailed to Tunis. They all perished in a storm off the coast of Algiers. As for the rest of Minorcan Muslims, about one-third chose to emigrate as well.

In subsequent centuries, Minorca, like the rest of the Balearics, was both a participant and a victim in the see-saw contest of Christian and Muslim corsairs. Thus Pīrī Reʾīs (*fl. ca.* 1526) mentions frequent visits by Arab and Turkish (corsair) boats, and the presence of a great number of Arab and Turkish prisoners put to work on the salines of Ibiza. In 1535 Barbarossa [see khayr al-dīn] briefly seized Mahón, and Ciudadela was attacked during the 1558 expedition of the Ottoman fleet under Piyāle Pasha in the Western Mediterranean.

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(S. Soucek)

MĪR, a Persian title abbreviated from the Arab *amīr* and approximating in meaning both to it and to the title *mīrzā* [*q.v.*]. (For the dropping of the initial *alif*, cf. Bū Sahl for Abū Sahl, etc.). Like *amīr* the title is applied to princes (Manūčihrī, ed. A. de Biberstein-

Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du onzième siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1886, 96, speaks of Sultan Masʿūd of Ghazna, as "Mīr"), but it is also borne by poets and other men of letters (e.g. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, Mīr Khwānd, Mīr Muḥsin; cf. the following arts.). In India and Pakistan, Sayyids sometimes call themselves by the title. As a common noun, it is used as an equivalent of *ṣāḥib*, e.g. *mīr pandj*, *mīr ākhūr*.

It occurs also in official titles in both the Dihlī Sultanate and in Mughal administration: *mīr ātish* "chief of artillery"; *mīr baḥr* "naval commander", "chief of river police"; *mīri ʿimārat* "controller of building operations"; *mīri sāmān* "chief of the commissariat"; etc. *Mīr-i farsh* is the term usually applied to stone weights—often of marble carved and inlaid with semi-precious stones—used to hold down a pall over a grave.

In Turkish there was derived from it the colloquial adjective *mīrī* [*q.v.*] ("belonging to the government"), which gave rise to *al-mīrī* ("the government") in the colloquial Arabic of ʿIrāḳ.

(R. Levy [-J. Burton-Page])

MĪR-ĀKHŪR (p.) In the Ottoman empire, the *mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Stables was the official given charge of all aspects relating to the supply and maintenance of the Ottoman sultan's stables, the *iṣṭabl-i ʿāmire*. The wide-ranging services connected with the imperial stables were divided between two chief officials, the *küčük mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Lesser Stable, and the *büyük mīr-ākhūr* or Master of the Great Stable, both of whom were high officers in the Palace Outer Service with the rank of Aghas of the Stirrup (*rikāb aghalarï*) (Gibb and Bowen, i, 82-3, 355). While all matters relating to the administration of the stables were referred to the Grand Master as senior officer, it seems that the *küčük mīr-ākhūr* was primarily charged with the care and maintenance of the sultan's privy stable or *khāṣṣ ākhūr* located in the second court of the Topkapï Palace opposite the kitchens. On the ground level of the privy stable a small number of exceptional show horses belonging to the sultan personally (25-30, according to Baudier, 21-2; 40-50 according to Blaise de Vigenère, 346) were kept, while the lower story housed the valuable silver bridles and other equestrian paraphernalia which formed the contents of a separate treasury called the *khāṣṣ ākhūr khazīnesi*. The *küčük mīr-ākhūr* was also responsible for the upkeep of the sultans' carriages. The Great Stable (*büyük ākhūr*) consisted of seventeen separate buildings adjacent to the outer wall of the Palace along the Marmara Sea coast (Baudier, 22), where some one thousand horses were kept, principally for the use of members of the sultan's household on festive occasions such as state processions (*alāy-i hümāyūn*), or at the reception of a foreign ambassador. Horses from the imperial stables were also distributed to members of the sultan's household for use during military campaigns. Each spring the horses belonging to the imperial stables in Istanbul were taken to the meadows of Kāghid-Khāne for pasturing, and the *mīr-ākhūr* himself resided there during the summer months (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 480-2).

The *büyük mīr-ākhūr* was also responsible for pack animals and camels belonging to the state for use during military campaigns, and had to supervise the stable-related services both within and without the Palace. The staff within the Palace included principally the saddlers' guild (*sarrādjīn-i khāṣṣa*), who numbered 230 men (in addition, 120 men were assigned as saddlers for the draught animals *bārgīr sarrādjïlar*, *Kanūn-nāme*, Veliyyüdin, no. 1970, f. 107a), the camel-drivers (*shütürbānān*) responsible for the care of the animals during campaign, and the grooms (*sāʾisān*) and others who cared for the animals in the stables. While some observers estimated the numbers of Palace stable employees as between 10,000 and 12,000 (d'Aramon, 44; Blaise de Vigenère, 348), the following table based on official registers gives more precise information as to their actual numbers:

Date	No. of employees	Yearly wages in *aḳčas*
933/1527	2,830	5,133,000
975/1567	4,321	7,457,540
1018/1609	4,322	8,405,196
1038/1629	4,246	9,304,888

(Sources for table in order given: Barkan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi*, xv [1953-4], 300; Barkan, in *IFM*, xix [1957-58], 305-6; ʿAyn-ʿAlī, *Risāle*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, 99; Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 794.)

Outside the Palace, the *mīr-ākhūr* employed Bulgarian Christians called *voynuḳs* numbering about 900-1,000 (Blaise de Vigenère, 347), some of whom were given exemption from certain taxes in return for their services, and others of whom got *timar* benefices (ʿAlī Čawush, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, 155-6). Apart from the breeding and raising of horses on the stud farms (*harā*) and in the sultanic parks (*khāṣṣa ḳoru*), the *voynuḳs* also had to cut grass and hay in the sultan's meadows (*khāṣṣa čayïr*) for delivery to the *mīr-ākhūr*. In these tasks the *voynuḳs* were assisted by the keepers of the brood mares (*yund oghlanï*) and the keepers of the colts (*taydjï*) who were expected to raise, feed, shoe, and equip two colts for each *čiftlik* [*q.v.*] of land assigned to them (Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 740).

The *voynuḳ* organisation was designed primarily for the purpose of maintaining a good breeding stock for the imperial stables, but purchase and maintenance of the herd of pack animals including camels (*deve*), geldings (*bārgīr*) and mules (*ester*) and others, was also part of the purview of the *mīr-ākhūr*. Stables had to be built and forage provided over the winter months for all of the animals belonging to the state (*mīrī dawar*). Sometimes special collections were taken up under the name of the campaign provisions tax (*bedel-i nüzūl*) (for an example, see *Mühimme*, vol. 87 [1046/1636-7], 18, an order providing that each train of five camels (*ḳaṭar*) wintering in the environs of Zile should be supplied each day with one *kile* (25.656 kg) of barley and 50 *wuḳiyye* (64.14 kg) of straw), but the animals within the imperial stables in Istanbul or Edirne were provided for by a special fund allocated to the barley commissioner (*amīn-i djaw*). The amount of cash allocated in the year 1070/1660 for the forage of those animals in the imperial stables alone was 11,816,379 *aḳčas* (Ḥüseyn Hezārfen, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān*, figures published by Barkan, in *IFM*, xvii [1955-6]; 344-5). Apart from the cash allocation, an additional 302,692 *kile* (7,766 metric tons) of barley and 104,942.5 *ḳanṭar* (5,923 metric tons) of straw were provided in kind (*ibid.*, 344). For information on prices for both thoroughbreds and common work-horses, the *tereke defterleri* are a most useful source (for two representative examples, see Barkan, in *Belgeler*, iii, 136, listing sixteen individual animals of varying prices valued at a total of 37,290 *aḳčas*, and *ibid.*, 404, listing several prize horses, including one valued at 18,000 *aḳčas*). Most commonly the price for sound draught horses or pack animals was around 1,000-1,200 *aḳčas* (H. Inalcik, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and Society*, 198; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, iii, 286).

Horse breeding was a matter of prime concern to

the Ottomans. For some sultans, the collection of prize horses became almost an obsession, as was the case with Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] (reigned 1058-99/1648-87), who came to be known as *Awdjī* Meḥemmed or Meḥemmed the huntsman. Edward Brown, an English traveller who visited Meḥemmed's camp during an imperial residence at Larissa in the summer of 1669, remarked that having seen the stables of the great princes of Christendom in Paris, Naples, Dresden and Prague, he found that none of them could compare in their variety and brilliance to those of the sultan's court (Brown, *Travels*, 40). But apart from their value for sport, sound breeds were a military necessity. According to Marsigli (*Stato militare*, 41-2), the horses bred in Transylvania from Moldavian mares were prized for their stamina during long marches, and the Tatar horses, though somewhat smaller in stature, were equally indefatigable. Besides the Moldavian and Tatar horses, the sultan's stables were supplied with Turcoman breeds. Horse breeding and horse trading were established economic activities in central Anatolia from ancient times (F. Taeschner, ANADOLU, at i, 476). An Arab traveller of the 8th/14th century singled out the horses raised by the Turcoman tribes of Germiyān and Ḳasṭamonu for especial praise (al-ʿUmarī, cited by Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 408). During the Ottoman period, the province of Ḳaramān was a particularly active centre for horse breeding. The herds were raised under the care of a group of Turcomans known as the *esb-keshān ṭāʾifesi*. In exchange for exemption from other taxes, the *esb-keshān* of Ḳaramān were expected to provide a number of horses each year (for an example, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden müdevver*, no. 7528, 116, which records a revenue of 458,980 *aḳčas* deriving from the *esb-keshān muḳāṭaʿasī* for the year 1057/1649. At a rate of 300 *aḳčas* per head [*Kanūn-nāme*, in *TOEM*, Suppl. for 1329/1911, 63], this represents 1,530 horses). In addition, the stables of Bursa, Manisa and Edirne are mentioned as producing breeds of superior quality (Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni*, i/1, 100). The show horses and studs kept in the sultan's privy stable were mostly given to him as gifts from governors in the Arabian provinces or from state grandees. Camels came primarily from the Turcoman tribes, particularly those in the *sandjaḳs* of Yeñi-il in the province of Rūm-i Ḳadīm (Sivas) and of Ḥalab (Aleppo) in Syria (for an example, see Kātib Čelebi, *Fadhlaka-yi tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1269-70/1853-4 ii, 115).

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(R. MURPHEY)

MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR NAWĀʾĪ, Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīr, later called Mīr ʿAlī Shīr or ʿAlī Shīr Beg, with the pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) of Nawāʾī (844-906/1441-1501), outstanding 9th/15th century Čaghatāy poet and important Central Asian cultural and political figure of the reign of the Tīmūrid *sulṭān* Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā (873-911/1469-1506 [*q.v.*]).

He was born in Harāt (Herat) on 17 Ramaḍān 844/9 February 1441, the scion of a cultured Turkic family of Uyghūr *bakhshīs*, hereditary chancellery scribes, who had long been in the service of the Tīmūrid family. ʿAlī Shīr's father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kīčkīna, also called Kīčkīna Bakhshī, was in the service of Abū Saʿīd, the grandson of Mīrānshāh, as well as of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, Shāhrukh's grandson, and at one time was the governor (*ḥākim*) of Sabzawār. ʿAlī Shīr's maternal grandfather, Bū Saʿīd Čang, had been an *amīr* of Mīrza Bāyḳarā's, the son of ʿUmar Shaykh and grandfather of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. Moreover, the family of ʿAlī Shīr was intimately connected to that of ʿUmar Shaykh by ties of foster-brotherhood (*kūkältāshī*) and ʿAlī Shīr was himself the foster-brother of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā. Although he never bore the title *kūkältāsh*, it was always appended to the name of his brother, Darwīsh ʿAlī. Because the families of ʿAlī Shīr and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā were closely related and the two were almost the same age (Bāyḳarā being only two years older), they were educated together as children. The fact that ʿAlī Shīr received a good education is emphasised by Dawlatshāh and would have been in keeping with the value placed on a universal education by the highly literate Central Asian *bakhshgīs*.

As a result of the unstable political situation created by the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, ʿAlī Shīr's family was forced to flee Harāt until the restoration of order in the early 1450s enabled it to return to Khurāsān. The chronology of ʿAlī Shīr's life before he joined Ḥusayn Baykarā at the time of the latter's accession to power in Harāt in 873/1469 is not entirely clear. His first patron appears to have been Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, whose service he entered in Harat together with Ḥusayn Baykarā sometime before 860/1456. But, as Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā had earlier been in the service of Abū Saʿīd (with whom he soon fell out of favour, however, and remained on inimical terms), it is possible that ʿAlī Shīr, or at least his father, also accompanied Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā when he entered the service of this Tīmūrid prince in 858/1454.

ʿAlī Shīr and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā both accompanied Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur to Mashhad in 860/1456, but after the latter's death in 861/1457, they parted ways for twelve years. Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā then entered upon a period of *ḳazāklīḳ* during which he struggled to establish himself politically, while ʿAlī Shīr pursued his studies in Mashhad, Harāt and Samarḳand. Although the dates of Ālī Shīr's movements between these cities are not stated explicitly in the sources, it is clear that he studied in Samarḳand under Khʷādja Faḍl Allāh Abu 'l-Laythī, an expert in *fiḳh* and Arabic, for a period of two years. It is however not clear whether he came to Samarḳand solely for the purpose of studying or because he was banished from Harāt by Abū Saʿīd, whose service he entered, according to V.V. Bartol'd, sometime after 868/1464. Both Bartol'd and E.É. Bertel's held the view that he was banished, arguing that, in those days, no one left Harāt to study in Samarḳand, which had become a provincial town in comparison with the capital (for a refutation of this view, see É.R. Rustamov, *Stranitsī iz biografii Alishera Navoi* ("Pages from the biography of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), in *Kratkie soobshčeniya Instituta narodov Azii*, Moscow, lxiii [1963], 80-6). It is likely that ʿAlī Shīr was in Samarḳand on two occasions—the first in 862-3/1458-9 to pursue his studies and the second around 871/1467 after he encountered political troubles at the court of Abū Saʿīd in Harāt. He also appears to have been in Mashhad twice during this period of his life. In Samarḳand he was aided by two mentors—Darwīsh Muḥammad Tarkhān, the brother-in-law of Abū Saʿīd, and Aḥmad Ḥādjdjī Beg, the powerful governor of the city, who was also a poet with the pen-name Wafāʾī.

After the death of Abū Saʿīd in 873/1468 and Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's subsequent seizure of power in Harāt on 10 Ramaḍān 873/24 March 1469, ʿAlī Shīr left Samarḳand, where he had been in the retinue of Aḥmad Ḥādjdjī Beg, in order to enter Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's service and, on Bayram 873/14 April 1469, presented him with his famous *ḳaṣīda* entitled *Hilāliyya*. He remained in the service of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, who ruled Khurāsān from Harāt uninterruptedly for almost forty years (with the exception of the brief interregnum of Shāhrukh's great-grandson, Muḥammad Yādgār, in 875/1470), until his death on 12 Djumādā 1906/3 January 1501. He was buried in Harāt.

Although he held several offices, such as that of keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*), to which he was appointed by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in 873/1469 and from which he soon resigned, ʿAlī Shīr tried as a rule to avoid political office. Since he was not a member of one of the paramount Čaghatāy clans that constituted the Tīmūrid military élite, he was not by birth an *amīr* or beg and he was aware of the precariousness of his position at court compared with that of the hereditary begs on whom Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's power depended. He was, however, officially elevated to the rank of *amīr* of the *dīwān-i aʿlā* or *Türk dīwānī* (council concerned with matters pertaining to the Tīmūrids' Turkic subjects and matters of a military nature) by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in 876/1472. In connection with this appointment, he was granted precedence in affixing his seal over that of all other *amīrs* with the sole exception of Muẓaffar Barlās, one of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's companions from his *ḳazāklīḳ* days. In late 894/1488 he asked to be relieved of his position as governor (*ḥākim*) of Astarābād, to which he had been appointed the previous year (for a refutation of Bartol'd's idea that ʿAlī Shīr was banished here by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, see A.A. Semenov, *Vzaimootnosheniya Alishera Navoi i Sultan Khuseyn-Mirzī* ("Relations between ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā"), in *Issledovaniya po istorii kul'turī narodov vostoka. Sbornik v čest' akad. I.A. Orbeli*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 237-49). At the same time, he resigned from the office of *amīr* (*amr-i imārat*) or, as Bābur put it, gave up "military duties" altogether, that is, the duties associated with the title, although he continued to retain the title itself.

The strength of ʿAlī Shīr's position at the court of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā derived from his personal service to him based on their relationship as foster-brothers, rather than from any official positions held by him. ʿAlī Shīr belonged to the inner circle of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's courtiers (*īčkīyān*) and, in his own words, stood closer to the throne than any of the great *amīrs*. The honorific title that was bestowed upon him by Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and by which he is referred to in the contemporary sources was *muḳarrab-i ḥaḍrat-i sulṭānī* ("the sultan's intimate"). As a result of his unique position at court. ʿAlī Shīr was often entrusted with important matters of state, such as acting as intermediary in the frequent conflicts between Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and his sons or governing Harāt in

the *sulṭān*'s absence. It ought to be noted that ʿAlī Shīr was never Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's *wazīr* (an error perpetuated in the secondary literature) nor could he have possessed this title, since, in the dual administrative structure of the Tīmūrid government, it was reserved exclusively for officials of the *Sart dīwāni* which dealt with non-Turkic, that is, sedentary Iranian matters, such as finance, and its holders were as a rule non-Turks.

ʿAlī Shīr's primary historical importance lies in his literary activity. He is universally considered as the greatest representative of Čaghatāy Turkish literature which, thanks to him, reached its apogee in the second half of the 9th/15th century at the court of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in Harāt. He was already regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest poet ever to have written in the Turkish language. Indeed, his family background seemed to predispose him to the poetic art as two of his maternal uncles were poets with the pen-names Ḳabūlī and Gharībī, as was his cousin, Amīr Ḥaydar, who wrote under the name of Ṣabūḥī.

Despite the fact that Persian had traditionally been regarded as the literary language par excellence in Central Asia since the 4th/10th century, ʿAlī Shīr championed the cause of the Čaghatāy, or Eastern Turkic, literary language (usually referred to by contemporaries simply as *Türkī*) which represented a continuation of such Middle Turkic language as Ḳarākhānid (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) and Khʷārazmian (8th/14th century). He argued that not only could it vie with Persian but that it was also superior to it as a language for poetry. Following the lead of earlier Čaghatāy poets of the Tīmūrid period, such as Luṭfī [*q.v.*], Sakkākī and Gadāʾī, ʿAlī Shīr forged Čaghatāy into a supple instrument of poetic expression and, in so doing, endowed it with its classical form.

He composed almost thirty works under the pen-name Nawāʾī, trying his hand at all the literary genres practised in his day. His chief models were, by his own admission, the Persian masters, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī—probably the most admired and widely imitated poet in the late 9th/15th century—Niẓāmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Djāmī. His fame rests mainly on his poetical works which constitute the bulk of his literary output. The most important of these, written in Čaghatāy, are:

(i) *Khazāʾin al-maʿānī*, being the final edition of his four *dīwāns*, arranged by him shortly before his death and entitled respectively *Gharāʾib al-ṣighar* ("Curiosities of Childhood"), *Nawādir al-shabāb* ("Marvels of Youth"), *Badāʾiʿ al-wasaṭ* ("Wonders of Middle Age") and *Fawāʾid al-kibar* ("Advantages of Old Age"), corresponding to the four ages of his life, but in fact material in each is not restricted to any particular period. This collection contains mainly *ghazals*, but also some *tuyūghs*, the Eastern Turkic quatrain with homonymic end-rhyme.

(ii) *Khamsa*, or Quintet, modelled on the *Khamsas* of Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī, although often with a very different emphasis or interpretation and reflecting his personal ideals, such as his concern with justice. It comprises: (a) *Ḥayrat al-abrār* (completed 888/1483), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, Amīr Khusraw's *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār* and Djāmī's *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*; (b) *Farhād u Shīrīn* (completed 889/1484), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* and Amīr Khusraw's *Shīrīn u Khusraw*; (c) *Laylī u Madjnūn*, a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's and Amīr Khusraw's *mathnawīs* of the same name; (d) *Sabʿa-yi sayyār* (completed about 889/1483), a romantic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Haft paykar* and Amir Khusraw's *Hasht bihisht*; and (e) *Sadd-i Iskandarī* (completed about 890/1485), a didactic *mathnawī* modelled on Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nama* and Amīr Khusraw's *Āyina-yi Iskandarī*.

(iii) *Lisān al-ṭayr* (completed 904/1498-9), a mystical *mathnawī* based on ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and written under the pen-name Fānī.

Among Nawāʾī's prose works in Čaghatāy may be mentioned:

(iv) *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* (completed 897/1491-2 but some manuscripts contain information up to 904/1498-9), the first *tadhkira*, or literary historical work, in Turkish and the first that dealt almost exclusively with contemporary poets.

(v) *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn* (completed 905/1499), a treatise comparing the relative merits of the Persian and Čaghatāy languages.

(vi) *Mīzān al-awzān* (completed after 898/1499), a treatise on the Arab-Persian prosodic system, but also containing information on some characteristically Turkic verse forms.

(vii) *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb* (completed 906/1500-1), Nawāʾī's final work of a didactic nature written in rhymed prose with verses interspersed, and modelled on Saʿdī's *Gulistān* and Djāmī's *Bahāristān*.

(viii) *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirīn* (composed after 898/1492), a prose work interspersed with verses and dedicated to Djāmī.

(ix) *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba* (completed 901/1495-6), a translation and expansion of Djāmī's collected biographies of Ṣūfī saints, entitled *Nafaḥāt al-uns*.

Nawāʾī also wrote several works in Persian: a *Dīwān* (completed 902/1496) in imitation mainly of Ḥāfiẓ, in which he used the pen-name Fānī; *Risāla-yi muʿammā* (completed some time before 898/1492), a treatise on the enigma; and a collection of model letters.

Other works in Čaghatāy of secondary significance are the biographies of two of Nawāʾī's close companions, *Ḥālāt-i Pahlawān Muḥammad*; two short histories, *Tārīkh-i mulūki ʿAdjam* and *Tārīkh-i anbiyāʾ wa ḥukamāʾ*; *Naẓm al-djawāhir*, a translation of aphorisms ascribed to ʿAlī, entitled *Nathr al-laʿālī*; a verse translation of Djāmī's work, *Čihil ḥadīth*; a collection of model letters; and a *Waḳfiyya* (completed 886/1481-2).

The impact of Nawāʾī's works on all Turkic peoples and languages cannot be overestimated. He exerted a profound influence not only on later Central Asian authors who wrote in Čaghatāy up until the beginning of the 20th century, but also on the development of Azeri (especially on the poetry of Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] of Baghdād d. 963/1556), Turkmen (the 12th/18th century poet Makhdūm Ḳuli [*q.v.*]), Uyghur, Tatar and Ottoman Turkish literatures. Ottoman poets continued to write imitations of his poems in Čaghatāy until the 19th century (see E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx/3 [1976], 157-90). Soviet scholarship, which has termed Čaghatāy "Old Uzbek", considers him the founder of literary Uzbek (A.K. Borovkov, *Alisher Navoi kak osnovopoložnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka* ("ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī as the founder of the literary Uzbek language"), in *Alisher Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946, 92-174). Proof of the tremendous interest in the works of Nawāʾī among not only the Turkic but also the Iranian-speaking peoples are the many specialised dictionaries that were written on the basis of his works, such as Ṭāliʿ Īmānī's Čaghatāy-Persian dictionary, *Badāʾiʿ al-lughat*, composed during the reign of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā (see Borovkov, "*Badāʾiʿ al-lugat*": *slovar Ṭāliʿ Īmānī geratskogo k sočineniyam*

Alishera Navoi ("Ṭāliʿ Īmānī of Harāt's dictionary to the works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), Moscow 1961), the anonymous Čaghatāy-Ottoman dictionary, *Abushka* (mid-16th century) and Mīrzā Mahdī Khān's Čaghatāy-Persian dictionary, *Sanglakh* (mid-18th century).

Apart from his linguistic and literary contributions, ʿAlī Shīr's historical significance also lies in his extensive patronage activities. The fact that, in the second half of the 9th/15th century, almost all literary, artistic and cultural life in the eastern Islamic lands was concentrated in Tīmūrid Harāt was due as much to his personal efforts as a pre-eminent patron as it was to his own artistic example and inspiration. With an interest not only in poetry, but also in music, calligraphy, painting and architecture, he oversaw the activities of virtually all artists and literati in Khurāsān, according to Muḥammad Ḥaydar. Among the many who benefited directly from his financial support were the historians, Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr; the literary historian, Dawlatshāh; the poets, Djāmī, ʿAṣafī, Sayfī Bukhārī, Hātifī and Hilālī; the composers of *muʿammā* (a favourite genre of his), Ḥusayn Muʿammāʾī and Muḥammad Badakhshī; and the musicians Shaykhī Nāʾī and Ḥusayn ʿŪdī. His support of artists of the royal atelier (*kitābkhāna*), such as the painters, Bihzād, Shāh Muẓaffar, Ḳāsim ʿAlī and Ḥadjdjī Muḥammad (the latter tentatively identified by E. Esin as Siyāh Ḳalam), and the calligraphers, Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashhadī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khandān, helped make the second half of the 9th/15th century the highpoint of miniature painting and book production in Central Asia and have earned for it the appellation "Tīmūrid Renaissance" in Western scholarship. Many of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the period are in fact of Nawāʾī's works, particularly of his *Khamsa* and *Dīwāns*. The tradition of producing richly decorated manuscripts of his works continued until the 19th century in Central Asia (see *Alisher Navoiy asarlariga ishlangan rasmlar XV-XIX asrlar* ("Miniature paintings illustrating the works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, XV-XIX centuries") [text in Uzbek, Russian and English], comp. Kh. Sulaymon and F. Sulaymonova, Tashkent 1982).

ʿAlī Shīr's patronage activities included the donation and endowment of about 370 buildings, architectural ensembles and public works in Khurāsān, especially in and around Harāt. Among these was the huge Ikhlāṣiyya complex to the north of the city, which contained a mosque, *madrasa*, *khānḳāh*, hospital, bath and ʿAlī Shīr's principal residence. Khwāndamīr enumerates about 50 *ribāṭs* which he donated throughout Khurāsān, about 20 reservoirs (*ḥawḍ*) in Harāt, 15 bridges, nine public baths, and 14 mosques in Harāt and other cities, such as Isfizār, Sarakhs and Astarābād. In many cases, pious endowments which he made provided for the maintenance of scholars, students and the poor. He was also involved in restoration work and was responsible for the reconstruction of, among other monuments, the Friday mosque of Harāt which dated back to Ghūrid times (early 7th/13th century) (see L. Golombek, *The resilience of the Friday mosque: the case of Herat*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 95-102).

ʿAlī Shīr's patronage activities were financed from personal sources of revenue derived from landholdings throughout Khurāsān (but particularly in the region north of Harāt) or connected with his appointment as *amīr*, such as the royal mint and royal workshops. Various estimates of his daily income indicate that he was one of the wealthiest men of his time.

Despite a certain idealisation of ʿAlī Shīr in the writings of his contemporaries (such as Khwāndamīr's *Makārim al-akhlāḳ* and Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*) as well as in the early secondary literature (e.g., F.A. Belin's *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chîr Névâii*, in *JA*, 5e série, xvii [1861], 175-256), which stress such positive aspects of his character as his integrity, refinement, charitable works, patronage, etc., it is possible from other sources to form a more rounded opinion of him. The single negative character trait which is mentioned by later authors such as Muḥammad Ḥaydar and Bābur is his hypersensitivity, which, coupled with the high moral and artistic standards which he set both for himself and for others, made him a demanding and difficult person. In describing his exclusive literary audiences, Wāṣifī offers a glimpse of this less attractive side of his character, which often manifested itself as impatience or even sarcasm (see A.N. Boldïrev, *Alisher Navoi v rasskazakh soveremennikov* ("ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī according to his contemporaries"), in *Alisher Navoi*, ed. Borovkov, 121-52).

In his personal life, ʿAlī Shīr maintained an ascetic lifestyle, never marrying or having concubines or children. Although initiated into the Naḳshbandiyya order by his spiritual master and lifelong friend, the great Persian poet and mystic, Djāmī, in 881/1476-7, his brand of mysticism was not of the "intoxicated", but rather of the more worldly variety practised by the order as a whole. Much has been made of his purported inclination toward Shīʿism, but there is no evidence that this went beyond reverence for the person of ʿAlī, a feature of Central Asian Islam in general.

The complex figure of ʿAlī Shīr sparked the popular imagination of many Turkic peoples. Turkmen folktales, for example, depict him as the clever *wazīr*, Mirali, who always comes to the defence of the poor before his extravagant and misguided sultan, while Uzbek legends revolve around the mysterious reasons for his celibacy. Many of his *ghazals* have become popular Uzbek folk songs and some of his works have been staged as dramatic plays by modern Uzbek playwrights.

Bibliography: The chief primary sources for the life of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī are: Khwāndamīr, *Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, ed. T. Gandjeï, GMS (n.s.) xxvii, [Cambridge] 1979; idem, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1333 sh. 1954, iv, 137 ff.; Dawlatshah, 494-509; ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd, *Sharaf-nāma* (*Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāmä des ʿAbdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*), ed. and tr. H.R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952, 27b-28a, 43b; Bābur, *The Bábar-náma*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, GMS, i, Leiden 1905, 170b-171b; Wāṣifī, *Badāyiʿ al-waḳāyiʿ*, ed. A.N. Boldïrev, Moscow 1961, i, 484-632; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i rashīdī* (still unpublished, but the biographical section of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā's reign, which was not included by E. Denison Ross in his English translation, is extracted in *Iḳtibās az Tārīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, in *Oriental College Magazine*, x/3 [1934], 155-7); Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 sh./1936, 179-81; Fakhrī Harawī, *Laṭāʾif-nāma* (in *The Majalis-un-Nafaʾis*, "*Galaxy Poets*", *of Mir ʿAli Shir Navaʾi: Two 16th century Persian translations*, ed. A.A. Hekmat, Tehran 1223 sh./1945), 133-6. Manuscripts of Nawāʾī's works abound in libraries throughout the world, particularly in Istanbul, London, Paris, Leningrad and Tashkent. For references to descriptions of major collections, see J. Eckmann, *Die tschagataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 352-3. In the Soviet Union alone there are over a

thousand manuscripts (based mainly on the count made by Kh. Sulaymon[ov]), the great majority of which are of the *Dīwāns* and *Khamsa*. For a description not mentioned by Eckmann, see *Alisher Navoiy asarlarining ŬzSSR fanlar akademiyasi sharkshunoslik-instituti tŭplamidagi ḳŭlëzmalari* ("Manuscripts of the works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R."), comp. K.M. Munirov and A. Nasîrov, Tashkent 1970.

There are a great many published editions of Nawāʾī's works, and the secondary literature on him is voluminous, particularly in Soviet scholarship. The following bibliographical works may be consulted: A.A. Semenov, *Materialî k bibliografičeskomu ukazatelyu pečatnîkh proizvedeniy Alishera Navoi i literaturî o nem* ("Materials for a bibliography of the published works of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī and the secondary literature on him"), Tashkent 1940; Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 352-7; E.D. Svidina, *Alisher Navoi. Biobibliografiya (1917-1966 gg.)*, Tashkent 1968; B.V. Lunin, *Istoriya, kul'tura i iskusstvo vremeni timuridov v sovetskoy literature* ("The history, culture and art of the Timurid period in Soviet secondary literature"), in *Obshčestvennîe nauki v Uzbekistane*, viii-ix (1969), 108-13. The most complete published edition of his works is Alisher Navoi, *Asarlar* (in Cyrillic characters), 15 vols., Tashkent 1963-8. For a complete Russian translation, see Alisher Navoi, *Sočineniya*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1968-70. The main secondary works (in addition to those mentioned in the text) are the monographs by V.V. Bartolʾd, *Mir Ali-Shir i političeskaya žizn'* ("Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and political life") in his *Sočineniya*, ii/2, Moscow 1964, 197-260 (originally publ. 1928; German tr. W. Hinz, *Herat unter Ḥusein Baiqara dem Timuriden*, Leipzig 1938; English tr. V. and T. Minorsky, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72); E.É. Bertel's, *Izbrannîe trudî*, iv: *Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 13-206 (originally publ. 1948); Agâh Sırri Levend, *Ali Şir Nevai*, 4 vols., Ankara 1965-8 (contains transcriptions of some of his works in Latin characters). The most valuable collections of articles are: *Mir-Ali-Shir. Sbornik k. pyatsotletiyu so dnya roćdeniya* ("Collection of articles on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his birth"), ed. V.V. Bartol'd, Leningrad 1928 (see in particular the article by Bertel's, *Nevai i ʿAttar*); "*Rodonačal'nik uzbekskoy literaturî. Sbornik statey ob Alishere Navoi* ("The Founder of Uzbek literature"), Tashkent 1940 [see the interesting article by M. Sal'e, "*Kniga blagorodnîkh kačestv*" *i ee avtor* ("The *Makārim al-akhlāḳ* and its author")]; *Alisher Navoi. Sbornik statey*, ed. A.K. Borovkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1946 [see the articles by Bertel's, *Navoi i Nizami*, 68-91; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Čertî obshčestvennoy i kul'turnoy žizni épokhi Alishera Navoi* ("Features of the social and cultural life of the era of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī"), 5-30, which contains information on building activity; and A. Belenitskiy, *Istoričeskaya topografiya Gerata XV v.* ("The historical topography of 15th century Herat"), 175-202, based on information from Khʷāndamīr's *Khulāṣat al-akhbār*]; and *Velikiy uzbekskiy poet. Sbornik statey* ("The great Uzbek poet") ed. M.T. Aybek, Tashkent 1948 (contains a critique of Belenitskiy's article mentioned above, by M.E. Masson, *K istoričeskoy topografii gerata XV veka*, 120-45).

For works of a more general nature, see A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ali Şir*, in *IA*, i, 349-57 (but note that all source references are to an unpublished collection of extracts made by Togan himself); Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 304-402; A. Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, tr. I. Mélikoff, Paris 1968, 118-35. Most of the recent work has been done in the Uzbek S.S.R. Of note is *Adabiy meros* ("Literary heritage"), a publication (since 1968) of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (articles in Uzbek with brief English summaries). For a recent article in English, see M.E. Subtelny, *ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, bakhshī and beg*, in *Eucharisterion. Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his sixtieth birthday* [= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, iii-iv (1979-80)], pt. 2, 797-807. (M.E. Subtelny)

MĪR AMĀN [see amān, mīr].

MĪR BABAR ʿALĪ [see anīs].

MĪR DĀMĀD ASTARĀBĀDĪ [see al-dāmād].

MĪR DJAʿFAR [see djaʿfar, mīr].

MĪR DJUMLA, Muḥammad Saʿīd, prominent minister and military commander in 11th/17th century Muslim India, first in the service of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golkonḍā ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [see ḳuṭb-shāhis] and then in that of the Mughals Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb [*q.vv.*], died in 1073/1663.

Stemming originally from Persia, he was at the outset a diamond merchant and accumulated a vast private fortune in the Carnatic, the region around Madras, from these dealings and from Hindu temple treasures, having his own private army of 5,000 cavalrymen and using European help and expertise for his artillery. But after the defeat of the Ḳuṭb-Shāh at Golkonḍā in Rabīʿ II 1066/February 1656 at the hands of the prince Awrangzīb, viceroy of the Deccan, Mīr Djumla went over to the Mughals, who honoured him and gave him the title of Muʿaẓẓam Khān. He commanded the Mughal troops against the ʿĀdil-Shāhīs [*q.v.*] of Bidjāpur in Muḥarram 1067/November 1656, and then in Shawwāl 1070/June 1660 became governor of Bengal, campaigning against the *rādjās* of Kaččh Bihār (Cooch Behar) and Assam [*q.v.*] immediately on appointment and in the period Djumādā I-Radjab 1072/January-March 1662, the latter campaign culminating in the capture of the Āhom *rādjā* of Assam's capital of Garhgāon. But the rainy season and outbreaks of disease in his army compelled him to return to Bengal, and he himself died of dysentery in spring 1073/1663 at Khiḍrpur just before reaching Dacca, leaving behind him a reputation of having been the greatest general of his age.

Bibliography: Awrangābādī, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* iii, 530-55; H. Blochmann, in *JASB*, xl, 51; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 199; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1889, 588-613; *Camb. hist. of India. iv. The Mughul period*, 207-9, 234-5; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Awrangzeb, mainly based on Persian sources*, Calcutta 1912-24, i, 216-28, 345-6, 351 ff., ii, 242-5, 252-82, 287; iii, 156-85; A.T. Roy, *History of Bengal, Mughal period (1526-1765 A.D.)*, Calcutta 1968, 137-8, 164-9, 243-55; Sarkar, *The history of Bengal, Muslim period 1200-1757*, Patna 1973, 339-50; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. vii. The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 210-11, 227-8, 475-7, 515, 517, 520; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire. Awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility (1574-1658)*, Dihlī 1985, index s.v. Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd, Muʿaẓẓam Khan, Mīr Jumla.

(M. Hidayet Hosain [— C.E. Bosworth])

MĪR GHULĀM ḤASAN [see ḥasan, mīr ghulām].

MĪR ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ, Indo-Muslim commander and *Nawwāb* [*q.v.*] of Bengal 1760-4, died in 1777.

Mīr Ḳāsim's rise to power was an episode in the British East Indian Company's extension of power in eastern India in the latter decades of the 18th century. Since the *Nawwāb* of Bengal Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar [see D̲J̲AʿFAR, MĪR] was unable to fulfill financial obligations contracted to the Company, he was in October 1760 deposed in favour of his son-in-law Mīr Ḳāsim, who now became *Nawwāb* but had to cede the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the British. However, he now attempted to build up for himself an independent state in Upper Bengal and Bihār, abandoning Lower Bengal to the British, moving his capital to the less accessible Mungīr [*q.v.*] in Bihar and forming an army on European lines trained by an Armenian, Gurgīn (Gregorios) K̲h̲ān. Relations with Britain became strained over the question of private trading within India, for Europeans trading inland claimed exemption from duties, thus diminishing the *Nawwāb*'s revenues. War broke out in Bihār in July 1763. Mīr Ḳāsim's new army proved ineffective; Mungīr and Patna were captured; and Mīr Ḳāsim fled to Awadh (Oudh) [*q.v.*] and sought the alliance of the *Nawwāb-wazīr* of Awadh S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla and the Mug̲h̲al Emperor in Dihlī, S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II. The allies were nevertheless defeated at Baksar (Buxar [*q.v.*]) on 23 October 1764 by Major Hector Munro, but Mīr Ḳāsim had already been stripped of his possessions and imprisoned by S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla. He now escaped, led a wandering life and died near Dihlī in 1777. Mīr D̲j̲aʿfar had been briefly restored in Bengal till his death in 1765, with British control there firmly established.

Bibliography: T.W. Haig (ed.), *The Cambridge history of India*, v, *British India 1497-1858*, Cambridge 1929, 167-174; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. The Maratha supremacy*, Bombay 1977, 343-9; P.J. Marshall, *The new Cambridge history of India. II. 2. Bengal: the British bridgehead. Eastern India 1740-1828*, Cambridge 1987, 84-8. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĪR LAWḤĪ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, referred to also by his nickname as "muṭahhar" and nom-de-plume as "Naḳībī", a noted S̲h̲īʿī religious scholar of Sabzwārī origin, but resident in Iṣfahān during the Ṣafawid period, *flor.* during the 11th/17th century. He has not received any attention from biographers (and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, who secured him an entry of a few lines in his *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarād̲j̲im al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, vi, Tabrīz n.d., 235-6, seems to be an exception), because Mīr Lawḥī proved to be an outspoken critic of two overwhelmingly-recognised religious leaders of his time, Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī and his father Muḥammad Taḳī, known as Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal [*q.v.*]. As a matter of fact, his name has been referred to mostly in association with his criticism of the Mad̲j̲lisīs; see, for instance, Ḥusayn Nūrī, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī fī tard̲j̲amat al-ʿAllāma al-Mad̲j̲lisī*, Tehran 1887, 22 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*), though the same author also mentions him solely as one of the authors who wrote on the Twelfth Imām (idem, *Nad̲j̲m al-t̲h̲āḳib dar aḥwāl-i Imām-i g̲h̲āʾib*, Tehran n.d., 5).

The principal source of information on Mīr Lawḥī is his own polemical book written in 1081-3/1670-2 and entitled *Kifāyat al-muhtadī fī maʿrifat al-Mahdī*, from which a few facts about his life may be learnt. The book, for instance, indicates that Mīr Lawḥī was an advanced student of religious subjects under such well-known S̲h̲īʿī authorities as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī (d. *ca.* 1031/1621 [*q.v.*] and Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir Dāmād (d. *ca.* 1041/1631) (*Kifāyat*, ms. no. 1121, Faculty of Theology, University of Mas̲h̲had, 65; this is an abridged copy of his book made in 1083/1672 by one of his friends, who also included in it a number of his own viewpoints and factual stories about Mad̲j̲lisī; for a complete version of Mīr Lawḥī's book consult that of the Mad̲j̲lis Library, Tehran, no. 833, introduced with some detail in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ḥadāʾiḳ Ibn Yūsuf S̲h̲īrāzī, *Fihrist-i kitābk̲h̲āna-yi mad̲j̲lis-i s̲h̲ūrā-yi millī*, edited and enlarged by Abdol Hossein Haeri, Tehran 1974, 54-9; our references here are only to the abridged copy.) The fact that Mīr Lawḥī was an advanced student in or before 1031/1621 suggests that he could not have been less than 20 years at age at that time and consequently his date of birth must have been *ca.* 1010/1601. The book also shows that Mīr Lawḥī's areas of intellectual interests were S̲h̲īʿī theology, the Imāmate, especially the questions relative to the Twelfth *Imām*, and the refutation of all forms of Ṣūfism. The other books he ascribed to himself, such as *Aʿlām al-muḥibbīn*, *Idrāʾ al-ʿāḳilīn wa-ik̲h̲zāʾ al-mad̲j̲ānīn*, *Zād al-ʿuḳbā fī manāḳib al-aʾimma wa 'l-awṣiyā*, and even his *Riyāḍ al-muʾminīn wa-hadāʾiḳ al-muttaḳīn*, which he wrote during his youth, were written on those subjects; the latter books, however, do not seem to have been available to the authors in the field.

Mīr Lawḥī was also interested in Islamic history and wrote a controversial book, in or sometime before 1043/1633, on the problem of Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲urāsānī's rising against the Umayyads. According to a note written by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb al-Ḥusaynī in 1063/1654, Mīr Lawḥī argues in his book that Abū Muslim (d. 137/754) [*q.v.*] whose origin from K̲h̲urāsān, Marw, or Iṣfahān has not been determined, did actually win the caliphate for the tyrannical ʿAbbāsids, but was never a friend of the S̲h̲īʿi *Imāms*, and was murdered for his evil deeds by the then 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr (d. 158/774), who was more wicked than himself. Some people did not tolerate Mīr Lawḥī's condemnation of Abū Muslim, and troubled him with all their effort and power (*bi-kull d̲j̲idd wa-ḳuwwa.*) A number of Mīr Lawḥī's contemporary *ʿulamāʾ*, however, defended his argumentation by writing numerous books and treatises on the subject, and one of them was the *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ wa-miʿyār al-ṣidḳ* written in 1043/1633 by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-ʿĀmilī, the father of ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb (Muḥammad Muḥsin Āg̲h̲ā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-D̲h̲arīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-S̲h̲īʿa*, iv, Tehran 1941, 150-1, where there can also be found a list of seventeen books written in support of Mīr Lawḥī's position on the problem.)

The reasons behind this confusion and controversy, which involved the common people as well as a number of religious authorities, seem to be found mainly in Mīr Lawḥī's ideological difference with the Ṣūfīs, whom Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal stoutly supported. Mīr Lawḥī himself alludes to the story, saying that since Mad̲j̲lisī-yi Awwal used to praise "Abū Muslim Marwazī [sc. of Marw] and the sorcerer, the evil-doer [and the famous Ṣūfī Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr] al-Ḥallād̲j̲ (d. 309/922)", he said something against them, but "the ignorant people" became hostile against him and even planned to murder him (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānis̲h̲paz̲h̲ūh, *Fihrist-i kitābk̲h̲āna-yi ihdāʾī-yi Aḳā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Mis̲h̲kʷāt bi kitābk̲h̲āna-yi dānis̲h̲gāh-i Tihrān*, iii/3, Tehran 1956, 1497.) Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad al-Miḳdādī, who refuted the Ṣūfīs in a treatise written in 1060/1650, thus elaborated on the matter: "Due to the hostility and mischievousness of the Ṣūfīs, the helpless Sayyid [Mīr Lawḥī], who prohibited the common people from loving Abū Muslim,

had no peace even for a moment, and the Ṣūfīs, both their élite and the common followers, hurt him a great deal" (cited in *al-Dharīʿa*, iv, 151.)

Owing to this unhappy experience, Mīr Lawḥī was reluctant to oppose the popular Madjlisīs, notwithstanding the fact that he had found Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī's book on *radjʿa* (the returning, according to Shīʿī belief, of some dead persons to his world) quite harmful to the beliefs of the common believers, and that some people had also asked him to refute it. Since, however, Mīr Lawḥī saw a dream, after which he felt himself appointed (*maʾmūr*) to refute Madjlisī, he wrote his *Kifāyat al-muhtadī* (*Kifāyat*, 5-19), in which he not only refuted many of Madjlisī's interpretations of the *ḥadīth*, but also divulged a number of eye-witness facts about him and his father that have been rarely quoted by other authors. In defiance of the fact that the two Madjlisīs have been truly recognised as prominent *mudjtahids*, who greatly contributed to Shīʿī theology, culture and tradition, Mīr Lawḥī believed that they were gathering the ordinary and ignorant people (*ʿawāmm*) on Iṣfahān round themselves, and for this reason no one dared "to give them advice or to ascribe any wrongdoing to any of them" (*Kifāyat*, 1-2.)

Mīr Lawḥī directed his sharp criticism particularly against Madjlisī's interpretation of a *ḥadīth* in which Madjlisī wanted people to believe that the fifth *Imām* of the Shīʿa, Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 114/732, [*q.v.*]), had foretold that the Ṣafawid monarchs would appear in the east to promote the true religion and that they would retain rulership until they would finally transfer their power to no-one but the Twelfth *Imām* (Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*Tardjama-yi čahārdah ḥadīth*], ms. no. 69, Faculty of Theology, University of Mashhad, 4-6; this treatise, which is dedicated to the Ṣafawid monarch Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694), is also referred to as *Risāla fī 'l-radjʿa* and *Risālat al-radjʿa*, and was published under the title of *Ithbāt al-radjʿa* in Bombay in 1888; the printed copy of the book has not been available to this author; for more information on the contents of this treatise, with references to Mīr Lawḥī's accounts, see *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi ihdāʾi-yi Āḳā Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkʷāt*, iii/3, 1203-12.). Mīr Lawḥī points out that in dealing with the *ḥadīth* in question, which has been classified as "rare and weak" (*shādhdh-i ḍaʿīf*), Madjlisī committed these blameworthy acts: (1) interpreting the *ḥadīth* according to his own wish and distorting its sense for gaining worldly interests (*barā-yi dunyā va djarr-i manfaʿat*); (2) mistranslating the text; (3) using defective grammar; (4) deceiving "the king of the Shīʿa" and the illiterate general public (*ʿawāmm*); and (5) making some geographical errors (*Kifāyat*, 21-5).

In his book, Mīr Lawḥī also criticises Madjlisī-yi Awwal on various matters. He refers, for instance, to this story that Madjlisī-yi Awwal has revealed (paraphrasing): "In the beginnings of my search for the truths of the Ḳurʾān, one night I had a short nap (*sina*), during which I saw the Prophet Muḥammad, in whose presence I felt that I should think on his perfection. After that, I began to think deeply about the meanings of the Ḳurʾān until I gained an incalculable extent of knowledge, of which I cannot describe even a little, though I spend all my life" (Muḥammad Taḳī Madjlisī, *Lawāmiʿ-i ṣāḥibḳirānī al-mushtahar bi-sharḥ al-faḳīh*, new ed. Tehran n.d., i, 100.) Mīr Lawḥī argues that in the Shīʿī belief, ordinary human beings can earn limited knowledge only through the teachings of other human beings. Madjlisī-yi Awwal's claim of having learnt "an incalculable extent of knowledge" through supernatural means, which is simply a piece of boasting (*lāf gazāf*) which he learnt from the well-known Ṣūfī Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), certainly contradicts Shīʿī belief and even places him higher than the first Shīʿī *Imām*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Kifāyat*, 115-7.)

Mīr Lawḥī says that Madjlisī-yi Awwal's connections with Ṣūfism are indisputable, and adds that, as a Ṣūfī, he held the Ṣūfī types of gatherings in which songs were sung by singers such as Shāh Mīrzā Zarkash, that he used to ascribe great miracles to the Ṣūfīs, such as al-Ḥallādj and Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874), from the pulpit, and that he in turn enjoyed the support of the followers of those Ṣūfīs and of the common people. Mīr Lawḥī even held a public debate with Madjlisī-yi Awwal in the latter's mosque; the proceedings of the debate have been reportedly recorded in a book (*Kifāyat*, 111-20.) On the basis of his eye-witness information, Mīr Lawḥī comes to the conclusion that Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī's attempt to deny his father's ties with Ṣūfism is useless and wrong (on Madjlisī's defence of his father, see Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjafī Yazdī, *Sharḥ-i kitāb-i iʿtiḳādāt-i Islām bi ḳalam-i ʿAllāma Madjlisī*, Tehran 1975, 393-4, and MADJLISĪ-YI AWWAL, MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ.)

Some authors have reported that Mīr Lawḥī, out of hostility to Madjlisī, demolished the grave of the well-known religious authority Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), who is reportedly claimed by Madjlisī to have been his Shīʿī ancestor (Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Mūsawī al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādat*, Tehran 1947, 75; anon., *Nāma-yi dānishwarān dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i shishṣad tan az dānishmandān-i nāmī*, vii, Ḳum n.d., 6). This allegation is hard to believe, because it is quite improbable that Mīr Lawḥī could have taken such an action in Iṣfahān, either before the Afghān invasion in 1135/1722, when the Madjlisī family was enjoying great popularity, power and influence, or afterwards, since we would have to attribute to Mīr Lawḥī an age of over 120 years. Besides, he himself makes reference to some of Abū Nuʿaym's writings with relative respect (*Kifāyat*, 90-1.) It may be worth noting that authors such as Ibn Khallikān, despite Madjlisī's claim, make no mention of Abū Nuʿaym's Shīʿī religious convictions (*Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968-72, i, 91-2.) More details on the question can be found in *Nāma-yi dānishwarān*, vii, 1-21.

At present, we have no detailed knowledge of Mīr Lawḥī's family and descendants. We know, however, that he had a son, Sayyid Muḥammad Hādī b. al-Lawḥī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusaynī, who has left some writings in Persian under the titles of *Uṣūl al-ʿaḳāʾid* and *Arbaʿīn* (*al-Dharīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1936, 431), and that he was the ancestor of the Sayyids of Durča such as the recently-deceased *mudjtahids*, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Durčaʾi (d. 1342/1923) and his brother Sayyid Mahdī Durčaʾi (d. 1364/1944) (ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān yā tadhkirat al-ḳubūr*, 1949, 67-8, 122.)

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see *Bibl.* to MADJLISĪ, MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

MĪR-I MĪRĀN (P.) "supreme commander", a military and political term used in 18th century Ottoman Turkish administrative practice as being virtually synonymous with *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*] "provincial governor", and then increasingly used to denote the honorary rank of *beglerbegi*, although this last title was considered as somewhat superior to that of *mīr-i mīrān*. Holders of the rank of *mīr-i mīrān* enjoyed the designation of Pasha, and were entitled to be addressed as

Saʿādetlü Efendim Ḥaḍretleri. In the 19th century, it also became a civil service rank. Before the administrative reforms of 1259/1843, civil officials held military ranks, such as *ferīḳ* "divisional commander" and *mīr-i liwā* "brigadier". The award of military ranks for them now ceased, and the equivalent ranks of *mīr-i mīrān* and *emīr ül-umerā*ʾ were given to them.

Bibliography: M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, ii, Istanbul 1953, on whose material this article is based.

(F.A.K. YASAMEE)

MĪR MUḤAMMAD MAʿṢŪM, known as NĀMĪ, historian of Sind in the Mug̲h̲al period. He was the son of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* from the island in the Indus river in Sind of Bhakkar [see BAKKAR], born in the middle years of the 10th/16th century. After a stay in Gud̲j̲arāt, he entered the service of the Mug̲h̲al emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] in 1003-4/1595-6 and received a *manṣab* [*q.v.*] or land-grant of 250, being employed on a diplomatic mission to the court of the Ṣafavid S̲h̲ah ʿAbbās I of Persia. He returned to Bhakkar in 1015/1606-7 and died there soon afterwards.

His Persian *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sind*, often referred to as the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Maʿṣūmī*, deals with the Islamic history of his home province, and was edited by U.M. Daudpota, Poona 1938; see on it Storey, 651-3, 1324.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Extracts from the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Sind* were tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, i, 215-52. (ED.)

MĪR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ (1125-1223/1713-1810), leading Urdu g̲h̲azal poet.

He was born in Akbarābād (Āgra), the son of a Ṣūfī *darwīsh* who impressed on him the importance of divine love and the unreliability of this world, ideas which he was later to stress in his poetry. Biographical details are difficult to date, but he must have been about 15 years old when, following his father's early death, he went to Dihlī to seek a livelihood. There he found a patron who, however, soon died, and he returned to Akbarābād. Little is known of his activities there, but it appears that he caused a family scandal by an affair with the wife of a relative. He returned to Dihlī *ca.* 1152/1739, and stayed with an uncle of his stepbrother, the well-known Urdu poet Khān Ārzū. He studied Arabic and Persian and the poetic art, and commenced a career as an Urdu poet. Despite the usettled situation in Dihlī and the poet's own pride and independence, he was supported by various patrons, and became well-known as both a poet and an eccentric. There was, however, some instability in his make-up; indeed, he had a severe mental breakdown, which was exacerbated, and perhaps partially caused, by his step-brother's intrigues against him with Ārzū, and the latter's insensitivity. But as Ṣiddīḳī points out (*op. cit.*. in *Bibl.*, 141), one of Mīr's uncles had died young of brain disease. The poet recovered, but the effect of this illness can be seen in his autobiography (*D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr*), and in one of his *mat̲h̲nawīs*, *K̲h̲ʷāb k̲h̲ayāl-i-Mīr* (*Kulliyyāt*, 974 ff.). Ultimately, however, instability in Dihlī due to Afg̲h̲ān and Marāthā incursions led Mīr to quit the city, like other poets before and after him. This was in 1190/1776 or thereabouts, when he was welcomed by the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla and given a pension. Nevertheless, he was not happy there; perhaps his nature was such that he could never be happy anywhere for long. His pre-eminence in *g̲h̲azal* was recognised; but he was not influenced by the Lucknow style, nor is he generally believed to have influenced the Lucknow School, at any rate during his life-time. His leanings towards simplicity accorded ill with the Lucknow love of embellishment. He lived a further 30 or so years, but his last years were gloomy even by his own sorrowful standards, and he looked forward to death with equanimity.

Mīr's literary output is considerable. The core of his Urdu poetry, roughly two-thirds of it, consists of *g̲h̲azals* collected in six *dīwāns*, and these constitute his main contribution to Urdu poetry. Next in importance come his twelve erotic *mat̲h̲nawīs*. Many other *mat̲h̲nawīs* are devoted to satire and eulogy, and there are a few *ḳaṣīdas* [see MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu]. To these should be added over 30 *mart̲h̲iyas*, some stanza poetry and other miscellaneous verse. In Persian, his *dīwān* has attracted little interest. But his *tad̲h̲kira* of Urdu poets, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarā*ʾ (1165/1752) is a pioneer work. Again in Persian, his autobiography *D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr* (1169/1756) is important, not only as an account of his life before leaving Dihlī and a key to his personality, but also for the light it sheds on Dihlī life in those years.

Since his Dihlī years, Mīr has been widely acclaimed as a great—possibly the greatest—Urdu *g̲h̲azal* poet. As Brēlwī puts it (*Kulliyyāt*, Introd., 48), "he made *g̲h̲azal* what it is" (lit. "he made *g̲h̲azal g̲h̲azal*"). Even the poetry he wrote in other forms is largely *g̲h̲azal* in spirit. At the same time, excessive praise, due perhaps to oriental exaggeration, has not always been helpful. Even a reliable critic like Ṣiddīḳī (*op. cit.*, 140) begins a short account of him: "Mīr Taḳī Mīr is not merely the Emperor, but the God of poetry." Elsewhere, Brēlwī aptly describes an important facet of the *g̲h̲azals* when he says that "the secret of Mīr's renown and popularity is that he turned poetry into pain and pain into poetry." The pessimism in his *g̲h̲azals* might perhaps become boring, but for the fact that he invests it with a sort of universality, so that the reader or listener can identify himself with it. Mīr expects nothing of this life, which is deception and dream, with death just around the corner. Naturally, love and beauty are the main themes of the *g̲h̲azals*. The love is largely earthly, though there are Ṣūfī overtones; but to him love is not merely pleasure, but also a trial (*āzmāʾis̲h̲*) and an affliction (*balā*), since it ends in disappointment. Yet throughout his poetry are remarks clearly referring to the Ṣūfī concept of love, e.g.

How shall I say in truth what is love!
To the righteous people (*haḳḳ-s̲h̲inās*)
God is love.

At times his statement about love reminds one of Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Much has been written about Mīr's language and style, and the word *sādagī* ("simplicity") recurs. And indeed, there are many verses which are almost conversational in language. To him, meaning was all-important. His simplicity is most effective in short metres. Sadiq, a less than enthusiastic critic, describes his style (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 99) as "bare even to nakedness". But though Mīr avoids gaudy description, his diction is rich, with many Persian words. His similes and metaphors are telling, but, like other *ṣanāʿī-badāʿī*, they are employed as means rather than ends. The final section of his *tad̲h̲kira* should be read to appreciate his attitude to the use of foreign (i.e. Persian) vocabulary and idioms. He objected to them only where the grammar was foreign and not *rēk̲h̲ta* (= Urdu). Another feature of his *g̲h̲azals* is their musical effect. L.C. Randhir (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 177-212) has written about music and *g̲h̲azal*; but the music in Mīr's poetry does not need singing or instrumental accompaniment—it is achieved by felicitous choice of metre and language. The harmonious use of consonants and vowels, *tad̲j̲nīs* and word repetition are

among the elements involved. But it must not be forgotten that Mīr writes about life from personal experience. As Brēlwī puts it (*op. cit.*, 250), his poetry is a perfect amalgam of life and art. As for his short erotic *mat̲h̲nawīs*, whilst not without narrative, they are far removed from the more familiar long heroic *mat̲h̲nawī* typified by *Siḥr al-bayān* [see ḤASAN, MĪR G̲H̲ULĀM]. But they are historically important.

High praise of Mīr as a poet has led to a reaction, more especially since Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (*Āb-i-ḥayāt*, 203-31). In his lifetime, critics praised his 72 outstanding verses ("lancets"): but some more recent critics have maintained that "his high is very high, but his low is very low." Writing in 1964, Sadiq (*op. cit.*, 90) complains that there is nothing tragic or heroic about him, and that he is often "morbid, unhealthy and pathological". Even so, in 1973 Ahmed Ali (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 53) could describe him as a great Romantic who reached heights not attained by Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats. However, in 1982, Randhir (*op. cit.*, 60), after describing him as "a poet with a tearful eye...always gloomy... a realist" concludes that "some of his critics have been too generous in praise."

Mīr's Persian *tad̲h̲kira* of Urdu poets, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, has been described as no less important than his *g̲h̲azal*s (ʿAbd Allāh, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ-yi-Urdū*, 14). The *tad̲h̲kira* form [*q.v.*] may be described as a collection of specimen verses of a number of poets, with very brief biographical information and critical remarks. There was no standard arrangement: poets might be listed alphabetically, chronologically, by "schools", with or without dates. Mīr's *tad̲h̲kira* is the oldest extant for Urdu poets, and one of the earliest. It has been strongly attacked for its hostile assessment of poets, especially by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*] in his *Āb-i-ḥayāt*, which is itself essentially a large-scale *tad̲h̲kira*, written, however, in Urdu, whereas originally they were in Persian. Whilst Āzād's criticisms have some substance, they are exaggerated. He also makes a number of statements which are factually erroneous, unless he has had access to some unknown variant manuscript. A more important blemish is Mīr's extraordinary arrangement, which is a mixture of the chronological and alphabetical.

Bibliography: The most recent of several editions of Mīr's collected poetry is *Kulliyyāt-i-Mīr*, ed. ʿIbādat Brēlwī, Karachi-Lahore 1958, with a 100-page introduction. Some, however, prefer the edn. of ʿAbd al-Bārī Āsī, Lucknow 1941, which though less complete, is said to be more accurate. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *Naḳd-i-Mīr*, Lahore 1964, is a full study of the poet in 14 essays. Brēlwī's *S̲h̲āʿirī awr s̲h̲āʿirī kī tanḳīd*, Karachi 1965, contains three essays on respectively the poet's *g̲h̲azal* (179-212), his thought (213-36) and his art (237-50). The longest and best account of the poet in English is in R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, London 1969, 95-277. Farmān Fatаḥpūrī's *Daryāʾi-ʿis̲h̲ḳ awr baḥr al-maḥabbat kā taḳābulī mutālaʿa*, Lahore 1972, compares a *mat̲h̲nawī* by Mīr with a similar one by Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] with the full text of each. The following are more general works with useful sections on Mīr: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 70-80; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London etc., 1964, 94-101, generally hostile in tone; Ahmed Ali, *The golden tradition*, New York-London 1973, is a general account of Urdu poetry, with many poems in English translation (23-54, 134-76). L.C. Randhir, *Ghazal - the beauty eternal*, Delhi 1982, is also useful, though little is said about Mīr (60-3, 146). All poetical extracts are given in the Devanagari script, Roman Urdū, and English translation. See further Abu 'l-Layt̲h̲ Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhnāʾū kā dabistān-i-s̲h̲āʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 140-9. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*,[9] Lahore 19917, 203-31 (N.B. the various editions, or more correctly reprints, seem to be identical in pagination); Ḳāsim (Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīr Ḳudrat Allāh Ḳāsim) *Mad̲j̲mūʿa-yi-nag̲h̲z*, Lahore 1933, 229-54. Mīr's autobiography was published as *D̲h̲ikr-i-Mīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Awrangābād 1928. His *tad̲h̲kira*, *Nikāt al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān K̲h̲ān S̲h̲irwānī, has been published with no date or place of publication. Finally, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh, *S̲h̲uʿarāʾ-yi-Urdū kē tad̲h̲kirē awr tad̲h̲kira-nigārī kā fann*, Lahore 1952, is a general account of the *tad̲h̲kira* form, with references to Mīr at 14-35, 74-5.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MĪR MUḤANNĀ [see ḲURṢĀN. iii. In the Persian Gulf].

MĪRĀB [see MĀʾ, Iran].

MIRACLE [see KARĀMA, MUʿD̲J̲IZA].

MIʿRĀD̲J̲ (A.), originally designates "a ladder", and then "an ascent", and in particular, the Prophet's ascension to Heaven.

1. In Islamic exegesis and in the popular and mystical tradition of the Arab world.

The Ḳurʾān (LXXXI, 19-25, LIII, 1-21) describes a vision in which a divine messenger appears to Muḥammad, and LIII, 12-18, treats of a second mission of a similar kind. In both cases, the Prophet sees a heavenly figure approach him from the distance, but there is no suggestion that he himself was carried away to Heaven. However, it is otherwise with the experience alluded to in XVII, 1, "Glory be to Him who transported His servant by night (*asrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan*) from the Masd̲j̲id al-Ḥarām to the Masd̲j̲id al-Aḳṣā which We have surrounded with blessing, in order to show him one of our signs." For this verse, tradition gives three interpretations:

(1) The oldest one, which disappears from the more recent commentaries, detects an allusion to Muḥammad's Ascension to Heaven. This is the more interesting, as these traditions (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Cairo 1278, ii, 185, *Bāb kāna 'l-nabiyyu tanāmu ʿaynuhu wa-lā yanāmu ḳalbuhu*, no. 2; Muslim, Būlāḳ, 1290, i, 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*¹, xv, 3, cf. B. Schrieke, *Die Himmelreise Muhammad's*, in *Isl.*, vi [1915-16], 12, 14) retain also the original signification of the story of Ascension (A.A. Bevan, *Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven*, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. für die Alttestam. Wissensch.*, xxvii = *Studien ... Julius Wellhausen ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1914, 56; Schrieke, *op. cit.*). This explanation interprets the expression *al-masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā*, "the further place of worship" in the sense of "Heaven" and, in fact, in the older tradition *isrāʾ* is often used as synonymous with *miʿrād̲j̲* (see *Isl.*, vi, 14). One would thus have, in this verse, witness to the nocturnal ascension of the Prophet to the heavenly spheres (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13 ff.; J. Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, in *Isl.*, ix [1919], 161 ff.), but a witness limited merely to an allusion to the adventure, without saying anything about the manner in which it developed.

(2) The second explanation, the only one given in all the more modern commentaries, interprets *al-masd̲j̲id al-aḳṣā* as "Jerusalem" and this for no very apparent reason. It seems to have been an Umayyad device intended to further the glorification of Jerusalem as against that of the holy territory (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 55-6; *Isl.*, vi, 13 ff.), then ruled by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Al-Ṭabarī seems to

reject it. He does not mention it in his *History* and seems rather to adopt the first explanation (see *Isl.*, vi, 2, 5, 6, 12, 14; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1157 ff., a passage which appears to represent the historian's final verdict formed on full consideration of the evidence before him, cf. Bevan, *op. cit.*, 57).

Explanations 1 and 2 concur in interpreting *ʿabd* in XVII, 1, by Muḥammad, and this seems to be right (*Isl.*, vi, 13, n. 6). The *id̲j̲māʿ* admitted both interpretations and, when the Umayyad version had arisen, harmonised the two by assigning to *isrāʾ* the special sense of night journey to Jerusalem. The Ascension, having lost its original meaning, was altered in date, being made to fall at a later period, as appears, in fact, to have been done previously by Ibn Isḥāḳ in the oldest extant biography of Muḥammad (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 54).

The story of the night journey to Jerusalem runs as follows:

One night, as Muḥammad was sleeping in the neighbourhood of the Kaʿba at Mecca (or in the house of Umm Hāniʾ, *Isl.*, vi, 11) he was awakened by the angel Gabriel who conducted him to a winged animal called Burāḳ [*q.v.*], and with Muḥammad mounted on this animal they journeyed together to Jerusalem. On the way thither they encounter several good and several wicked powers (*Mis̲h̲kāt al-maṣābīḥ*, Dihlī 1268, 521-2; al-Bag̲h̲awī, *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna*, Cairo 1294, ii, 179, with a harmonising interpolation) and visit Hebron and Bethlehem (al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, Cairo 1312, i, 77-8; al-Nuwayri, ms. Warner 2a, p. 93, ll. 7-10). At Jerusalem, they meet Abraham, Moses and Jesus, of whom a description is given (e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Cairo 1278, ii, 147). The *ṣalāt* is performed, Muḥammad acting as *imām* and thereby taking precedence of all the other prophets there assembled. This meeting with the prophets at Jerusalem resembles and may well have been modelled on the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor (Matt. xviii, 1; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 28), cf. *Isl.*, vi, 15, and Goldziher, in *RHR*, xxxi, 308.

(3) The third interpretation of XVII, 1, is based on XVII, 62, where *ruʾyā* "vision" is explained as *isrāʾ*. This implies that the night journey was not a real journey but a vision. Standing at the *ḥid̲j̲r*, Muḥammad saw Jerusalem and described it to the unbelieving Ḳurays̲h̲ites (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, ii, 221, iii, 102; Muslim, i, 62; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 5, l. 14 ff., etc.). The story is woven into a connected whole as follows: Muḥammad journeys by night to Jerusalem, returns and at Mecca describes his adventures; the Ḳurays̲h̲ disbelieve him and Muslims apostasise; Muḥammad seeks to defend the truth of his story, but he has forgotten the particulars; whereupon God causes him actually to behold Jerusalem (see *Isl.*, vi, 15-16).

In the more modern and longer narratives, the story is further amplified (see e.g. A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 86). The Prophet is said to have held 70,000 conversations with God, although the whole journey proceeded so quickly that, when he returned, his bed was still warm and the water cup which he had overthrown with his foot at his hurried departure, was not yet empty. By Muslim theologians the question has been discussed, whether the *isrāʾ* happened while Muḥammad was asleep or awake and whether it was his spirit or his body which journeyed. The orthodox opinion is that the journey was performed by Muḥammad with his body and awake. Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary (xv, 13) very decidedly supports this meaning for the following reasons: (1) If the Prophet had not been carried away in a corporeal sense, the event would afford no proof of his divine mission and those who disbelieved the story could not be accused of infidelity. (2) It is stated in the Ḳurʾān that God caused His servant to journey, not that He caused His servant's spirit to journey. (3) If the Prophet had been carried away in spirit only, the services of Burāḳ would not have been required, since animals are used for carrying bodies not for carrying spirits (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 60; Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13; al-Ṭabarī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Bag̲h̲awī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* XVII, 1). Mystics and philosophers often favour an allegorical interpretation (Goldziher, *Geschichte der Philosphie im Mittelalter*, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i/5, 319).

The question of the possibility of an ascent to Heaven is several times touched on in the Ḳurʾān. In XL, 38, Firʿawn gives Hāmān orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of Heaven and climb up to the god of Mūsā (cf. also XXVIII, 3). In LIII, 38, the calumniators are asked whether they had perchance a ladder (*sullam*) so that they could hear the heavenly voice, and in VI, 35, the consequences are considered which the signs brought by the Prophet with the help of a ladder to Heaven might have on his hearers. The old poets also talk of ascending to Heaven by a ladder, as a means of escaping something one wants to avoid (Zuhayr, *Muʿallaḳa*, 54; al-Aʿs̲h̲ā, no. XV, 32).

Ḥadīt̲h̲ gives further details of the Prophet's ascension. Here the ascension is usually associated with the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, so that the ascent to Heaven takes place from this sanctuary. We also have accounts preserved which make the ascension start from Mecca and make no mention of the journey to Jerusalem. In one of these, the ascension takes place immediately after the "purification of the heart" (see al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 1; *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, *bāb* 76; *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 42; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 207, v, 143; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1157-8). In the last-mentioned passage we read: "When the Prophet had received his revelation and was sleeping at the Kaʿba, as the Ḳurays̲h̲ used to do, the angels Gabriel and Michael came to him and said: With regard to whom have we received the order? Whereupon they themselves answered: With regard to their lord. Thereupon they went away, but came back the next night, three of them. When they found him sleeping, they laid him on his back, opened his body, brought water from the Zamzam well and washed away all that they found within his body of doubt, idolatry, paganism and error. They then brought a golden vessel which was filled with wisdom and belief. Thereupon he was taken up to the lowest heaven." The other versions of the same story show many additions and variants; according to one, for example, Gabriel came to Muḥammad through the roof of his house which opened to receive him; according to another, it was Gabriel alone who appeared to him and there are many similar variants. All these versions, however, put Muḥammad's ascension at an early period and make it a kind of dedication of him as a Prophet, for which the purification of the heart had paved the way. Ethnographical parallels (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 2-4) show other instances of a purification being preliminary to an ascension. Similar stories are found in pagan Arabia (Horowitz, in *Isl.*, ix, 171 ff.) and also in Christian legends (*op. cit.*, 170 ff.). Another story (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 143) says that the ascension took place from Mecca although it does not associate it with "the purification of the heart" which it puts back to the childhood of the Prophet [see ḤALĪMA].

How did it come about, however, that this, obviously the earlier, tradition of Mecca as the starting point of the ascension, was ousted by the other

which made it take place from Jerusalem? The localisation of the Ḳurʾānic al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā in Jerusalem is by some connected with the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik to raise Jerusalem to a place of special esteem in the eyes of believers (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 13; Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 165 ff.; idem, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, in *IC*, ii [1928], 35 ff.), and in any case it cannot be proved that this identification is older than the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. It might all the easier obtain currency as Jerusalem to the Christians was the starting point of Christ's ascension, and from the 4th century Jesus's footprint had been shown to pilgrims in the Basilica of the Ascension; and now, perhaps as early as the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, that of their Prophet was shown to Muslim pilgrims (Horovitz, *Muhammeds Himmelfahrt*, 167-8). The idea of the "heavenly Jerusalem" may have had some influence on the development of the *isrāʾ* legends; when Muḥammad meets Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā in Jerusalem, the presence of these prophets in the earthly Jerusalem is not at once intelligible, but it loses any remarkable features if Bayt al-Maḳdis (Ibn Hishām, 267) from the first meant the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 168, another explanation, see above). Perhaps also the phrase *alladhī bāraknā ḥawlahu* was taken to support the reference to Jerusalem; when these words occur elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān they refer to sites in the holy land (H. Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale*, in *MFOB*, xi [1926], 72). While the stories quoted above only say that Gabriel took the Prophet up to the heights of Heaven, but are silent as to how, others add that a ladder (*miʿrādj*) was used for the ascent (see Ibn Hishām, 268; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 10; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 143); this ladder was of splendid appearance; it is the one to which the dying turn their eyes and with the help of which the souls of men ascend to Heaven. The ladder is probably identical with Jacob's ladder in Genesis, xxviii, 12; the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees, xxvii, 21, calls this *maʿāreg*, and sūra LXX, 3,4, calls God *Dhu 'l-Maʿāridj* "to whom the angels and the spirit ascend" (*taʿrudj*). According to XXXII, 4, the *amr* rises to God; according to LVII, 4, and XXXIV, 2, God knows "what descends from Heaven and what ascends to it", and in XLIII, 32, there is a reference to steps (*maʿāridj*) in the houses of men. The term was already known, and is presumably taken from Ethiopic (Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 174 ff.). Among the Mandaeans, also, the ladder (*sumbilta*) is the means of ascending to Heaven (*Ginza*, tr. M. Lidzbarski, 49, 208, 490), and there are parallels to the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras (see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Mohammeds*, 45; Wetter, *Phos*, 114, n. 2); the Manichaean *ʿamūd al-sabḥ* (*Fihrist*, 335, 10), by means of which the dead man is taken to the sphere of the moon is a more distant parallel (Bevan, *op. cit.*, 59).

Just as the *miʿrādj* is associated with the ascension, so al-Burāḳ is originally connected with the night journey to Jerusalem; it found its way, however, at an early date into the legend of the ascension (see al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib*, *bāb* 42; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 207; v, 387; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 12).

At the gate of each of the seven heavens through which he wanders with the Prophet, Gabriel is asked for his own name and that of his companion (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 4; idem, *Annales*, i, 1157). After he gives these, he is next asked if Muḥammad has already been sent as a prophet (*a-wa-ḳad buʿitha ilayhi*, correction for the original *a-wa-ḳad buʿitha* found in al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1158; see Snouck Hurgronje, in *Isl.*, vi, 5, n. 4); this also indicates that the ascension originally belonged to the period immediately after his call (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, 6). In each heaven they meet one of the earlier messengers of God, usually Adam in the first, Yaḥyā and ʿĪsā in the second, Yūsuf in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Hārūn in the fifth, Mūsā in the sixth and Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven; there are also variations and Adam appears as judge over the spirits of the dead (Andrae, 44-5; Schrieke, 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 143; cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, 37). Of the other messengers of God we are only told—in addition to being given a description of their personal appearance—that they greeted Muḥammad; Mūsā is an exception, who expressly says that Muḥammad is higher in the esteem of God than himself and that the number of his followers surpasses his own (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 11). On another occasion, Muḥammad engages in a conversation with Mūsā after God had imposed upon him 50 *ṣalāts* a day as obligatory prayers for the faithful. On Mūsā's advice, Muḥammad asks several times for an alleviation, and each time God grants it; but when Mūsā says 5 *ṣalāts* are still too many, the Prophet refuses to ask for less (on *Genesis*, xviii, 23 ff., as the prototype of this episode; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 36; Schrieke, 19; Andrae, 82). According to some versions, Mūsā dwells in the seventh heaven and the conversation seems to be more natural there. To the ascension belong the visits to Paradise and to Hell. Paradise, according to others in the first; in some it is not mentioned at all. The statements about its rivers are contradictory (Schrieke, 19; cf. KAWTHAR), the *sidrat al-muntahā* is usually placed in the seventh heaven (Bevan, 59; Schrieke, 18). In one description, Hell is put below the first heaven (Ibn Hishām, 269; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iv, 10). According to another, the place of punishment of the damned is on the way between Heaven and earth, and Muḥammad sees it on his journey to the Bayt al-Maḳdis (al-Ṭabarī, xv, 101, also Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 257; ii, 353; iii, 120, 182, 224, 231, 239). On the punishment in Hell, cf. Schrieke, 17; Andrae, 44; Horovitz, 173; Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch der Grösse*, 81 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Johannisbuch*, 98 ff.; *Ginza*, 183.

That Muḥammad appeared before God's throne in the seventh heaven and that the conversation about the obligatory prayers took place there, is already recorded in the oldest stories (see above), but only rarely do they extend the conversation between God and the Prophet to other subjects (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvii, 26; *Musnad*, iv, 66, as a dream; Andrae, 70). But objection was raised to the assertion that Muḥammad on this occasion saw God face-to-face (Andrae, 71 ff.), and the question was also raised at an early date whether the ascension was a dream or a reality, whether only the soul of the Prophet was carried up or also his body (L. Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 320; Andrae, 72; Bevan, 60; Schrieke, 13, n. 1).

The *ḥadīth* contains, besides these, other details which Asín (*Escatologia*, Madrid 1919, 7-52; idem, *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid 1927, 25-71) discussed. In developing the story of the Prophet's ascension, Muslim writers have used models afforded them by the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. A few features may also come from the Zoroastrians from the *Arda Viraf*; cf. the works already mentioned by Andrae, Bevan, Schrieke, Horovitz and W. Bousset, in *ARW*, iv, 136-69.

Later accounts (see section 2 below).

The ascension of the Prophet later served as a model for the description of the journey of the soul of the deceased to the throne of the divine judge (Asín, *Escatologia*, 59-60); for the Ṣūfīs, however, it is a sym-

bol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge. Ibn al-ʿArabī thus expounds it in his work *Kitāb al-Isrāʾ ilā maḳām al-asrā* (Asín, 61 ff.; Andrae, 81-2), and in his *Futūḥāt*, ii, 356-75, he makes a believer and a philosopher make the journey together but the philosopher only reaches the seventh heaven, while no secret remains hidden from the pious Muslim (Asín, 63 ff.). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* is a parody on the traditional accounts of the *miʿrādj* (Asín, 71 ff.). Asín in his two books quoted has dealt with the knowledge of Muslim legends of the ascension posssessed by the Christian Middle Ages and their influence on Dante. In a separate work (*La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1924), he has collected and discussed the literature produced by his *Escatologia* down to 1923; on later works, see M. Rodinson, *Dante et l'Islam...*, in *RHR*, lxxxix (1951), 203-35.

According to Ibn Saʿd, id1, 147, the *isrāʾ* took place on 17 Rabīʿ I, the ascension on 17 Ramaḍān. For centuries, however, the night before 27 Radjab—a date also significant in the history of Mecca (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 71)—has been regarded by the pious as the *Laylat al-Miʿrādj*, and the eve is, like the *Mawlid al-Nabī*, devoted to reading the legend of the feast (see al-ʿAbdarī, *Madkhal*, i, 143 ff.; G.A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e Islam*², 165; E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs*, London 1896, 474-6; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 219; Asín, *Escatologia*, 97).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also R. Hartmann, in *Bibliothek-Warburg, Vorträge 1928-1929*, Leipzig 1930, 42-65; Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, *Muhammad the Holy Prophet*, Lahore 1967, ch. viii; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 219-21; eadem, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985, 159-75. (B. Schrieke-[J. Horovitz])

2. In Arabic literature.

In writing as well as in speech, the miraculous apocalyptic phenomenon has undergone a development which it is not always convenient to confine within the limits of theological analysis. The literature of the *miʿrādj* must be understood as meaning all the accounts by known or unknown authors devoted to Muḥammad's ascension.

Unlike the idea of the *isrāʾ*, recorded as being in a horizontal plane, the idea of the exaltation of a non-angelic being is not attested in the Ḳurʾān. Thus it was at a later date that the miracle came to be recounted. We are not in a position to establish the chronology of this process. Study of the portrayals of the nocturnal journey remains to be done. Analysis of *ḥadīths*, disentangled from theological refutation, could provide an interesting contribution to the study of the imaginary in Islam.

Some accounts of the *miʿrādj* are by known authors, but the most widely circulated, attributed to the *Imām* Ibn ʿAbbās, cousin of the Prophet, has often been regarded as apocryphal. It remains nevertheless a decisive text. Ibn ʿAbbās, at once a historical and a mythical personality, has indeed become "the interpreter of the community, the prototype of its expounder, since he is assigned to the origins of the group, at the moment of its foundation" (Cl. Gilliot, *Portrait "mythique" d'Ibn ʿAbbās*, in *Arabica*, xxxii [1985], 127-84).

This account must be viewed as "a text which combines an openness to the depictions of the imagination with a respect for the basic provisions of the Law" (J.E. Bencheikh, *Le voyage nocturne de Mahomet*, Paris 1988).

The other authors are scholars who took over the literature of the *Miʿrādj*, probably so as not to allow it to develop embarrassing efflorescences. The following list enables us to verify this:

— al-Ḳushayrī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm, d. 465/1073 [*q.v.*], whose *Kitāb al-Miʿrādj* was published in 1964. He was actually an Ashʿarī Shāfiʿī theologian and author of the famous *Risāla*.

— al-Bakrī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], a highly controversial personality who appears to have lived in the last half of the 7th/13th century. It was allegedly forbidden to read his *Life of the Prophet*. The manuscript of his *Kitāb Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* offers a version very close to that of Ibn ʿAbbās.

— al-Ghayṭī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, d. 984/1576, Shāfiʿī traditionist, author of *al-Ibtihādj bi 'l-kalām ʿalā 'l-isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, printed in 1970.

— al-Barzandjī, Shāfiʿī *muftī* of Medina and preacher, author of a *Ḳiṣṣat al-Miʿrādj*. His grandson, Djaʿfar b. Ismāʿīl, d. 1317/1899), jurisconsult and specialist in the *Sīra* of the Prophet, was also Shāfiʿī *muftī* in Medina; he is the author of *Tādj al-Ibtihādj ʿalā 'l-nūr al-wahhādj fi 'l-isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, printed in Cairo in 1314 with the *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* of his grandfather in the margin. Al-Barzandjī's version differs perceptibly from that of Ibn ʿAbbās both in its very mannered language and in the structure of the account. We are dealing here with a very dry, spare version, which is clearly that of a scholar anxious to contain imagination within acceptable bounds.

— We cannot supply dates for Muḥammad Ẓalām al-Bābilī al-Ḥalabī, author of *al-Sirādj al-wahhādj fī laylat al-isrāʾ wa-ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj*, printed at an unspecified date in Aleppo, which its author holds to be better than any version that had ever been made before. He states that, out of a concern to lighten the text, he omitted every *isnād*. He adds nevertheless that he composed it by relying on "works held in esteem and famous versions of the *miʿrādj*". According to all the evidence, it is in fact a late version which retains the essentials of Ibn ʿAbbās, enriching them with details. Furthermore, we can easily understand why the author neglects to supply his references: he is handling narratives which are, in a sense, public property. He expresses the imaginary vision of the group and stretches its credibility.

The literature of the *miʿrādj* develops into an amalgamation of three miraculous accounts concerning the Prophet:

(a) That of his purification by the angels, who open his chest and cleanse his heart of all sin. It was at a late date that this act was sometimes regarded as a kind of preparation for the ascension. The idealisation of his personality was carried to its limit. Only al-Barzandjī's version mentions the opening of his chest. The other authors confine themselves to an ablution.

(b) That of the nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem on al-Burāḳ [*q.v.*]. This account was subjected to a process of amplification before being attached to the *miʿrādj*, although different dates were cited for the two events. In some accounts, Muḥammad actually meets on his journey some of those being punished in Hell (cf. al-Ṭabarī's commentary on sūra XVII).

(c) Finally, that of the ascension properly so-called which includes the visit to the seven heavens, with a glimpse of Hell, the arrival at the Throne, the dialogue with God, the visit to Paradise and the return to Mecca.

A narrative organisation was progressively established according to four essential sequences: an initial miraculous union, an initiatory raising to Heaven, a

glorifying appearance before God and a return to mankind. Elucidating the series of sequences could be of help in the search for an underlying plan providing the background for the imagination of the text. It happens that some works of a varied nature depict the same subjects as the *miʿrādj* account; those depictions are concerned with the constitution of the heavens and the fringes of Hell, description of the Throne, the dwellings in Paradise and angelology.

These are to be found in three categories of works: (a) The *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] or legends of the prophets, the first of which are devoted to the origin of the universe.

(b) General histories, whose first chapters contain numerous elements of cosmology and cosmogony. A comparative study of the use that is made of certain themes by historians and *miʿrādj* accounts would be very significant.

(c) The resurrection literature, which brings together the texts devoted to the *ḳiyāma* [*q.v.*]. This literature of "news purveying" consists of edifying opuscula which make no precise reference to canonical texts and provide an account of what happens to the believer from the time of his death until his appearance before God. We find here descriptions of the angels, Paradise and Hell. Some descriptive and narrative elements, independent of one another in their origin, are joined together. The Prophet himself is included in this universal destiny and, awakened from the rest of death, "he mounts al-Burāḳ a second time to head for the Rock at Jerusalem and finally appear before the Lord" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*).

The accounts of the *miʿrādj* and *ḳiyāma* are clearly related. The same working of the imagination, the same process for setting the portrayals, led to the production of the two texts.

One should mention here besides that the frontiers of writing have not prevented the migration of legends. The *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] devotes a long section to angelology; the story of Ḥāsib Karīm al-Dīn in the *Thousand and one nights* contains the cosmogonic account of Buluḳiyya possibly borrowed from al-Thaʿlabī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. We are dealing here with what we should call preconstituted bodies of writings regarding Heaven, Hell, Paradise, the Throne and angels. Each of these bodies of writings has been given an independent setting following a long process of elaboration during which all kinds of pre-Islamic and Islamic themes have been gathered together. Only detailed analysis of this process will allow us to establish a reliable chronology for this literature.

One should note in addition that we cannot totally isolate the *miʿrādj* accounts from the great visionary texts of Ibn ʿArabī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Suhrawardī [*q.vv.*]. The remarkable *Kitāb al-Tawahhum*, if it is the work of a mystic, al-Muḥāsibī, preserves just as many of these themes as are connected with the literature with which we are concerned (French tr. Roman, Paris 1978).

But one must realise that the imaginary aspect of the *miʿrādj* is also nourished by the pronouncements of speech. The *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*] or preacher is to be found at the heart of religious observance. "With him we leave learned discourse and mystical meditation to follow the dialogue between a desire and a function: the desire of the believer who needs to believe, the function of the one who gives him something to believe and undertakes to supply him with imaginative depictions in order to do this" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*, Introd.).

The oral legend of the *miʿrādj* has not been collected. The narrative structure laid down in the texts considered to be canonical has taken over depictions of diverse origin. The texts have been given an iconography to respond to the need of their listeners for marvels. This need the theologians regard with suspicion. The inventors of fabulous tales were pursued and treated severely by Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn al-Djawzī, al-Ghazālī and al-Suyūṭī. The establishment of collections of apocryphal *ḥadīths* for the denunciation of forgeries, if it is informative on the orthodoxy of their thought, is just as helpful in interpreting the ramblings of the imagination.

In fact, the same questions posed by the theologians on the subject of the *miʿrādj*, have determined the direction of the flow of the imagination. There has been lively argument concerning the idea which it was necessary to have of the ascension. We must also review the possible interpretations of this miraculous deed:

(a) The ascension took place in spirit; it is a question of a vision that occurred during the Prophet's sleep. In a sense it was Heaven that visited Muḥammad. It was an illumination, and the physical person was not concerned: the *miʿrādj* annuls the human condition and registers itself in an unhinging of the intellect. The soul, purified, traverses Heaven as far as God in a trajectory of which the traces remain only in the Prophetic witness. The outburst of faith on the part of the Believer will repeat the movement.

(b) The *isrāʾ* was really performed by Muḥammad while awake, but the ascension took place only in the spirit. This artificial distinction is useful: it bears witness to a process of linking the *isrāʾ*, at first independent, with the *miʿrādj* (cf. H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast*, Oslo 1955).

(c) The ascension was really effected, body and soul, by a Prophet who was in a full state of consciousness. This interpretation lays the foundations of the miracle, which becomes a theological argument.

In this way there becomes authenticated a willingness to attribute to the Prophet a dimension which goes beyond his historicity: progressively, the opening of the breast at the end of the purification, the *isrāʾ* and the *miʿrādj* constitute a unique account which offers the advantage of crossing important zones of the religious imagination.

This interpretation de-spiritualises the ascension, without removing its character of a supreme initation. Whilst refusing to see in it an internal impetus, a wandering of the spirit, it affords free range to imaginative portrayals. The account gives formal licence to imagine the unthinkable. Revelation triumphs out of ecstasy. The brilliant but solitary illumination of an individual is abandoned for the benefit of the communal initiation of a prophet. The latter is charged to inform his people of the answers that, in the course of his journey, he is entrusted to communicate.

From that time on, the difference can be seen between Ḳurʾānic utterance reduced to a mention and the speech of "literature" charged with illustrating the former. A modern application of this splitting of writings is attested; in Radjab 1387/October 1967 Egyptian State Television broadcast a film on the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj* under the responsibility of the al-Azhar authorities. The process of image production is allowed, but controlled.

The literature of the *miʿrādj* is then embodied in an act of adoration. For one who takes neither the path of thought nor that of spirituality, there remains the portrayal, at the risk of blasphemy. Behind Muḥammad, the only one authorised to travel to the forbid-

den space, imagination is set free. A whole community accompanies its prophet on his initiatory journey. Thus the act of faith is progressively established in an account destined to arouse visions. The image here is effective; it revives confidence and provokes fear. In this way the delights of Paradise materialise and the tortures of Hell are displayed to view at the cost, furthermore, of a decisive anticipation of theology, since God will only deliver His sentences on the Day of the Last Judgment.

Here appear the two essential functions of the *miᶜrādj* literature: it verifies in advance divine justice, and it responds to a deep-seated need for the marvellous. The image goes beyond efficacy in order to touch on the aesthetic. Happiness lies not only in the distant reward of virtue, it also finds its source in the spectacle offered. The text is adorned with illuminations: from al-Burāḳ to the Throne of God, from the seven heavens to the sojourn in Paradise, then to Hell; the marvellous spans the space that separates thought from desire.

But it asserts its humanity and does not profane the sacred. In addition, imaginative use is made of the real. The topography of the places uses language without any surprises: we climb to Heaven with a ladder, we skirt the walls, we pass through doors: here mountains, rivers, seas, gardens are lost to view. "The highest place is just a throne, a common attribute of sovereignty, men's destinies are written with a pen, an ordinary instrument for writing. Gold, silver, pearls, gems abound in our markets, darkness, smoke, ice have their place in our environment" (Bencheikh, *op. cit.*).

It was probably difficult to represent the unimaginable without profaning it. Only the obligation of reserve ensured the survival of the myth. The encounter with the Creator shows us how blasphemy was avoided; all the dialogue between God and Muḥammad is made up of the last verses of *Sūrat al-Baḳara*, put alternately into the mouths of the two interlocutors. Furthermore, this is not the only way of using verses or *ḥadīths* which are often solicited. The text then becomes a commentary full of their imagery and is legitimised. It is woven into an irrefutable writing and takes on the authenticity of a sacred iconography. For the listener, the *miᶜrādj* celebrates the prophetic mission and offers the account of an apocalypse populated with Ḳurʾānic resonances.

Called to appear before God, the Prophet receives along his way the homage due to the last of the Messengers. Islam relies on and celebrates at the same time its primacy. It lays hold of the future and reconquers time past; Muḥammad passes through the heavens accompanied by all the great witnesses of the universal faith.

The ritual of adoration is then written down in an outburst of beauty! The heavens are successively of smoke, copper, silver, corindum and pearl. The trajectory of the symbol accompanies the ascension journey; the beauty of the spectacle declares the proximity of God. Each year millions of Muslims devote themselves to the spectacle of their faith.

Finally, how can we forget that the *miᶜrādj* has entered into universal literature, thanks to the *Book of Mahomet's Ladder*. This translation in Latin of a text in Castilian, itself translated from Arabic, had indeed become famous, thanks to the furious polemic to which it has given rise; and indeed, Dante was actually able to be inspired by it for his *Divine Comedy*.

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(J.E. Bencheikh)

The Editors regret that they have failed to provide for a section on the *miʿrādj* in Persian literature. Whilst they anticipate that they will be able to repair this omission, they would refer the reader to the article by A.M. Piemontese, *Una versione persana della storia del "Miʿrāǧ"*, in *OM* lx/1-6 (1980), 225-43, which offers a translation of a passage of the Shīʿite commentary of sūra xvii by Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (ca. 480-525/1087-1131).

3. *Miʿrādj* literature in East and West Africa.

The celebration of the *miʿrādj* has here given rise to an extensive popular literature. Among the Shāfiʿī communities, from Egypt down to the East African coastlands, the most widely-used text is al-Barzandjī's *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj* or, in a later edition, *al-Isrāʾ wa 'l-miʿrādj*, available in Haji Mohamed's bookshop in Mombasa together with the same author's *Mawlid* [see MAWLID. 2. In East Africa].

In Swahili, there are two translations in prose and several versified elaborations; for the oldest known version in the *ukawafi* metre usually reserved for liturgical hymns, and which can still be sung, see Knappert, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, iii, Leiden 1971, 227-75; the same text but with long comments and notes, is given by idem, *Miiraji, the Swahili legend of Mohammed's Ascension*, in *Swahili, Jnal. of the Inst. for Swahili Research* (Dar es Salaam), xxxvi (1966), 105-56. A different poem, written before 1922, is given by idem, *Utenzi wa miiraji by Mohamed Jambeini*, in *Afrika und Uebersee*, xlviii (1966), 241-74, and another by Yusuf Ulenge (perhaps from an older oral text) is printed in *Swahili*, xxxviii (1968), with the title *Utenzi wa Miraji*.

A much longer poem, published by E. Dammann in his *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli*, Hamburg 1940, 1-72, was written down for Dammann by the poet Muhammad b. Abubakari Kijuma, who was probably also its author; see Muhammad b. Ibrahim Abou Egl, *Life and works of Muhammad Kijuma*, Ph.D. thesis, London Univ., 1984, unpubl.

In the mosques of East Africa, the *laylat al-miʿrādj* is celebrated after the night worship by singing these hymns, after which the *imām* explains its significance to the congregation.

In Hausaland (Northern Nigeria), poetic versions of the *miʿrādj* narrative were first discovered by M. Hiskett, see his *A history of Hausa Islamic verse*, London 1975, 48-62. Here the theme of the *miʿrādj* is part of the *muʿdjizāt* literature, poems written by scholars in praise of Muḥammad which can be sung or read. These are called *madahu*, from *madḥ* "praise". They are very popular and often recited during Ramaḍān when the people are in a receptive mood. A detailed description can be found in the thesis of Abdullahi Bayaro Yahya, *The Hausa verse category of Madahu, with special reference to theme, style and the background of Islamic sources and belief*, Univ. of Sokoto, Nigeria 1987, unpubl.; it includes Hausa texts and translations, and the place of the *miʿrādj* as one of the themes of *madahu* is comprehensively discussed.

In Ghana, the *miʿrādj* theme forms part of the *Mawlid* (as it does in East Africa) and is celebrated in the north of the country, in Kumasi and along the coast.

In the Gambia, the theme of the *miʿrādj* appears to have penetrated into the pre-Islamic Mandinka epic of Sunjata. In G. Innes' edition (*Sunjata*, London 1974, 156-7, l. 287), the diviner Siise, before answering the king's question, "goes into retreat" like a shaman, and states that "for forty days I saw the seven layers of the sky." This is clearly taken from the *miʿrādj*, in which Muḥammad himself claims the same; see Knappert, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, 152.

In Peul or Fulani [see FULBE], there is a long section on the *miʿrādj* in an important long poem edited by J. Haafkens in his *Chants musulmans en Peul*, Leiden 1983, 193-203. The long poem *Busarau* (from Arabic *bushārāʾ*, pl. of *bashīr*, "bringers of good tidings", *ibid.*, 144-335), was heard sung and recorded from manuscripts by Haafkens in northern Cameroon, where it is extremely popular.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Knappert)

4. *Miʿrādj* literature in Indonesia.

In West Java the celebration of the *miʿrādj* is still very popular; it takes place in the mosque, in the home or in the *langgar*, the little prayer-cabin near the house. On the eve of 27 Radjab, or in some places even on the preceding evening, people come together in families, or invite friends, usually the men and the women separately. The men do not smoke, since

smoke is disliked by the angels. The proceedings begin after the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* and are concluded by a *selataman*, a festive meal, around midnight, after the *ṣalāt al-ishā*ʾ. "Those who know stories" will tell them, about the life of Muḥammad and his night journey. Customarily, one who is qualified reads from *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī aṭwār Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, by Sayyid ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAḳil b. Yaḥyā (Jakarta 1342/1924, pp. 80), in Malay. During the reading *gaharu* or aloes wood is burnt as incense. If someone is present who can read Arabic (normally only in the towns), he will be asked to read the *Ḥāshiyat al-imām al-ʿārif biʾllāh taʿālā Abi 'l-Barakāt Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Dardīr ʿalā Ḳiṣṣat al-Miʿrādj liʾl-ʿallāma al-hammām barakat al-anām Nadjm ad-Dīn al-Ghayṭī*, Cairo n.d., pp. 27. This work is known generally as *Dardīr*. A poetic rendering of the *miʿrādj* was written in Malay by Hadji Adam b. Hadji Kasman, the *Syair Mi'raj Nabi Muhammad*, Jakarta 1926. Another very popular Arabic booklet here is al-Barzandjī's *Ḳiṣṣat al-miʿrādj*.

In the mosque, the preacher will begin with prayers, then launch into a *naṣīḥa*, an admonishing sermon. He will explain the passages Ḳurʾān XVII, 1, and LIII, 9, in the light of the well-known commentaries. He may also quote the even better known *Mawlid* of al-Barzandjī, usually referred to as *Sharaf al-anām* (see MAWLID, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leiden 1906, 209-14). In this *Mawlid* (as in most) there is a section on the *miʿrādj*, section XIV (see for a translation, J. Knappert, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, 57-8). The recital is terminated with the salutation to the Prophet, again from the *Mawlid* of al-Barzandjī; it begins: *Yā Nabī, salāmu ʿalayka*... (for a translation see Knappert, *op. cit.*, iii, 322, v. 31). All the worshippers present sing this passage with the preacher, while standing up, as the text prescribes, out of respect for Muḥammad. It is customary for the *imām* to commemorate the *miʿrādj* also in his *khuṭba* on the Friday before as well as the Friday after 27 Radjab. In some districts of West Java, gambling is strictly prohibited during the entire month.

At night the mosque may be illuminated, and even fireworks are set off by some; houses, too, keep a lamp burning all night. The celebration may last until the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*; this is doubtless in memory of Muḥammad's return from the heavens before dawn (Knappert, *op. cit.*, iii, 271, v. 96). The religious teacher (in West Java, the Kiyai) will embellish the legend, weaving moral lessons into it for the edification of his flock. In the Periangan, he will speak in Sundanese, after the prayers in Arabic; there is a Sundanese poem describing the *miʿrādj* which can be sung that night. Some people fast during 27 Radjab, others fast for nine days, not consecutively but in sets of three at the beginning, middle and end of Radjab, which was already a holy month in ancient Arabia. Between the two World Wars, processions came into fashion, especially among the younger generation in Indonesia. Various Islamic groups have different opinions about the desirability of celebrating the *miʿrādj*. Modernists explain it totally symbolically as a spiritual development. Reformists want to abolish *miʿrādj* celebrations as a *bidʿa* which smacks of worshipping the Prophet rather than God alone. The conservatives however, cling to the *ʿādat* and take the *miʿrādj* literally, namely that Muḥammad saw God "with the eyes of his head" (al-Barzandjī).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): H.H. Juynboll, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek*, Leiden 1899, 203 (mentions also mss. in Buginese, Macassarese and Sundanese); Ph.S. Van Ronkel, *Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften van het Koninklijk Instituut v.d. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, The Hague n.d., 196-7; G.F. Pijper, *Fragmenta islamica*, 1934, 125-55; G.Th. Pigeaud, *The literature of Java*, The Hague 1967, 99.

(J. KNAPPERT)

5. The *Miʿrādj* in Islamic art.

In the spirit of the Second Commandment, strict Muslims have always frowned on the portrayal of humans and other living creatures in painting and sculpture, and this antipathy is naturally strongest when the depiction of the Prophet Muḥammad is in question. But this peculiarly Semitic prejudice was never fully shared by the Aryan Persians, and it is thus primarily in the miniature painting of Persia that we must look for representations of the *miʿrādj*. As Sir Thomas Arnold wrote, "It was a frequent practice of the poets... to include in the Preface... a lyrical outburst on the theme of Muḥammad's Ascension... No incident in the religious history of Islam is more commonly represented in Muslim art than this of the Ascension of the Prophet."

There were, indeed, a number of works, poetical and otherwise, devoted entirely to the *miʿrādj* and its attendant circumstances (see 2. above). These are represented in painting, firstly, by the fragments of a large 8th/14th century manuscript preserved in Topkapı album H. 2154, the miniatures being attributed to Aḥmad Mūsā, and secondly, by the celebrated Paris manuscript of 840/1436 (Suppl. turc 190) written at Herat in the Uighur language, and illustrated by one of the finest and most original sets of miniatures in the whole of Persian painting. But these are special cases, and we are more concerned here with *miʿrādj* miniatures occurring in manuscripts of the classical poets.

The earliest of these date from the opening years of the 9th/15th century. In the *Miscellany* of Iskandar Sulṭān (British Library Add. 27261, dated 813-14/1410-11, fol. 6a) the *miʿrādj* is represented with the Prophet, mounted on Burāḳ, surrounded by angels, and conducted by Gabriel, soaring above the Kaʿba enclosure at Mecca, and this scheme of representation is closely followed in a detached double-page miniature of much the same date in the Chester Beatty Library (Cat. 292. i, ii). In both these (as in the Paris manuscript of 1436) the Prophet is shown unveiled, but in the latter, as in many subsequent examples, the face has been partially obliterated and repainted. This same basic composition, i.e. with the Kaʿba below and the Prophet unveiled, is followed in "main line" Persian painting of the later Tīmūrid period, as in the Niẓāmī of 900/1494 in the British Library (Or. 6810, fol. 5b), and is continued in the Keir Collection miniature (Cat. III. 207) dated 910/1505, which is one of those added under Shāh Ismāʿīl to the Niẓāmī of Yaʿḳūb Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (Topkapı, H. 762), and may well be an early work of Sulṭān Muḥammad. This latter miniature is among the most striking and original treatments of the subject, the ascent, accompanied by innumerable angels and observed by others through a circular "hole in Heaven", being enclosed in a rectangular frame with the Kaʿba enclosure below and little desert villages with palm trees occupying the margins.

The *miʿrādj* is of frequent occurrence in Shīrāz manuscripts of the Tīmūrid period (though, curiously enough, hardly ever found in the mass of manuscripts illustrated in the Commercial Turkman style), but in

these, as in the numerous Ṣafawid examples, the Kaʿba is omitted, only the Prophet, now veiled, and accompanying angels being shown. Perhaps the finest of all is in the great Niẓāmī of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (British Library Or. 2265, fol. 195a) which is almost certainly the work of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and probably represents his swan-song.

Exceptional portrayals are occasionally encountered. Thus in the Topkapı Niẓāmī of 844/1441 (H. 774), probably of western Indian origin, the Prophet is depicted as a golden disc inscribed with his name; and in the British Library copy of 1075/1665 (Add. 6613, fol. 3b) the ascent is made against a background of concentric circles with the symbols of the planets revolving round the sun.

In post-Ṣarawid painting, the theme becomes somewhat vulgarised; Burāḳ may sport a peacock's tail and a clumsy Ḳādjār crown, and the Prophet is sometimes reduced to a sort of shapeless bundle. But on a fine painted lacquer mirror-case of 1288/1871 in the Bern Historical Museum, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl depicts the scene in traditional manner, though on a miniature scale.

Bibliography: Sir Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, chs. vi-vii; Marie-Rose Séguy, *The miraculous journey of Mahomet*, London 1977. Reproductions of *miʿrādj* miniatures are fairly frequent in general works on Persian painting, but see especially: L. Binyon, *The poems of Nizami*, London 1928, pl. xiv; L. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides*, Paris 1954, pl. lxix; B.W. Robinson in *Iran, JBIPS*, viii (1970), 47-50, pl. V; idem, *Persian paintings in the India Office Library*, London 1976, 26, 148; idem (ed.), *The Keir Collection: Islamic painting and the arts of the book*, London 1976, col. pl. 19, pl. 32, 47, 95; idem, *Persian paintings in the John Rylands Library*, London 1980, 73; J.M. Rogers, F. Çağman and Z. Tanindi, *Topkapı: the albums and illustrated manuscripts*, London 1986, pl. 45-7.

(B.W. Robinson)

MĪRĀN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I, of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] in western India, was the eleventh prince of the Fārūḳī dynasty (regn. 926-43/1520-37). He belonged to the younger branch of that line, which had taken refuge in Gudjarāt, and his ancestors had lived in that kingdom and had married princesses of the Muẓaffarī family until Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] had, on the extinction of the elder branch of the Fārūḳīs, placed ʿĀdil Khān III, Muḥammad's father, on the throne of Khāndēsh. Muḥammad, who was, through his mother, the great-grandson of Maḥmūd, and the grandson of his son, Muẓaffar II, succeeded his father in Khāndēsh in 926/1520, and in 933/1527 incautiously intervened in the cause of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh of Berār [*q.v.*] by aiding him against his enemy, Burhān Niẓām Shāh I of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.* and niẓām-shāhīs]. He was defeated and driven back into Khāndēsh, but succeeded in persuading his uncle, Bahādur of Gudjarāt, to intervene, and with him invaded the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. The campaign was only partially successful, but Muḥammad was indemnified by Burhān I for his losses. He accompanied his uncle in the campaign which ended, in 937/1531, in the capture of Māndū [*q.v.*] and the annexation of Mālwa to Gudjarāt, and on Bahādur's death in 944/1537, was summoned, in his mother's right, to the throne of Gudjarāt, but died on his way to Aḥmadābād.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Makkī, *Ẓafar al-wālih*, ed. E. Denison Ross as *An Arabic history of Gujarat*, London 1910-28; T.W. Haig, *The Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndesh*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xlvii (1918); *Cambridge history of India*. iii. *Turks and Afghans*, ed. Haig, Cambridge 1928, 314, 328-9. See also the *Bibls.* to fārūḳids and khāndēsh and art. *hind.* iv. History, at iii, 422.

(T.W. Haig*)

MĪRĀNDJĪ [see miyān mīr, miyāndjī].

MĪRĀNSHĀH b. TĪMŪR (*ca.* 768-810/*ca.* 1367-1408), the third son of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] (Tamerlane), born of a concubine named Mengliček. Due to his marriage to two Činggisid princesses, he bore the title *güregen* ("royal son-in-law"). In 782/1380-1, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān, shortly before its full conquest. He shared power there with several of Tīmūr's senior commanders, and spent much of his time outside the province, accompanying Tīmūr to western Persia in 786-7/1384-5, to Khwārazm and the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe in 790/1388-9 and 792-3/1390-1, and on the "five-year campaign" to Persia in 794-8/1392-6, returning to Khurāsān only to put down local rebellions.

In 795/1393 Mīrānshāh became governor of Ādharbāydjān and western Persia. He did not immediately transfer his dependents, but first campaigned with Tīmūr in the Ḳîpčaḳ steppe in 797-8/1395-6. As governor, he executed the founder of the Ḥurūfī sect [see ḥurūfiyya], Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, in 796/1394. The Ḥurūfī considered him an anti-Christ and referred to him as Mārānshāh ("snake king"). During Tīmūr's Indian campaign of 800-1/1398-9, Mīrānshāh remained in Ādharbāydjān, and according to the histories, fell from his horse and became temporarily insane; this was probably an attempt at independence. He distributed public money, besieged Baghdād, destroyed buildings in Tabrīz and Sulṭāniyya, and persecuted his wife and *amīrs*. In documents of this period he apparently omitted Tīmūr's name. Tīmūr removed Mīrānshāh from his position, kept him close to himself and meted out severe punishment to his retinue. In Shawwāl 806/April-May 1404, Tīmūr allowed Mīrānshāh to leave for Baghdād with his son Abā Bakr.

Mīrānshāh and his sons were active in the succession struggle after Tīmūr's death. His son Khalīl Sulṭān held Transoxania until 811/1409; Abā Bakr and Mīrānshāh disputed Ādharbāydjān with ʿUmar b. Mīrānshāh and the Ḳaraḳoyunlu Turkmen. Mīrānshāh died fighting with Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳaraḳoyunlu in 810/1408.

Sīdī Aḥmad b. Mīrānshāh married Ruḳiyya Sulṭān bt. Ḳara ʿUthmān Aḳḳoyunlu, and his descendants remained in Ādharbāydjān as the Mīrānshāhī clan, holding an important position within the Aḳḳoyunlu. Mīrānshāh's grandson Abū Saʿīd b. Sulṭān Muḥammad gained power over the northeastern Tīmūrid realm in 855/1451; Abū Saʿīd's grandson, Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh [*q.v.*], founded the Mughal dynasty in 932/1526.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957; Tādj al-Dīn Salmānī, *Shams al-ḥusn*, ed. and tr. H.R. Roemer, *Šams al-ḥusn. Eine Chronik vom Tode Tīmūrs bis zum Jahre 1409*, Wiesbaden 1956; Thomas of Metsopʿ, *History of Tīmūr*, Russian tr. T.I. Ter-Grigorian, Baku 1957; J.E. Woods, *Turco-Iranica II. Notes on a Timurid decree of 1396/798*, in *JNES*, xliii; idem, *The Aqqoyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976; H. Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Ḥurūfīsekte*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954).

(Beatrice Forbes Manz)

MIRʾĀT (a.) "mirror", pl. *marāʾī*, the noun of instrument from *raʾā* "to see".

The mirrors used by the Muslims were generally of polished metal, and specimens of these can be seen in museum collections [see MAᶜDIN. 4. In Islamic art, (3)], but they do not seem to have been made the object of particular studies by historians of Islamic art. A long-lived tradition keeps up the remembrance of "burning mirrors" (*marāyā muḥriḳa* in al-Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 217) as legendary as the revolving mirror which was set up on the Muḳaṭṭam hills [*q.v.*] in order to allow an official to follow the movements of Pharaoh between Heliopolis and Memphis (see al-Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, 325, ll. 6 ff., and see MANŪF). The mirror placed on top of the Pharos of Alexandria was designed to give information about enemies approaching by sea (see al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 439 = §841, and cf. MANĀR).

Within Islam, mirrors posed problems which belonged not only to the science of optics properly speaking, but also to philosophy, to such an extent that they early attracted the attention of scholars, thinkers and even of simple observers of natural phenomena. One of the first authors to have tackled this question was, it seems, al-D͟jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9 [*q.v.*]), who, in his *K. al-Tarbīᶜ wa 'l-tadwīr*, ed. Pellat, §§ 167 ff., puts a series of questions to his correspondent about mirrors and reflecting surfaces; he asks him why running water does not retain images and why certain mirrors gave back a reversed image; he further questions him about the nature of these images and begs him to inform him whether it is a question here of accidents or substances, of real objects or those produced by imagination, and further, whether these images blot out the shape and colour of the surface which they occupy on the mirror. These topics have arisen in the author's mind partly through his adhesion to the Muᶜtazilī doctrine which holds that two bodies cannot occupy the same space (see e.g. A.N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muᶜtazila*, Beirut 1956, 166-7) and partly through his desire to place the person challenged who, being a S͟hīᶜī, is required to put forward a similar view. In addition, for the S͟hīᶜa, the comparison between the epiphanic (*maẓhariyya*) function and that "of a mirror where the image appears but does not have substance" (H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 94-5) seems to hold a certain importance (see the translation of the *Tarbīᶜ* in *Arabica*, xiv [1967], by M. Adad, 306 n. 2, who cites this last passage and another text by Corbin).

Al-D͟jaḥiẓ does not provide any answers to the questions which he poses and it would probably be difficult to find any precise information on them, but some indications can be found in later works, especially in the *ᶜAd͟jā'ib al-mak͟hlūḳāt* of al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]), who gives the impression of echoing current conceptions whilst at the same time having in mind the problems set forth in the *Tarbīᶜ* (see ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, 95-7, ed. Cairo 1376/1956, 64-5). For this author, "what one sees in a mirror does not have any reality, for if this were the case, an observer who moves his position would see the object in question stay in the same place, whereas this is not in fact what happens ... It is thus established that what one sees in a mirror ... comes under the heading of an illusion (*k͟hayāl*); here the *k͟hayāl* consists in seeing the image of an object mixed up with that of another thing, deriving from it the illusion that one of them is penetrating into the other, whilst in reality, it is nothing of the sort; in reality, one of them is seen through the mediation of the other without being fixed in it." Al-Ḳazwīnī does not use the words *ᶜaraḍ* "accident" and *d͟jawhar* "substance", but he gives a clear reply to the questions put by al-D͟jāḥiẓ in this connection.

From the optical point of view, the mathematician and physicist Ibn al-Hayt͟ham (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*]) devoted several works to the scientific problems posed by mirrors and, in a general manner, made some progress in the study of optics without, however, modifying the popular conceptions which were current at his time. Certainly, al-Ḳazwīnī explains exactly how a ray of light emanating from a luminous body falls on to a polished object, from which it is reflected and goes on to touch another object whose position, in relation to the reflecting surface, is the same as that of the luminous body, but from the opposite side; in these conditions, the angle of reflections is equal to that of incidence.

Likewise, the object and the observer who wishes to see it in a mirror must be symmetrically placed so that *the first is reached by a ray leaving the eye of the second.* The Muslims in effect adopted this conception which the mathematician and physicist Ibn al-Hayt͟ham (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.*]) had however refuted long before al-Ḳazwīnī's time. The latter nevertheless remarks that the ray in question is purely imaginary, whilst that emanating from a luminous object is in fact real, but the persistence of the idea of the ray of vision is probably due in part to the belief in the evil eye [see ᶜAYN].

Lecanomancy (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, index, s.v.) was practised by diviners who, according to Ibn K͟haldūn (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 194, tr. de Slane, i, 221-2, tr. Rosenthal, i, 216-17), occupied an inferior rank, since they were forced to concentrate all their perceptions into one sense. They stare fixedly at a mirror until a screen appears on which are pictured the forms which they desire to see and which allow them to give indications about what they wish to know. In this condition, they do not see what is in reality depicted in the mirror, and the new manner of perception which originates in them operates "not by means of vision, but in the psyche".

Finally, one may note that the word *mir'āt* figures in a fairly considerable number of titles of works (from *Mir'āt al-ᶜad͟jā'ib* to *Mir'āt al-zamān*, amounting to more than a column in the index of book titles in Brockelmann), with a meaning fairly close to that of *speculum* in mediaeval European times. Similarly, the daily and the periodical press uses this term which, in 1947, formed part of at least seven titles (see Ch. Pellat, *Note sur les titres des périodiques arabes*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2, 144).

Bibliography: Given in the article. The work by Diocles on burning mirrors, the Greek original of which is lost, has been preserved in Arabic translation (see Diocles, *On burning mirrors*, ed. with tr. and comm. by G.J. Toomer, 1976). (CH. PELLAT)

MĪRĀT͟H (A.), Inheritance (pl. *mawārīt͟h*); *wārit͟h* the heir, *mūrit͟h* the person leaving the estate. This branch of Islamic law is also called *ᶜilm al-farā'iḍ* "the science of the ordained quotas" (cf. sūra IV, II) after its most important and most difficult part.

1. In pre-modern times

i. In keeping with the patriarchal system prevailing among the Arabs, the estate of a deceased tribesman went *ab intestato* to the nearest male relative(s); the order of succession in which these relatives, the so-called *ᶜaṣaba* (corresponding to *agnati*), were called upon to inherit survives and is systematised in Muslim law. Minors—being incapable of bearing arms—were excluded from the succession, as were female relatives; widows also were not entitled to inherit, and originally presumably themselves formed a part of the

estate, a view which survived in the levirate marriage usual among the Arabs, to which sūra IV, 19, refers in forbidding it. There is no evidence of any preferential treatment of the first-born, which we find elsewhere in Semitic law. This, the original legal position, had by Muḥammad's time certainly altered somewhat in favour of women; in cases where the deceased left no male relatives, his daughters seem frequently to have obtained the estate; but woman had by no means equal treatment with man, as is clear from the Ḳurʾānic regulations. In addition to these principal heirs, the pre-Islamic Arabs had also secondary heirs who correspond to the later so-called quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farāʾiḍ*) and received a part of the estate, the bulk of which went to the *ʿaṣaba*. From sūras II, 180, and IV, 33, which confirm this arrangement, we can see that these included the parents, the "relatives"—apparently so far as they were not *ʿaṣaba*—and the so-called confederates (*ḥalīf*, plur. *ḥulafāʾ*); the settlement of the portions falling to them was done—at least in part—according to the last will of the testator. All this has its parallels in the development of a "mitigated agnatic succession" among other peoples.

ii. The Ḳurʾān modified this system considerably in details, the main point being the improvement in the treatment of women here as well as with regard to the laws of family life generally; at the same time, there is a clear endeavour to fix in legal form the practice which had varied considerably in heathen times. One provision which had been made under special circumstances was abandoned later on: immediately after the *hidjra*, it had been ordered that those who migrated with the Prophet (the *muhādjirūn*) and the believers in Medina (the *anṣār*) should regard themselves as brethren and therefore inherit from one another [see MUʾĀKHĀT], while all bonds of relationship between the *muhādjirūn* and their relatives left in Mecca, even if they were believers, were to be regarded as broken (sūra VIII, 72, with the limitation imposed in VIII, 75); but this was expressly revoked by XXXIII, 6. Tradition regards this fraternisation as a special case of confederacy (*ḥilf*). For the rest, the Ḳurʾān in the first Medina period confirmed the system of secondary heirs and the whole general practice in regard to inheritance (sūra II, 180, is probably to be dated before Ramaḍān of the year 2, and IV, 33, cannot be much later); that II, 180, expressly makes the fair treatment of the secondary heirs a duty, already reveals the direction which later ordinances were to take. Connected with this is the probably contemporary II, 240, which secures the wife, if she survives her husband, a legacy of maintenance for a year. Not much later, about the year 3, is IV, 19: "Ye who believe, it is not lawful for you to inherit women against their will"; this is not meant as a regular legal ordinance, but is part of the Ḳurʾānic endeavour to improve the position of women. Very soon after the battle of Uḥud, when numerous Muslims had fallen, we have—as a result of it—the final Ḳurʾānic ordinance of IV, 7-14: "To the men belongs a share of what their parents and kindred leave, and to the women belongs a share of what their parents and kindred leave—whether it be little or much—as a determined share. 8. If the next of kin (not entitled to inherit), the orphans and the poor are present at the division, give them some of it and speak kindly to them (verses 9-10 go on to deal with the treatment of orphans). 11. Allāh ordains for you, concerning your children, (as follows): for the male the like of the portion of two females; but if there are (only) females (and) more than two, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them and if there is (but) one (female) to her belongs the half. And the parents shall each have a sixth of the estate if (the deceased) has children, and if he has no children and (only) his parents inherit from him, his mother shall have a third. But if he has brothers, his mother shall have a sixth. (All this) after deducting a bequest he may have made or a debt. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be nearest to you in usefulness. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh, and Allāh is knowing and wise. 12. To you belongs the half of the estate of your wives, if they have no children; but if they have children, a fourth of their estate belongs to you—after deducting a bequest they may have made or a debt. To them belongs a fourth of your estate, if you have no children; but if you have children an eighth of your estate belongs to them—after deducting a bequest you may have made or a debt. If a man or a woman leaves an estate without having a direct heir (i.e. son or father), but has a brother or a sister, each shall have a sixth; but if there are more than that, they shall share a third after deducting a bequest he may have made or debt, without prejudice. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh, and Allāh is knowing and gracious" (vv. 13-14 contain promises and threats). As the settlement of the succession in indirect lines left questions undecided, IV, 176, supplemented the above: "They will ask thee for a decision. Say: Allāh gives you the following decision concerning the succession of those who have died without direct heirs: if a man dies and has no children, but has a sister, half of the estate belongs to her and he is her heir if she has no children; if there be two sisters, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them; but if there be both brothers and sisters, the male shall have like the portion of two females."

The object of these regulations is simply to supplement the law regarding the rights of the *ʿaṣaba*; they are not a reorganisation of the whole law. Each of the persons named is therefore only allotted a definite portion; the remainder, and this, as a rule the major portion, of the estate, falls as before to the *ʿaṣaba*. Female relatives thus generally receive half the share of male relatives of the same degree. The quotas here given abolished the testamentary settlement of the portions usual in the heathen period, which was still approved by II, 180; this is the historical starting point for the tradition—early interpreted in another sense—that a legacy in favour of the heirs is not valid. II, 240, is probably rightly regarded as abrogated by the settling of the widow's portion. There is a slight difficulty in interpretation only in IV, 12; but there can be no doubt that this passage refers to half-sisters on the mother's side, as indeed it has always been interpreted; the text of Ubayy even inserts an addition to this effect. The verse IV, 176, on the other hand refers to full sisters. In IV, II, "more than two" is to be interpreted, as the sense requires, as "two and more".

iii. The full details which tradition is able to give regarding the causes of the revelation of the regulations on the law of inheritance are not historical; on internal grounds, all we can say is that it took place soon after the battle of Uḥud. The numerous *ḥadīths* which simply repeat the Ḳurʾānic regulations may be neglected here. Tradition can only record very few actual divergences from the prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān; one of these is that a woman received back as her inheritance a slave whom she had presented to her mother and who represented the latter's whole estate. According to another story, the Prophet is said to have laid down that the wives of the *muhādjirūn* should inherit the house of their husbands. While nothing

can be quoted in favour of the first *ḥadīth*, the second, which does not seem to be intended as a foundation for any legal clause, may have a kernel of historical truth in it.

iv. The prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān are supplemented and developed in countless traditions, among which a comparatively large number relate not to decisions of the Prophet himself, but of his Companions; in reality they must not even be regarded as that, but only as anonymous evidence of the first developments of the Ḳurʾānic law of inheritance. At this stage of development, it is already firmly established that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim; the right of a Muslim to inherit from an unbeliever is finally also denied, although there is some opposition to this view. Excluded from the right of inheritance is also one who has killed the proprietor of the estate, at least if the slaying was deliberate (with *ʿamd*; cf. ḲATL). That a slave has no right of inheritance is taken for granted. Legal relationship is necessary for the right of inheritance; thus illegitimate children or those whose paternity has been disputed by *liʿān* [*q.v.*] have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations. The *mawlā* [*q.v.*] is annexed to the *ʿaṣaba*: the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another, and according to one view, the same right is even granted to the man before whom the person concerned has adopted Islam, who is also called *mawlā*. After the *mawlā* come—although some oppose this—the *dhawu 'l-arḥām*, i.e. persons related to the legator in the female line, whose representative is usually the *khāl* or maternal uncle. In case all these heirs should not exist, the fellow-tribesmen are named. With certain modifications which occur again in the later teaching, a son's daughters are treated like daughters, and grandparents like parents, but this regulation only won recognition after opposition and varying practice in details. There arises the problem of the share of the grandfather beside the brothers, which goes back to his varying position in the series of the *ʿaṣaba*; along with other views, we find quoted also the one that later prevailed, but it does not seem to be the earliest. The Ḳurʾān lays down that before dividing the estate the amount of any legacies and debts should be deducted; in early times—probably in literal interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic passages—the legacies were often given preference to debts; after some opposition, the opposite teaching prevailed. The *diya* [*q.v.*] to be paid for a slain man should be subject to the usual rules as part of his estate; but in early times, the wife was not allowed a share in the *diya* of her slain husband, which goes back to old Arab conceptions of the family; the other view ultimately prevailed. The eager interest taken in early Islam in the law of inheritance is reflected in *ḥadīth*; there are traditions in which the Prophet orders the law of inheritance to be taught and learned, calls it "the half of knowledge" on account of its difficulty, and expresses the fear that this subject, so difficult to remember, might disappear from the memory of his community.

v. The following are the principles of the law of inheritance in the fully-developed *fiḳh* according to the Shāfiʿī teaching.

a. The law of intestacy in general. There is no fusion between the property of the deceased and that of the heir; the creditors of the estate can therefore only assert their claims against the estate. In addition to obligations entered into by the deceased, the debts of the estate include the funeral expenses and the religious duties omitted by the deceased, so far as they consist of concrete things (e.g. neglected fasts [*ṣawm*]) or can be carried through at the expense of the estate by a deputy (e.g. the *ḥadjdj* omitted without good reason). After the debts any legacies have to be paid [see WAṢIYYA]; the remainder passes to the heirs. A necessary condition for inheriting is that the heir has survived the deceased; in doubtful cases, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without its being certain who died first, as a rule no inheritance passes between them. The heir must also have existed when the testator died; only in the case where a man leaves a pregnant widow or *umm al-walad*, is a child's share reserved for the unborn child. Excluded from succession are the following: one who has caused the death of the deceased, the *murtadd*, an unbeliever from the succession to a Muslim and vice-versa, the *ḥarbī* (the unbelieving member of a state with which the Muslim stands in no treaty relation) and the slave. The *ʿaṣaba* are the normal heirs; inheritance by others is only an exception; so the *ʿaṣaba* receive the whole estate after the deduction of the portions for the quota-heirs. If there are no *ʿaṣaba*, the remainder of the estate goes to the state treasury (*bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]; a notable change from the view found in traditions), on the condition that it is administered according to law for the benefit of the Muslims; otherwise, the quota-heirs receive the remainder of the estate in proportion to their quotas by the so-called law of reversion (*radd*), with the exception of the widower or widow. Only if there are neither *ʿaṣaba* nor quota-heirs and the state treasury is not being administered in accordance with the law are the *dhawu 'l-arḥām*—i.e. persons related to the deceased in the female line as well as those female relatives who cannot be quota-heirs—called upon to inherit. If there are none of these relatives, any Muslim may take possession of the estate if he is capable and ready to administer it for the general good of Muslims.

b. Succession of the *ʿaṣaba*. The *ʿaṣaba* are called upon to inherit in the following order: 1. The male descendants of the deceased in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession. 2. The nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and the remoter ascendant) of the deceased inherits before his brothers. 3. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father: first the full brother, then the half-brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half-brother on the father's side. 4. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather (as under 3), etc. 5. Lastly, the *mawlā*, i.e. the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freedman, and then his *ʿaṣaba*.—The brothers of the deceased inherit along with the grandfather as *ʿaṣaba* in equal shares, but if there are more than two brothers, the grandfather receives not less than one-third of what is to be divided between him and the brothers. If there are also quota-heirs, the grandfather is allowed in addition at least a sixth of the estate (which he would inherit as a quota-heir; cf. *c*, below). He can then choose the most favourable of the three arrangements.—Female *ʿaṣaba*. If the deceased left sons as well as daughters, they inherit jointly, the share of a son being twice as large as that of a daughter while the quota allotted to the daughters is dropped, as is intended by the spirit of the Ḳurʾānic law. The daughter who inherits along with a son is therefore also called *ʿaṣaba*. The daughter of a son of the legator is similarly treated, inheriting along with the son of a son; and likewise the full sister, who inherits along with a full brother; finally, also the

half-sister on the father's side, who inherits with a half-brother on the father's side.—If the full sister inherits along with a daughter of the deceased or of his son, they do not receive their quota, which in this case goes to the daughter or son's daughter, but the rest of the estate after deduction of all quotas that have to be paid.

c. Shares of the quota-heirs (*dhawu 'l-farā'iḍ*; cf. FARĀ'IḌ). It is true that in the Ḳur'ān only the daughters, parents, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters are allotted a quota, but the rules holding for the daughters have been extended to the daughters of the son and those for the parents to the grandparent; in addition, a distinction has been made among the sisters between the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-sister on the mother's side. The total number of quota-heirs has thus been raised to twelve: 1. The daughter is entitled to half the estate, two or more daughters get two-thirds, but if daughters inherit along with sons, they become *ʿaṣaba* (cf. *b*, above). 2. The daughter of a son is subject to the same rules as a daughter and takes her place in default of her; inheriting along with the son of a son, she becomes *ʿaṣaba*. As the son's daughter is related to the deceased through his son, she is excluded from participation when the son of a deceased inherits. A daughter, on the other hand, does not exclude directly a son's daughter from the succession; as however daughters and son's daughters together have only two-thirds of the estate as their quota, a son's daughter has only a sixth if there is one daughter, and nothing if there are two or more, unless she inherits in these cases along with a son's son as *ʿaṣaba*. 3. The father's quota is always a sixth of the estate; in addition, he is *ʿaṣaba* and receives also any residuum of the estate after deducting all quotas, unless there are male descendants of the deceased. 4. The paternal grandfather (in default of him, the remoter ascendant) also receives one-sixth of the estate as his quota, but is excluded by the father; he is also *ʿaṣaba* if there are no male descendants nor father of the deceased. But if, in this case, there are also brothers of the legator, he becomes *ʿaṣaba* along with them (on the share which falls to the grandfather in this case and in the case where there are also quota-heirs, cf. *b*, above). 5. The mother receives one-sixth of the estate if there are children, son's children or two or more brothers or sisters of the deceased; otherwise a third (in practice, the father in this case as a rule receives two-thirds, i.e. one-sixth as quota-heir and the rest as *ʿaṣaba*; in an exceptional case, cf. *d*, below). 6. The quota of the grandmother is always a sixth; from this, the mother's mother is excluded by the mother, and the father's mother by the father and mother; in default of grandmother, their place is taken by the remoter female ascendants of the deceased, so far as they are not related to him by a male descendant not entitled to inherit. 7. A full sister receives half, two or more such sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate; along with a full brother or the grandfather she becomes *ʿaṣaba* and receives the half of the brother's share; along with the daughter or son's daughter she becomes also *ʿaṣaba* (cf. *b*); sons, sons' sons and the father exclude her from succession. 8. The treatment of the half-sister on the father's side is similar to that of the full sister; along with a half-brother on the father's side or the grandfather, she becomes *ʿaṣaba*, and likewise with the daughter or son's daughter (cf. *b*); sons, sons' sons, father and full brothers exclude her from the succession. Full sisters exclude her only so far as daughters exclude son's daughters (cf. no. 2). 9 and 10. Each of the half-brothers on the mother's side receives a sixth, two or more together share a third among them; they are excluded from the succession by descendants and male ascendants. 11. The widower receives half of the estate, but only a quarter if there is a child or son's child; it is indifferent whether these are his own descendants or not. 12. The widow receives the half of what a widower would receive under the same circumstances; if the deceased leaves more than one widow, they share equally the quota allotted to the widow. During the *ʿidda* (period of waiting [*q.v.*]) after a revocable divorce or *ṭalāḳ* [*q.v.*], a man and woman are still regarded as man and wife for purposes of inheritance.

d. Exceptions from the general rules. Although the quota-heirs can never all inherit together and, in particular, most of the collateral relatives are excluded by those in the direct line, the number of qualified quota-heirs may sometimes be so large that the sum of their shares is larger than the whole estate; in this case, their shares are proportionately reduced (by *ʿawl*). Otherwise, the concurrence of a number of heirs necessitates no change from the main rules, except in a few particular cases which have special names; these are cases in which, if the main rules were strictly carried through, the inheritances would be in a proportion to one another which would be contrary to the spirit of the law. E.g. in the case of the so-called *gharībatān:* if someone dies leaving a husband or wife and both parents, the mother would receive in any case a third, the father's share however, which is usually two-thirds (cf. *c*, 5, above), would be here reduced by the quota either of the widow or of the widower; according to tradition, it was ʿUmar who decided in this case that father and mother should share, in the proportion of two to one, what remains after deducting the portion of the widow or widower. Another case, the so-called *musharraka*, is that in which a wife leaves her husband, her mother, two or more half-brothers on the mother's side and also one or more full brothers; as the quotas in this case make up the whole estate, nothing would be left for the full brothers as *ʿaṣaba* in this case, which is also said to have been decided by ʿUmar; the law lays down that the full brothers have the same rights as the half-brothers so that all inherit in equal shares the third originally set aside for the half-brothers.

vi. The most important points of difference among the *madhāhib* are the following. Unbelievers who belong to different religions cannot inherit from one another according to Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal, but they can according to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī. There are contradicting views regarding inheritance from the *murtadd*. One who has deliberately (with *ʿamd*) and illegally killed the proprietor of the estate, is, by unanimous agreement, excluded from inheriting. Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Ḥanbal, but not Malīk, also exclude one who has killed him without design (with *khaṭa'* [*q.v.*]. One who is partly a slave can, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, neither inherit nor be inherited from; according to Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī and al-Muzanī, he does so in the proportion he is free. The so-called law of reversion to the quota-heirs if there are no *ʿaṣaba* (cf. v *a*, above), as well as the precedence of the *dhawu 'l-arḥām* and the treasury if there are no quota-heirs, is disputed among the *madhāhib*. The paternal grandmother is not excluded from the succession by the father, according to Ibn Ḥanbal only; in his view, in this case she inherits a sixth either alone or shared equally with the mother. There are delicate points of difference regarding the succession of the remote female ascendants. One who is entitled to receive a

quota from more than one side inherits, according to Mālik and al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, only on ground of "stronger" relationship, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Ḥanbal on ground of both respects; in the case of two cousins on the father's side, of which one is also the brother on the mother's side, the latter, it is unanimously agreed, receives a sixth and the remainder falls to the two as *ʿaṣaba* in equal portions, while Abū T̲h̲awr makes him inherit the whole. In the special case of the so-called *mus̲h̲arraka*, Mālik's view agrees with that of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (cf. v *d*, above), according to Abū Ḥanīfa and his fellows, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī, the full brothers actually receive nothing.

vii. *a.* The law of inheritance with the Imāmīs (Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs) is based on the same principles as that of the Sunnīs, but in its final development shows a number of quite important features of its own, which for the greatest part are but the consequences of their dogmatic-political doctrines (ʿAlī and Fāṭima had to be the only heirs of the Prophet, excluding Ibn ʿAbbās), and partly already expressed in the traditions or result from the rejection of certain *ḥadīt̲h̲s* by the S̲h̲īʿa. Among the main divergences are the ignoring of the *ʿaṣaba* and the constitution of one group of "heirs by relationship", which is divided into three classes: 1. the ascendants in the first degree and the descendants; 2. the other ascendants in the first degree; 3. the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts. Each of these classes excludes the following ones from the succession, and within the two categories of the two first classes, the relative of the nearer degree excludes all others of a remoter degree of relationship, i.e. for example, the daughter excludes the son's son; within the third class, a distinction into degrees is made between the uncles and aunts of the deceased himself and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of his parents and their descendants, etc., and here also the member of a nearer degree excludes those of a remoter degree. An exception which finds its explanation only in the individual case of the heirs of the Prophet, is that the son of the father's full brother excludes one (but no more than one) half-brother (on the father's side) of the father, if there are no other uncles. Within the same degree, the full relatives (male or female) exclude all relatives on the father's (not the mother's) side, e.g. full sisters exclude half-brothers; the relatives on the mother's side are excluded by all other relatives of the same degree only from a share in the "reversion" of the estate. If relatives, whose relationships with the deceased are traced through different persons, inherit jointly, the proportion of their shares is settled by the (hypothetical) shares of the persons through whom they are related to the deceased; if, for example, paternal and maternal uncles inherit together, the former divide two-thirds of the estate (i.e. the father's hypothetical share), the latter a third (i.e. the mother's hypothetical share). This idea of "representation" reappears in one of the Sunnī theories on the succession of the *d̲h̲awu 'l-arḥām*. The rules applying to the brothers and sisters of the deceased are also applied to his father's brothers and sisters and so on, if the latter are called upon to inherit; if, for example, father's full brothers and sisters, and father's brothers and sisters on the mother's side exist together, the latter are not excluded by the former but receive a third which is divided equally among them (if there is only one, a sixth), and the former receive the remaining two-thirds (or five-sixths as the case may be), of which each uncle gets twice the share of an aunt; the process is similar when their children take the place of uncles and aunts. The grandfather (and if the case arises the remoter ascendants) always inherits equally with the brothers of the legator. Within homogeneous groups, the male inherits double as much as the female, so far as there are no special regulations to the contrary; for the rest, the male relative on the father's side is not especially privileged before the others, as among the Sunnīs. Besides these "heirs by relationship", there are "heirs for special reasons", i.e. husband and wife, and the patron (*mawlā*), namely 1. a patron who has freed the deceased from slavery; 2. a patron before whom the legator has become a Muslim, or who has pledged himself to pay the *diya* for him (this idea is also attested in the traditions and is to be found sporadically among the Sunnī authorities); 3. the *imām*, who here takes the place of the state treasury, and who, as the general patron of all Muslims, is entitled to inherit in the last resort.—In both main groups there are "simple" heirs, and such as have a claim to a Ḳurʾānic quota. If the estate does not suffice to satisfy all the quotas, the shares are correspondingly reduced to the paternal relatives only, never to the maternal. What is left over after satisfying the quotas is given to the simple "heirs by relationship" according to the above rules; if they do not exist, the quota-heirs, with the exception of the husband or wife, receive the residuum also; if there are no "heirs by relationship" at all, the patrons come in, in the order given.

These general rules are sufficient to cause the distribution of an estate often to look very different among the S̲h̲īʿīs from among the Sunnīs. There are in addition differences in detail, of which the most important are the following. The Muslim does inherit from the unbeliever; unbelievers of all sects inherit from one another. In determining the portion of the childless widow, the landed property of the deceased is not taken into account. If the sole existing heir is a slave, he is purchased at the expense of the estate (his owner cannot refuse to sell him), and thus becomes free and inherits what is left; if the parents of the deceased are slaves, they must in all cases be purchased at the expense of the estate, and according to some, the children also. The part-slave inherits to the degree in which he is free. One who has a claim to an inheritance from two sides inherits on both grounds. There are no legal relationships between an illegitimate child and his mother and her relatives, only between him and his descendants; if there are none, the estate goes to the *imām*. In the special case of the so-called *g̲h̲arībatān* (cf. above, v *d*), there is no divergence from the general principles.—On the whole, the S̲h̲īʿī law of inheritance diverges further from the old Arab pre-Islamic principles than the Sunnī doctrine in opposition to which it has been elaborated.

b. The law of inheritance of the S̲h̲īʿī Zaydīs resembles rather closely the system of the Sunnīs, which has influenced its origins.

c. The most important peculiarities of the law of inheritance among the K̲h̲āridjī Ibāḍīs are the following: the paternal grandfather inherits as quota-heir a sixth of the estate if there are descendants of the deceased; otherwise, he inherits as *ʿaṣaba*, thus excluding the brothers. The half-sister on the mother's side is assimilated to the half-sister on the father's side if neither this relative nor a full sister exists. The grandmother is only excluded by the mother. Female descendants, like husband or wife, have no share in the "reversion" of the estate. Manumission confers no rights of inheritance. If there

are no heirs at all, the estate is given away in charity. The special case of the so-called *musharraka* is settled as among the Shāfiʿīs (cf. v *d*, above).—The dependence of this system on the Sunnī one is apparent.

viii. The law of inheritance, as a branch of family law and as possessing a peculiarly religious character from its very full regulation in the Ḳurʾān, has always been one of the chapters of Muslim law most carefully observed in practice [see ʿĀDA and SHARĪʿA]. As in the long run it must lead inevitably to the splitting up of even the largest estates, various endeavours have been made to avoid this result, which was considered undesirable. A method, frequently adopted, was to constitute considerable portions of the estate as religious endowments [see WAḲF], the proceeds of which could be disposed of by the grantor as he pleased; but most endowments in course of time became much broken up or were completely alienated. Another way adopted, for instance in Indonesia, is, in keeping with the local *ʿāda*, to admit only a portion of the actual estate to division among the heirs; sometimes an estate is divided already during the lifetime of its possessor by gift or friendly arrangement, and not infrequently some member of the family, according to circumstances, simply takes over the estate and obligations of the deceased. In particular, landed property is often taken out of the control of Muslim law. Women are excluded from inheritance by customary law in many Muslim countries, as among the Berbers, in parts of India and in China. Different expedients (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]) which might serve to evade the Muslim rules of inheritance found their way into literature already at an early period.

Bibliography: For section 1: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage*, 2nd ed., 65 ff. — For section 2 (chronology of the Ḳurʾān verses): Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i (partly different from the explanations given above); F. Peltier and G.-H. Bousquet, *Les successions agnatiques mitigées* (also for the subsequent development). — For sections 3 and 4: Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. HEIRS; Peltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du "Çaḥīḥ" d'el-Bokhâri*; al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, in the *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ*. — For sections 5 and 6 (for the older period, the two recensions of Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* are an especially valuable source): Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet*, 3rd ed., 241 ff.; Sachau, *Muhammedanische Recht*, 181 ff. (Shāfiʿī); Baillie, *The Moohummudan law of inheritance*; idem, *A digest of Moohummudan law*, i, 2nd ed.; G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, 90 ff. (Ḥanafī); Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Guidi and Santillana; Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de herencias entre los Musulmanes* (Mālikī); Hirsch, *Abd ul Kadir Muhammad: Wissenschaft des Erbrechts* (Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī). — For sections 5-7: Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan law*, 111 ff. — For section 7*a*: Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 326 ff.; Baillie, *Digest*, ii. — For section 7*b*: Bergsträsser, in *OLZ*, xxv, 124; Strothmann, in *Isl.* xiii, 36 ff. — For section 7*c*: Sachau, in *SB Pr.Ak.W.* (1894), 159 ff. — For section 8: Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 250 ff.; *REI*, i, 47 ff.; ii, 502 ff.; v, 1 ff.; vi, 158 ff.; *OM* (1937), 541; Hamid Ali, in *IC*, xi, 354 ff., 444 ff. — On the topic in general, see also Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. 3 "Religion and laws"; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 207-11; W. Marçais, *Les parents et alliés successibles en droit musulman*, Rennes 1898; E. Viala, *Le mécanisme du partage des successions en droit musulman*, Alger 1917; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 20 ff.; A. Kennett, *Bedouin justice, law and customs among the Egyptian Bedouin*, Cambridge 1925, 98-106; R. Roberts, *The social laws of the Qoran*, London 1925, 61-9; A.D. Russell and A.M. Suhrawardy, *An historical introduction to the law of inheritance*, London n.d.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Muslim institutions*, London 1950, 139-43; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 144-9, 191; I. Mahmud, *Muslim law of succession and administration*, Karachi 1958; A.A.A. Fyzee, *The Fatimid law of inheritance*, in *SI*, ix (1958), 61-9; G.-H. Bousquet, *Le droit musulman*, Paris 1963, 147-59; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 169-74 and bibl. at 280-1; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, index.

(J. SCHACHT)

2. In modern Islamic countries.

i. In recent years, dissatisfaction with the traditional law of inheritance has increased, the main criticism being lack of harmony between the legal norm, adapted to the patrilineal extended family, and changing social conditions; discrimination, as to rights in the estate, against women and cognates; and rigidity of the Sunnī system of inheritance, which does not allow one to freely dispose of one's estate after one's death. Recent reforms are mainly inspired by a desire to strengthen the rights of succession of heirs within the nuclear family.

The juristic basis of the reforms was provided by a wide gamut of methods, the most important of which were the "selection" device (*takhayyur* and its extension, *talfīḳ*) and "modernistic" interpretation (neo-*idjtihād*) of the textual sources [see MAḤKAMA, section 4.X].

Relevant legislation: *Sudan* - Judicial circulars of 1925, 1939, 1945; *Egypt* - Law of Inheritance, 1943; Law of Testamentary Dispositions, 1946; *Syria* - Law of Personal Status, 1953; *Iraq* - Law of Personal Status, 1959, amendments thereto, 1963, 1978; *Jordan* - Law of Personal Status, 1976; *Palestine and Israel* - Succession Ordinance, 1923; Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; Succession Law, 1965; *Tunisia* - Law of Personal Status, 1956; supplement thereto, 1959; *Morocco* - Code of Personal Status, 1958; *Pakistan* - Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961; *Somalia* - Family Law, 1975.

ii. The rights of the heirs within the nuclear family have been strengthened. India (after partition Pakistan), the Sudan (1925) and Jordan adopted the rule that the spouse relict should take the whole estate, by way of *radd* "return", in the absence of any other legal heir, while Egypt (1943) and Syria give the spouse relict priority also over relatives of the outer family. Tunisia adopted the doctrine of *radd* with important deviations: the spouse relict is entitled to participate in the residual estate along with other Ḳurʾānic heirs, provided no male agnate, daughter or agnatic granddaughter survives (but she is still not debarred from *radd* in the presence of a relative of the outer family). The same rule, with minor variations, was adopted in Jordan. In Israel (1965), the spouse relict has priority over all other heirs.

In ʿIrāḳ and Tunisia, a daughter excludes the deceased's collateral from the succession. In ʿIrāḳ (1963), this was the result of the application of the Shīʿī system of priorities to all ʿIrāḳīs. The Sunnīs, however, still apply their own principles of distribution within the Shīʿī order of priorities.

In both ʿIrāḳ (1978) and Tunisia (1959), if the deceased leaves no son, the daughter alone, when in competition with other Ḳurʾānic heirs, is entitled to

take the residue of the estate by *radd*. In their absence, she takes the whole estate. In Tunisia, she maintains this preferential right even in the presence of collaterals.

Jordan has adopted the rule that germane brothers participate in the uterine brothers' third of the estate if the estate is exhausted by the Ḳurʾānic heirs (the "case of the donkey").

The Sudan (1939, 1945), Egypt (1943) and Syria (with some variations) adopted a system which admits agnatic brothers and sisters to the succession along with the grandfather. ʿIrāḳ (1959) adopted a European system of succession under which any brother or sister of the deceased totally excluded the grandfather. This system was abolished in 1963.

iii. The most important reform in the position of the heirs of the outer family was introduced in ʿIrāḳ (1963) when the Shīʿī law of inheritance, which has a totally different order of priorities, was made applicable to all ʿIrāḳīs. Other important reforms have been effected through the device of "obligatory bequests" and the principle of representation succession (see section iv, below). Further minor reforms were introduced in Egypt (1943) and Syria following the adoption of the *per capita* doctrine.

iv. Unlike the traditional formalities, Egypt (1946), Syria, Tunisia (1956) and ʿIrāḳ (1959) made it obligatory to prove bequests by documentary evidence; the age of capacity for making a bequest has been raised in those countries and also in India and Pakistan; both Egypt and Syria permit bequests in favour of legatees not yet born at the time of the testator's death; they also adopt a more restrictive attitude as to stipulations which the testator may impose with regard to the conduct of a beneficiary.

One of the most significant reforms departing from the Sunnī philosophy of succession is the rule, so far adopted only by the Sudan (1945), Egypt (1946) and ʿIrāḳ, that a bequest in favour of a legal heir is no longer *ultra vires* provided it does not exceed the "bequeathable third". This rule fits in with the Shīʿī doctrine. Syria has merely permitted a testator validly to apportion particular items of his estate to his heirs within the value of their shares in the inheritance.

Tunisia (1956) adopted a very bold innovation (as regards Mālikī law) by permitting a person who leaves no heir to bequeath the whole of his estate notwithstanding the succession rights of the Treasury. ʿIrāḳ (1959), on the other hand, enacted that the state was the sole heir under such circumstances.

The absence of the principle of representation, which under traditional law resulted in the total exclusion of orphaned grandchildren from the estate by any surviving son of the grandparent, has been remedied. In Egypt (1946), Syria, Morocco, Tunisia (1959) and Jordan it has been circumvented by the device of the "obligatory bequest" to orphaned grandchildren of what their deceased parent would have inherited had he (in Egypt and Tunisia, he or she) survived, provided that it does not exceed the "bequeathable third". Pakistan has solved the problem by adopting a comprehensive system of representation.

v. In Egypt (1943), Syria and Tunisia (1956, with minor variations), but not in ʿIrāḳ (1963) as far as the Sunnīs are concerned, deliberate homicide is now a bar to inheritance and testamentary succession. In Pakistan, homicide constitutes an impediment to inheritance only if it amounts to a criminal offence.

Difference of religion has ceased to be a bar to succession in British India (1850) and, following this lead, in Tanganyika (1923, 1947) and Nyasaland (1929), but not in the Middle East. It has never been a bar to the validity of a bequest. Apostasy is no longer a capital offence, but it is still a bar to inheritance, except in India and Pakistan (1850).

In Egypt (1943), difference of domicile is no longer a bar to inheritance between non-Muslim—and in Syria also Muslim—relatives unless the law of the non-Muslim state bars foreigners from inheriting from its nationals. The principle of reciprocity, in cases of difference of religion and nationality, has been extended to testamentary succession in Egypt (1946), Syria, Tunisia (1956) and ʿIrāḳ (1959).

vi. Since the Sunnī will is subject to the *ultra vires* doctrine, the family *waḳf* has become the chief instrument for circumventing the law of inheritance: Ḳurʾānic heirs are almost totally excluded from the estate; entitlement is transmitted according to the principle of representation; preference is given to agnates over cognates; the female in every generation benefits but may not transmit her share in the entitlement to her descendants.

Under these circumstances, Egypt (1946) and Lebanon (1947) have introduced the "obligatory entitlement" of legal heirs, equal to their rights of inheritance, to any *waḳf* in excess of one-third of the estate, the purpose being to bring the *waḳf* into greater conformity with the law of testate and intestate succession. The family *waḳf* was reduced to two series of beneficiaries and finally abolished altogether in Egypt, Syria and Tunisia [see WAḲF].

vii. Though some of the changes in the law of intestate and testate succession are of considerable importance, the major achievement has been the mere fact of codification. Some countries have effected revolutionary reforms, to the extent of complete equality of men and women and of agnates and cognates. But this legislation is a complete departure from the *sharīʿa*. It was brought about by adopting comprehensive systems of succession of European origin. The Ottoman Law of Succession, 1913, of German origin, at first applicable only to *mīrī* property, was adopted in Palestine (1923), Israel (1951, with the inclusion of *mulk* and movables) and ʿIrāḳ (1959-63). The Israeli Law of Succession, 1965, is applicable only in the civil courts. The Somalian Family Law, 1975, in inspired by Marxist ideology.

Bibliography: N.J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim family*, Cambridge 1971; idem, *Reform of family law in Pakistan*, in *SI*, vii (1956), 135-55; J.N.D. Anderson, *Islamic law in the modern world*, London 1959, ch. 4; idem, *Law reform in the Muslim world*, London 1976, see Index, arts. "bequests" and "succession" and bibl. in n. 148; idem, *Recent reforms in the Islamic law of inheritance*, in *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, xiv (1965), 349-65; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic law*, 2nd impression, Oxford 1966, ch. 23 with important bibl. to chs. 14, 15, 23; I. Mahmud, *Muslim law of succession and administration*, Karachi 1958; D. Pearl, *A textbook on Muslim law*, London 1979, ch. 8; J. Roussier, *Dispositions nouvelles dans le statut successoral en droit tunisien*, in *SI*, xii (1960), 131-44; A. Layish, *Women and Islamic law in a non-Muslim state*, Jerusalem and New York 1975, ch. 9; idem, *The Mālikī family waqf according to wills and waqfiyyāt*, in *BSOAS*, xlvi/1 (1983), 1-32; idem, *The family waqf and the sharʿī law of succession*, in G. Baer and G. Gilbar (eds.), *Social and economic aspects of the Muslim waqf* (forthcoming); Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *Aḥkām al-Tarikāt wa 'l-mawārīth*, Cairo 1963; Ḥusayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, *al-Mawārīth fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islamiyya*, erd ed., [Cairo] 1958; Badrān Abu 'l-ʿAynayn Badrān, *al-Mīrāth wa 'l-waṣiyya wa*

'l-hiba, Alexandria 1970; Aḥmad al-Ḥuṣrī, *al-Ṭarīkāt wa 'l-waṣāyā fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Amman 1972.

(A. Layish)

MĪRATH (old Anglicised spelling Meerut), (i) a district in the modern province of Uttar Pradesh, India, immediately to the north-east of Dihlī, and entirely within the Djamnā-Ganges *dōʾāb*. Its principal towns are Mīrath city itself; Sardhānā (the chief residence of the Begam Samrū, widow of the adventurer Walter Reinhardt called "Sombre"; see SAMRŪ); Ghāzīābād; Bařnāwā; and Hāpur, an important grain market. (ii) Mīrath city (29°0'N., 77°43'E.), a town of considerable antiquity.

The city was the site of a pillar of Ashoka, one of the two taken by Fīrūz Shāh the Tughluḳid to Dihlī, and within the town are Buddhist remains dating from the 3rd century B.C.; but since these are not mentioned by the Chinese travellers Fa-hsien (4th century) and Hsüan-tsang (7th century), there had probably been an early decay of Buddhist influence. A strong fort was built here in the 11th century by the Hindū ruler of Baran (= Bulandshahr), originally surrounded by a moat and a wall with eight gates (other gates were added in Muslim times); this was the fort captured from the Ḍoř Rādjpūts by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak in 588/1192, using this and the fort of Baran from which to overthrow the Gahaḍawāla Rādjpūts and make his assault on Dihlī. Mīrath remained in Muslim control through the early sultanate of Dihlī (the names of several *iḳṭāʿdārs* are recorded by the chroniclers Minhādj, ʿIṣāmī, and Baranī); in 727/1326-7 the forces of the Mongol invader Tarmashīrīn were defeated at Mīrath; but by 802/1399 the city had been sacked and destroyed by Tīmūr.

There seems to have been some return to prosperity in Mughal times: the fort is mentioned in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*. Mīrath was briefly a copper mint under Akbar, and the Mughal emperors seem to have taken some interest in the buildings (repair of Djāmiʿ mosque by Humāyūn; a couple of *dargāhs*, of Abū Yār Muḥammad Khān (1039/1629) and Abū Muḥammad Khān (1099/1688); the *maḳbara* of Shāh Pīr of 1038/1628 erected by the order of Nūr Djahān, a red sandstone bulding with the characteristic wide four-centred Mughal arch (photograph in *Meerut gazetteer*, UP Govt., Lucknow 1963); the presence of a *karbalā*, *ca.* 1009/1600, and two *imāmbārās*, indicates that some Shīʿa settlement had taken place. In the early 12th/18th century, with the rise of the Sayyid brothers as kingmakers, there were many grants of land made in the Mīrath area, and there was some industry in the form of indigo-processing and in the manufacture of the fine lambswool *sānslā* blankets; but after the invasion of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], 1152/1739, the land fell into anarchy, and by the early years of the 19th century Mīrath was ruinous and depopulated. The considerable gain in British prestige after Lord Lake's success in the battle of Dihlī, 1803, led to the establishment of an extensive military cantonment at Mīrath (a tactical mistake, according to P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, OUP India 1973, 145, in that Dihlī itself was not strongly garrisoned and held), whereby the city regained its prosperity to the extent of securing a reputation as one of the best laid-out towns in Upper India. The events of 1857, when the mutiny of the Bengal army started in Mīrath, leading to the final loss of all power by the ruling Mughal house, do not concern us here. Many Muslims migrated to Pākistān after Partition in 1947, and the 1961 Census of India showed Mīrath with a Muslim population of only 20%, mostly Sunnī.

Monuments. Apart from those mentioned above, there are a few Muslim monuments, some of considerable antiquity, which have been but poorly described, and no photographs are available. The Djāmiʿ mosque, on the site of a former Buddhist temple, is said to have been erected in 410/1019 by Ḥasan Mahdī, a *wazīr* of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī; the *dargāh* of Makhdūm Shāh Wilāyat in the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn (= Muʿizz al-Dīn) Ghūrī; and the *maḳbara* of Sālār Masʿūd by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak at the end of the 6th/12th century (since he was killed in battle at Bahrayč in 425/1034, and has cenotaphs in other Indian towns, this *maḳbara* may refer rather to his cult as a folk-divinity; see PANDJ PĪR). The gazetteers mention some "scores of other temples and mosques, of no particular interest", but no-one seems to have looked at them to see: Mīrath, although only some 40 miles from Dihlī, seems to have been badly served by archaeologists. Other buildings within the district include the Begam Samrū's palace (Dilkusha Kōthī) of 1822, at Sardhānā; at Bařnāwā, on a (pre-Muslim) mound south of the town, are the *dargāhs* of Badr al-Dīn Shāh and Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (undescribed) and the *maḳbara* of Pīr Sarwār, Persian inscr. dated 948 (= 1541-2).

Bibliography: There are sporadic references to Mīrath city and district in Minhādj-i Sirādj Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; information on all aspects of the city and district in the *District gazetteer of the United Provinces*, Meerut vol., and the corresponding vol. of the Uttar Pradesh Government, 1963. Useful account of city and district under the latter Mughals in Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge 1951, repr. with new introd. OUP India 1973. Monuments: a few mentioned in A. Führer, *The monumental antiquities and inscriptions of the North-West provinces and Oudh* (= *ASI*, N.S. ii), 1891, s.v. Mīrath.

(J. Burton-Page)

AL-**MIRBAD**, the name of a celebrated public place in al-Baṣra [*q.v.*] which, although situated outside the metropolis of southern ʿIrāḳ, played an outstanding role in the economic life of that town as well as in the shaping of the specifically Arabic culture.

Etymologically, the term could be a noun of place anomalously formed from the root *r-b-d* which implies, amongst other things, the meaning of "to halt, make a stop" and could thus designate a spot where nomads encamp, and then, by extension, where camels and sheep are penned up. The various denotations of the word nevertheless cause a problem, since it is difficult to reduce them to a common element, even if the sense of "an open space where one puts out dates to dry" which it has at Medina (see Yāḳūt, iv, 484; *TA* and *LA* s.v.; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, tr. Huart, iv, 80) suggests one, which could possibly be that of "a flat piece of ground of varying size". But it may nevertheless be a simple proper noun, more or less artificially attached to a well-known root.

At Baṣra, the Mirbad was a market outside the town which formed the oldest commercial centre of the town; it extended along the edge of the desert, to the west of the urban agglomeration, and was originally separated from it by stretches of waste, empty land at a distance of 3 or 4 km away. However, the rampart built in 155/771-2 by Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 473-4) left it outside the town, but since Baṣra developed westwards in the normal course of events, the open space was fairly rapidly filled up, and the extensive open area, whilst retaining

its original character, became transformed into a flourishing suburb, which was connected by a wide street, along which lay buildings and which was oriented from west to east, via the Bāb al-Bādiya, to the town's centre and the port along the river (al-Furḍa). Whilst the Mirbad formed a market where the Bedouins came to sell their camels and sheep and a halting-place for the caravans which raised up clouds of dust, it appears that merchandise was forwarded via this street, intensifying an economic activity which had very quickly made necessary the construction, on the fringes of the market, of shops and workshops (such as those of the tanners on the desert side; see al-Ṭabarī, i, 3120).

Since the first ᶜAbbāsid governors of Baṣra had no suitable residence at their disposal, Sulaymān b. ᶜAlī, who was governor 133-9/781-6, went and took up his residence in the Mirbad (al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 349; Yāḳūt, i, 643-4), an act which inevitably came to modify the appearance and the functions of the area, since other dwellings were now built. It was <u>Dj</u>aᶜfar b. Sulaymān (governor *ca.* 176/792-3) who is said to have uttered this memorable saying: "ᶜIrāḳ is the heart (lit. "eye", *ᶜayn*) of the world, Baṣra is the heart of ᶜIrāḳ, the Mirbad is the heart of Baṣra, and my house is the heart of the Mirbad" (al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Buldān*, ed. Pellat 196, ed. Ṣ. al-ᶜAlī, 498, ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, iv, 139; Pellat, *Milieu*, 11 and refs. cited there). In the shadow of this dwelling, which must therefore have been in the southeastern part of the tract, the lizards' market (*sūḳ al-ḍibāb*) was held, which attracted the persons who loved these reptiles as delicacies (al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 78), whilst behind it lay the house of Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāʾ (al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 321).

This famous philologist (d. *ca.* 154/770 [*q.v.*]) was thus right on the spot for making linguistic enquiries from his informants, Bedouins who were either passing through or who had been recently sedentarised. It was in effect at this place that, during the very first centuries of Islam, a good part of the Arabic vocabulary was recorded, that the grammatical doctrines adopted by the Baṣran school were formulated and, in a more general fashion, that the "Arab humanities" were put together, since the poetical and historical traditions on which they were based were in major part gathered there. In this connection, al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, in a well-known passage of his *Bayān* (iv, 23), notes the diversity of the texts gathered from their informants (*ruwāt*) by those enquirers installed either at the Mirbad (the *Mirbadiyyūn*) or in the Friday mosque (the *Mas<u>dj</u>idiyyūn*), and stresses the variations of literary taste.

It was also there that, at an early date, poets whose talent posterity was subsequently to recognise, notably <u>Dj</u>arīr and al-Farazdaḳ (or also <u>Dh</u>ū 'l-Rumma; see Ibn <u>Kh</u>āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Tunis 1386/1966, 32; idem, *Maṭmaḥ*, Beirut 1404/1983, 57), came to declaim their works and to engage in contests which delighted and informed a public of good judges. Al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, in his *Ḥayawān* (vi, 239), informs us that Abū Nuwās himself used to come early in the morning to the Mirbad with his writing-tablet in the hope of meeting there some Bedouin who could communicate to him some vocabulary and some verses, and he was probably not the only person to adopt this course. Each poet or orator who was well-known had a special reserved place around which a regular group of hearers formed an attentive circle, one which was always ready to show its approval or its criticisms. In the absence of an official educational system, the Mirbad thus formed a kind of public educational establishment where not only philologists and poets presided but also traditionists, *muḥaddi<u>th</u>ūn*, who thereby earned through their assiduous attendance the *nisba* of al-Mirbadī (see Yāḳūt, iv, 484-5, and al-Samᶜānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, xii, 180-1, who mention several with this name).

At all events, one can easily picture the instructive spectacle which was offered to Baṣrans of an enquiring and observant nature by "the motley crowd of Bedouins and city-dwellers who busied themselves with their affairs, gave judgements in poetic contests or slipped themselves into the circles which grew up around scholars. It was probably there also [that one] could be present at performances of snake charmers and mountebanks of all kinds" (Pellat, *Milieu*, 245). The chief of the ᶜAbd al-Ḳays, al-<u>Dj</u>ārūd b. Abī Sabra, summed up in his own way the advantages of the Mirbad in strongly advising people to go there, since, he said (*Bayān*, i, 345), "it gives one ideas, clarifies one's vision, provides items of information and brings together Rabīᶜa and Muḍar."

It is a fact that the Mirbad was rarely the theatre for fights between different tribes or factions of Baṣra, and the confrontations which are mentioned do not seem to have been bloody. In 64/683, after the killing of Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAtakī, who had been appointed governor over the town by ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the combattants were prepared to fight there, but the paying out of the blood-price prevented the situation from deteriorating (version of al-Mubarrad, in *Kāmil*, i, 121 ff.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 454; al-Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 98; *Naḳāʾiḍ <u>Dj</u>arīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, 731). In 81 or 82/701-2, an episode in the struggle between al-Ḥa<u>djdj</u>ā<u>dj</u> and Ibn al-A<u>sh</u>ᶜa<u>th</u> [*q.vv.*] took place at the Mirbad, but of this, historical accounts have primarily preserved a speech of the rebel's (*Bayān*, ii, 155). Concerning the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh (145/762 [*q.v.*], there is mentioned in al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ's *K. al-Burṣān*, 100-1, a *yawm al-Mirbad*, otherwise unknown.

The decline of Baṣra, which began to be apparent from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, does not seem gravely to have affected the Mirbad, where the various activities which had contributed to its fame still retained a certain vitality for a long time afterwards. Although this suburb was one of the points through which the Zan<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*] attacked Baṣra in 257/871 and the place where they committed incendiary acts and pillaging (see A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au III^e siècle*, Paris 1976, 99), the rebels' depredations did not stop it from continuing to play its former role, as is particularly illustrated by the example of the baker-poet al-<u>Kh</u>ubzaʾaruzzī (d. 327-938 [*q.v.*]), whose shop was the place where a group of admirers met. It is even possible that this state of affairs lasted for several centuries, since Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) describes the Mirbads as forming in his time a kind of island in the midst of the desert, whilst the street which had formerly linked it with the town centre and the port was now, for the whole three miles of its length, nothing but a field of ruins.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the text, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 45; Ṣ.A. al-ᶜAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-i<u>dj</u>timāᶜiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, Ba<u>gh</u>dād 1953, index; O. Scemama, *Le rôle du Mirbad de Bassora dans le conservatisme poétique jusqu'au début du III^e siècles*, in *IBLA*, xx (1957), 369-79; Ch. Pellat, *al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ wa 'l-Mirbad*, to appear.

(Ch. Pellat)

al-**MIRBĀṬ** (a. "place of securing, tying up, i.e. anchorage), a port of the South Arabian coast in Ẓufār [*q.v.*] (Dhofar), lying in 17°00'N. and 54°41'E., some 40 miles/70 km east of the modern town of Salāla [*q.v.*] in the Sultanate of Oman. Yāḳūṭ,

Buldān, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, v, 97, describes it as being five *farsakhs* from the town of Ẓufār (i.e. the modern al-Balīd) and as the only port of the coast of the region of Ẓufār; it had an independent *sulṭān*, and its hilly hinterland produced frankincense [see LUBĀN). In the early 19th century, its ruler was a corsair chief, Muḥammad b. ᶜAḳīl, and the ruins of a fort built by him in 1806 were mentioned by J.G. Lorimer as still visible (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Oman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, *IIB Geographical and statistical*, 1274-5). The population of the anchorage, well sheltered from the north-east monsoon, includes a high proportion of *sayyids*, and a notable feature of the place today is the shrine of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, *Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ*, ancestor of the Bā ᶜAlawī [*q.v.*] Ḥusaynī *sayyids* of Ḥaḍramawt; see G. Oman, *The burial stelae of Muḥammad «Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ»*, in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples 1982, 397-401.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MIRDĀS, BANŪ or **MIRDĀSIDS**, an Arab dynasty of Kilābī origin, founded by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. The latter and some of his descendants were, on several occasions between 415/1024 and 473/1080, either tolerated or recognised as princes of Aleppo. In succession to the Ḥamdānids, they maintained a tradition of autonomy in northern Syria, thanks to the tacit protection of the Byzantine Empire, which they accepted in order to ward off pressure from the Būyids of Baghdād and the Fāṭimids of Egypt. However, they did not hesitate on various occasions to launch a frontal attack, in general victoriously, on the heavily-laden Byzantine army and notably on the nearby garrison of Antioch, under Christian domination until 477/1084. The Turkish seizure of the region after 463/1071 was harsher for the Muslim Arabs than it was for the Christians.

From the Umayyad period, among the Ḳays tribes of Syria, the Banū Kilāb occupied an original place, both on account of their military ability and their wish to participate in maintaining order and administering the regions in which they lived. In 215/830, it was a *mawlā* of Kilāb whom the caliph al-Ma'mūn designated as *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo. In 328/939, the Ikhshīd Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj chose Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Saᶜīd al-Kilābī as governor of Aleppo. The Kilāb of Nadjd then flooded into northern Syria and took possession of the region of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān. In 333/944 the Ikhshīd appointed Aḥmad to Antioch and his brother Abu 'l-Fatḥ ᶜUthmān to Aleppo, provoking the jealousy of the other Kilāb chiefs who asked Sayf al-Dawla to come and install himself in Aleppo. ᶜUthmān greeted Sayf al-Dawla and, sitting by his side in his *ᶜammāriyya*, he presented him, village by village, with the country that he knew perfectly. The Kilāb fought alongside the ᶜUḳayl, Kalb and Numayr in the Ḥamdānid ranks against the Ikhshīd Ibn Ṭughdj in 335/946.

In association with other tribes belonging to Ḳays, ᶜĀmir b. Ṣaᶜṣaᶜa, ᶜUḳayl, Numayr, Ḳushayr, Kināna, ᶜAdjlān and Kaᶜb b. Rabīᶜa b. ᶜĀmir, in the 4th/10th century the Kilāb held the Syrian steppe lying between the loop of the Euphrates and the Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn-Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ highway, while tribes of Yemeni origin, such as the Kalb, held sway further south over the Raḥba-Tadmur-Ḥimṣ-Damascus route. The Arab tribes of Syria, who were experiencing considerable demographic growth and were hit by the rise in grain prices, were susceptible to Ḳarmaṭī propaganda denouncing the wealth of the urban Sunnī population and the luxury of the pilgrimage caravans. In northern Syria, the Arab tribes regularly invaded the cultivated lands around Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān, Ḥamāt and Salamiyya in order to seize cereals and wood for fuel and to pasture their flocks. Despite these exactions, their integration in the region was easy, for they shared the Shīᶜī sympathies of the local population.

Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] the Ḥamdānid prince of Aleppo, succeeded, thanks to his light cavalry, in containing these attacks and repulsing the Bedouin in the steppe; by destroying their encampments and filling up their wells, he forced most of the tribes to cross the Euphrates and seek refuge in the Djazīra. Kilāb seems to have been the only tribe authorised to stay in the Aleppo region. Sayf al-Dawla was then able to devote himself to the defence of the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and the western Djazīra against the Byzantine threat.

Sayf al-Dawla had just granted *amān* to the Kilāb when he died in 356/967. The Byzantines profited from his death to occupy Antioch in 358/969, and the Fāṭimids, who were installing themselves in Egypt, in 360/971 led a short-lived expedition into northern Syria. The power of Saᶜd al-Dawla, Sayf al-Dawla's son, was even contested by his *ghulāms*. However, the peripheral position of the principality of Aleppo, at a distance from the three principal power centres of the age, Baghdād, Cairo and Constantinople, allowed the dynasty to survive for a half-century after the disappearance of its founder. The Kilāb took part, in one camp or another, in various military operations oppositing the Ḥamdānid princes and their competitors. In the event of victory, they expected their ally to award them *iḳṭāᶜ*s [*q.v.*] for their personal use. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī mentions some Kilāb warriors in the army of Bakdjūr who, in 381/991, confronted Saᶜd al-Dawla's army near Aleppo. As for the prince of Aleppo, he was accompanied by a contingent of 500 élite soldiers of the ᶜAmr b. Kilāb. Before the emergence of the Mirdās family, the Kilāb Arabs in Syria already represented an organised military force, with powerful cavalry trained in mounted swordmanship and not fearing to confront a government army on the field of battle. While other tribes were happy to give themselves up to pillage with consequences as damaging for the Bedouin as for the sedentary population, the wish to gain access to the state revenues in return for participating in the activities of maintaining order characterised the political goal of the Kilāb until the end of the 5th/11th century.

The history of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his descendants is relatively well-known. The three principal sources are the Egyptian historian al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), whose chronicle has only come down to us for 414-15/1023-4; another historian who was also Egyptian, but Christian and resident in Antioch, Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd, whose chronicle is preserved up to 425/1034; and finally the historian of Aleppo Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜAdīm, who, although he died in 660/1262 devotes numerous pages of his chronological history as well as those of his biographical dictionary of the city of Aleppo to the exploits of the Kilāb. Indeed, three of his ancestors had successively held the post of *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo for some fifty years in the 5th/11th century. Ibn al-ᶜAdīm was very sensitive to the legend which idealised several Mirdāsid princes. According to his accounts, they, following the example of Sayf al-Dawla, were *amīrs* in the noblest Arab tradition, strong and courageous, expert in the skills of *adab* as well as in those of war, using the finest blades, mounting the noblest horses and husbands of the most beautiful women in the East. Their mothers, admirable for devotion and political intelligence, were ready to confront the world and the great in order to

defend and to promote the political careers of their progeny.

All the Arab historians who have dealt with this age have mentioned the role of the Mirdāsids, who also appear in the accounts concerning Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī and the *dāʿī* al-Muʾayyid li-Dīn Allāh (see M. Saleh, *Abû l-ʿAlâʾ al-Maʿarrí, bibliographie critique*, in *BEO*, xxi [1969] and xxiii [1970], and Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *L'épître du pardon*, Fr. tr. V.-M. Monteil, Paris 1984; idem, *R. al-Ṣāhil wa 'l-shāhidj*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1975. See also AL-MAʿARRĪ and other works of P. Smoor).

The historian of the Mirdāsids experiences some difficulties in identifying personalities. Indeed, a certain number of *isms* borne by the Kilāb, such as Thimāl, Muḳallad, Manīʿ and Waththāb, are from the Ḳaysī tradition and recur in the allied or neighbouring tribes of Numayr, Ḳushayr, ʿUḳayl, Asad and Kināna. When matrimonial alliances united these tribes, the younger sons often received the *ism* of the maternal grandfather or one of the mother's brothers. Similarly, the *laḳabs* which the Banū Mirdās received or which they gave themselves could be confusing, for they made frequent allusion to their perseverance and temper by the use of the names of animals of the steppe, persistent and tenacious, dogs, wolves and wolf cubs, lions and lion cubs. Finally, at a late date, the copyists of manuscripts confused their *nisba* (Kilābī) with that of their neighbours (Kalbī).

Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās al-Kilābī appears in the texts as *amīr* of Raḥba in 399/1009. In that period, the Kilāb were in firm control of the steppe of northern Syria. Luʾluʾ, the old Ḥamdānid *ghulām* who had usurped power at Aleppo, died in the same year; his son Murtaḍā al-Dawla Manṣūr succeeded him and was recognised by the Fāṭimid Imām al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II then allowed the master of Diyār Bakr, Mumahhid al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān, to attempt to reinstall at Aleppo, with the help of the Kilāb, a Ḥamdānid in the person of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ b. Saʿd al-Dawla. Fāṭimid diplomacy, supported by a military expedition which set out from Tripoli, caused the plan to miscarry by obtaining from the Kilāb a disguised act of treason. In 402/1011-12, the Fāṭimids attempted a Ḥamdānid restoration, in their turn, with the help of a grandson of Saʿd al-Dawla; an act of treachery by the Kilāb also brought about the failure of this operation. Having saved Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ on two occasions by their inaction, the Kilāb demanded from him the grant of *iḳṭāʿ*s in fertile regions to pasture their sheep and war horses. To rid himself of them, the master of Aleppo resorted to a well-known trick and invited a thousand Arab warriors to a feast; as soon as they were giddy with good cheer and drink, they were either massacred or thrown into the dungeons. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās figured among the number of the prisoners, and was subjected to the roughest treatment by Murtaḍā al-Dawla Manṣūr, who seized from him his splendid sabre and forced him to repudiate to his advantage his wife Ṭarūd, the most beautiful woman of the age. But in 405/1014 Ṣāliḥ managed to escape by acrobatic means. Some days later, having recovered his sabre, he raised an army, hastily levied in Aleppo, bringing together professional *ghulāms*, roughs and Christian and Jewish citizens. The *dhimmīs* were massacred and the warriors, including Murtaḍā al-Dawla, were captured.

Tough negotiations took place between Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose brothers were captives in the citadel, and the representatives of the people of Aleppo, whose master was in the hands of the Kilāb. Manṣūr repudiated Ṭarūd, promised Ṣāliḥ the hand of his daughter and a very heavy ransom, and above all agreed to hand over to the Kilāb half of the fiscal revenues of the principality of Aleppo. After he was freed, he only partially kept his promises. The lands around Aleppo were therefore ravaged by the Arabs who had been deceived, while there were mutterings of revolt in the town. Fearing betrayal by Fatḥ al-Ḳalʿī, the governor of the citadel, Manṣūr fled to the nearby Byzantine territory, where in 406/1016 he received a fief and built a fortress.

Ṣāliḥ showed his good sense after his victory. He arranged to have join Manṣūr the wives and daughters whom he had forgotten in Aleppo in his hasty flight, only deflowering the one who had been promised to him. He obtained from the Byzantines, at first hostile towards him, the maintenance of the commercial traffic across the region that he controlled. He advised Fatḥ, the new master of Aleppo, to respect the promises made by Manṣūr to the Kilāb. However, despite his advice, negotiations were conducted with the Fāṭimids who, since the death of Ibn Killis, had coveted northern Syria. The envoys of al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] persuaded Fatḥ to yield to them first the town and then the citadel. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās did not yet control an adequate military force to drive out the Egyptian army.

The new Fāṭimid governor ʿAzīz al-Dawla Fātik was given the citadel of Aleppo in 407/1017, and swiftly made himself an autonomous prince; as master of the city, he ceded control of the plain to the Kilāb. Enjoying good relations with the Byzantines, he thus maintained peace in the region. Such independence was unacceptable to the Fāṭimids, and, in 413/1022, the regent Sitt al-Mulk, sister of the *Imām* al-Ḥākim, who had vanished, had Fātik assassinated and put two Fāṭimid officials in charge of both the citadel and the town.

In order to counter this attempt at direct Fāṭimid administration, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, who at that time controlled Raḥba, Raḳḳa, Bālis, Manbidj and Rafaniyya, found allies among the Kalb of central Syria and the Ṭayyiʾ of Transjordan, who were very hostile to the Fāṭimids. From 390/1000 onwards, violent movements in Western Asia and North Africa were stirring up not only Ḳaysī and Yemeni Arab tribes, but also nomadic groups of Berbers and even disbanded black military slaves, driven to despair by the rise in prices and the scarcity of grain. The nomads, threatened by famine, resorted to violence in order to gain access to the cultivated lands.

In the spring of 1024, the death of Sitt al-Mulk, while Egypt was entering a serious corn crisis, brutally interrupted a planned rapprochement with the Byzantines, who resumed an offensive action to the south of Antioch. In the months that followed, the majority of Fāṭimid officials of proven authority posted in Syria were replaced by barely competent newcomers. In the reign of al-Ḥākim, and then under the regency of Sitt al-Mulk, the Arab tribes of Syria had already contemplated an alliance to chase out the Fāṭimid army. The Byzantine Basil II, made aware of the plan, was opposed to it, an opposition which collapsed on the death of the Christian regent. During the summer of 415/1024, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās began hostilities in northern Syria and entered the town of Aleppo, which the former *ḳāʾid* of Murtaḍā al-Dawla, Sālim b. Mustafād, surrendered to him. He entrusted to him the continuation of the siege of the citadel and the administration of the city to his secretary Sulaymān b. Ṭawḳ; then he reached central Syria, besieged Baʿlabakk and joined up with his allies, the

Kalbī Sinān b. ʿUlayyān and the Ṭāʾī Ḥassān b. al-Djarrāḥ. He sent the first to attack Damascus and the second to attack Ramla. The *dīwāns* of Cairo did not lend much support to the Turkish general Anūshtigin al-Duzbarī, who had been entrusted with the defence of Palestine. Distrusting him, they negotiated behind his back with the Ṭayyiʾ who, at the same time, established secret alliances with the Banū Ḳurra of Libya so as to create a united front hostile to the Fāṭimids from Aleppo to Tripoli in North Africa.

Ramla was pillaged and burnt by Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, but then al-Duzbarī regained the military advantage in Palestine. Damascus, defended by its population and by the Fāṭimid army, repelled the Kalb. In the course of the year 415/1024-5, the population of Aleppo opened its gates to the Kilāb. The Fāṭimid garrison defended itself for some time in the citadel, taking advantage of the misgivings of the city's Muslims over the Byzantine sympathies of Ibn Mirdās. Underground mining led to the destruction of the well which supplied the citadel with water and, in Djumādā I 416/June 1025, the Kilāb finally gained access to it. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās was in central Syria at that time and only took possession of Aleppo three months later. He allowed the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and governor of the town to go free, but had the military governor of the citadel executed and immured the old *ḳāḍī* alive. His action had allowed him to include Aleppo and Ḥimṣ in his domain of north Syria and to extend his rule in central Syria to Baʿlabakk, Ḥiṣn (Ibn) ʿAkkār and Ṣaydā.

Having brought to success the plan which had guided his forebears for a century, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās gave to his principality the attributes of a mediaeval Islamic state, a fiscal apparatus, a vizier described as *ṣāḥib al-sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* and a *ḳāḍī*. His concern for order and respectability, once victory was won, contrasted with the behaviour of Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, a cowardly and cruel ruffian. But al-Duzbarī, nominated Fāṭimid governor of Damascus and Syria in 419/1028, could not tolerate Mirdāsid control over the cities of central Syria while Ḥassān b. al-Djarrāḥ continued to ravage Palestine. The Ṭāʾī, having lost the aid of the Kalb since the death of Sinān b. ʿUlayyān, appealed to Ṣāliḥ to defend Arab autonomy in Syria. The battle of al-Uḳḥuwāna, on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias in Rabīʿ II 420/May 1029, saw the total defeat of the tribes. The Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ took to flight, and Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his younger son as well as his vizier, the Christian Tādrus b. al-Ḥasan, were killed. The body of Ṣāliḥ was nailed to the gate of the town of Ṣaydā where he had enjoyed residing.

Two very young sons of Ṣāliḥ, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr and Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl, shared power in Aleppo, the first holding the city, the second the citadel. They abandoned central Syria, Ḥiṣn ʿAkkār, Baʿlabakk, Ḥimṣ and Rafaniyya and regrouped all their forces in the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn and to the west of Diyār Muḍar. The Byzantine *catapanus* of Antioch, provoked by incidents which had brought the Christians and Muslims of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān into conflict in the time of Ṣāliḥ and by the construction of fortresses by Muslim families in the coastal zone without his agreement, wanted to profit from the inexperience of the two princes in order to impose a protectorate on them. Refusing all conciliation and without notifying the Emperor, he sent into battle an army which was wiped out by the Kilāb at Ḳaybar in Djumādā II 420/July 1029. The reconstitution of a force capable of defeating the Byzantines in a pitched battle, two months after a total defeat in Palestine, demonstrates the rare military ability of this tribe, the importance of its manpower and the great number of its mounts, even if the valour of this cavalry is explicable in part by the abundance in northern Syria of pasturage permitting the keeping of powerful war horses. The following year, on learning that the Emperor Romanus III was arriving with a powerful army to avenge his *catapanus*, the two brothers tried in vain to negotiate. Faced with the refusal of Romanus III to accept anything other than the surrender of Aleppo, they decided to fight again. A modest squadron of Arab cavalry inflicted in the heat of Shaʿbān 421/July 1030 near ʿAzāz a memorable defeat on the huge Byzantine coalition. The booty was considerable; their allies, the Numayr, seized 300 mules loaded with gold denarii.

In this period, Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ seized the citadel during the absence of his brother and became the sole master of Aleppo. He chose a new vizier, who was popular although he was a Christian. The latter, with the help of his brother, presided over the urbanisation of the town's suburbs which were bursting out from the confines of its walls and had a mosque built there to facilitate the integration of the newly-settled population, who were very hostile to the non-Muslims. By relying on the old Aleppo citizens and using trickery and cold-blooded violence, Naṣr had quelled a dangerous revolt. Sālim b. Mustafād, *raʾīs* of the town and *muḳaddam al-aḥdāth* [see AḤDĀTH], from his house in the glassmakers' souk, was preaching hatred of the Byzantines and had stirred up the rabble; he was caught and put to death.

In Djumādā I 422/April-May 1031, in order to protect himself against a possible attack from his brother Thimāl, Naṣr concluded peace with the Byzantines. Yaḥyā's text describes in detail the symbolic gestures which demonstrated the rapprochement between the two parties as well as embodying the clauses of the treaty. Recognising the protection exercised by the Byzantines over his principality, Naṣr undertook to pay them 500,000 *dirhams* annually. The following year, together with the new *catapanus* of Antioch, the eunuch Niḳita, he mounted an expedition to exterminate the Ḥākimī Druzes who had become numerous in the Djabal Summāḳ. He did not stand in the way of Niḳita at all when the latter occupied or rased in a few months' time the fortifications built, without the approval of Romanus III, by some autonomous Muslim families on the slope of Djabal Baḥrāʾ to the east of Bāniyās and Latakya. He allowed the Ṭayyiʾ to pass in their mass emigration from southern Syria into Byzantine territory. Romanus III was wanting to use them to put pressure on al-Duzbarī and obtain from the Fāṭimids the renewal of the traditional decennial truce suspended since 415/1024. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ did not intercede either on behalf of his allies of Numayr, who had to cede to the Byzantines some places in the Djazīra. He behaved in every respect as a vassal of the Emperor.

Al-Duzbarī, disturbed by the presence of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ close to Antioch, was unable to accept the alignment of Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ with Byzantium. He made several incursions into northern Syria, trying to rouse the Kilāb notables against Mirdāsid preponderance. Being increasingly repulsed, the Fāṭimid governor of Syria had spread in the region a call to *djihād*. Niḳita replied that he was ready to defend the Byzantine territory but also prepared to negotiate a new truce. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ was afraid of being sacrificed for an agreement between Constantinople and Cairo, and sent an envoy to the Byzantine capital, bearing a hair of John the Baptist, a venerable relic, henceforth preserved in the Palace of the Basileus. The Numayr of Djazīra,

badly situated for a new Byzantine campaign, Ibn Marwān, the master of Diyār Bakr ([see MARWĀNIDS], the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ and the Kalb, also made for Constantinople in order to take part in the conference which was to decide the fate of the borders between the Muslim and Christian domains in northern Syria and Djazīra.

The negotiations lasted for nearly four years. Romanus III died in 425/1034 and Michael IV replaced him. The truce was not definitely concluded until 429/1038-9. Among the numerous points which were discussed, one concerned Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ, who had straight away given allegiance to Romanus III and claimed a royal Byzantine dignity which would distinguish him from the mere tribal leaders. Romanus III seized this opportunity to have Aleppo included in a specific treaty, apart from the treaty which he was proposing to the Fāṭimids. Al-Ẓāhir refused to see Aleppo, a noble Islamic frontier post, figuring in the Byzantine domain (*ḥawz*). After the death of Romanus III, Michael IV was more conciliatory, and advised Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ to recognise his allegiance to the Fāṭimids, but since Yaḥyā's text for this period is lacking, we do not know the details of the treaties.

The periphery of the Syrian steppe was held by dynasties who all, with the exception of the Marwānid Kurds [see MARWĀNIDS] of Diyār Bakr, were descendants of Ḳays tribes. The chiefs of Numayr spread out their castles over the territory of Ḥarrān and Edessa to the north-east of that of Kilāb; the region of Mawṣil, to the south-east of Marwānid Diyār Bakr, was administered by Ḳirwāsh b. Muḳallad, a prince of ʿUḳayl; further south, the Asad of Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad controlled the outlet into Mesopotamia of the Tigris and Euphrates, disputing their territory with the Khafādja who were regrouping, even further south, on the west bank of the Euphrates towards Kūfa. The degree to which each of these chieftainships reached the level of actual states was very problematical, and the Mirdāsids were among the most favourable towards traditional Islamic urban institutions. This choice of theirs contrasted with that of other tribes in southern Syria and Egypt, who were more given to pillage than to administration.

The head of the *dīwān* in Cairo, al-Djardjarāʾī [*q.v.*], distrusted al-Duzbarī and looked favourably on the action of Naṣr b. Mirdās. The latter made a gift to al-Ẓāhir of the booty gathered at the time of the battle of ʿAzāz, and was authorised to annex Ḥimṣ to his principality, and his *laḳab* was inflated. The governor of Ḥimṣ, Djaʿfar b. Kulayd al-Kutāmī, claimed the help of al-Duzbarī, who could not accept a destabilising encroachment of the Kilāb in a region traditionally Yemeni. He wrote to the Byzantines asking them for authorisation to relieve them of Naṣr, who had just married the daughter of Shabīb b. Waththāb, their enemy, the Numayrī prince of Ḥarrān. The alliance between the Mirdāsids and Numayr, added to a possible seizure of Ḥimṣ, would have given this Arab coalition control of all the lowland roads between ʿIrāḳ and the Mediterranean or Byzantine world. Without waiting for agreement to come from Cairo, al-Duzbarī and Ibn Kulayd set out for the north. At Tall Fās, near Laṭmīn, in Shaʿbān 429/May 1038, Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ was killed and his brother Thimāl fled to Aleppo in the company of Shabīb b. Waththāb al-Numayrī.

Thimāl set off again with his brother's children, while Shabīb b. Waththāb took along his sister, Naṣr's widow. Muḳallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās was holding the citadel. When al-Duzbarī entered the town of Aleppo in Ramaḍān 429/June 1038, he was well received by the population, who was still hostile to the alliance between the Mirdāsids and Byzantium. Muḳallad negotiated his own departure and was able to carry off an important part of the citadel's treasure. Al-Duzbarī attacked Thimāl's principality, capturing Bālis and Manbidj but failing before Raḥba.

In 431/1039-40, Shabīb b. Waththāb al-Numayrī died and was replaced by his brother Muṭāʿin. Their sister, the Numayrī princess al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya, Naṣr's widow, received Rāfiḳa-Raḳḳa which she gave, with the middle Euphrates, to her new husband, her brother-in-law Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ. Al-Duzbarī, still in his post at Damascus, then acquired Ḳalʿat Dawsar, the future Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar, in order to protect Aleppo against an attempt at a Mirdāsid restoration, and against the advice of Cairo began a rapprochement with the Marwānid ruler in Mayyāfāriḳīn.

The Byzantines broke the truce in 431 or 432/1039-41 and attacked northern Syria with some success, obtaining from Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ and his cousin Muḳallad offers of tribute or even of the sale of the town of Raḳḳa. Al-Duzbarī tried to play a game of his own by relying on the Banū Djaʿfar section of the Kilāb, settled in the Mudīḳ of Apamea and hostile to the Banū Mirdās as well as to the Byzantines. The tension between Cairo and al-Duzbarī intensified. The vizier al-Djardjarāʾī had the military governor of Damascus and Fāṭimid Syria publicly condemned, whereupon the army of Syria abandoned its commander-in-chief. Accompanied by ten faithful *ghulāms*, al-Duzbarī took refuge in Aleppo. Al-Djardjarāʾī asked Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ to go and attack him, but this proved useless, for al-Duzbarī, in despair, died at Aleppo in Djumādā I 433/January 1042. The following month, after one or two spells of indecision, the citizens of Aleppo opened their gates to Muḳallad and Thimāl. The siege of the citadel in which the Fāṭimid *ghulāms* had taken refuge lasted for six months.

Thimāl's seizure of Aleppo had immediately been recognised by the Empress Theodora, who awarded him the title of *magistros* and that of patrician for his wife, and admitted into the imperial hierarchy six of his brothers, cousins and nephews. The development of commercial exchanges actually led to fierce competition between Muslim and Christian merchants, notably at Aleppo, where the Christians were better protected by a Mirdāsid prince than by a Fāṭimid governor. In 436/1045, the year of the death of al-Djardjarāʾī, a diploma from al-Mustanṣir confirmed Thimāl's investiture in Aleppo; however, relations remained strained, notably because the four to six hundred thousand dinars of al-Duzbarī seized in the citadel had only been partially returned to Cairo. In 439/1047-48, the decennial truce was renewed by the Byzantines, who were confronting in Armenia and Trebizond the first Turcoman bands as well as an inciter to *djihād* near Raʾs al-ʿAyn.

Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān, governor of Damascus, and Ibn Kulayd, governor of Ḥimṣ, attacked Aleppo in 440/1048. Thimāl, at the head of several thousand men, resisted the great Fāṭimid army which, having lost its equipment and mounts in one night following the flooding of the Ḳuwayḳ river, retreated to Damascus. Thimāl, worried about the outcome of events, negotiated successively with the Fāṭimid vizier Ṣadaḳa b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī, an Aleppo Jew, and after the latter's execution, with another Jew, Abū Saʿd, official in charge of the private treasury, who was also executed. Once his cousin, Djaʿfar b. Kāmil b. Mirdās, had killed Ibn

GENEALOGY OF THE MIRDĀSIDS

Ḥumayd

Naṣr

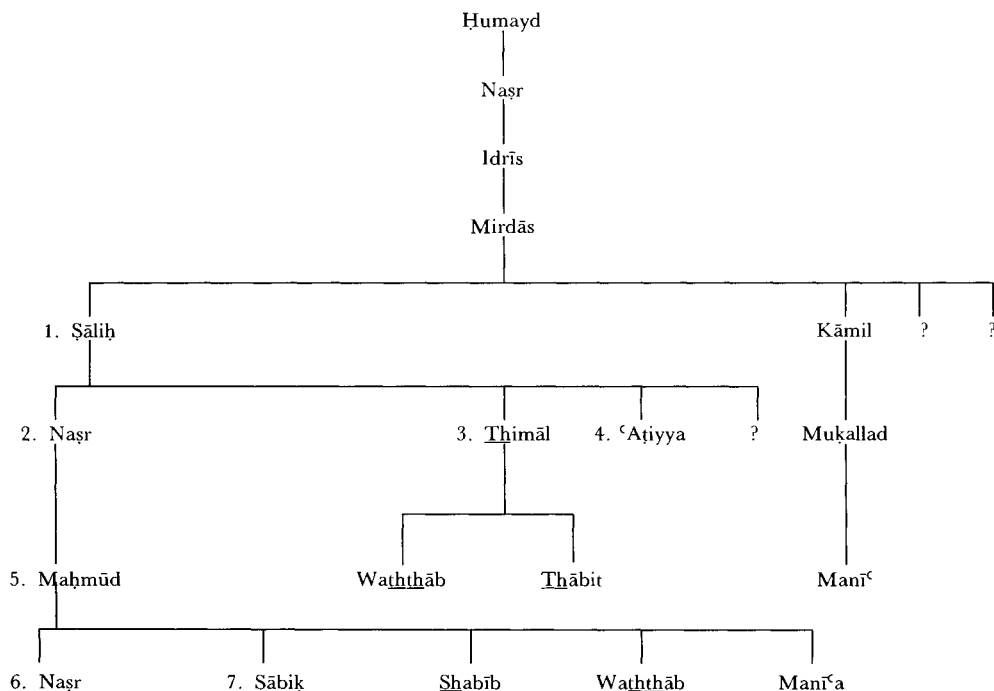
Idrīs

Mirdās

1. Ṣāliḥ — Kāmil — ? — ?

2. Naṣr — 3. Thimāl — 4. ᶜAṭiyya — ? — Muḳallad

5. Maḥmūd — Waththāb — Thābit — Manīᶜ

6. Naṣr — 7. Sābiḳ — Shabīb — Waththāb — Manīᶜa

Nos. 1-7 = order of succession of the Banū Mirdās, Kilābī princes of Aleppo.
The mother of Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās was Rabāb al-Rawḳaliyya or al-Zawḳaliyya.
The mother of ᶜAṭiyya was the beautiful Ṭarūd.
The mother of Maḥmūd b. Naṣr was Manīᶜa al-Sayyida al-ᶜAlawiyya, princess of Numayr.
Naṣr b. Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of al-Malik al-ᶜAzīz b. Djalāl al-Dawla the Buwayhid.
Manīᶜa b. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr married Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, an ᶜUḳaylid prince and successor to the Mirdāsids in Aleppo.

Kulayd at Ḳafar Ṭāb, a new military expedition on a grand scale was launched against Thimāl, involving 400,000 *dīnārs* and 30,000 men, and entrusted to the elderly eunuch Rifḳ. The Emperor Constantine IX, having proposed his mediation to the Fāṭimids in vain, sent two armies to keep a watch over northern Syria. Muḳallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās destroyed the fortifications of Maᶜarrat al-Nuᶜmān and Ḥamāt, and the Mirdāsid troops assembled before Aleppo. The Fāṭimid army, in which there coexisted with great difficulty regular soldiers, either Berbers, blacks or Turks, together with Kalbī and Djarrāḥī Bedouins, was wiped out on the Djabal Djawshīn near Aleppo in Rabīᶜ I 442/August 1050 by the ever-effective cavalry of the Kilāb. Rifḳ, wounded, was taken prisoner and died with his mind unhinged three days later. Thimāl, embarrassed by the unexpected scale of his victory, sent to Cairo his young son and his tireless wife, al-Sayyida al-ᶜAlawiyya, whose political intelligence and pertinent remarks charmed the Fāṭimid *Imām* al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*]; the latter recognised as being in fief to Thimāl Aleppo and all the lands which he effectively held.

From 442/1050 to 449/1057-8, Muᶜizz al-Dawla Thimāl administered his principality peacefully, with the help of his successive viziers, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Anbārī, then Fakhr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ], and finally Sadīd al-Dawla Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Raᶜbānī al-Raḥbī. The two last were experts in public finance who, before or after their stay in Aleppo, performed the same function for other rulers. Aleppo enjoyed at that time low prices and great prosperity; numerous houses built in this period were still in existence two centuries later. External relations were peaceful. A tribute was conveyed each year by Ibn al-Aysar to the Byzantine Emperor who, for his part, promoted the Mirdāsid notables in the imperial hierarchy. At the same time, relations with al-Mustanṣir, to whom the above Ibn al-Aysar regularly brought a gift (*al-ḳisṭ*), were good. Thimāl supported al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] at the beginning of his revolt against the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate and gave him the town of Raḥba.

However, from 449/1057-8 onwards, Thimāl had to face the jealousy of his Kilāb supporters, who reproached him for treating them less well than his Numayrī allies. In exasperation, he arranged with al-Mustanṣir to exchange Aleppo for Djubayl, Bayrūt and ᶜAkkā, far from Kilābī agitation, and a Fāṭimid governor was installed at Aleppo. In 451/1060 the defeat and death of al-Basāsīrī lessened Fāṭimid prestige in eastern Syria, and Asad al-Dawla ᶜAṭiyya b. Ṣāliḥ, Thimāl's brother, occupied Raḥba, capturing the treasure and weapons which had been stored there in preparation for an expedition against ᶜIrāḳ. The Kilāb entrusted to the young prince Maḥmūd b. Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās and his cousin Manīᶜ b. Muḳallad b. Kāmil b. Mirdās the task of regaining possession of Aleppo. After a first unsuccessful attempt, they received the support of the *aḥdāth* of the town as well as the notables, whereas the rich

ashrāf of the ᶜAlids remained once again the most faithful to the Fāṭimid power. In Djumādā II 452/July 1060, Aleppo opened its gates to the Kilāb. The Fāṭimid governor, entrenched in the citadel, asked for help from Cairo, who commanded the governor of Damascus, Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū ᶜAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, to go to Aleppo, where he was however coldly received. In Radjab 452/August 1060, he confronted the Kilābī army and in his turn experienced defeat at al-Funaydiḳ. Abandoned by his Kalb, Ṭayyiʾ and Kilāb allies and overcome by thirst, he was taken prisoner together with the majority of the Fāṭimid commanders. The next day, ᶜAṭiyya b. Ṣāliḥ took possession of Aleppo, which two days later fell into the hands of Maḥmūd b. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ. Ten days later, the last Fāṭimid troops surrendered the citadel to him and left northern Syria for good.

Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ was meanwhile staying in Cairo. Al-Mustanṣir informed him that since the town of Aleppo had eluded him, he was resuming possession of the coastal towns. Thimāl then decided to return to Aleppo. But his nephew Maḥmūd, relying on his Numayrī allies, refused to give up the city to him, sent the poet Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī to ask for help from Byzantium, and freed Nāṣir al-Dawla and the other Fāṭimid prisoners in order to conciliate al-Mustanṣir. After some military operations in which Maḥmūd, supported by the *aḥdāth* of Aleppo, had the worst of it, the Kilābī *shaykhs* imposed an agreement: the uncle Thimāl received Aleppo whilst the nephew Maḥmūd had the right to compensation in cash and grain. In Rabīᶜ II 453/April 1061, Thimāl entered Aleppo once more, and was soon joined there by Maḥmūd and by the clan of the Numayr, thanks to the political genius of his wife al-Sayyida al-ᶜAlawiyya. ᶜAṭiyya, Thimāl's brother, the master of Raḥba, had proclaimed himself independent.

Thimāl died at the end of 454/1062 after leading several victorious operations against Byzantine encroachments, in the mountains and plateaux situated between Antioch and Aleppo. Contrary to all expectations, he had nominated his brother ᶜAṭiyya to succeed him in Aleppo. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr protested and obtained the support of the Kilābī notables. In Radjab 455/July 1063, uncle and nephew started fighting each other, with varied fortunes for each. The following year, a truce was established. ᶜAṭiyya was to keep Aleppo and the eastern part of the principality, from Raḥba to Ḳinnasrīn and ᶜAzāz. The western part was assigned to Maḥmūd. But ᶜAṭiyya did not accept this division, and took the dangerous decision to call upon a thousand Turcoman archers who were established in Diyār Bakr. Led by their chief, Ibn Khān or Ibn Khāḳān, they were the first Turks to enter Syria as free men. Maḥmūd was forced to conclude a new truce, and ᶜAṭiyya, who in the end would be embarassed by the presence of the Turcomans, had their camp pillaged by the *aḥdāth* of Aleppo. Some Turcomans were killed, others scattered but, out of vexation, Ibn Khān placed himself at the service of Maḥmūd. The latter, after a victory at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] and a three-months' siege, was finally able, in Ramaḍān 457/August 1065, to enter into possession of Aleppo which he had conquered in 452/1060. The *de facto* division of the principality into an eastern domain situated on the Euphrates and assigned to ᶜAṭiyya, and a western domain, comprising Aleppo and the *djund* of Ḳinnasrīn as well as a large part of the *djund* of Ḥimṣ, and assigned to Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, was accepted by all.

The period of relative peace and autonomy which northern Syria and the Djazīra had enjoyed was now coming to an end. Indeed, the equilibrium between Baghdād, Constantinople and Cairo was upset. Cairo, struck by famine, could no longer intervene in northern Syria. Byzantium was devoting all its forces to resisting the deadly Turcoman infiltrations. On the other hand, the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate had recovered a formidable vigour thanks to Saldjūḳ protection. Sultan Alp Arslān [*q.v.*], who in 455/1063 had succeeded his uncle Ṭoghril Beg [*q.v.*], was ready to use the disorder created by the undisciplined Turcomans in order to intervene in northern Syria.

In 459-60/1067-68, the Turcomans ravaged all the Byzantine territory from the Orontes to the Euphrates, and 70,000 Christian captives were recorded as being sold in the Aleppo markets. In the same year, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with Ibn Khān and his men, reached Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ to the south of his principality; it was believed that he was about to cross the steppe in order to attack, in Raḥba, his uncle ᶜAṭiyya, whom the Fāṭimids were inciting to intervene against him. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn ᶜAmmār, master of Tripoli, was able to reconcile the uncle and nephew and arrange for Cairo once more to recognise the partition of 457/1065. But when ᶜAṭiyya set out for Ḥimṣ or Damascus, a town to which he put forward a claim, the prince of Mawṣil, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh al-ᶜUḳaylī, took advantage of the opportunity to seize Raḥba where the Mirdāsid was unpopular. The Sunnī *khuṭba* in favour of the ᶜAbbāsids was re-established there.

The Byzantines could not tolerate the deadly raids led against them by the Turcomans from Mirdāsid territory. The town of Aleppo was profiting from the sales of booty and captives each time an expedition returned. In 461-2/1069-70, they occupied Manbidj, then launched several operations in order to weaken the Turcomans. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr began a riposte, then concluded a truce, pledging 40,000 *dīnār*s which Constantinople agreed to lend him against the security as a hostage of his son Naṣr. The Turcomans, constantly increasing in numbers, presented for him, in 462/1070, a more serious threat than Byzantium. In Aleppo, they became involved in fights with the citizens; in the plain, they pillaged the granaries and held the peasants to ransom. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr could not hope for help from the Fāṭimids. Only the Saldjūḳ sultan was able to restore order in northern Syria. But it was necessary to pay the price and abandon the Shīᶜī *adhān* and the *khuṭba* in favour of the Fāṭimid *Imām*. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr spoke realistically to the *shaykhs* of Aleppo; if he did not yield to the Saldjūḳs, he would be smashed by them. Unhappy, but convinced, the *shaykhs* came round to his point of view. In Shawwāl 462/July 1070, the Friday prayer in the great mosque of Aleppo displayed the new attachment of the town to Sunnism and the ᶜAbbāsids. There were some reactions of popular opposition; the mosque's mats disappeared, for they belonged to ᶜAlī and not ᶜUmar. The same year, Mecca and Medina rallied to the ᶜAbbāsids, while Yemen had abandoned Fāṭimid allegiance in 459/1066. In Cairo, the old loser of Aleppo, Nāṣir al-Dawla, the strong man of the military rebellion, had offered his services to the Saldjūḳ.

The Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān asked Maḥmūd b. Naṣr to follow the example of the Ḳaysī and Kurdish princes of the Djazīra and steppe, and to come and tread on his carpets as a token of submission. As the Mirdāsid was wavering, Alp Arslān camped in the spring of 463/1071 with his formidable army in front of Aleppo on a hill known from that time as Tall al-Sulṭān. But, despite a torrent of arrows and the damage which his mangonels inflicted on the walls,

Alp Arslān could not stamp out the brave and resourceful resistance of the people of Aleppo. Negotiating with the other chiefs of Kilāb factions, the sultan publicly offered to let them name a replacement for Maḥmūd b. Naṣr. The latter, having more faith in the courage of the Aleppo citizens than in the loyalty of his fellow-tribesmen, left the town. Together with his mother al-Sayyida al-ʿAlawiyya, they trod on the sultan's carpet. The Numayrī princess, wife of two Kilābī princes and mother of a third, adopted in the face of the Sunnī Turk an attitude of vanquished pride, quite different from the respectful humility which she had displayed, twenty years earlier, before the Fāṭimid *Imām*. Alp Arslān, recovering his equanimity, confirmed Maḥmūd b. Naṣr in his territories and entrusted to him the task of chasing the Fāṭimids out of central Syria, the first stage before the destruction of the Ismaʿīlī caliphate. Then the sultan went to confront the Byzantine army which had penetrated into Armenia.

Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, at the head of an army composed of Kilāb and Turcomans, went therefore to Baʿlabakk and was about to besiege Damascus when he learnt that his uncle ʿAṭiyya had left the territory of Antioch, where he had found refuge, in order to attack Maʿarrat Maṣrīn to the south-west of Aleppo. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr returned to his principality and gathered some Turkish contingents to confront an imminent Byzantine attack, but the complete victory that Alp Arslān achieved at Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 463/August 1071 marked the final close of the offensive that the Byzantines had been conducting in Syria for a century. ʿAṭiyya having died in Constantinople, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr in 465/1072-3 took Raḥba for the ʿUḳaylids. At the end of his reign, having become distrustful and mean, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr showed himself cruel to his entourage. He had both the son and brother of his vizier, the Christian Abū Bishr, who had always helped him in hard times, beheaded and forced the latter to carry these two heads tied together around his neck; then, on a false charge, he had him killed in his turn and thrown into the well of the citadel. He quarrelled with the Kinānī *amīr* Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī b. Muḳallad Ibn Munḳidh [see MUNḲIDH, BANŪ], who left Aleppo for Tripoli, still a Shīʿī centre, and was able to carve out for himself, to the detriment of the Kilāb, a lordship over the middle Orontes. Maḥmūd b. Naṣr died in 467 or 468/1075, leaving an inheritance valued at one-and-a-half million *dīnārs*. He had retaken from the Byzantines the castle of Sinn in Rabīʿ II 467/end of 1074. He had designated as his successor his youngest son Shabīb, but the eldest, Naṣr, a descendant of the Būyids through his mother, was recognised as prince of Aleppo. Naṣr b. Maḥmūd showed himself to be more peaceful and more generous than his father. His army, led by the Turcoman Aḥmad Shāh, retook Manbidj from the Byzantines in Ṣafar 468/September-October 1075. The same year, Atsïz b. Uvak al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam [*q.v.*], the Turkish master of Damascus, penetrated the Mirdāsid domain and pillaged the middle valley of the Orontes, installing his brother Djawālī or Čawlï in Rafaniyya. After a first attempt, which failed, Aḥmad Shāh managed to expel Djawālī to Damascus. On the day of the *Fiṭr* 468, Naṣr b. Maḥmūd, completely drunk, put Aḥmad Shāh in prison and attacked his Turkish troops who were stationed in the Ḥāḍir of Aleppo; a Turkish archer killed him with an arrow.

Sadīd al-Mulk Ibn Munḳidh, having returned from Tripoli, had Sābiḳ, Naṣr's brother, designated *amīr* of Aleppo. He was hoisted with a rope along the citadel wall, for he also was dead drunk. Aḥmad Shāh received, in addition to the *laḳab* of ʿIzz al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil, a purse of 1,000 *dīnārs* and the promise of a monthly allowance of 30 *dīnārs*. He pacified his fellow Turks. The Kilāb of the plain proclaimed as their *amīr* Waththāb, brother of Naṣr and Sābiḳ, and the fourth brother Shabīb gave him his support, as did their cousin Mubārak b. Shibl.

Aḥmad Shāh, at the head of 1,000 cavalry, accompanied by an allied Turkish contingent commanded by Muḥammad b. Dumlādj, easily dispersed the Kilāb coalition, 70,000 cavalry and infantry, assembled near Ḳinnasrīn. The Turks captured 100,000 camels and 400,000 sheep as well as a large number of Kilābī wives and concubines. Ten thousand military slaves of Kilāb were counted. Aḥmad Shāh returned to Aleppo with all the booty taken in the tents and all the prisoners. Sābiḳ gave the order to free the prisoners and brought to live with him his sister, wife of Mubārak b. Shibl, who was one of the captives.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 469, Ibn Dumlādj took Aḥmad Shāh prisoner by surprise and sold him for 100,000 *dīnārs* and twenty horses back to Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd. At the beginning of 470/summer of 1077, three leaders of the Kilāb rebellion, Waththāb b. Maḥmūd, Mubārak b. Shibl and Ḥāmid b. Zughayb, went to complain about Sābiḳ to Alp Arslān, who offered them fiefs in Syria, entrusting the whole of Syria in appanage to his brother Tādj al-Dawla Tutush. Accompanied by some Turkish leaders (Afshīn b. Bakdjī, Ṣandūḳ al-Turkī, Muḥammad b. Dumlādj, Ibn Ṭūṭū and Ibn Burayk), Tutush reached Diyār Bakr with the opposition Mirdāsids. During this time, Aḥmad Shāh, having been freed, had attacked Antioch, reduced to famine, then agreed to lift the siege in return for 5,000 *dīnārs*. Fearing Tutush who was approaching Aleppo, the Turks who dwelt with Aḥmad Shāh outside the walls in the Ḥāḍir went, with Sābiḳ's authorisation, to put their wives in safety in the Castle of the Bridge over the Orontes whch Ibn Munḳidh had restored; but they could not endure the change of climate and succumbed to sickness. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 471/May 1079, Sharaf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Makārim Muslim b. Kuraysh, *amīr* of the Banū ʿUḳayl of Mawṣil, came on the orders of Malik Shāh to join forces with Kilāb and with Tutush, who were besieging Aleppo. Aḥmad Shāh was killed in the fighting.

Muslim was maintaining secret connections with Sābiḳ, of whom he was fond, and blamed the Kilāb for having called in the Turks against their own prince. Although he obtained permission to withdraw from the siege, he discreetly arranged for his soldiers to sell to the people of Aleppo all that they needed in order to subsist. His departure was followed by that of most of the Kilāb. As the Turks committed atrocities, the last Kilāb who were still participating in the siege rallied to Sābiḳ. On learning that an *amīr* from Khurāsān, al-Turkmān al-Turkī, was coming to help Tādj al-Dawla in the siege, Sābiḳ handed on to his cousin Manṣūr b. Kāmil a poem in which he implored the Kilābī *amīr* Abū Zāʾida Muḥammad b. Zāʾida to save from the Turks the last Arab principality in Syria. More than a thousand cavalry and five hundred infantry from Numayr, Ḳushayr, Kilāb and ʿUḳayl assembled with the approval of Sharaf al-Dawla. They defeated al-Turkmān in the Wādī Buṭnān and pillaged the goods of a caravan of merchants who were accompanying him. Tādj al-Dawla Tutush, in a difficult position before Aleppo, withdrew to the Euphrates and Diyār Bakr in order to pass the winter.

In spring, he resumed the campaign, conquered Manbidj and attacked a certain number of castles belonging to the Kilāb, notably the fortified town of ʿAzāz. At the same time Abū Zāʾida was massacring any isolated groups of Turkish cavalry whom he took by surprise. It was a very hard war, paid for by the peasants and merchants. Finally, Tutush undertook a forced march on Aleppo to take it by surprise, but the Kilāb were victorious. Tutush then left northern Syria and set out for Damascus, which Atsïz surrendered to him, since he was in difficulties facing a Fāṭimid counter-offensive.

According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Tutush then entrusted the main part of his army to his general, the Turk Afshīn, who returned northwards, pillaging the villages around Baʿlabakk and attacking Rafaniyya. Some caravans of merchants, coming from or going to Tripoli, were there; Afshīn and his men massacred the merchants, raped the women, pillaged the merchandise, with the carnage lasting for ten days or more.

Afshīn was received by the lord of the Castle of the Bridge Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Munḳidh, and promised to spare Kafar Ṭāb which belonged to the latter. Afshīn resumed his march and, thanks to mangonels which accompanied him, was able to capture by bombardment or assault all the fortified towns and all the defensive towers of the Djabal Summāḳ, as well as some villages lying to the east of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The populated areas were pillaged, sometimes burnt along with their inhabitants, the women and children who had escaped were raped or captured, and the men killed. But failing before Tall Mannas, Afshīn was satisfied with imposing on its inhabitants a tribute of 5,000 *dīnārs*.

Tutush, on being informed of what was happening, made for Kafar Ṭāb, but the army had left the region to go to ravage the Byzantine lands around Antioch. Tutush returned to Damascus, attempting to reassure the people on his way. When Afshīn and his men left for the east, the plain of northern Syria no longer had a single village intact. Famine was widespread. Wheat was selling for a *dīnār* for six *raṭls* and cases of cannibalism were recorded. The inhabitants were leaving to seek refuge in the Djazīra in the ʿUḳaylid lands.

In Ramaḍān 472/March 1080, Sharaf al-Mulk b. Ḳuraysh al-ʿUḳaylī, informed of the situation in northern Syria, judged the moment to be propitious for intervention. A letter from Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd proposed giving up Aleppo to him. Accompanied by a convoy of provisions, he marched on Bālis and then on Aleppo, but Sābiḳ refused to open the gates of the town to him. Thanks to the help of the *aḥdāth*, and especially of the starving population, Muslim was able to enter without a fight at the end of the year 472/June 1080. Muslim found such a state of famine in Aleppo that he wanted to leave the town, but Ibn Munḳidh persuaded him to stay. Sābiḳ had taken refuge in the citadel, but his brothers Shabīb and Waththāb, entrenched in the palace, succeeded in winning back the favour of the citadel's garrison. Sābiḳ was handed over to his brothers and Shabīb became master of the citadel. Negotiations took place with Sharaf al-Mulk, with Ibn Munḳidh as intermediary. Muslim undertook to marry Manīʿa, daughter of Maḥmūd and sister of Sābiḳ, and to give important fiefs in the region of ʿAzāz to Shabīb and Waththāb and in that of Raḥba to Sābiḳ. The three brothers left the citadel, where there was no water, and thus the Mirdāsid state came to an end in 472/1080.

The three brothers continued to play a role as local lords in northern Syria, still changing sides as easily as ever, first helping Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, then allying themselves with his enemies. At the time of the Franks' arrival in Syria in 491/1098, Waththāb b. Maḥmūd was leading a contingent of Kilāb who tried to block their advance.

The Banū Mirdās offer an example of those Ḳaysī princes of the Syro-ʿIrāḳī steppe who succeeded in implanting within a sedentary territory an ordinary state structure which functioned for half-a-century in the manner of the quasi-autonomous provinces of the caliphate. The agricultural richness of the plateaux and valleys of northern Syria and the intensive trade between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean via the Euphrates and Aleppo assured them of good revenues. They were helped in the management of the public finances by viziers, often Christians, and in meting out justice by Imāmī Shīʿī *ḳāḍīs*, chosen from great ʿAlid or simply Ḳaysī families. They were able, in case of necessity, to gather an army of quality, comprising Kilābī contingents of lightly-armoured cavalry but also *aḥdāth* of Aleppo, whose militias had acquired an institutional character and whose commander was one of the principal notables of the town. They conducted a skilful diplomacy of maintaining a balance between the declared ambitions of the Byzantines and Fāṭimids regarding northern Syria, depending for support alternately on one or the other when they were forced to meet an invasion with military resistance. This policy was more suitable for Aleppo than that of Sayf al-Dawla and his successors. The town experienced under the Kilābī princes some years of great prosperity, and on this point we cannot follow the contemporary historians who reduce their action to a Bedouinisation of the city and its region. This was, furthermore, a very productive period for Arabic poetry both at the court of Aleppo and in cities such as Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, where one must remember that Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ was only the most brilliant representative of a pleiade of men of letters.

But, later on, the weakness of the Fāṭimids, facing in Egypt a serious financial and grain crisis, the incapacity of the Byzantines to resist the Turcoman infiltrations, then the defeat of the Basileus by the Saldjūḳs, broke this skilful balance, and the Mirdāsids were forced to recruit Turcomans in their turn and to create for themselves an army of slaves and mercenaries. An analysis of the changes that took place in the tactics of swordmanship on horseback and in weapon technology would enable us to understand how the Mirdāsids were easily able to overcome heavy Byzantine armies and why they succumbed in their turn under the blows of small Turcoman contingents.

From then on, the power of the dynasty was shown to be fragile. Old causes of weakness were still present: jealousy of the Banū Mirdās among other Kilāb groups, even though each was given a domain around a stronghold; disputes between Mirdāsid princes; and intervention of their allies from Numayr, ʿUḳayl and Kināna in the affairs of Aleppo. To these was added the behaviour of the Turcomans, who ruined the countryside and trade. No longer being able to maintain order in the province, the Mirdāsids lost their legitimacy in the eyes of the inhabitants and had to yield their principality to the ʿUḳaylids. The new Turkish and Kurdish military dynasties were not slow to take over. However, the fact that until the Crusades, some Mirdāsid fiefs had survived in northern Syria shows how deeply rooted this dynasty was in a region where the Kilāb had been established for several centuries.

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A fuller bibliography is to be found in the articles ḤALAB, ḤAMĀT, ḤAMDĀNIDS, ḤIMṢ, MAʿARRAT AL-NUʿMĀN, MANBIDJ (Byzantine, Syriac and Armenian sources and references not cited here); for Aleppo-Ḥalab, see also M. Canard, *Miscellanea Orientalia*; idem, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions*; idem, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche-Orient*, London 1973, 1974; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris 1940; idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus, I, II, III*, London 1974 (the only author to deal with the arrival of the Turcomans in Anatolia and North Syria); S. Zakkār, *The emirate of Aleppo, 1004-1094*, Beirut 1971, contains a list of Arabic ms. sources not mentioned elsewhere; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1986.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

On the coins of the Mirdāsids, see S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the B.M.*, x, 275; idem, *Catalogue of the coins in the Khedivial Library*, 337; E. von Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *WNZ*, xlvii (1914); L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*[2], index; N.D. Nicol, Raafat el-Nabrawy and J.L. Bacharach, *Catalog of the Islamic coins, glass weights, dies and medals in the Egyptian National Library*, Malibu, Calif., nos. 2262-3. (SAMIR SHAMMA)

MIRDĀS B. UDAYYA, Khāridjī leader in Baṣra, killed in 61/680-1. He belonged to the Rabīʿa b. Hanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt (called Rabīʿa al-Wusṭā, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 185, 5 = 699, l. 11; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, 123, l. 12, 772, l. 8), a branch of the tribe of Tamīm which supplied so many leaders to the Khāridjī movement. His father was called Ḥudayr b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd b. Kaʿb and Udayya was his mother's or grandmother's name; she belonged to the tribe of Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa (Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 134; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 209; al-Ṭabarī; Mubarrad; al-Balādhurī; cf. *Bibl.*). He is often called by his *kunya* Abū Bilāl.

His brother ʿUrwa b. Udayya had been one of the instigators of the Khāridjī movement of secession at the battle of Siffīn; he himself had taken part in the movement and had fought against ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān (38/658 [*q.v.*]); after this defeat he gave up all political activity although, like his brother, he remained faithful to his old opinions; but he declared himself against armed insurrection, political assassination (*istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*]) and the participation of women in the Khāridjī movement. These moderate views, which Mirdās retained till the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya and which caused the extremists to class him among the *ḳaʿada* (quietists) of the Khāridjīs, made it all the more remarkable when he came out openly and actively against the excesses of the governor of Baṣra, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, in his repression of Khāridjism. A women named al-Baldjāʾ (see *Folia Orientalia*, xii [1979], 203-4) had been cruelly martyred by the governor. Mirdās's indignation was so aroused that he left Baṣra with 40 of his followers and went to al-Ahwāz on the Fārs frontier, where he held out for a long time without committing any of those acts of fanaticism usual among the Khāridjīs and confined himself to imposing a levy equal in value to the stipend (*ʿaṭāʾ*) which was legally due to him and his companions (60/680). ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād sent against Mirdās the Kilābī chief Aslam b. Zurʿa at the head of 2,000 men. They met near a village called Āsak (or Mīdjās, according to a verse quoted by Yāḳūt, iv, 712-13) but the Khāridjīs, in spite of their greatly inferior numbers, defeated him. In the following year, a second expedition of 4,000 men under the Tamīmī ʿAbbād b. Akhdār was organised by Ibn Ziyād; he found the Khāridjīs encamped in front of Darābdjird. It was a Friday, and the two parties agreed to finish their prayers before fighting. But the government troops, breaking the oath they had sworn, fell upon the Khāridjīs while they were still praying and massacred them. Mirdās's head was cut off and taken to Ibn Ziyād.

This episode, insignificant in itself, provoked a tremendous reaction throughout ʿIrāḳ in view of the fame which the piety and moderation of Mirdās had brought him. His death was promptly avenged by ʿUbayda b. Hilāl, who was later to become one of the leaders of the Azraḳī rising, and it was in the name of Mirdās that Khāridjīs rebelled again on the death of Yazīd I (64/683). The heroism and death of Mirdās were sung by several poets, notably the famous ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*]; his memory was cherished for long in Khāridjī circles and especially in ʿUmān, the centre of the Ṣufriyya (al-Mubarrad, 533, l. 14 = *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 154). The latter, whose intransigeance is much less marked than that of the Azraḳīs, may rightly regard Mirdās as their predecessor (cf. Haarbrücker, *Asch-Scharastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, ii, 406, from the *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fī 'l-dīn* of Shahfūr b. Ṭāhir al-Isfarāʾīnī (Brockelmann, I[2], 484, S I, 669); on the other hand, the Muʿtazilīs held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*munkiran*) and the Shīʿīs even denied that he was a true Khāridjī (al-Mubarrad, 560-1).

Mirdās's brother, ʿUrwa b. Udayya, does not seem to have taken part in the insurrection; but this did not save him from persecution by Ibn Ziyād, who had him arrested and executed shortly after the death of Mirdās; the version which puts his execution before the rising of Mirdās in 58/678 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 185) is less probable.

Bibliography: The fullest and most complete account is that of Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 584-96, without indication of source; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Istanbul ms. ʿĀshir Efendi, fols.

386a-387b, is very close to but not identical with Mubarrad's and quotes a large number of verses. He also omits the *isnād*. Ṭabarī, ii, 186-7, 390-1 relies on two sources, Wahb b. Djarīr and an anonymous one, of which the former does not seem very reliable and the latter follows Mubarrad and Balādhurī, but is much shorter; Yāḳūt, i, 61-2 (cf. also ii, 434, l. 1) seems to have used an independent source. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iii, 428-30, iv, 81-2, harmonises Ṭabarī and Balādhurī, and follows Mubarrad. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 278-9, knows the episode, but wrongly attributes it to the Azraḳīs (*sic*) and does not even mention Mirdās. See also Wellhausen, *Die rel.-pol. Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.S. v/2 (1901), 25-7.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

MĪRGHANIYYA or khatmiyya, the dervish order or *ṭarīḳa* founded by Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, more commonly called the *Khatmiyya* from its founder's claim that it is the seal (*khatm*) of all *ṭarīḳas*. The *nisba* of the founder does not appear in such works as al-Samʿānī's *K. al-Ansāb* or al-Suyūṭī's *Lubb al-albāb*, but may be derived from the place-name Marghan in Ghūr, for family traditions attest to a long residence in Central Asia. The prefixed *A-* is a Western form due to a supposed derivation from *al-amīr al-ghanī*.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the family, after a short residence in India, drifted back to Mecca, whose *shurafāʾ* recognised their claim to descent from the Prophet. Muḥammad ʿUthmān's grandfather, ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdjūb (d. 1207/1792), was a well-known Ṣūfī, and Muḥammad ʿUthmān followed in his footsteps. He was initiated into the Ḳādiriyya, Shādhiliyya, Naḳshbandiyya, Djunaydiyya and the Mīrghaniyya of his grandfather, whence his later claims to have gathered up all the *ṭarīḳas* into his own. His *shaykh* was pre-eminently that remarkable man, Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (1173-1253/1760-1837 [see aḥmad b. idrīs]), to whose teaching and inspiration was due the reawakening of the *ṭarīḳas* at the beginning of the 19th century. Aḥmad sent him as his propagandist to Egypt and the Eastern Sudan (1817) just before the Turko-Egyptian occupation. He was acclaimed in Nubia and Dongola, but was not well received by the heads of the old orders in the Fundj kingdom. On his return to Mecca, he continued to serve Aḥmad, following him into exile at Ṣabyā in ʿAsīr until after his death, when he returned to Mecca. There followed a period of rivalry with Aḥmad's most famous pupil, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1792-1859 [*q.v.*]), and Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (d. 1874), founder of the Rashīdiyya, each of the three claiming to be Aḥmad's successor and founding independent *ṭarīḳas*. Muḥammad ʿUthmān won the support of the *shurafāʾ* of Mecca and developed his own rule on different lines to that of his master. He belonged to the class of ecstatic mystics and was more influenced by the Naḳshbandiyya than by the orthodox doctrinal and reformist ideas of Aḥmad b. Idrīs. The formula naḳshdjam was adopted as mystic symbol of the various *silsilas*, "chains", concentrated into himself. He sent his sons into different countries, South Arabia, Egypt, Eastern Sudan and India, in each of which a nucleus of followers had been formed before his death (1268/1851) at al-Ṭāʾif, to which he had withdrawn in consequence of the hostility of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Mecca.

His eldest son, Muḥammad Sirr al-Khatm, succeeded him as *Shaykh al-Ṭarīḳa*, but his death shortly afterwards initiated a period of family rivalry and dissensions which was not brought to an end until the rise of the Mahdī [see al-mahdiyya]. Another son, al-Ḥasan (d. 1869), had settled at Kasala, where he founded the township of Khatmiyya which soon eclipsed all other centres as the seat of the order (on his authority among the eastern tribes, see Münzinger's account quoted in *Sudan Notes and Records* [1940], 47-50).

When Muḥammad Aḥmad proclaimed himself the Mahdī of the Sudan in 1881, the Mīrghaniyya, like other established *ṭarīḳas* which had vested interests in the maintenance of the Egyptian régime, strongly opposed his claims (see ʿUthmān Diḳna's letter to the Mahdī, in Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan*, 1891, repr. London 1968, 529). Al-Ḥasan's son, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1886), excommunicated the Mahdī and headed the Banī ʿĀmir, Shukriyya and other eastern tribes in their resistance, until Kasala fell in 1885 to ʿUthmān Diḳna, who burnt the *zāwiya* and tomb of al-Ḥasan.

After the reoccupation in 1898, the new government sought the reconsolidation of Mīrghanī authority. They sent to Egypt for Muḥammad ʿUthmān's sons, Aḥmad and ʿAlī, and rebuilt the tomb of al-Ḥasan. Although the role of the Mīrghaniyya in aiding the Egyptians and English had alienated many, and they were opposed by the Mahdī's adherents, the leaders were able to regain their power and increase their following, owing to the influence which their hereditary *baraka* exercised upon the populace. Aḥmad's death in 1928 left ʿAlī as the undisputed head of the order, although other regional heads were technically equal in status.

When the Mīrghaniyya was at the height of its influence, the government's recognition of the Mahdī's son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, during the First World War, which was followed by the reconstitution of the Mahdiyya sect, inaugurated an era of rivalry between the two religious movements in which their political role came to assume predominance. The elections of November 1953 for a Sudan Parliament resulted in the victory of the National Unionist Party supported by the Mīrghaniyya over the *Umma* Party supported by the Mahdiyya.

Distribution. The main expansion of the order has been in the Eastern Sudan, where it is the predominant *ṭarīḳa*. It is strong among the merchant communities and educated classes throughout the whole country, whence its power in politics. Among the ordinary population, whilst groups will be found all over the country, it is strongest in the north (Donḳola and Ḥalfa Provinces), among the Djaʿliyyīn, and in the east and Eritrea, especially among the Badja tribes (ʿAbābda, Ḥalanḳa, Ammarʾar, Banī ʿĀmir and Ḥabāb). In Kordofān there is a branch order, the Ismāʿīliyya. It was propagated in Egypt by Abū Ḥurayba, an Egyptian pupil of the founder, under whose name the *ṭarīḳa* is sometimes known, and has *zāwiyas* in the chief towns. It has followers in Abyssinia (Addis Ababa and among the Guma), whilst in Arabia only small groups survive in the Ḥidjāz, ʿAsīr and Yemen.

Bibliography: For the works of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdjūb, see Brockelmann, S II, 523; for those of Muḥammad ʿUthmān, *op. cit.*, S II, 809; for those of Djaʿfar b. M. ʿUthmān, *op. cit.*, S II, 810. *Al-Madjmūʿa al-Mīrghaniyya* (various eds.) includes the most important devotional works of these, *al-Rasāʾil al-Mīrghaniyya* (1939), a collection of 12 essays dealing with the rules of the order and methods of performing of the *dhikr*, the *Minḥat al-aṣḥāb* by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ruṭbī being especially

valuable. See also A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 226-48; J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 1949, London 215-17, 231-5. (Ed.)

MĪRĪ (a.), a shortened form of *amīrī*, in Ottoman Turkish *emīrī*, literally, "pertaining to the commander or governor, the *amīr*". Although in early Islam this latter title [*q.v.*] used to denote the head of the Muslim community, it was downgraded over the ages, and during Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times was given to military officers, including low-ranking ones. Under the Ottomans, the term resumed its initial importance and was singled out to designate assets that belong of right to the highest Muslim authority, the Sultan. Throughout Ottoman history, it was used as a noun meaning "lands belonging to the government", "land tax" levied from them, as well as "the public treasury".

Muslim jurisprudence drew a distinction between privately-owned lands, *mulk* (either *ʿus̲h̲r* or *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* land, possessed by Muslims or by non-believers, respectively) and state property, *arḍ al-mamlaka*. In earlier years, the latter was designated by several names (e.g. *k̲h̲āṣṣ*), and it was only under the Ottomans that it assumed the name *mīrī*. Since the absolute ownership, the *raḳaba*, belonged to the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*], *mīrī* lands could only be leased by the peasants who enjoyed the rights of usufruct, the *taṣarruf*, and paid the land-tax in return. They could neither sell or grant nor endow these lands, although in later years ways were elaborated to circumvent these restrictions, e.g. the establishment of *waḳf g̲h̲ayr ṣaḥīḥ*.

Upon the conquest of a given area by the Ottomans its agricultural lands, the most promising source of income, were declared *mīrī*. This was explicitly stated in the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the *wilāyet* (e.g. Wilāyet-i Mora, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 326), then recorded by the land registration (*taḥrīr*) committee in the relevant *daftar-i k̲h̲āḳānī* [*q.v.*]. As long as the peasants tilled the land and paid its taxes (e.g. the *čift resmi*, *ʿus̲h̲r*) no one could interfere with their holdings or with the right of their descendants to inherit them.

The taxes that accrued from these lands were assigned as salaries for the upkeep of the Ottoman army, either directly (the *tīmār* system) or through the *emānet* [see emīn] levying system that accrued to the treasury. As late as the 10th/16th century, the administration tried to overcome the deterioration that occurred in these systems. Vacant *tīmār*s as well as ordinary *mīrī* villages were in the various forms of *k̲h̲āṣṣ* [*q.v.*] leased out to *multazim* tax farmers. The taxation unit (*muḳāṭaʿa*) was farmed out, and in return the lease holder was expected to convey to the state treasury the annual *mīrī* tax (*māl-i mīrī*, *aṣl-i māl*, etc.) due. Two ways were resorted to in order to compensate the treasure for the depreciation in the actual value of the *mīrī*: the tax farmer had to pay an advance, *māl-i muʿad̲j̲d̲j̲ele*, upon his nomination, very often at a higher rate than the original tax returns. Secondly, there were other sums that were added over the years under various names (*fāʾiḍ*, *ḍamāʾim*, etc.), and gradually became part of the established tax. The *multazim* or the *muḳāṭaʿad̲j̲ī* were granted their lease for a limited period of one to three years, and although the *iltizām* system replaced the *emānet*, toward the end of the 11th/17th century it underwent certain modifications. The relatively short term of office of the tax farmers prevented any meaningful interest in the well-being of the peasants who cultivated the *mīrī* plots under their control. A third method was then introduced by the Treasury, the life-long lease or *mālikāne* [*q.v.*]. Here, too, the *multazim* undertook to pay the annual *mīrī* due and he retained the surplus amount which he had collected. He did not, however, have to apply for renewal, hence the *mīrī* became more reminiscent of *mulk*. During the 12th/18th century, although the notion of state absolute ownership over all *mīrī* lands prevailed, its actual control over the tenants and lease holders diminished as the empire declined.

During the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period, an overall attempt was made to redress this situation by way of re-establishing the state's authority over the *mīrī* holders. Many of the rights which they had gradually usurped were legitimised and codified, whereas future attempts to impair the status of the *mīrī* became contingent upon the specific consent of the central government. The construction of new buildings or the planting of trees on *mīrī* land, which might *ipso facto* grant full ownership rights, was forbidden (unless specifically authorised) by the land law of April 21, 1858 (articles 25, 31); official permission became imperative to enable the sale of *mīrī* plots, and so was the division of *mīrī* lands held in partnership or their mortgaging (articles 36, 17, 116, respectively). *Mīrī* lands left fallow for over three years would be confiscated by the state (articles 68-71).

The distinct and clear establishment of the differences between *mīrī* and *mulk* could not change the historical trend involving the transformation of the former into the latter. This tendency reached fruition in Egypt, where close links with the world economy brought about a rapid increase of *mulk* properties to almost one-third of the land by the end of the 19th century. At that point, the Egyptian *mīrī* (referred to as *k̲h̲arād̲j̲iyya*) was ultimately incorporated into the *mulk*. In the Fertile Crescent, this process was much slower; *mulk* lands hardly increased, and in a series of laws passed in 1913, and then in Syria and ʿIrāḳ in the early 1930s, ownership rights over *mīrī* were extended, although certain restrictions remained valid well into modern times. Thus in the middle of the 20th century, most lands of the Fertile Crescent (with the exception of Lebanon) were still *mīrī*. Moreover, although the 1858 law explicitly prohibited any collective ownership (*mus̲h̲āʿ* [*q.v.*]), this clause was also evaded. No general registration was carried out (in southern ʿIrāḳ, not even theoretically), and the villagers, fearing conscription and taxation, registered their land in the name of tribal heads or city notables. In practice, however, they continued to cultivate their land according to the traditional ways. Unlike Egypt, where a full land census was completed just after the turn of the century, a state of anarchy persisted in the Fertile Crescent in this field up until 1914. Land settlement and registration of titles progressed very slowly during the Mandatory period and in the independent succession states. Even when the status of *mīrī* was abolished (e.g. in Israel from 1 January 1970), it still remains valid in unsettled lands. Even the term "pure *mīrī*" (*mīrī ṣirf*), referred to by the registration commissions of the 19th century in the Fertile Crescent, has not disappeared. In contemporary ʿIrāḳ, where modern legislation introduced separate categories for *mīrī* turned almost fully to private ownership (*lazma*, *tapu*), *mīrī ṣirf* still exists for unsettled lands which are still within the realm of state formal ownership.

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Étude sur la propriété foncière en pays Musulmans, et spécialement en Turquie, in *JA* (1862), 291-358; D. Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East*, London 1962, 65-70, 147-8; Ö.L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai eknominin hukuki ve mali esasları. i. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 326 and index; M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları*, Istanbul 1972, 167, 70; Meḥmed Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 288-9; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century, patterns of government and administration*, Jerusalem 1972, 204-26 and index.

(A. Cohen)

MIRKĀS or Mirḳās (a.), a kind of mutton sausage. There would probably be no reason to devote an article to this culinary speciality had it not enjoyed for some time in Europe, and especially in France, an unexpected success, being known as "merguez", after the arrival of a considerable number of Maghribī immigrants and above all, repatriates from the lands of North Africa, where the word and the thing itself were not widespread, it seems, until a relatively recent period. Thus there is a problem worthy of examination.

Sausages are not unknown in the East, where they are called by the Turkish name *sudjuḳ*, or the Latin *laḳāniḳ/maḳāniḳ/naḳāniḳ* which Dozy has already mentioned (*Suppl.*, s.vv.), tracing them back to *lucanica*, which shows a Roman influence, and remarking that Ibn al-Ḥashshāʾ's gloss on the *Manṣūrī* of al-Rāzī explains the first of these three words as the Maghribī *mirkās*. In the West also, E. Laoust notes (in *Mots et choses berbères*, 79 and n. 7) the existence, in Berber lands, of sausages, the word for which varies according to the local dialects. In any case, M. Beaussier, whose *Dictionnaire* dates from 1887, records, under the radical *r-k-z*, a word **mərkāza*, coll. **mərkāz*, but adds that it is Tunisian; Marcel Cohen, in *Le parler des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912, 82, notes the same word with a *-g-*, as also David Cohen who, in his monograph on *Le parler des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 152-3, has *mərgāž* in a colourful text which provides information on the preparation of these sausages with mutton, fennel seeds, garlic and a paste made from red peppers. G.-S. Colin (in his ed., with E. Lévi-Provençal, of al-Saḳaṭī, 33-4) observes on the one hand that the writing of the word with *-k-* or *-ḳ-* in the ms. used shows the difficulty caused by the wish to render a *-g-* and, on the other hand, since it is obviously not a Bedouin word, that it is possible to regard *mirkās/mirḳās*, whose origin is unknown, as a Roman borrowing which has been preserved in Maghribī dialects under strong Spanish influence. It may furthermore be remarked that, under the radical *r-k-s*, Dozy had already noted that *mirkās*, pl. *marākis*, means "in the Maghrib, sausage, chitterlings, black pudding"; he refers in this connection to several sources, among which the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala translates (295) *merqûze* [pl.], *meŕquiç*, as *longanizo* (= sausage) and (315) *merqûz al-kanžîr* [pl.] *meŕquiç al-ḳanžîr*, as *morcilla* (= black pudding or chitterlings). This latter expression probably relates to a preparation in use among the Mozarabs and not among the Muslims, since Islam not only forbids the consumption of pork (*khinzīr* [*q.v.*]) but also of blood that has been shed [see dam in Suppl.]. In Muslim circles, **mirgāz* thus meant, as *mərgāz* does today, sausages prepared entirely with mutton. Moreover, the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, an anonymous work published in 1965 at Madrid by A. Huici Miranda, under a significant title *La cocina hispano-magrebi en la época almohade*, contains in the first lines of the ms. the recipe for the ordinary *mirkās*, which is considered very digestible. It is made from minced leg of mutton, kneaded with a little oil and with the addition of various spices and ingredients: pickle, pimento, dried coriander, nard and cinnamon. There is then added to it 3/4 of its weight in fat, which it is sufficient to cut into small pieces, without grinding or mincing, for they must be melted on the stove; everything is kneaded once more and put into skins from the intestines of mutton washed as a preliminary. The sausages are fried in a mild oil, then sprinkled with an oil and vinegar dressing or a more elaborate sauce. A little dried cheese and some eggs can also be added to the meat itself (*op. cit.*, 24). Other recipes were certainly in use.

These "merguez" were not only prepared in private homes; they were also sold outside, in the shopping streets and on stalls, as appears in works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], which especially enjoin the *muḥtasib* to watch the *ṭabbākhūn* (whom one hesitates to describe as "caterers") and ensure that they use fresh products and not (like so many sellers of merguez today) spoiled meat which is cheaper (Ibn ʿAbdūn, 45; Fr. tr., 124) and oblige them to work in public view (*fī mawḍiʿ ẓāhir*), using very smooth chopping boards so as to avoid splinters penetrating the sausage meat; during preparation, the *ṭabbākhūn* must drive away the flies with fans; some advice is also given them on the details of preparation, the proportions to observe and the ingredients to use (al-Saḳaṭī, Ar. text, 31, 36; Fr. tr. 165, 175-6, based on a corrected and extended text).

Literature does not appear to make frequent allusion to these "merguez", and H. Pérès has only found a few lines to cite (*La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle*, Paris 1953, 315-16), where the *mirkās* gives rise to a macabre comparison with the fingers of a crucified man.

Bibliography: Apart from the complete references appearing in the text, see Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḥisba*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955 (tr. *idem*, in *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947); Saḳaṭī, *Kitāb fī ādāb al-ḥisba*, ed. G.-S. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931 (Span. tr. P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.*, xxxii/1-2 [1967], 125-62, 359-97, xxxiii/1-2 [1968], 143-95, 367-420).

(Ch. Pellat)

MĪRKHWĀND, Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh b. Maḥmūd, (836-7 to 903/1433-4 to 1498), Tīmūrid historian under Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara in Harāt, author of the universal history *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ fī sīrat al-anbiyāʾ wa 'l mulūk wa 'l khulafāʾ*, written in Persian.

He was born in 836-7/1433-4 into a Bukhāran *sayyid* family. His father Burhān al-Dīn Khwāndshāh spent most of his career in Balkh, with a sojourn also in Harāt where he was connected with the eminent scholar and *Shaykh al-Islām*, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar Djaghāraʾī. Mīrkhwānd received a comprehensive education and early became interested in history, but produced nothing until he won the patronage of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], who gave him quarters at the Ikhlāṣiyya *khānaḳāh*, part of the complex which Nawāʾī began in 880/1475-6. Mīrkhwānd's brother, Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn Sulṭān Aḥmad, served as *ṣadr* for Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā in Astarābād.

Mīrkhwānd had poor health, and part of his history was written on his sickbed. Near the end of his life, he withdrew from society to the Gāzargāh shrine, but due to a wasting illness he returned to Harāt city in Ramaḍān 902/May 1497, and died on 2 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 903/22 June 1498 (sometimes erroneously given as 2 Radjab). He was buried in the cemetery of Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar.

The *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*ʾ is arranged in seven volumes, with an epilogue (*khātima*) on geography:

1. From the creation to Yazdagird
2. Muḥammad and the Rāshidūn caliphs
3. The twelve Imāms, the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids
4. Dynasties contemporary with the ʿAbbāsids
5. Čingiz Khān and his successors
6. Tīmūr and his successors to the death of Abū Saʿīd
7. Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā and his sons up to 1522-3
8. *Khātima.*

The seventh volume was written after Mīrkhwānd's death by his daughter's son Khwāndamīr [*q.v.*], who also completed the *khātima*, finished apparently after 907/1502. The history is based on a large number of Persian and Arabic works, some mentioned in the preface, others in the text. It enjoyed exceptional popularity throughout the Turco-Iranian regions, was used in many later historical compilations and translated several times into Turkish: into Ottoman in the 10th/16th and 12th/18th centuries, and into eastern literary Turkish in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th. It was widely used by European historians from the 17th century, and until the late 19th century remained a major source for the history of mediaeval Iran. The seventh volume, almost identical with the corresponding part of Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, is still useful, as are some earlier sections based on works now lost, notably the Saldjūḳid *Malik-nāma* and the 8th/14th century *Tārīkh-i Sarbadārān*. Volume vi also contains occasional information from the author's own observation.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 92-101, 1236; Storey-Bregel, 361-78; N.D. Miklukho-Maklai, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei instituta vostokovedenii*, vypusk 3 (Moscow 1975), 87-90; *IA*, viii (1960), art. *Mîrhond*; for the use of Mīrkhwānd in the West, H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India*, London 1872, iv, 127-40. For biographical information, see Khwāndamīr, Tehran 1333/1954-5, iv, 105, 339-40; Mīrkhwānd, Tehran 1960, i, 4-8, v, 68-9, vi, 747-8, 819-20, 873-5. Editions: Bombay, 1271/1855; Tehran. 1270-4/1853-7, with continuation by Riḍā Ḳulī Khān; Lucknow 1874; Tehran, 1338/1960 with continuation, no critical apparatus or index.

(A. Beveridge — [Beatrice Forbes Manz])

MĪRMĪRĀN [see mīr-i mīrān].

al-**MIRRĪKH**, the planet Mars. The etymology of the name is unknown. The sphere of Mars is the fifth sphere of the planets. It is bounded on the inner side by the sphere of the sun and on the outer side by the sphere of Jupiter, and its breadth is according to Ptolemy (xx, 376) 998 miles. Its period of revolution is estimated at 1 year, 10 months and 22 days. In about 17 years, after 9 revolutions, Mars comes back to the same spot in the heavens; it spends about 40 days in each sign of the zodiac and covers about 40 minutes each day. It is said to be one-and-a-half times the size of the earth.

Astrologers call Mars *al-Naḥs al-aṣghar*, "the minor misfortune." It is the planet, which next to Saturn, is credited with the most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagrations, etc. The character of those born under Mars is in keeping with this.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 26; A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, *passim*; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, sections, iii, iv. (J. Ruska)

MĪRTULA or Mārtula/Martula, Arabic forms of the name Mertola (Span. Mértola), a small town of southern Portugal, situated on the Guadiana (Wādī Ana) at 35 miles/55 km. from the mouth of that river. This place, the ancient Myrtilis of the Romans, enjoyed a certain importance during the period of Islamic domination. It depended administratively on Béja [see bādja] and, according to Yāḳūt and other geographers, was the best-defended stronghold of all the west of the Iberian peninsula. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, it was the headquarters of an independent chieftain, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abi ʾl-Djawād who, in alliance with the lords of Badajoz [see baṭalyaws] and of Ocsonoba [see ukhshūnuba], stood out against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh of Cordova. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, it constituted a petty principality (*ṭāʾifa*) which was annexed however to Seville in 436/1044. It was from Mertola in particular that one of the main revolts against the Almoravids, the *thawrat al-murīdīn*, spread forth; indeed, the *murīds* [*q.v.*] of Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*], commanded by a certain Ibn al-Ḳābila, seized the fortress on 12 Ṣafar 539/14 August 1144 and facilitated the arrival of the Almohads in that region. After various vicissitudes, the place was definitively reconquered by the Christians towards the end of that same century.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed.-tr. Dozy and De Goeje, 175/211, 179/217; idem, *Opus geographicum*, 538, 542-3, 545, 550; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ii, 198; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmal al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 248-52; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, 140/223; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭar*, nos. 165, 183, pp. 125, 191; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 134, 211, 374; Fagnan, *Extraits inedits*, Algiers 1924, 84, 86-7, 138; Lévi-Provençal, *La «description de l'Espagne» d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, in *And.*, xviii/1 (1953), § 49; idem, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 340; Ḥ. Muʾnis, *Nuṣūṣ siyāsiyya...*, in *Madjallat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*, iii (1955), 101-3; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 55; J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetouan 1956, 152, 287-8, 290, 293; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 91; J. Dreher, *L'imāmat d'Ibn Qasī à Mertola (automne 1144-été 1145). Légitimité d'une domination soufie?*, in *MIDEO*, xviii (1988), 195-210 (a résumé of part of the unpublished Bonn thesis of 1985, *Das Imāmat des islamischen Mystikers Abūlqāsim Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Qasī*). (E. Lévi-Provençal*)

MIRWAḤA (a.), "fan, vane".

1. General aspects. In the Muslim East, from the Middle Ages to the present day, fans of various sizes have been simply a means of resisting the heat. Good ventilation and, where possible, reduction of the temperature are vital for the improvement of living conditions in regions where intense heat prevails throughout the summer. The civilisations preceding that of the Muslims were aware of some reasonably effective solutions to this problem, and it seems that the Muslims continued to apply them, to perfect them and to supplement them with inventions of their own. These techniques include, besides small hand-held fans and larger ones operated by servants, the construction of windows and skylights which may be opened for ventilation, the elaboration of systems directing every breath of air towards the interior of the building and the skill necessary to construct veritable machines (or rather, installations) based on a process of humidification and ventilation and capable of freshening the air.

2. Pools, hydraulic wheels and gardens. It is possible to enjoy wind and fresh air without needing to resort to any particular machinery. During the

summer, it may be convenient to sleep, at night, on the roof or on a terrace (in the 4th/10th century: Mez, *Renaissance*, 360; later, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 30, relates that it is general practice to sleep "on the roof", but in their translation Defrémery and Sanguinetti add, in parentheses, that this should be understood as meaning "on the terrace"). During the day, it is possible to recline comfortably in a garden, near an artifical lake (*birka*, *fiskiyya* and *faskiyya*) or in places close to running water, near pools and fountains (*nāfūra*, *nawfara*, *fawwāra*, *fiskiyya* and *faskiyya*) and hydraulic wheels (*nāʿūra* = noria; the more commonly found form is *dawlab* = wheel for raising water), which freshens all the ambient air. Waterwheels were designed to raise the water (from one canal to the other, in the open air, or from a river to some kind of building); some wheels of this type were constructed in such a way that their upper part was located in the basement of the houses of the wealthy, built on the bank of a river, while the base of each wheel dipped in the water. Although the principal role of such a wheel was the provision of water, it also served as an instrument for freshening the air in the house and, as is shown by a miniature of the 7th/13th century (see below, Farès), people enjoyed sitting around it. Similarly, the entire garden could lend its freshness to the house or the palace when the architect took the trouble to incorporate the garden within the perimeter wall or when the architectural concept consisted of small pavilions spreading across a large garden. Another example would be a simple interior court converted into a vaulted space and incorporated into the house, often containing a small ornamental pool and a fountain. On water-wheels, pools in gardens and the architectural techniques which had as their sole purpose the bestowing of their benefits on the house, see al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *Dīwān*, new ed. 1981, i, 326, 362, 438-9, ii, 129, 278, 316, 822; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 254-5; al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalba*, 286-95; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 35-40, 41-5; al-Badrī al-Dimashḳi, *Nuzha*, *passim*; Lane, *Manners*, 10, 14 (in the Islamic Museum of Cairo there is a reconstruction of an ancient pool of the same type, supplemented by a water-jet); Le Lortet, *Syrie*, 575, 578; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, 279-82; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, 150, 152, 202-5, J. Dickie, in *BSOAS*, xxxi, 240-1; A. Lézine, in *BEO*, xxiv, 11-2; A. Mazahéri, *Vie quotidienne*, 75, 82-4; al-Hānī, *Ṣuwar ʿabbāsiyya*, 51, 55, 61, 65 (!), and the miniature found in B. Farès, *Vision*, Plate ii (wheel "entering" a princely residence; there is no need to take seriously the interpretations of the author, refuted elsewhere by D.S. Rice, in *Burlington Mag.* [April 1953]); cf. Ettinghausen, *Peinture arabe*, 127; Titley, *Minatures from Persian manuscripts*, 545 (index) "Wheels", "Water-wheels"; idem, *Plants and gardens*, *passim*, especially 8-9.

3. Wind vents, *bādhhandj* and methods of humidification. In the court of the ʿAbbāsids, a technique was invented for the use of tightly stretched screens of coarse linen fabric [see KHAYSH] which were sprayed with water (al-Thaʿālabī, *Laṭāʾif*, ed. De Jong, 14-15, tr. Bosworth, 48; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil* ed. ʿA.-S. Hārūn, states that the Sāsānid kings were unaware of this technique; al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ, *op. cit.*, i, 272, 426, ii, 106, 205, describes a kind of cabin-pavilion (*bayt* and cf. below, the more complicated constructions) in *khaysh* (or in *kittān* = in linen); for other forms and sources, see KHAYSH). On the ventilation chimneys called *bādhhandj* or *bādgīr*, see BĀDGĪR in Suppl. For illustrations, see figs. 1-6.

4. Fans. In order to distinguish between small individual fans (see figs. 8-9) and the large fans operated by servants (see fig. 7), the sources call those of the former category "hand fan" (sometimes "palm fan") or specify the material from which it is made, i.e. palm-leaves, while the second category is called *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* (*khaysh* fan; see KHAYSH). The "hand fan" which is most often seen in miniatures is square in shape (fig. 9); since the miniaturists meticulously paint its interwoven surface, this form can be easily identified as the *mirwaḥat al-khūṣ* = palm-leaf fan, described in the texts. The round shape is less common in miniatures (furthermore, one of the Ottoman miniatures which depicts it belongs to a series devoted to women of diverse ethnics origins, and the lady in question is, in fact Spanish, see fig. 8), but the existence of round fans, made of leather, is attested by the written sources. As for the large fan operated by servants (fig. 7), certain authors, including al-Sharīshī and al-Ghuzūlī (see references given below), who talk of the *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* in ʿIrāḳ, are referring to a large linen cloth which is sprayed with water (sometimes perfumed) and which is attached to the ceiling with cords, which may be unfolded as they are pulled; the wet cloth, continuing to move automatically, freshens a small amount of air. It is quite possible that the miniatures which vouch for the presence of a servant who operates the large "fan" reflect the situation in wealthy homes more accurately than does al-Sharīshī (copied by other authors, see Mez, *loc. cit.*; al-Djāḥiẓ, tr. Pellat, *Le livre des avares*, 316-17; and KHAYSH); even the analogies in verse which these authors quote refer to a person or to the hand of a person. Similarly, it was not necessary to moisten this large fan; in some circles, or in a certain period, the combination of fan/*khaysh* consisted of two

separable elements: an apparatus of *khaysh*, which was moistened and which freshened the air in the room, and a large fan (not wet, apparently) which the servants (*farrāshūn*) operated to spread the fresh air throughout the house (al-Tanūkhī, *Faradj*, ed. al-Shāldjī, i, 390). N. Titley (see below) describes certain kinds of fans, represented in Persian miniatures, as being made of feathers. It seems that the distinction between fans and fly-whisks is unclear (this "confusion" existed even in ancient times; see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, under *flabellum* and *muscarium*; even al-Shaldjī, *loc. cit.*, makes no distinction in his commentary between *mirwaḥa* and *midhabba*; see also *Mi'at layla wa-layla*, ed. Ṭarshūna, 78: *al-madhānib wa 'l-mazāwiḥ* to be read *al-madhābib wa 'l-narāwīḥ marāwiḥ*). Thus the identification of feathers, in the sense of primary material, could refer to a wide range of fans/fly-whisks. Furthermore, fly-whisks (and possibly fans, at the same time, see figs. 10-14) could themselves, in turn, be mistaken for regal accoutrements (see especially, fig. 12, in which the objects in question are held in a heraldic manner, as it were, on either side of a prince), but the presence of a servant (or two), standing behind the prince or at his side, holding a fly-whisk, in order to throw into relief the royal appearance of the person, does not mean that the object cannot also serve a useful purpose (on fans and fly-whisks in the written sources [for iconographic sources, see below] see: Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, 8; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *op. cit.*, i, 426, ii, 290, 556; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 185; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, ii, 381; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 544; al-Warrāḳ al-Ḥaẓīrī, *Aḥādjī*, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, A. 2419, fol. 12a-b; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. M. Ibrāhīm, v, 57-8; al-Nawādjī, *op. cit.*,176; al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, i, 64-5).

These methods of cooling and ventilation (such as the use of fans of various sizes and wetted fibres) are still in use, but with the introduction of modern air conditioning, they are gradually disappearing.

5. Iconography. Sources of the figs.: ms. Leningrad, Acad. des Sc., S. 23, pp. 27, 29, 30, 32, 44, 46, 49, 89, 90, 93, 95, 103, 318 (see also the handwritten remarks in D.S. Rice's bequest at the Mayer Institute); mss. Paris, B.N., Ar. 3929, fols. 120a, 157a, 173a, 179a; Ar.5847, fols. 42a, 148b, 152a; Ar. 6094, fols. 31a, 133b; mss. Istanbul, Esad Ef. 3683, fols. 4a, and Revan, 1062, fol. 153a; mss. London, B.L., Add. 7293, fol. 87a, Turk. 7094, fol. 7a (Ottoman art); ms. Vienna, N.B., Af. 9. fols. 8b, 20b; Blochet, *Painting*, fig. clxxxvii; B.W. Robinson *et alii*, *Islamic painting and the art of the book*, pls. 46, 124; Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish mss.*, 78: *yelpaze*; idem, *Miniatures from Persian mss.*, 248 (index): s.v. "fans"; R. Hattox, *Coffee and coffee houses*, pl. 6 (see in the centre, to the right; photo taken from the Turkish ms., Chester Beatty, 439, fol. 9); see also A.V.W. Jackson, *Cat. of Persian miniatures*, section v, first plate (Persian-Indian art).

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(J. Sadan)

MIRYAM [see MARYAM].

MĪRZĀ or Mirzā, a Persian title, from *Mīr-zāda* or *Amīr-zāda*, and originally meaning "born of a prince" (cf. *Malik-zāda* and *Sarhang-zāda*, which occur in Sa'dī, etc.).

1. In Persian usage. The title, in addition to bearing its original significance, was also given to noblemen and others of good birth, thus corresponding to the Turkish Āghā. Since the time of Nādir Shāh's conquest of India, it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullās* or *'ulamā'*. In modern times, but not formerly, the title is placed after the name of a prince, and before the name of other persons bearing it: e.g. *Ḥusayn Mīrzā* "Prince Husayn", whereas Mīrzā Ḥusayn is practically equivalent to "Mr. Ḥusayn". (R. Levy)

2. In Indian usage. The title Mīrzā is accorded by Indian historians, not before Mughal times, to (a) close kinsmen of the Mughal ruling house, such as the brothers of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar (later princes tend to have the title *sulṭān*); Gulbadan Bēgam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, ed. and tr. A.S. Beveridge, text 9, tr. 90, speaks of Bābur's order to address him as a *bādshāh* after the birth of Humāyūn rather than as "Mīrzā Bābur", for previously "all kings' sons were called *mīrzās*" (*hama bādshahzādhā'ī-rā mīrzā mīguftand*); (b) others in the Tīmūrid line, for example Ḥusayn Mīrzā = [Sultan] Ḥusayn Mīrzā b. Manṣūr b. Bāyḳarā [*q.v.*], of Khurasān; the turbulent group who opposed Akbar in Gudjarāt, and the Mīrzās of Badakhshān, both referred to in the article MĪRZĀS; (c) some descendants of the Ṣafawid house, e.g. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn son of Bahrām son of Shāh Ismā'īl I of Persia, who joined Akbar at the cession of Ḳandahar 1003/1595; and his (abler) brother Rustam Mīrzā, who joined Akbar in 1001/1593, and held several appointments under Akbar, Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān before his death in 1051/1641; (d) members of other royal houses: the title Mīrzā was held by the Arghūn house, the sultans of Sindh and their successors: Mīrzā Djānī Bēg was governor of Sindh under Akbar, his son Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg under Akbar and Djahāngīr [see ARGHŪN; also SINDH; TARKHĀN; ṬHAṬṬHĀ]; (e) certain Mughal nobles, apparently merely as a mark of royal favour: the Khān-i Khānān, 'Abd al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*], son of Bayram Khān, was known first as Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and later entitled Mīrzā Khān; his four sons bore the title Mīrzā; Mīrzā Yūsuf Khan [see YŪSUF KHĀN], son of Mīr Aḥmad-i Raḍawī, who from 995/1587 was governor of Kashmīr; Akbar's foster-brother Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka [*q.v.*], whose father was certainly not of noble birth, and his five sons; even favoured Hindūs bore the title: Mān Singh [*q.v.*] was familiarly referred to as Mīrzā Rādjā. A mosque inscription in Mungēr [*q.v.*] of 1074/1663-4 uses the rare feminine form *mīrzānī* in describing its foundress (Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian inscriptions in Bihar*, Patna 1973, 269-70).

In modern times in India and Pakistan, the prefixed *Mīrzā* is particularly used by men of the Mughal division of Ashraf Muslims.

Bibliography: See those to the various MĪRZĀS.

(J. Burton-Page)

MĪRZĀ AḤMAD KHĀN, Indian Muslim noble and traveller to the West, the son of Nawwāb Mu'azzaz Khān (Nawwāb in 1769), descended from 'Abd Allāh Beg, the Mughal governor of Broach, a town in Gudjarāt [see BHAROČ], situated on the right bank of the Narbada river about 30 miles from its mouth.

Since the town of Broach was an important trading and manufacturing centre and the Nawwāb would not allow the English to establish a factory there, the governor of Bombay decided to seize it. Under the pretext that the Nawwāb had violated the treaty with the East India Company and insulted Morley, its representative, Broach was attacked and stormed on 18 November 1772, and the state was annexed. As the Nawwāb died soon afterwards, four of his sons decided to proceed to England and petition the Courth of Directors for the redress of the injustice done to their family. The governor of Bombay,

having come to know of this, ordered their movements to be watched and later detained them. In spite of this, after five months, they managed to escape and boarded a ship which took them to Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] in ʿUmān. From there they went to Baṣra and, following the overland route via Baghdād, they arrived in Istanbul, where two of the brothers, Mīrzā Anwār ʿAlī Khān and Mīrzā Waḥīd al-Dīn Khān, decided to settle and gave up the idea of going to England. The other two, Mīrzā Nawāzish Khān, the eldest, and Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān, made up their minds to continue the journey. Accordingly, they left Istanbul for Marseilles. On arriving there, early in 1794, the town authorities provided them with a carriage which took them to Lyons. Here Mīrzā Nawāzish Khān fell ill and died after a prolonged illness. As by this time Mīrzā Aḥmad's money had run out, he appealed to the town authorities for help. He was given money for his journey to Paris and, since he did not know French, he was given a companion named François who could converse a little in Persian.

When Mīrzā Aḥmad arrived in Paris in May 1794, the town was in the full grip of revolutionary fervour; so Mīrzā Aḥmad appealed to the Committee of Public Safety for financial help and for news of his two brothers who were living in Istanbul, either at the *Khānḳāh* of Nuʿmān Beg or with Darwīsh ʿAbd Allāh Hindī. Since the Committee was anxious "to fulfil towards this foreigner the duty of hospitality", because the "French nation honours the unfortunate", it instructed the French ambassador in Istanbul to obtain information about Mīrzā Aḥmad's brothers and to convey to them news of their eldest brother's death. It also authorised the Minister of External Affairs to give Mīrzā Aḥmad 1,200 livres so that he might be able to continue his journey to England. Furthermore, the Committee ordered that François, who, out of goodness of heart, had accompanied Mīrzā Aḥmad to Paris, should be sent back to his home in Lyons at the expense of government.

Later, the Committee issued instructions to the Commissaire of External Affairs that, since the date of Mīrzā Aḥmad's departure was uncertain, his stay in Paris must be made agreeable, and since he did not know French, Ruffin, Government Interpreter of Oriental Languages, should be asked to keep him in his house at Versailles as a paying guest and teach him French, which he was so anxious to learn. This would make him useful to the Republic. Ruffin was greatly impressed by Mīrzā Aḥmad's intelligence, good education, frankness and honesty, and it was due to his suggestion that Mīrzā Aḥmad's allowance was fixed at 360 livres per month, excluding the expenses for board and lodging.

Mīrzā Aḥmad learnt French in three months, and in gratitude for what the Republic had done for him, he paid his homage to it by translating the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* into Persian. He then presented it to the Committee of Public Safety, which by order of Robespierre and Danton, sent it to be deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was felt that the learning and use of French language by a Muslim was a victory of French culture. This translation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* was the first to have been made in any Oriental language. Unfortunately, this document is not now traceable in the Oriental Section of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Although the Revolutionary government of France was opposed to kings, princes and nobles, it adopted an extremely generous attitude towards Mīrzā Aḥmad. This was due partly to the ill-treatment he had received from their enemies and partly to the ideals of the French Revolution to help the underdog, the oppressed and the wronged.

Meanwhile, before Mīrzā Aḥmad was able to leave Paris, Mīrza Waḥīd al-Dīn Khān, one of his brothers whom he had left behind in Istanbul, arrived in London and claimed certain rights from the Company on behalf of himself and his brothers. All of his claims were not granted, but each brother was granted a stipend of Rs. 200.00 monthly.

After this, Mīrzā Aḥmad visited London and secured funds from the Company for carrying the body of his brother, who had died at Lyons, to India overland for burial beside his father's tomb. He was already suspected by the British authorities to be pro-French. The British Chargé d'Affaires in Istanbul was firmly convinced that he was not only pro-French in his sympathies but was actively working as an agent on behalf of France. When, therefore, he reached Baṣra, the English Resident was suspicious and persuaded him to embark on a ship for Bombay. On arrival at Bombay, Mīrzā Aḥmad was handed over to the police "as a spy inimical to the British interests, and in collusion with our enemies". In 1798 he petitioned the Company which ordered the Bombay government to "examine his allegations and report thereon". It is not known what happened to him afterwards. Probably he died in obscurity, unable to do anything to promote the cause of the French Revolution in India.

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(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

MĪRZĀ ʿASKARĪ, Mughal prince, the third son (neglecting infant deaths), of the emperor Bābur [*q.v.*], full brother of Kāmrān Mīrzā [*q.v.*] and half-brother of the emperor Humāyūn [*q.v.*] and Hindāl Mīrzā [*q.v.*], born 922/1516 in camp, as his sobriquet indicates, died 965/1558.

He received his first military command at the age of 12, during Bābur's eastern campaigns beyond the Ganges. After Humāyūn's succession in 937/1530, Kāmrān was assigned Ḳandahār, but left ʿAskarī in command there when he moved to attack Humāyūn's possessions in Lāhawr; but a couple of years later we find ʿAskarī in Āgrā, whence he was sent against the Gudjarātī invaders under Tātar Khān Lōdī, and had some success against a weakened force at Mandrayl south-west of Āgrā. He accompanied Humāyūn on the conquest of Gudjarāt in 942/1535, and was appointed governor of Aḥmadābād; but after Humāyūn had left to quell disturbances in the recently-acquired Māndū, the Gudjarātī army regrouped and ʿAskarī abandoned his camp, hoping to capture the treasury at Čāmpānēr before making for Āgrā, where his advisers had suggested that he

declare his independence. The Mug͟hal governor of Čāmpānēr was, however, loyal to Humāyūn, withstood ʿAskarī's army, and advised Humāyūn of the state of affairs. Since rebellion had broken out in the eastern provinces, Humāyūn greeted ʿAskarī with a show of forgiveness, and they moved together towards Bengal; but they were outgeneralled by S͟hīr K͟hān (946/1539) and only with difficulty made their way back to Āgrā. Pursued by S͟hīr's army, the Mug͟hals were forced into exile, and Kāmrān, having shown his treachery to Humāyūn by entering into negotiations with S͟hīr K͟hān, resumed his governorship at Kābul accompanied by ʿAskarī. After Humāyūn's abortive Sind campaign with Mīrzā Hindāl, Kāmrān attacked Badak͟hs͟hān; the governor of Ḳandahār made the town over to Hindāl, whereupon Kāmrān took Ḳandahār and sent Hindāl prisoner to Kabūl, where he appointed ʿAskarī as governor. ʿAskarī restored the defences of Ḳandahār, and instigated the Balūč chiefs to attack Humāyūn. Kāmrān proclaimed himself emperor and struck coins in Kābul and Ḳandahār; when eventually he was captured (956/1549) at Kābul, ʿAskarī, who had sided with his full brother, was also taken, and after a period of confinement was sent to Mecca on pilgrimage in 958/1551, and died between there and Damascus in 965/1558. He was a weak creature, easily led (he was much in Kāmrān's shadow), of no great courage; Gulbadan Bēgam merely calls him "unjust" (*bī-inṣāf*).

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(J. Burton-Page)

MĪRZĀ ʿAZĪZ "KŌKA" (*ca.* 949-1033/*ca.* 1542-1624) (the sobriquet occurs also in the Turkī form *kokaltas͟h* or *kokaldas͟h*, "foster-brother"), the son of the Mug͟hal Emperor Akbar's wet-nurse D͟jīd͟jī Anaga, who rose to prominence in the Mug͟hal court, army and administration. His exact date of birth is not recorded, but it must have been within a month or two of Akbar's in 949/1542; his father was S͟hams al-Dīn Aḥmad G͟haznawī, who had been advanced to favour after saving Humāyūn's life in the river crossing at the battle of Kanawd͟j. When D͟jīd͟jī Anaga was entrusted with the infant Akbar, S͟hams al-Dīn received the title of Ātga K͟hān, and was thereafter prominent in the Mug͟hal court, eventually becoming chief minister. ʿAzīz would therefore have been brought up in the court with his play-fellow Akbar, and certainly became Akbar's favourite foster-brother.

Like many others of the "foster-father cohort" (*ātga k͟hayl*) ʿAzīz had held an assignment in the Pand͟jāb; when, after the murder of Ātga K͟hān, Akbar decided to disperse the *ātga k͟hayl* to distant assignments in 976/1568, ʿAzīz was the only courtier to retain one in the Pand͟jāb, at Dīpalpur. After Akbar's conquest of 980/1573, when Gud͟jarāt [*q.v.*] had become a Mug͟hal *ṣūba*, ʿAzīz was appointed its first *ṣūbadār*. His first viceregal period was distinguished by the cadastral survey and settlement of Gud͟jarāt under Ṭōdar Mall [*q.v.*], and by further disaffection of the Mīrzās [*q.v.*], firstly in Pāṭan, quelled by ʿAzīz with the Mālwā army, and then Khambāyat (Cambay); the Mīrzās finally besieged ʿAzīz in Aḥmadābād when Akbar himself arrived from Fatḥpur Sīkrī rapidly, by forced marches, and raised the siege. ʿAzīz was recalled to the Mug͟hal court after two years, to join a projected expedition to Badak͟hs͟hān; but when it was discovered that he had made no attempt to enforce Akbar's new regulation on branding the cavalry horses (*āʾīn-i dāg͟h*, in *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ch. 7), and remained antagonistic to it, he was deprived of his office and confined to his house at Āgrā. He was pardoned in 986/1578, and sent two years later, with an increased *manṣab* [*q.v.*] and the title of K͟hān-i Aʿẓam, to quell disturbances in Bihār and Bengal where local officials had inflamed resentment against Akbar on hearing of his vacillating attitude towards Islām. After he had restored order he returned to Āgrā in 989/1581; but his absence led to a recrudescence of rebellion in Bihār and he was forced to return.

In Gud͟jarāt the ex-sulṭan Muẓaffar III had raised an army (including disaffected Mug͟hals in protest at the branding regulation) and had occupied Aḥmadābād in 991/1583, and the suppression of this revolt was the first duty to fall to ʿAzīz on his second appointment as *ṣūbadār* of Gud͟jarāt in 998/1590; his brilliant success next year at the battle of Bhūčar Mōrī, near Dhrōl in Sōrafh, effectively ended the rebellion, and ʿAzīz went on to subjugate the chiefs of Kaččh, although Muẓaffar continued to evade ʿAzīz's troops until his final capture and suicide in 1001/1593 (full details in J. Burton-Page, *ʿAzīz and the sack of Dwārkā...*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 145-57). By this time ʿAzīz had brought all of Sōrafh, formerly feudatory, under full Mug͟hal control. He was recalled to court; but by this time Akbar had promulgated his new "divine faith" [see DĪN-I ILĀHĪ], and rather than subscribe to it he made a pretence of marching on Dīw, where in fact he joined a pilgrim vessel for the *Ḥad͟jd͟j*, with a vast retinue including his six younger sons; but he was so fleeced in Mecca that he became lukewarm towards Islam, and rejoined Akbar in India in early 1003/1594. He accepted the Dīn-i Ilāhī, became governor of Bihār, and the next year was appointed *wakīl* of the empire. In 1008/1599 he was appointed to Gud͟jarāt for a third term of office; but he remained at Āgrā, governing the province through his two eldest sons Mīrzā S͟hams al-Dīn and Mīrzā S͟hādmān (and other sons held *d͟jāgīrs*, or were appointed to minor offices, elsewhere in Gud͟jarāt), and remained in office until Akbar's death in 1014/1605.

Salīm, Akbar's eldest son, succeeded to the throne as D͟jahāngīr, although some of the court nobles, including ʿAzīz and Mān Singh [*q.v.*], had been anxious to proclaim Salīm's son K͟husraw; the latter broke away from his confinement and went into open rebellion, but in spite of his popularity he was no match for the imperial forces, and was captured easily and blinded. ʿAzīz's disgrace was compounded by the production of a letter he had written some years before in severe condemnation of Akbar's religious innovations; he was deprived of all offices and imprisoned. However, in 1017/1609, he was restored to his rank and appointed in the *ṣūba* of Gud͟jarāt for a fourth term, with the proviso that he should govern through his eldest son S͟hams al-Dīn, who had received the title of D͟jahāngīr Ḳulī K͟hān; two years later he was sent to the Deccan campaigns, but the jealousy of Prince K͟hurram (later S͟hāhd͟jahān) resulted in his recall and imprisonment in Gwāliyar; again restored to his rank, he served again in Gud͟jarāt in a subordinate capacity, and died in Aḥmadābād in 1033/1624.

ʿAzīz is celebrated as a scholar and a wit, a poet, and a distinguished general, honest, fearless, but short-tempered and outspoken. He is remembered for the construction of a great water-tank, the Khān Sarōwar, at Pāṭan in Gudjarāt, and is buried within a great marble pavilion (Čawnsaṭh Khambe) inside the complex at the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The fullest account of the life of ʿAzīz is in *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Bibl. Ind. ed., i; copious references in Abu ʾl-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, index. H. Beveridge, *ʿAziz Koka*, in *JRAS* (1921), 205-8, is a mere short character sketch. Background to ʿAzīz's viceregal periods in Gudjarāt is well covered in M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, ii, Bombay, etc. 1957. See also *Bibl.* to AKBAR, and other references in the article.

(J. Burton-Page)

MĪRZĀ GHULĀM AḤMAD ḲĀDIYĀNĪ [see AḤMADIYYA].

MĪRZĀ ḤAYDAR DUGHLĀT [see ḤAYDAR MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ HINDĀL [see HINDĀL MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ KĀMRĀN [see KĀMRĀN MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, brother of Akbar [see MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN, brother-in-law of Humāyūn [see MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN, MĪRZĀ].

MĪRZĀ RAFĪʿA, Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar, Ḥusaynī Ṭabāṭabāʾī Nāʾīnī (988-1083/1580-1673), Persian scholar of the time of the Ṣafawid Shāhs Sulaymān I and Ṣafī II (1077-1105/1666-92). He was versed in the Shīʿī religious jurisprudence, theology and literature as well as in the current philosophy of his time, and was regarded as the master of the philosophers and theologians of his time. He lived about 95 years and died in Iṣfahān on 3 Shawwāl 1083/22 January 1673, and was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād, the famous cemetery of the city.

He was a pupil of Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Shūshtarī (d. 10 Muḥarram 1020/25 March 1611), Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿĀmilī (953-1031/1546-1622) and Mīr Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Findiriskī Astarābādī (d. 1049 or 1050/1639-40). Muḥammad Ḥurr ʿĀmilī (1033-1104/1624-93) and Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (1027-1110/1618-98) were among his famous pupils. Mīrzā Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Djilwa (1238-1314/1823-96), a philosopher of the Ḳādjār period, regarded himself as a descendant of Mīrzā Rafīʿā and as his follower.

Mīrzā Rafīʿā wrote both in Arabic and Persian. Among his works in Arabic, the following may be mentioned: (1) A commentary on Kulīnī's *Kāfī*, which he started writing but failed to complete. He seems to have been engaged in this work till 1069/1658-9. His theological and literary method can be seen in this commentary. (2) A treatise on the analogy of the essentialities, in which he criticises Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī's ideas. (3) A commentary on Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*. (4-5) Commentaries on the *Ḳawāʿid al-aḥkām* and *al-Mukhtalif*, both by ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. (6) A commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *al-Mukhtaṣar fi ʾl-uṣūl*. (7) A commentary on *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sadjdjādiyya*.

Apart from the above-mentioned works, he wrote three books in Persian: (1) A catechism in which he replied to the questions put forward by Sayyid Mahdī b. Sayyid Riḍā Ḥusaynī on jurisprudence. (2) The *Shadjara al-ilāhiyya* on Shīʿī theology written in 1047/1637-8 and dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān. It has an introduction, consisting of two chapters, and eight subjects (*maṭlab*) (published in *Djāwīdān Khirad*, ii/2 [1970], 38-61); a summary of the preceding named *Thamara-yi Shadjariyya al-ilāhiyya* was written in 1070/1659, consisting of an introduction, five subjects (*maḳṣad*) and a conclusion (published in *ʿĀmirī-nāma*, Tehran 1353/1974, 274-321). Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Adham (11th/17th century) has a eulogy in prose about Mīrzā Rafīʿā, the manuscript of which is in the Central Library of Tehran University (no. 3294/4).

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Tehran 1956; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khātūnābādī, *Manāḳib al-fuḍalāʾ fī riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran, Madjlis Library ms. 5501/6; Muḥammad Bāḳir Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1850, 360, 613; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1903; idem, *al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī*, Tehran 1887; Āḳā Buzurg Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Tehran 1968, xvi, 404, 1974, xxii, 333; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Djawāhir al-Kalām, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Maʿārif (Millī)*, Tehran 1934, i; Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Sipahsālar*, Tehran 1936, i; Walāʾī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Āstān-i Ḳuds-i Raḍawī (Mashhad)*, Mashhad 1950, v, 109, 335, 414.

(M.T. Danesh Pajuh)

MĪRZĀ TAḲĪ KHĀN [see AMĪR KABĪR, in Suppl.].

MĪRZĀʾĪ, an appellation, somewhat contemptuous, given in India to a follower of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Ḳādiyān; see AḤMADIYYA.

MĪRZĀPUR, a district and town in the Uttar Pradesh province, formerly the United Provinces, of the Indian Union, forming a district in the Benares division of that province, with an area of 5,238 sq. miles, and with a population (1971 census) of 731,403 for the district and 80,768 for the town. Some 7% of the population are Muslims, and have shown a tendency to increase in proportion to the Hindus, owing to their greater vitality, containing as they do a smaller proportion of the very poor. The district is however a stronghold of Hinduism, and Islam makes little progress by conversion. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. It was occupied by the Rādjputs in the 11th century A.D. and in the next century passed into the power of the Muslim rulers of Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. Down to the Mughal conquest, the district played an important part in the military history of India, as it contained the great stronghold of Čunār which guarded the gateway of the east.

At Rasūlpur near Ahraura is the tomb of a Muslim martyr called Sayyid Ashrāf ʿAlī which is a place of pilgrimage. Near the gateway of the fort of Bidjaigaṛh is shown the tomb of Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the saint who miraculously took the stronghold for Shēr Shāh. The town of Čunār contains two mosques, at one of which are preserved garments said to have belonged to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The tomb of the Afghān saint Shāh Ḳāsim Sulaymānī (952-1015/1545-1606) with those of his family forms a group of buildings of architectural interest. His festival is celebrated on 17-21 Djumādā I of each year.

Mīrzāpur city (lat. 25°9′ N., long. 82°35′ E.) is the capital of the district of the same name; of its population, a sixth are Muslims. It is a Mughal foundation dating from late in the 11th/17th century: in the 12th/18th and early 19th centuries it attained great prosperity as a trading centre, being at the junction of important roads and at the highest point of the Ganges reached by the larger ships. During the Mutiny of 1857-8, it remained quiet under a garrison of loyal troops. In 1864 the opening of the East India Railway left the town isolated; after then it declined, as the railway then carried the trade with which it used to deal.

Among the mosques is one founded in the middle

of the 19th century by a Muslim lady named Ganga Bībī, who also left funds to build a *sarāy*. The town contains the celebrated Hindu shrine of Vindheśvarī, much visited by pilgrims and formerly held in special veneration by thugs.

Bibliography: D.L. Drake-Brockman, *District gazetteer of Mirzapur*, Allahabad 1911; *Imperial gazeteer of India*[2], xvii, 366-77. (J. ALLAN*)

MĪRZĀS, the name commonly given by Indian historians to a turbulent family of Tīmūrid descent, troublesome especially in the 10th/16th century, in the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar, to whom they were mostly sixth cousins, as descendants of ʿUmar Shaykh Mīrzā, the second son of Tīmūr (Akbar was descended from Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrān Shāh, the third son of Tīmūr). Abu 'l-Faḍl and Badāuʾnī refer to them as *mīrzāyān*, and Ḥādjdjī al-Dābir as *awlād Mīrzā Muḥammad Tīmūr Sulṭān*. There may be confusion in the texts when one of them is spoken of in the singular, since any of the personages spoken of in MĪRZĀ above may also be commonly referred to as "the Mīrzā" (*mīrzāʾī*). The Mīrzās of Badakhshān are also considered here, but only with regard to their involvement in Indian affairs.

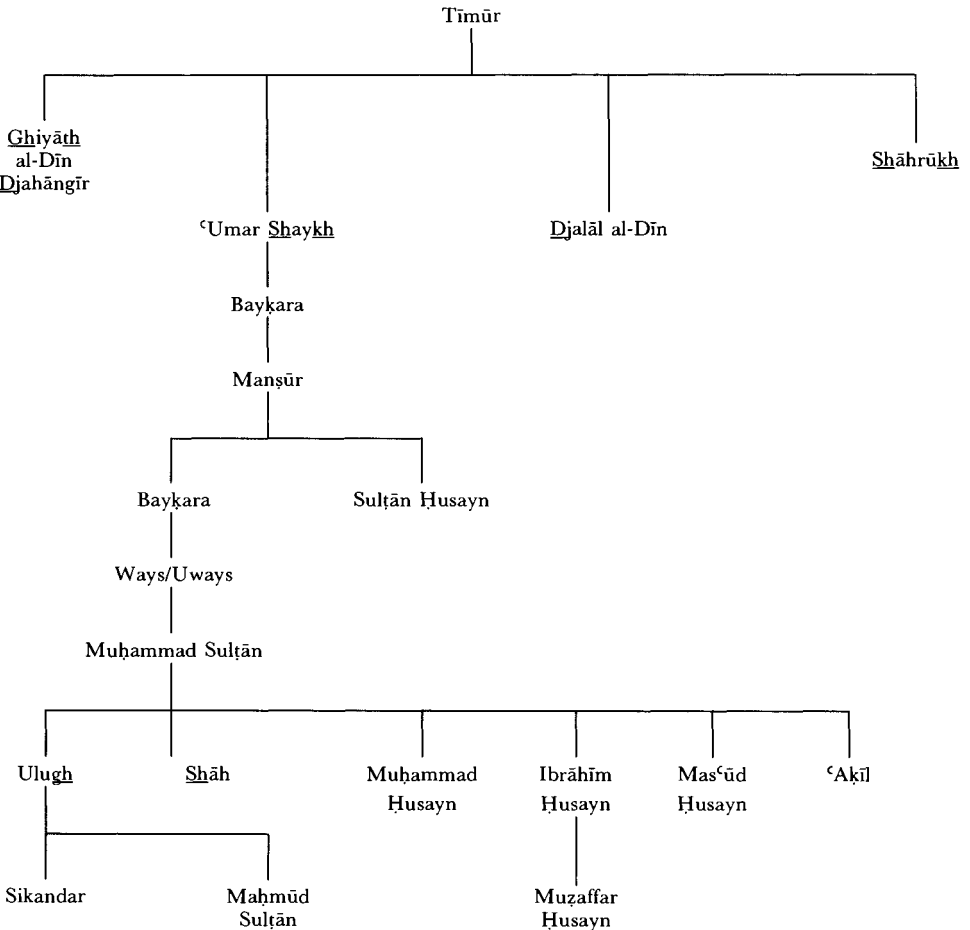
1. The Mīrzās of Gudjarāt.

The accompanying *stemma* makes their relationship clear; it might be added that Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā was married to Gulrukh Bēgam, daughter of Mīrzā Kamrān; and that Uways Mīrzā was married to the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, the ruler of Khurāsān.

The six sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā had all been provided with *iḳṭāʿ*s in the Sambhal and Aʿẓampur districts; but (probably presuming too much on their royal kinship, and profiting from Akbar's absence from the capital to repel the advance of Muḥammad Ḥākim from Kābul to Lāhawr) they spread outside their own *iḳṭāʿ*s and attempted to occupy crown (*khāliṣa*) lands. From these they were dispossessed by the Mughal general Munʿim Khān [*q.v.*], and fled first to Mālwā, in 974/1567 (whose governor was absent with Akbar in the north) and occupied some important towns and districts. They were pursued to Māndū, and thence fled to Gudjarāt early in 975/1567. Akbar punished their revolt by imprisoning their father Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā at Bayānā, where he died within a short time. By the end of the year it was reported that these Mīrzās, with the two sons of Ulugh Mīrzā, had again invaded Mālwā and were besieging Udjdjayn. Reports of the disturbed conditions under the collapsing Gudjarāt sultanate caused their return to Gudjarāt, where they consolidated their hold over the next two years [see GUDJARĀT for a general description of the situation during the following years and for the conditions of the decline from which the Mīrzās sought to profit].

Here they assisted Činghiz Khān, most able of the Gudjarātī nobles, who at that time held Sūrat, Nan-

GENEALOGY OF THE MĪRZĀS OF GUDJARĀT

- Tīmūr
  - Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djahāngīr
  - ʿUmar Shaykh
    - Baykara
      - Manṣūr
        - Baykara
          - Ways/Uways
            - Muḥammad Sulṭān
              - Ulugh
                - Sikandar
                - Maḥmūd Sulṭān
              - Shāh
              - Muḥammad Ḥusayn
              - Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn
                - Muẓaffar Ḥusayn
              - Masʿūd Ḥusayn
              - ʿAḳīl
        - Sulṭān Ḥusayn
  - Djalāl al-Dīn
  - Shāhrūkh

dōd and Čāmpānēr (while his brother-in-law, Rustam Khān, held Bharōč), in raising an army against Iʿtimād Khān (the local king-maker, regent for the minor puppet king Muẓaffar III), and were rewarded by *iḳṭāʿ*s around Bharōč; Iʿtimād Khān thereupon invited Akbar, then at Čitawr, to invade Gudjarāt. On the invasion of Gudjarāt by Muḥammad II of Khāndēsh, asserting his claim to the throne, Muḥammad's armies were defeated by the combined forces of Čingḥiz Khān and the Mīrzās; the latter were rewarded by the grant of further *iḳṭāʿ*s, but unfortunately, as had happened before, they encroached on their neighbours' estates, and earned an unenviable reputation for their cruelty in Bharōč, so that Čingḥiz Khān sent a force against them; they defeated it, but removed themselves temporarily into Khāndēsh, where they plundered Burhānpur before retiring into Mālwā. They were attacked here by forces under several Mughal generals, were besieged in Ranthambhōr, which they had occupied, and were pursued to the river Narmadā, where many of the Mīrzās' army died during the crossing. However, they soon returned to take over their Bharōč lands. Čingḥiz Khān, who was by now virtually in command of Aḥmadābād, was assassinated by a Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] faction in 975/1567; after his death all the country south of the river Mahī fell to the Mīrzās, who took over not only Bharōč but also Sūrat, Barōdā and Čāmpānēr.

After Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt he decided in 980/1572 to expel the Mīrzās from southern Gudjarāt. At this time, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā was established in Barōdā (dissensions having broken out between the Mīrzās in Bharōč), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā in Sūrat and Shāh Mīrzā in Čampānēr. Akbar's troops defeated Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who fled towards Āgrā, though his wife Gulrukh Bēgam fled with her son Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā to the Deccan. Akbar moved on to invest Sūrat, leaving Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka [*q.v.*] in charge of Aḥmadābād; when Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, having joined Shēr Khān Fulādī, a disaffected Gudjarātī noble, moved to besiege Pātan, 'Azīz attacked and defeated them, whereupon Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā fled to the Deccan. Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā, with his younger brother Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā, at first tried unsuccessfully to take Nāgawr [*q.v.*] in Rādjāsthān, and then invaded the Pandjāb; the local governor defeated the Mīrzās' forces, capturing Masʿūd Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā fled south to Multān, and was soon afterwards wounded and captured by some Balūčī tribesmen; he was delivered into the hands of Mughal officials, and died of his wounds.

After Akbar's return to Āgrā, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā left the Deccan, and joined the conspiracy with some of the old nobles, the rebel Ḥabshīs, and the Rādjā of Īdar [*q.v.*]. When they marched against Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka in Aḥmadābād, Akbar returned in his famous "forced march" of nine days, and routed the rebels in the battle of Aḥmadābād in 981/1573. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā was captured in the battle and, while Akbar was pursuing the remainder of the rebel forces, the Mīrzā was executed by his custodians.

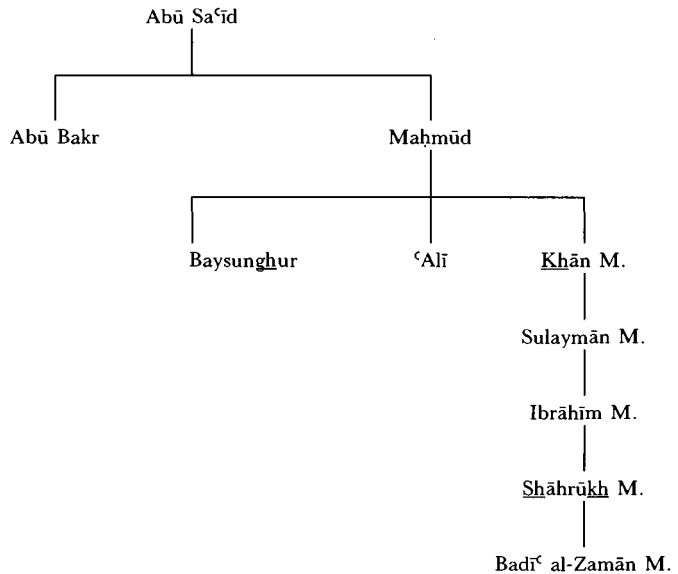
In 985/1577 the young Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā invaded Gudjarāt from the Deccan, but was first defeated by Rādjā Tōdar Mall [*q.v.*]; escaping to Djunāgaṛh, he rallied his forces and again attacked Aḥmadābād, but withdrew and was shortly afterwards captured by Rādjā ʿAlī of Khāndēsh and handed over to Akbar. He was imprisoned for some 12 years, when Akbar released him, and appointed him in charge of Kanawdj; but he was unstable, and after two further terms of imprisonment he died a natural death some ten years later. This is the last account of Mīrzā disturbances in Gudjarāt, which thereafter remained largely peaceful under Mughal rule.

2. The Mīrzās of Badakhshān in India.

The earlier history of this small house has been treated above under BADAKHSHĀN, at Vol. I, p. 852b. Its members were never a thorn in the flesh of the early Mughals as were their kinsmen in Gudjarāt, and they are considered here only with regard to their relations with the Mughal power. A *stemma* indicates their relationship.

The sultans Abū Bakr Mīrzā and Maḥmūd Mīrzā, the sons of Abū Saʿīd Mīrzā, were dispossessed by an

GENEALOGY OF THE MĪRZĀS OF BADAKHSHĀN

- Abū Saʿīd
  - Abū Bakr
  - Maḥmūd
    - Baysunghur
    - ʿAlī
    - Khān M.
      - Sulaymān M.
        - Ibrāhīm M.
          - Shāhrukh M.
            - Badīʿ al-Zamān M.

usurper, who however submitted to the Mug̲h̲al Bābur [*q.v.*] in 910/1504-5. Bābur then appointed K̲h̲ān Mīrzā, son of Maḥmūd Mīrzā, as governor of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān; his son Sulaymān Mīrzā (b. 920/1514, d. Lahawr 997/1589) later also served as governor of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, but he and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had to surrender to Mīrzā Kamrān [*q.v.*]; he was, however, released on Bābur's orders, and reinstated. After some disagreement with Humāyūn [*q.v.*], he eventually held Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān until 983/1575. In 967/1560 he had invaded Balk̲h̲, when Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was killed. In early 983/1575 he was driven out of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān by S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲ Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and went first to India and thence to Mecca, but later returned. With the fall of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān to the Özbegs under ʿAbd Allāh K̲h̲ān in 992/1584, Sulaymān Mīrzā and S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲ Mīrzā fled to India and joined Akbar's court. S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲ Mīrzā later became governor of Mālwā and distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns before his death in 1016/1607. His son Badīʿ al-Zamān Mīrzā instigated a brief insurrection in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān early in the 11th/17th century, which was quickly suppressed.

Bibliography: For the general background to the Mīrzās in Gud̲j̲arāt, see that article, its map, and its *Bibl.*, especially M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, i, London 1938; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, especially the 11th, 12th, 13th and 17th regnal years; for Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and his later career, 22nd, 36th and 45th regnal years also; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾunī, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, and Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, *passim*, and indexes to both in the Bibl. Ind. editions. See also *Bibl. to* AKBAR and MUG̲H̲ALS. History. For the Mīrzās of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, see *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, London-Leiden 1905, index, and *Bibl.* to BADAK̲H̲S̲H̲ĀN. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MISĀḤA, ʿILM AL-, the science of measurement, plane and solid geometry, is the name given by the Muslims to the science of comparing magnitudes and its methods. In the wider sense it covers the measurement of all things which can or need be measured, mainly lengths, areas, volumes, weights and numbers; in particular, however, the *ʿilm al-misāḥa* deals with geometry, with definitions of solids and geometrical figures as well as the laying down of rules for the calculation of lengths, areas and volumes of the different figures in elementary plane and solid geometry. The conception *misāḥa* therefore includes only a portion of what we call measurement in the wider sense, or practical or technical geometry (i.e. the measurement of things having length, breadth and volume); in particular, it excludes mensuration in the narrow sense, geodesy. The Arabs possessed special treatises dealing with the problems of geodesy. They therefore make the same distinction between theoretical and applied measurement, which had developed among the Greeks from the time of Aristotle and is most clearly expressed by Hero in his *Metrica* and *Dioptra*.

The definitions given by the Muslims themselves of the conception *misāḥa* are very varied. Some authors give a very wide one (e.g. al-ʿUmawī: "Measurement consists in ascertaining an unknown quantity by means of a known one. The result gives the amount of the unknown quantity in units of the quantity used for measuring"); most of them mean by it the measurement of length, area and volume. Al-S̲h̲ins̲h̲awrī makes a clear distinction between direct measurement, "the test of coincidence" (*taṭbīḳ*), and indirect measurement by calculating from certain formulae.

We find treatises on geometry throughout the whole period in which the Muslims acted as the transmitters of the ancient culture with which they had become acquainted, from the earliest beginnings of their literary activity at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. to the decline of Arab mathematics in about 1600. The purpose of such works was to give the future surveyor, architect or soldier the necessary equipment, the theoretical foundation for his profession. Three groups of these treatises can be distinguished according to their method of treatment:

(a) those which are quite like our modern collection of formulae, are made as brief as possible, give only the usual methods of calculation and contain no examples (e.g. that of Ibn al-Bannāʾ);

(b) those which contain examples, completely worked out, illustrating the process of calculation (e.g. that of al-Bag̲h̲dādī);

(c) those which only contain a series of fully worked out problems, and are a kind of book of exercises (e.g. that of Abū Bakr).

On the method of exposition in these works, it should be noted that we cannot of course speak of mathematical formulae in our sense of the word among the Arabs. They, especially the eastern Arabs, had no language of mathematical formulae; it was only late among the western Arabs, and probably only in the field of algebra, that a technical language was developed. The rules for measuring were always written out fully in words, sometimes even the figures occurring in the text.

The matter of the works on *misāḥa*, especially the larger ones, as a rule comprise introductory remarks, rules for calculating areas and volumes and the most important lengths found on them, and occasionally also practical exercises.

A. Introductory remarks. These are as a rule:

1. Definition of the term *misāḥa*.

2. Explanation, description and systematic classification of the geometrical figures to be discussed.

3. Definition and list of the most common units of measurement.

B. Rules for calculation.

I. Plane surfaces (and the lengths occurring on them).

1. Quadrilaterals (square, rectangle, rhomboid trapezium, trapezoid, quadrilateral with salient angle).

2. Triangles (equilateral, isosceles, scalene, right angled, acute-angled and obtuse-angled).

3. Polygons (regular, irregular, "drum-shaped figure" (*muṭabbal*), "hollow figure" (*mud̲j̲awwif*) "step-shaped figure" (*mudarrad̲j̲*).

"Drum-shaped" and "hollow" figures are formed by the combination of two congruent trapeziums in such a way that in the former the shorter, in the latter, the longer parallel sides coincide; a number of varieties are distinguished. The step-shaped figure is formed by placing together a number of rectangles of the same length but different breadth, in which the proportions of the breadths form an arithmetical progression.

4. Circle, segments of a circle (semi-circle, segment, sector, circumference) and related areas (horseshoe or crescent [*hilālī*], egg-shape, bean- or lentil-shaped, or oval figures).

The crescent is formed by the subtraction of two segments of circles of different radius with a common chord, egg-shape and bean-shape by the addition of two congruous segments which in the egg-shape are less, in the bean-shape greater than the semi-circle.

The area of the oval (ellipse) is given by Savasorda as $\frac{1}{4}(a+b)^2\pi$.

II. Solids (and the areas, especially superficies, and lengths that occur on them).

1. Prism (ordinary straight and oblique prism, square column, rectangular column, dice, triangular prism, obliquely cut prism, *corpus simile domui* in Abū Bakr as translated by Gerard of Cremona).

2. Cylinder.

3. Pyramids (straight and oblique pyramids, sections of pyramids).

4. Cones (straight and oblique cone, section of cone).

5. Sphere and section of a sphere, hemisphere, segment, sector and zone.

6. Regular and semi-regular bodies (the five Platonic and two Archimedean are treated at any length only in al-Kās͟hī).

7. Other bodies, sc. cylindrical vault (*azād͟j* and *ṭiḳān*; the only difference between them is the length), hollow dome (*ḳubba*), roof-shape (*corpus simile caburi* in Abū Bakr), wreaths and discus (hollow cylinder), and terrace-shaped figures.

C. Practical exercises.

These are, generally speaking, rare in works on *misāḥa*. We frequently find exercises in dividing fields modelled on Hero and Euclid. Savasorda has a number of exercises on fields on slopes, in hollows and on summits and on the calculation of the height of hills; al-Ḥanbalī has some on the measurement of inaccessible pieces of ground, the depth of wells and breadth of rivers. Of other problems, there may be mentioned, for example, the calculation of the number of pieces of stone or bricks required to build a house or a roof, and the ascertainment of the height of a wall.

It must not, however, be supposed that the subject-matter as above described is fully contained in any work on *misāḥa*. The individual works differ in subject matter according to the inclinations and abilities of their authors, just as our text-books of geometry do at the present day. We find works planned on a very comprehensive scale (by al-Ḥanbalī and al-Kās͟hī), alongside of very brief ones, often dealing only with portions of the subject (e.g. the anonymous Berlin ms. no. 5954, which contains only formulae for calculating plane surfaces), or even only a single problem (like the treatise by al-S͟hins͟hawrī). We therefore often find expositions which are only put into works on geometry in order to show the author's special knowledge or results of his research in a particular field.

Among remarkable examples of this kind are the insertion by D͟jams͟hīd al-Kās͟hī [*q.v.*] in a work on *misāḥa* of a treatment of regular and some semi-regular bodies (the calculations worked out by him in sexagesimal fractions to the fifths is so accurate that it only begins to differ from the correct figure in the tenth decimal place); the formulae for the area of a surface given by al-Umawī $F = \sqrt{a \quad b \quad c \quad d}$ for trapezoids with a right angle and his improvement of Hero's formulae for the segments of a circle; the formula for an arc given by al-Kark͟hī; the formula $d^2 = 1/9\,[n(n-1) + 6)a^2$ where d is the diameter of the circle around a regular polygon of n sides of length a given by the same author and al-Bag͟hdādī (the same formula is found in Nemorarius and Regiomontanus and attributed by the latter to the Hindus; it is, however, so far as we know, not found in any Hindu mathematical work yet published); and also the application of algebra to geometry by Abū Bakr and Ibn al-Bannāʾ. The former uses the algebraical solution for problems of areas in order to show the application of equations of the first and second degree to the six cases distinguished by al-K͟hʷārazmī [*q.v.*]; the latter uses combinatorial analysis to investigate the different possibilities of stating the problem.

The methods of calculating volume are the same as we find among the Greeks and Egyptians. When it is not a question of matter that has been taken over from them, in which case the formulae are directly adopted, the obtaining of results is purely inductive and empirical. Al-Kark͟hī, for example, gives for the volume of a sphere, in addition to the formulae $d^3\,(11/14)^2$, on the method of obtaining which he says nothing, also $d^3\,(28/45)$, which he gets by comparing the weight of a cube of wax with the weight of a sphere, which is made out of the cube of wax and whose diameter is equal to the edge of the cube. Al-Bag͟hdādī deals with a method of ascertaining the volume from the weight and specific gravity. Al-Kās͟hī knows the method of immersion of Archimedes mentioned by Hero. The direct method of measuring the length of areas by laying a thread along them is still recommended as the most reliable by al-Kark͟hī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn. It is evident that such methods must lead to approximative results, and formulae of approximation, the typical feature of practical geometry, continue to be used by the Arabs in measuring long after they obviously knew of their inaccuracy. Ibn Mammātī [*q.v.*] criticises the usual formulae for the area of a triangle $1/2\,(a + b)\,3/4\,c$ and $1/2\,(a + b)\,2/3\,c$, al-Bag͟hdādī the formulae for a quadrilateral $1/2\,(a + c)\,1/2\,(b + d)$ which comes from the Egyptians.

The reasons for the long survival of such rules are partly that the formulae gave in practice quite useful results and partly that the practical men who were concerned with measurement in the exercise of their trade wanted values easy to calculate rather than great mathematical accuracy, and took no note of slight errors, especially if they thereby avoided calculations with roots. For similar reasons and in keeping with the traditional practice, almost all works of *misāḥa* give no scientific geometrical proofs of the accuracy of the formulae they quote. Only the book of the Jew Abraham Savasorda, who may be reckoned among the western Arabs, gives logically worked-out proofs in any number; we occasionally find references to early mathematicians (especially Euclid) in Ibn al-Bannāʾ and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī. Probably inspection was quite sufficient (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for example, draws plane figures in a network of squares each of one unit and counts the squares and their parts within this area), or a simple demonstration in some form or a calculation to prove the correctness of the procedure, which was frequently illustrated also by examples completely worked out.

A further peculiarity of Arabic authors was to give formulae which agree completely in substance in different algebraical forms. The Berlin ms. no. 5954 gives, for example, for the calculation of the section of the hypotenuse q in the right-angled triangle the following formulae: $q = 1/2\,[a + (c^2-b^2) : a] = 1/2\,[a + (c+b)(c-b) : a] = 1/2\,[a + (c+b) : \frac{a}{c-b}] = 1/2\,[a^2 + (c^2-b^2)] : a$. This differentiation was probably only intended to give as many forms as possible of the relations between the known and unknown magnitudes so as to afford the practical man a choice of different correct formulae, of which one might suit the special case better than another.

The sources of Arab geometry are to be sought among the Greeks and Hindus. The form and

substance of the rules are almost entirely Greek, especially in the older authors. Hero's "elaborations", in particular, which in turn go back to Egypt, seem to have been the model for Arab works on geometry. To Egypt may be traced the prefacing of a metrological section (found in many books on *misāḥa*), the problems on dividing fields, the formula for the trapezoid, the special name for the upper side of a quadrilateral (*ra's al-ʿarīḍ*). Hindu are the values for π in al-Kh̲wārazmī, the formula $\sqrt{a\ b\ c\ d}$, for the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, the terms are, perpendicular from the summit of an arc and chord, the marking of lengths in Hindu figures, the use of algebra to solve geometrical problems (equations, method of double error, combinatorial analysis). The chief teachers were, however, the Greeks, whose achievements the Arabs generally speaking never surpassed; the requirements of practical mensuration gave them no new problems, and practical geometry remained down to quite modern times elementary, the majority of the problems of which had been finally settled long ago by the Greeks.

The services of the Arabs to geometry lie less in the extension of the field by ascertaining new, hitherto unknown facts (although in the *misāḥa* works we do find a series of new and novel rules) than in their enrichment of this science by new methods of calculation and teaching, and especially in their preserving the inheritance of the ancients and handing it down to the western world. Although Hero's geometry first became known in north-western Europe through Roman surveyors, it was mainly the Arab sources which gave new life to this subject which had become stagnant in its old form. Arabic original works were made accessible to the west in Latin translations. Leonardo of Pisa in his *Practica geometrica*, which remained a standard work for three centuries, depended closely on Savasorda, who most probably owed a great deal to Abū Bakr since there are striking similarities between the *Liber embadorum* and the *Liber mensurationis*; down to late in the 16th century, we continually come across writings on practical geometry which in form and content show to what originals they go back.

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(H. Schirmer)

MISĀḤA (A.), the measurement of plane surfaces, also in modern usage, survey, the technique of surveying. In this article, measures of length and area will be considered, those of capacity, volume and weight having been dealt with under MAKĀYĪL WA-MAWĀZĪN. For the technique of surveying, see MISĀḤA, ʿILM AL-.

1. In the central Islamic lands. In pre-modern times, there were a bewildering array of measures for length and superficial area, often with the same name but differing locally in size and extent. As Lane despairingly noted, "Of the measures and weights used in Egypt I am not able to give an exact account; for, after diligent search, I have not succeeded in finding any two specimens of the same denomination perfectly agreeing with each other, and generally the difference has been very considerable" (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, Appx., "Egyptian weights and measures"). Measures of capacity and weight, being much more intensively used in everyday commercial transactions, tended to be more closely defined and regulated either by the governing authority or by the local market inspector or *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA]; those of length and area were more the concern of the officials making cadastral surveys for taxation puposes [see ḲĀNŪN. ii. Cadaster] or else estimating the value of growing crops (*tak̲h̲mīn*), especially for the type of tax collection involving a share-out of the crop (*muḳāsama*) [see K̲H̲ARĀD̲J̲. I].

(a) The basic measures of length related, as in many other cultures, to various parts of the body and positions of the limbs. An *iṣbaʿ* [*q.v.*] "finger" was the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally 1/24 of the *d̲h̲irāʿ* [*q.v.*] or cubit, itself originally the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The *ḳabḍa* "fist's width" was the breadth of the four fingers of one hand put together. The *s̲h̲ibr* "span" was the span of the hand, from the thumb to the little finger. The *bāʿ* or *ḳāma* was the width of the two arms outstretched, i.e. a fathom, canonically equal to four *d̲h̲irāʿ*s. The *ḳaṣaba*

"pole, shaft" equalled a number of *dhirā*ᶜs varying between five and eight, but giving an average length of four m. In the Persian lands, the *gaz* was the equivalent of the Arabic *dhirā*ᶜ; in the 17th century, Chardin stated that the "royal" *gaz, gaz-i shāhī*, was "trois pieds moins un pouce", i.e. 94.745 cm., and it seems to have been on average 95 cm. In 1926, soon after Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī's accession to the throne, an attempt was made to equate the traditional Persian measures with the metric system, so that the *gaz* was fixed at 1 m; and after 1933, the metric system was introduced, the older measures nevertheless remaining in popular use.

(b) The basic measure of area in earlier Islamic times was the *djarīb*, which, as well as being a measure of capacity for grain, etc., equal to four *ḳafīzs* [see MAKĀYĪL WA-MAWĀZĪN], became a measure of surface area, originally the amount of agricultural land which could be sown with a *djarīb*'s measure of seed. The extent of the *djarīb* of area varied widely. Canonically, it was made up of 100 *ḳaṣabas*, hence approx. 1,600 m². In Fārs, this was known as the "small *djarīb*", the "large *djarīb*" being 5,837 m², but in later mediaeval times, the *djarīb* of the Persian lands was by the 11th/17th century reduced to 958 m². In modern Iran, since 1926, the *djarīb* has equalled one hectare, but in local usage, the *djarīb* can still represent an area ranging from 400 m² to approx. 1,450 m². This reflects in part farming practice, a *djarīb* of unirrigated land being larger in area than one of irrigated land, since the amount of seed sown over a given area of irrigated land is greater than that sown over unirrigated land.

In Egypt, the standard measure of land has been the *faddān* "yoke of oxen" (pl. *fadādīn*), defined by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] (9th/15th century) as equalling 400 square *ḳaṣabas*, i.e. 6,368 m². The official reckoning of this measure decreased from the equivalent of 1 1/10 English acres to less than one acre (1 acre = 0.4046 hectare). Since 1830, the *faddān* has corresponded to 4200.833 m² (1.038 English acres).

In the Turkish lands of the Ottoman Empire, and the Arab lands of ᶜIrāḳ, Syria and Palestine directly under Ottoman rule till 1918, the standard measure of area was the *dönüm* ("turn, turning"), Arabic *dūnam*, the area which originally was considered to equal one day's ploughing. In Turkey it equalled 939 m² (i.e. approx. 1,000 sq. yards), but the "new" (*yeñi*) *dönüm* was in the 19th century equated with the hectare; and in 1934 the metric system of weights and measures was officially adopted by the Turkish Republic. In Syria and Palestine in recent times, the *dūnam* is one of 1,000 m² = 0.247 acres, whilst in ᶜIrāḳ a larger one of 2,500 m² is used, despite the official adoption in ᶜIrāḳ of the metric system in 1931. In any case, in all these lands, the traditional measures have remained in daily use side-by-side with the newer metric ones.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Muslim India. (a) Measures of length. In traveller's accounts, distances are frequently stated in "days", *marḥala*: "Fulānshahr is two days' journey from Fulānānad." The practical convenience of this method should not be underestimated; it remains in use at the present day for travellers in the high hills who may expect to find a shelter, stabling, water and possibly even minimal provisions at a convenient end of a day's march, whose physical length may be very variable depending on the nature of the terrain to be crossed. The principle of the convenient day's march has of course been a determining factor in the siting of *sarā*ʾ*īs* along major-routes [see MANZIL, SARĀʾĪ, ṬARĪḲ; on the difficulties of interpretation, see especially S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, comment on distances in al-Iṣṭakhrī *et alii*, 30 ff.). Other travellers, including al-Bīrūnī, describe distances in terms of the parasang or *farsakh* [*q.v.*], but since al-Bīrūnī uses the term to interpret information which he obviously received in terms of Hindū units of length, his figures are far from reliable (useful discussion in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 42-5). He and others occasionally use the word *mīl*, the Arab mile, which later becomes a source of confusion, as it may be used as a synonym of *farsakh*; *mīl* rather than *mā*ʾ*il* persists in modern Indian languages for the English mile, possibly helped through Portuguese.

The Hindu unit of distance which misled al-Bīrūnī is the Skrt. *yodjana* "league", a distance of four *goruta* "cow-roar", the length at which a cow's lowing can be heard, or *krośa* "earshot". The *yodjana*, later *djodjan*, is rarely used by Muslim writers, but the *krośa*, later *kōs* (or the Persian cognate *karōh*), becomes the standard term for describing distance. This has been differently reckoned at different periods and in different regions and, like the *sēr* and the *man* [see MAKĀYIL WA-MAWĀZĪN], has almost everywhere a distinction between a larger and a smaller measure, the *pakkā kōs* and the *kaččā kōs*.

New imperial standards were introduced in the heyday of the Mughals with bewildering frequency, but the surviving records, and the references to foreign standards, allow a reasonably sure interpretation. These standards may be considered under the significant reigns.

1. Bābur (932-7/1526-30), in a mnemonic rhyme under the year 935/1528, establishes that the Indian league, *kurōh*, of 100 "ropes", *ṭanāb*, each of 40 paces, *ḳadam*, was thus of 4,000 paces, each being of one-and-a-half cubits, *ḳārī*; a cubit was of six hand-breadths, *tūtām*, each of four "hands", *ēlīg*, each of six barleycorns, *djaw*. He thus refers to Čaghatāy and Persian units, explaining that the *kurōh* is equivalent to a *mīl* (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 351a-b). The "hand" is evidently a digit in fact.

A thorough inquiry into the value of both digit and hand-breadth was made by Col. J.A. Hodgson, Surveyor General of India, in 1843, measuring the hands of 76 men twice; the width at the knuckles (the root of the fingers) averaged 3.2287″ (8.20 cm), and that across the mid-joint 3.078″ (7.82 cm). These averages yielded finger widths of 0.8053″ (in reality, 0.8077″) (205 cm) and 0.769″ (1.95 cm) respectively (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 46 ff.). The former is probably correct (see below, 4 and 5), though he took the latter. He cited experiments by Halhed in 1824, whereby a digit of six barleycorns arranged breadthways was found to be 0.7766″ (1.97 cm) (*ibid.*, 49-50).

Bābur's cubit, if we take the hand width at the knuckles, would be 19.37″ (49.20 cm), the pace 29.06″ (73.80 cm), the cable 96′10.3″ (29.52 m), and the league 3228×2′1.2″ (2,952 m).

2. Shēr Shāh (947-52/1540-45) and Humāyūn (937-47, 962-3/1530-40, 1555-6). Shēr Khān fixed the *kōs*, or league, at 60 *djarīb*, each of 60 *sikandarī gaz*; this *gaz* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], or cubit, had been introduced by

Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517), being reckoned at 41½ *iskandarī/sikandarī* (sc. *tanka*). This was a round billon coin struck in great numbers (Sikandar Lōdī struck in billon only), which continued in circulation well into Mughal times; its average diameter was 0.7″ (1.78 cm); a half-*tanka* of 0.55″ (1.40 cm) was also known, with quarter and eighth *tankas* known in small numbers. (H.N. Wright, *Coinage and metrology of the sultans of Dehlī*, Delhi 1936, 250-4, 260-1). Humāyūn is reported to have added half an *iskandarī* (half the diameter of an *iskandarī*, or the diameter of a half-*tanka*?) to the length of the *gaz*, bringing the number to 42. Thus Humāyūn's cubit would be of 29.4″ (74.67 cm). However, the remark in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, iii, 296, that this length was equivalent to 32 *angusht*, "fingers'-breadth") would lead to an impossibly large *angusht* of 0.92″ (2.34 cm); if, however, the diameter of the *half-tanka* (0.55″) be taken, the *angusht* would be of only 0.72″, too small (and in any case the half-*tanka* could not have been referred to as an *iskandarī*). This unsatisfactory explanation must be attributed to an error on Abu 'l-Faḍl's part.

3. Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). At his accession, three parallel systems were in use throughout Hindūstān. In each the cubit, *gaz*, was of 24 digits, *tassūdj*, but the latter were designated long, medium, or short (*darāz, miyāna, kutāh*) according to whether they equalled 8, 7, or 6 barleycorns placed breadthways. The first was used in surveying land, the second in building, and the third for furniture and soft goods (*Āʾīn*, iii, 294). They were thus related in principle to the *dhirāʿ al-sharʿiyya* of 24 digits, which is occasionally referred to in India. The *iskandarī gaz* was retained for agriculture and building, and an *akbar-shāhī gaz* of 46 *angusht* was used for cloth (*Āʾīn*, iii, 296; cf. i, 170-1). In the 19th year of the Divine Era (1575), Akbar had a new standard pole, *djarīb*, made up of canes joined by iron rings. to obviate the moisture movement which made the hemp cable unreliable. On 22 Rabīʿ II 996/21 March 1588 he introduced his new standard *gaz*, to be known as the *gaz-i ilāhī*, of 41 digits, to replace all others; this appears to have been 32.82″ (83.36 cm), about the same as 41 of Hodgson's larger digits. He then re-established the land measure, the *tanāb*, at 60 of these new *gaz*; the squared area was known as a *bīgha* (*Āʾīn*, iii, 296). Subsequently, however, the *kurōh* is defined as of 100 *tanāb* each of 50 *ilāhī gaz*; the resulting 5,000 *ilāhī gaz* could also be measured with 400 poles, *bāns*, each of 12½ *gaz*: it seems that a further revision had taken place (*Āʾīn*, iii, 597).

4. Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) in turn revised the scale, making the *ilāhī gaz* of 40 digits, and the *gaz-i sharʿī* of 24; he used the terms *gaz* and *dirʿa* (*sic*) interchangeably. In his memoirs he states that the *kurōh* used in his reign was the same as that of Akbar, and that like it, it was of 5,000 *dirʿa* (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, 298, cf. 234). The *gaz* itself must therefore have remained unchanged. His purpose in altering the number of digits is clear in his practice of giving small measurements in quarters, *pā* or *pāw*, and eighths, *nīm-pāw* of a cubit: he had simply found the 41 digits indivisible. Measurements given for buildings at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, when compared with their present dimensions, suggest values for the *gaz* of between 30″ (76.2 cm) and 32″ (81.3 cm)—the lower values, being taken from longer measurements, are subject to greater error. Experiments in measuring the intervals between the *kōs mīnārs*, as reported by Elliot (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 194-6), gave an average of 4,558ˣ (4,167.83 m) along the road, which at 5,000 *gaz* to the *kōs* yields a *gaz* of 32.818″ (83.35 cm). A *gaz* was also divided into 16 *girih* (*Tūzuk*, 175).

5. Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57). Under the year 1046/1636-7, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī states that all measurements are given in a *dhirāʿ-i pādshāhī* of 40 *angusht* (*Bādshāh-nāma*, i/2, 237). Muḥammad Ṭāhir confirms that the *kurūh-i pādshāhī* is of 200 *djarīb*, the *djarīb* of 25 *dirāʿ* (*sic*), and these each of 40 *angusht*. (*Mulakhkhaṣ*, fol. 107a). Thus it appears either that the value of the *djarīb* had been halved or that it was no longer synonymous with the *tanāb*. As Ṭāhir refers later to the *djarībī kōs*, it seems the latter is probable. This explains why the rods in Akbar's reign were of 12 1/2 *gaz*, as half a *djarīb*: it seems that the *tanāb* continued to be associated with the old multiple of 60. An English letter from Āgra dated 24 April 1647 explains that the Āgra cubit had been shortened by 2.5%, or 1/3 *girih*, to conform with the Lāhawr cubit, by royal decree. The Lāhawr unit must be the *dhirāʿ-i pādshāhī*, and the Āgra cubit must be Akbar's *ilāhī gaz*: the difference represents a reduction from 41 to 40 digits (Moreland, *op. cit.*, 102). A second letter of 6 January 1648 refers to an Āgra cubit, presumably the reformed unit, as 32″ (81.28 cm) long (Foster, 1646-50, 122, 190). In this case the old Agra cubit would be 32.82″/83.36 cm). Tavernier printed a scale (*op. cit.*, ii/2, 236) which shows that the Sūrat cubit was 27.30″ (69.34 cm), thus tending to corroborate Fryer's 28″ (71.12 cm); another English letter of 12 November 1645, before the reform, equates 10.5 Āgra *girih* with 19 Sūrat *tassūdj*, so that from Tavernier's scale the Āgra cubit can be calculated as 32.99″ (83.79 cm), not far from the values established above (Foster, 1642-45, 299-300). Hodgson, with the measurement across the knuckles, had arrived at an *ilāhī gaz* of 33.018″ (83.86 cm); his measurements at the Tādj Maḥall and other buildings of this reign in Āgra, when referred to figures in the *Shāh-Djahānnāma* of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, suggested a *djirāʿ-i pādshāhī* of 31.79″ (80.75 cm) (Hodgson, 50-3: he was mistaken in thinking this cubit to be of 42 digits). These royal works were apparently measured in the new unit, regardless of the conservatism of the merchants in the same city. Shāh Djahān's reform can only be explained as an attempt to combine the advantage of a division into 40 units with Akbar's, rather than Djahāngīr's, digit. This may have been because the latter had proved larger than most fingers!

As well as the variations of the *kōs* to the smaller units within the Mughal heartland, provincial standards also varied. The *kōs* in use in Mālwā was of 90 *tanābs* of 60 *gaz*, according to the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*; in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London 1886, with Crooke's additions of 1902, the estimated *kōs* in the Bengal Presidency was "about 2 miles, much less as you approach the N.W."; in the upper [Ganges-Djamnā] Dōʾāb 1 1/4 miles, in Bundelkhand "nearly 3m or ... even 4″, in Madras 2 1/4, and a *sulṭānī kōs* in Mysore "about 4 miles". The terms *tanāb* and *djarīb* seem to have become interchangeable, although obviously variable in terms of the *gaz*, variable itself. The determination of the Mughal "imperial" *gaz* became a matter of concern to the British when their own revenue surveys were begun in the first quarter of the 19th century; results were so discrepant that an arbitrary value of 33 inches (= 83.82 cm) was assigned.

It should be noted that the term *dhirāʿ* [*q.v.*] "cubit" is occasionally used, with no great precision, by Indian Muslim authors, either for the *gaz* or for the *hāth*, lit. "hand", the distance between the elbow and top of the middle finger, sometimes used as a cloth measure (Buchanan's *Eastern India*, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Haut*); but the common cloth measure was the *gaz* in the form of an iron rod marked into

quarters. This implement was certainly still in use in Lucknow in 1955.

(b) Measure of an area. The units of area measurement for land were mostly the *bīghā* and its twentieth part the *bīswā*. The *bīghā* again varied considerably by region, with the usual distinction of *kaččā* and *pakkā* (some examples in Jarrett's footnote to the term *ṭanāb* in his tr. of *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 61). Again Akbar's regulations of the 31st regnal year provide a point of reference: he fixed the *bīghā* as a square *djarīb*, i.e. 60 × 60 *Ilāhī gaz*, directing that for measurement purposes the old hempen *ṭanāb*, lit. "tent-rope" of sixty *gaz* be replaced by a *djarīb* of bamboo rods joined by iron rings—the former having lent itself too easily to fraud by being left out to collect the dew and therefore shrinking from 60 *gaz* to as little as 56; this could cause a mismeasurement of up to thirteen *bīghā* in a hundred (one *madad-i maʿāsh farmān* of 989/1581, doc. 1 in B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla 1967, equates 200 *bīghā*-by-the-hemp-rope with 170 *bīghā*-by-the-bamboo, a difference of 15%). This standardised "imperial" *bīghā* of 3,600 *ilāhī gaz* was therefore (at the rate of the *gaz* as calculated above) 0.5427 acres = 0.2196 ha. (in the British revenue surveys, taking the *gaz* as 33 inches, the *bīghā* was fixed at 5/8 acre = 0.253 ha.). The *bīswā* was thus of 131.33 sq. yds. = 109.8 sq. m.; a smaller measure, the *bīswānsā*, one-twentieth of the *bīswā*, is also mentioned by Abu 'l-Faḍl, who states that anything under the *bīswānsā* was ignored for revenue purposes. Three smaller divisions by twenties are mentioned, which would seem to be of no practical account. Local units are occasionally encountered in *farmāns*, such as the Pandjāb *kanāl*, a quarter of a *bīghā*, or *ghumāʾō*, generally 8 *kanāls* in the Pandjāb but as little as one-fifth of a *bīghā* elsewhere in north India, and in the extreme east and north-east, the *hāl/hār* of some 7 to 8 *bīghā*.

Bibliography: Primary sources: Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābar-nāma*, facs text ed. A.S. Beveridge, Leiden and London 1905; Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak, ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1872; Nur al-Dīn Muḥammad Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, ed. Syud Ahmud, Allygurh 1864; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshah-nāma*, ed. W. Nassau Lees *et alii*, Calcutta 1867; Muḥammad Ṭāhir, ʿInāyat Khān, *Mulakhkhaṣ* (as *Shāh-Djahān-nāma*), B.L. ms. Or. 175. Coins: Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Supplement to volume II of the catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Delhi 1939, 19; H.N. Wright, *Coinage and metrology of the sulṭāns of Delhī*, Delhi 1936, 250-4; idem, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Oxford 1913, 80-3, nos. 603-5. Earlier discussion of these measurements is to be found in J. Prinsep, *Useful tables, forming an appendix to the J.R.A.S.*, Calcutta 1834, i, 87-92; J.A. Hodgson, *Memoir on the length of the ilahee guz*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 42-63; Sir H.M. Elliot, *Supplement to the glossary of Indian terms* (compiled in Agra by H.H. Wilson), Agra 1845, 194-6, 406; idem, *Memoirs on the history... of the North-Western Provinces*, 2 vols., revised edn. J. Beames, London 1869; Wilson, *A glossary of judicial and revenue terms of British India*, London 1875; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Beegah, Coss, Gudge*; W.H. Moreland, *The Mogul unit of measurement*, in *JRAS* (1927), 102-3 (printed 120!); Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay etc. 1963. Foreign reports are given in Sir W. Foster, *The English factories in India 1646-50*, Oxford 1914, 122, 190, and idem, *1642-45*, Oxford 1913, 299-300; J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1679-82, ii/2, 236. More detailed discussion of the same topic may be found in P.A. Andrews, ch. *Linear measurements under the Moghuls*, in *The felt tent in Middle Asia*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1980, unpubl., ii, 1022-37.

(J. Burton-Page and P.A. Andrews)

3. Finally, one should note that the word *misāḥa* is also used as a technical term of the financial department to denote not only surveying as such, but also the land-tax [see KHARĀDJ] calculated, probably on the Byzantine model according to the surface area of the cultivated lands, or else, perhaps on the Sāsānid model, according to the surface area adjusted in regard to the nature of the soil, methods of irrigation and, in general, yield.

Bibliography: F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 103 ff.; Cl. Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1977, p. [200].

(Ed.)

MISALLA (a., pl. *masāll*), lit. "large needle", obelisk. The mediaeval Arab authors speak with awe of the wondrous two obelisks of ʿAyn Shams [*q.v.*], Heliopolis, the old Egyptian Ōn. Al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. G. Wiet, vol. iv, ch. lxvi, § 1, p. 89) gives the biblical name Raʿamsās, and Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (*Anwār ʿulwī al-adjrām fi 'l-kashf ʿan asrār al-ahrām*, ed. U. Haarmann, Beirut 1990, 80, l. 5) the variant Raʿamsīs, for the ancient city which is occasionally (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 43 ult.) identified with the village al-Maṭariyya. The two obelisks had formed part of the vast sun temple (*haykal al-shams*) already in ruins when the Arab conquerors arrived in Egypt. Different lexical terms are used to introduce the obelisks: the early Muslim geographers Ibn Khurradādhbih (161, ll. 5-9) and Ibn Rusta (80, ll. 9-13) speak of "columns" (*usṭuwānatān*ⁱ). Numerous later authors (Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, al-Ḳuḍāʿī, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, al-Maḳrīzī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī) simply denote them as "pillars" (*aʿmida*, *ʿamūdān*ⁱ), whereas al-Muḳaddasī (210; cf. A. Miquel, *L'Égypte vue par un géographe arabe: al-Muqaddasī*, in *AI*, xi [1972], 134), the Iranian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in his description of his visit to the *bāgh-i Firʿawn* in ʿAyn al-Shams [!] (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, 49, 142 f.), and Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī (*Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, [July-September 1925], 73-4) use the term minaret/beacon (*manār*, *manārān*ⁱ). The popular designation, however, was, as we learn from Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 179a), *masāll/misallatā Firʿawn*.

When ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī visited Heliopolis at the end of the 6th/12th century, one of the two mighty obelisks had already collapsed: "It was broken in two pieces by the fall, owing to its excessive weight. The copper which had covered the top had been taken away" (cf. the Arabic text of *al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, as well as an English tr., in K.H. Zand and J.A. and I.E. Videan, *The Eastern Key*, London 1965, 126-9; for the French and German renderings of this famous description of the obelisks, which passed into later Arab compendia such as Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī's *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān* (see *Khiṭaṭ*, § 15, 95-6), see Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-allatif médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 181, and Else Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter aus den geographischen Werken der Araber*, Leipzig 1903, 102-3). The exact date when this obelisk fell down is unclear. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, who visited Egypt around 512/1118, also mentions only one obelisk, of which de Sacy (*op. cit.*, 228), however, thought that it was this one which collapsed at a later time, i.e. between 1118

and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's visit around 1195. Certainly, the historian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Djazarī (d. 739/1338 [*q.v.*]) is not correct when dating this event as late as 6 Ramaḍān 656/6 September 1258 (see the interesting quotation from his unpublished chronicle *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, in *Khiṭaṭ*, § 16, pp. 96-7; the report of this year in the Gotha autograph of *Ḥawādith al-zamān* is fragmentary, cf. U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969-70, 44). Perhaps de Sacy was correct (*op. cit.*, 229) in his conjecture that the right year should be 556/1161, and that some scribal error could be responsible for this false chronology to be found also in later authors such as al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, i, 394, l. 7).

The two obelisks of Heliopolis were unanimously counted among the outstanding *ʿadjāʾib* of Egypt. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (= Ps. Ibn Ẓahīra) names them as the key monuments of Heliopolis, the second item in his list of a total of twenty Egyptian miracles (*al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā and K. al-Muhandis, Cairo 1969, 150; the text is taken from Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, who again quotes al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī). Their fame is founded not only on their awesome dimensions and weight, but also on the perfect craftsmanship on an exceptionally difficult material (granite), and the multitude of hieroglyphic inscriptions, including the relief of someone on a riding beast (cf. al-Ḳuḍāʿī in *Khiṭaṭ*, § 20, p. 97, see also Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; in Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib, al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī ḥulā ḥaḍrat al-Ḳāhira*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970, in a special book on Heliopolis—the *K. Ladhdhat al-lams fī ḥulā kūrat ʿAyn Shams*, quoted also by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 44, l. 1—we read wrongly of this statue as standing between the two obelisks!, cf. 375, l. 2). Particular fascination was caused by the precious copper caps of the two needles, for which various Arabic terms ((1) *ḳalansuwwa* "hood", see ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī; (2) *ṣawmaʿa* "[monk's] cell", see al-Ḳuḍāʿī and Yāḳūt and their respective followers al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 325, l. 4; al-Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, § 20, p. 97; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, 375; Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, *Faḍāʾil*, 150; and (3) *ṭawḳ* "collar", see Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Rusta and Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī) are used. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf speaks with the exactitude of the scientist about the effect which verdigris had on the copper of this cap. Several authors, among them also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Heliopolis in the time of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] in the mid-5th/11th century, mention the moisture from condensation that could be observed flowing constantly, in all seasons, from beneath the copper top of the obelisk and causing moss and other vegetation to grow miraculously high above the soil on the barren granite of the monument (cf. esp. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī's *Tuḥfa*, as well as the French and German translations of his remarks by Ferrand in *Les monuments de l'Égypte au XII siècle d'après Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, Cairo 1935-40 [= *MIFAO*, lxviii], 61, and G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, iii, Berlin 1892, 86-7). Al-Ḳuḍāʿī, as well as Yāḳūt, Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, and al-Ḳalḳashandī, speak of a connection between the annual rise of the Nile and the flow of moisture from the obelisk. The value of the copper found both on top of, and inside, the fallen obelisk was enormous; al-Djazarī, and following him both al-Maḳrīzī and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (*Faḍāʾil*, 151, ll. 2-3), mention a figure of 10,000 *dīnārs*.

Since the living tradition of Pharaonic Egypt had forever ceased in Islamic times, the function of the obelisks—as well as the identity of those who erected them—was free for an intrinsically Islamic or a fantastic interpretation. Ibn Khurradādhbih names the legendary Iranian king Hūshang as their builder (161; see also *Khiṭaṭ*, § 26, p. 99, ll. 5-9). In the apocryphal Hermetic history of al-Waṣīfī/Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, *Akhbār al-zamān*, the "two pillars" of Heliopolis are the work of the postdiluvian Pharaoh M-n-ḳāwus (ed. ʿA. al-Ṣāwī, ⁴Beirut 1980, 200, ll. 11-13; see also *Khiṭaṭ*, § 11, p. 93), who is said to have inscribed the date of their erection into the stone. Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (*op. cit.*, 376, ll. 3-5) mentions the Amalekite al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd b. Dūmaʿ/Dūmagh, Joseph's Pharaoh, as their builder. Al-Muḳaddasī (211), one of our earliest witnesses in Islamic times, surmises, on the basis of a book on talismans, that the obelisks served an apotropaic function against the crocodiles, still a menace at the time of their construction.

The less conspicuous obelisks on Egyptian soil are also mentioned here and there in the mediaeval Islamic sources. In the context of the two obelisks of Heliopolis, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (and those following him) mention the two needles of Cleopatra in Alexandria (now on the Embankment of the River Thames in London and in Central Park, New York) as being considerably bigger than the numerous small obelisks in ʿAyn Shams yet as being well inferior in size to the two big ones. That these two Alexandrian obelisks had originally also stood in Heliopolis, and had been transferred to the Ptolemaic capital only in Roman times, was evidently unknown to the mediaeval Islamic authors.

There is also a brief reference to the unfinished obelisk in the quarry of Aswān. In the anonymous Berlin manuscript 8503 (Petermann, i, 684, no. 12, fol. 13a, written after 814/1411), the author states that he himself found in the "mountain of Assuan" this pillar, all designed and carved (*wa-ḳad hundisa wa-nuḳira*), yet not yet separated from the rock; what its destination was to be remained unknown, he adds.

A few monuments are mentioned in direct connection with the obelisks of ʿAyn Shams, such as the large statue of Isis in Fusṭāṭ, called either the "lady" (*al-sayyida*) (see al-Harawī, *al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 40, ll. 14-15) or the laundry-woman of Pharaoh's kin (*al-ghassāla li-āl-Firʿawn*) (al-Muḳaddasī, 211), or the idol of firm white limestone, allegedly depriving him who saw it of his office, which was therefore destroyed by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in 258/871-2 (Ibn al-Dāya, *al-Sīra al-Ṭūlūniyya*, quoted by al-Makrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, § 23, p. 98).

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(U. Haarmann)

MISʿAR B. MUHALHIL [see abū dulaf].

MIṢBĀḤ [see sirādj].

MISBAḤA [see subḥa].

MISHMISH (a., more rarely *mushmush*, in the Maghrib *mishmāsh*), a masc. sing. noun with a collective meaning (singulative *mishmisha*), the apricot-tree and its fruit (*Prunus armeniaca*), of the Rosaceae family, and corresponding to Persian *zardālū*, *zardālūk* and Turkish *kayısı*.

It was for long considered as indigenous to Armenia (whence its scientific name), but in fact has been cultivated in China for about two millennia before our era and reached the Mediterranean region of the West

in the historical ages of Athens and Rome via India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey. In Greece, Italy, North Africa and Spain it was soon acclimatised under the name of "Armenian apple" (ἀρμενιακὸν μῆλον, *armeniacum malum*) and "golden apple" (χρυσομῆλον, *chrysomelum*), this last appellation being given also to the quince (*safardjal*). Nevertheless, in Greece it was more commonly called by the adjective "early" (πραικόκιον, *praecox*), since it is one of the first of the juicy fruits (*fākiha*, pl. *fawākih*) to ripen in the spring; and it was from this Greco-Latin denomination that Arabic derived *barkūk* which, according to region, is also applied to the plum (*idjdjās*, *ʿayn al-bakar*). This loan-word *al-barkūk* yields in Kabyle *aberkok*, in Mozarabic *albericoque* and in Catalan *abercoc*, whence Old Fr. *aubercot* (12th century) and then modern Fr. abricot, Eng. apricot, Ger. Aprikose.

As early as the high Middle Ages, the Islamic lands which cultivated the apricot distinguished two categories of this fruit: on one hand, the varieties the kernel of whose stone was sweet and edible (*mishmish lawzī*) and on the other, those where it was bitter (*mishmish kilābī*). In the first category, by far the most sought-after and best-named variety was that called *kamar al-dīn* ("moon of religion") and *kaysī*, which had large juicy fruits perfectly suited for drying. In the 8th/14th century, the famous traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] on several occasions vaunts their excellence. He first tasted them at Ḥamāt in Syria (the *ḥamawī* variety), then at Iṣfahān and finally, in Anatolia where they are singled out as a speciality of the towns of Konya (*Kūniya*), Antalia (*Anṭāliya*) and Kastamonu (*Kasṭamūniya*). After drying, these fruits were exported to Syria and, above all, to Egypt (*Riḥla*, i, 142, ii, 44, 259, 281, 336, tr. Gibb, i, 91, ii, 295, 418, 430, 459). As foodstuffs, these dried apricots offered several advantages since, as well as keeping well, they also produced, after maceration in water (*nakūʿ*) overnight, a refreshing and sweet-smelling drink and a tasty side-dish. It would be impossible to enumerate the many dainties (*ḥalwiyyāt*), including pastries, confections of sugar, sweets and syrups, in whose composition apricots were used. In connection with dishes of cooked meat, Arabic works on the culinary art mention two recipes for stews involving apricots (*mushmushiyya*; see M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 131-8). Finally, in the pharmacopeia, the sweet or bitter kernel of the stone of the apricot yielded an "oil" (*duhn lubb nawā al-mishmish*) beneficial for the treatment of haemorrhoids, anal tumours and dysentery (see Ibn al-Bayṭār-Leclerc, *Traité des simples*, Paris 1877-83, ii, 929). In the Middle East at the present day, among the numerous varieties of apricots obtained by grafting, one sees always in the markets the *ḥamawī* and the *mishmish lawzī*, whose name has become by abbreviations *mishlawz*. Also to be found, according to region, are the *basūsī*, the *sindiyānī*, the *baladī* and the *ʿadjamī*, all with a sweet kernel (see E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.v. *mishmish*).

In Syria, the name of *mushmush barrī* is given to the arbutus (*Arbutus unedo*) regarded as a kind of wild apricot because of the reddish tinge of its fruits; and, in botany, modern Arabic calls *mishmish Amīrīkā* the Mammea or Santo Domingo apricot (*Mammea americana*) and *mishmish al-Yābān* "apricot of Japan" the Kaki (*Diospyros kaki*).

Bibliography: Given in article. (F. VIRÉ)

MISK (A.), musk, the gland secretion of the male musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus* L., *Cervidae*), discharged from the musk pouch (*Moschus in vesicis*), the prepucial bag-like formation near the navel of small deer resembling roes or gazelles. According to a tradition, "musk is the best and strongest smelling perfume" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 224a, 10-1; idem, *Handbook*, 184b). In antiquity, musk was not known. In Byzantium, it turns up in the 6th century (Cosmas Indicopleustes).

Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 391, 392, 393, 407, 434, 902), also quoted by Ibn al-Bayṭār (see *Bibl.*) after Ibn Wāfid, reports on the homeland and extraction of this highly appreciated perfume. According to him, the "musk gazelle" (*ghazāl*, *ẓaby*) lives in a region belonging partly to Tibet, partly to China. For two reasons, the Tibetan musk is of higher quality than the Chinese one: firstly because the gazelles in Tibet graze the fragrant spikenard (*sunbul*, not lavender, Pellat § 391), whereas in China, other herbs; secondly, because the Tibetans leave the musk pouch as it is, while the Chinese take the secretion out of the pouches and add blood, or tamper with it in another way. Besides, the Chinese musk loses part of its quality because of humidity and climatic changes on the long sea journey from China to Near East. In Tibet, the musk gazelles are caught in nets, or killed with arrows. In size, colour and form of the horns, the animals resemble the Arabic gazelle. If the pouch is cut off before the secretion is ripe, the latter gives off an unpleasant smell which, after some time, under the influence of the air, takes on the real musk scent. The best musk is obtained when the secretion ripens completely inside the pouch. In this case, the animal senses a strong itching, from which it frees itself by grating against stones until the pouch bursts open and the contents come out. The Tibetans then go to look for the discharged secretion which has dried up in the air, put it in the musk pouch and take it to their princes. This high-quality musk is reserved for princes, who give it to each other as a present.

Others authors essentially affirm al-Masʿūdī's report, adding further data about the lands of origin. As such, India is mentioned, above all the kingdom of Mūdja (perhaps Arakan, the coastal region of Western Burma), and also Further India, Ceylon and Java. From Central Asia, the musk came into the Islamic lands by the great caravan routes, and from East and South Asia by way of the sea, through the ports of Dārīn (al-Baḥrayn) and Aden. Even in faraway Spain, musk was the most important perfume (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 407).

The most detailed report on musk is given by al-Nuwayrī (see *Bibl.*). His main source is the *Kitāb al-ʿArūs* of al-Tamīmī, but he also quotes al-Yaʿkūbī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās al-Miskī, al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī and Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, who give more accurate data about the places of origin, the transportation and the entrepôts, as well as about the various qualities of the musk. Musk was very often tampered with, as may be seen from the substitutes quoted by al-Kindī (or one of his pupils) in his *Kitāb fī Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr wa 'l-taṣʿīdāt* and the list thereof composed by the editor K. Garbers (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxx, Leipzig 1948, 272-4).

Musk also played an important role in medicine. According to Arab physicians, musk intensifies and stimulates the senses, and dispels trouble and affliction. This is in line with the fact that musk, destined by nature to attract the female animal, with human beings has the effect of an aphrodisiac (H. Schindler and H. Frank, *Tiere in Pharmazie und Medizin*, Stuttgart 1961, 288-92). It further strengthens the brains and eyes, is good for heart palpitation, is an antidote against venomous stings, against the deadly alkaloid

of aconite and against ergot (*kurūn al-sunbul*), *secale cornutum*).

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MISKAWAYH, philosopher and historian who wrote in Arabic, born in Rayy around 320/932. His full name was Abū ^cAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya^cḳūb, which seems to refute Yāḳūt, who describes him as "Mazdaean converted to Islam", whereas it was probably one of his ancestors who was converted. Miskawayh (Miskōye/Mushkōye), and not Ibn Miskawayh as he is commonly designated, performed the tasks of secretary and librarian under the viziers al-Muhallabī (340-52/950-63) [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Faḍl (353-60/951-70) and Abu 'l-Fatḥ (360-6/970-6) [see IBN AL-^cAMĪD] and finally under the Būyid ^cAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983 [*q.v.*]); he also frequented not only the Arabo-Persian aristocracy of the age, but also the most remarkable representatives of Islamic culture such as al-Tawḥīdī, al-^cĀmirī, Ibn Sa^cdān, al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ^cAbbād, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, Badī^c al-Zamān, Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī and many others; he studied in particular the work of al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] under the direction of Ibn Kāmil, who was a pupil of the famous historian, which perhaps explains his interests in universal history. If we are to believe Yāḳūt, he died on 9 Ṣafar 421/16 February 1030, aged then a hundred. (Ed.)

As both philosopher and historian, he is, in fact, one of the very rare intellectuals in the Arabic language who is known to have practised the two disciplines with competence and with a resolve to embark on the most complex ethico-political reflection. This is why it would be arbitrary today to separate, on the pretext of specialisation, what the author combined and practised in a single intellectual endeavour.

It is true, however, that the philosophical work is more abundant and better elaborated than the *Tadjārib al-umam* (partial ed. L. Caetani, Leiden 1909-17, 3 vols.; with the continuation of Abū Shudjā^c al-Rūdhrāwarī, ed.-tr. H.F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth, *The experiences of nations*, 7 vols., in their series *The eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford-London 1920-1), a universal history from the Flood to the year 369/980, whose originality only appears in the last part dealing with the Būyids.

As a philosopher, Miskawayh is distinguished by the central importance he attached to ethics. In his *Treatise on ethics* (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ wa-taṭhīr al-a^crāḳ*, ed. C. Zurayḳ, Beirut 1967, Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, 2nd ed. Damascus 1988), he pleaded with conviction for the organising of philosophical education around and beginning with ethics. In fact, this work compels recognition in Arabic literature as the most didactic, the fullest and most open to the Greek, Iranian, Arab, Muslim traditions, which Miskawayh knew perfectly, as is confirmed by his anthology *al-Ḥikma al-khālida* "The eternal wisdom" (ed. ^cA. Badawī, Cairo 1952) or *Djawīdhān khirad* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Al-Ghazālī was largely inspired by it in his *Mīzān al-^camal* and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) summarised it in Persian in his *Akhlaḳ-i Naṣīrī*, as did al-Dawwānī or al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502 [*q.v.*]) in his *Akhlaḳ-i Djalālī*. Nearer our own time, Muḥammad ^cAbduh used the *Tahdhīb* in his teaching. We will also remark that no equivalent treatise was composed in Arabic until our own age. This is explained by the abandonment of the philosophical perspective in Arabic thought after Ibn Rushd (the *Ishrāḳī* line followed by the Shī^cī thinkers did not respect the classical philosophical attitude as much as the *falāsifa* did).

In order the better to appreciate the contribution and originality of Miskawayh, we must set his activity within the particularly brilliant intellectual generation who worked in Būyid Persia and ^cIrāḳ from 350 to about 430/961-1039. We know the lifelike and interesting portrait that al-Tawḥīdī has left us of this generation; Būyid princes, viziers and intellectuals of all schools and all conditions were participating in the liveliness of a cultural and intellectual life which in many of its aspects contributed to the humanism of the Renaissance in the West (see J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age*, Leiden 1986). The salient fact is the emergence of a philosophical *adab*; one reads a large number of works composed directly in Arabic in addition to the major texts translated from Greek and Syriac. The reader is less delayed by philosophical and technical analyses; the abstract themes of metaphysics are less deeply explored, but by contrast, there is a larger number of didactic, popularly accessible accounts on the practical problems of the search for supreme happiness, the administration of the city, domestic economy, the education of children, the struggle against sadness, spiritual medicine and preparation for death. In an exchange of questions (*al-Hawāmil*) and answers (al-*Shawāmil*), Miskawayh and al-Tawḥīdī demonstrate the diversity and extent of the horizons of knowledge, always cultivated in a philosophical setting. Recourse to an autonomous reason, the mistress of categories, concepts and methods for establishing the profound realities (*ḥaḳā'iḳ al-umūr*), contrasts with religious reason, subject to revealed evidence, in the religious sciences. The "humanists" extol autonomous reason for going beyond blind passions and partisan struggles which split the numerous confessional groups. Miskawayh led the struggle with the constancy and serenity of the sage. His privileged position in the rich library of Abu

'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd allowed him to extend his information and look at the society of his time lucidly, and less indignantly, than al-Tawḥīdī.

In a consistently very didactic style, he is equally interested in three main metaphysical questions in a more modest work than the *Tahdhīb*, his *al-Fawz al-aṣghar*, ed. Ṣāliḥ ʿUdayma, Fr. tr. R. Arnaldez, Tunis 1987, demonstrating the existence of God; the soul and its states; and the prophets. In some still briefer epistles, he dealt with the intellect and the soul (ed. Arkoun, in *BEO*, Damascus 1961-2), the intellect and the intelligible (ed. Arkoun, in *Arabica*, 1964/1), and justice (ed. M.S. Khan, Leiden 1964).

The global vision held by Miskawayh is that of the *Nicomachean ethics* linked with the Psychology of Plato, the ideas of Galen on the relationship between psychology and physiology, and of Bryson on domestic economy and the education of children. Psychosomatic considerations, cosmology, the theory of climates and alchemy all supply an arsenal of arguments whose articulation leads to this unity (*al-waḥda*) which inspired all the sages nourished on Greek science, Persian *adab* and monotheistic religious sensibility.

The pictures of virtues and vices that he gives in his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* brings together in a systematic form the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, temperance, courage and justice) defined as the just means (*wasaṭ*) between two extremes representing the vices (*radhāʾil*). He also invents a technical lexicon of ethics in which the definitions of the virtues and vices known in the Arab tradition come to be joined with those, more philosophically elaborated, of the *Nicomachean ethics*. Justice (*ʿadāla, ʿadl*) and love and friendship (*maḥabba*) are the subject of particularly elaborate chapters. The idea governing all the analyses is that the reasoning faculty (*ʿaḳl*) should achieve the maintenance of equilibrium (*iʿtidāl*) between the irascible (*ḳuwwa ghaḍabiyya*) and lustful (*shahawāniyya*) faculties so as to ensure man's certain advance towards supreme happiness (*al-saʿāda al-ḳuṣwā*) the object of the wise man's quest. This advance is at one and the same time commanded by philosophical knowledge and the ethical conduct that illuminates it.

One is always agreeably struck by the serenity of Miskawayh's tone, by a very clear, very accessible and at the same time very rigorous style. When he describes the social and economic consequences of Būyid policy, or when he reports an abstract philosophical theory, he always succeeds in avoiding the use of technicalities which discourage the reader and the pedantry which obscures the subject. He also combines philosophical seriousness, scientific competence and concern with didactic communication, to the point that all these writings recall those of the best modern Arab prose writers. It may be objected that he loses in profundity and acuteness what he gains in explanatory, and even persuasive, effectiveness; but one should not lose sight of the fact that the socio-political functions of philosophical *adab* are as necessary and fruitful as the deeper, but less accessible, research of the great names of *falsafa*. It is through philosophical *adab* that religious reason was able to assimilate certain contributions of philosophical knowledge without provoking the rejection constantly repeated by the jurist-theologians who were champions of "orthodoxy". From this point of view, Miskawayh and the intellectuals of his generation remain of current importance in Arabic and Islamic thought; faced with the militants of religious orthodoxy who are more numerous than ever, the philosophical attitude and knowledge, as in the 4th/10th century in Baghdād, Rayy and Iṣfahān, would allow one to pass by dogmatic conflicts whose religious vocabulary conceals principally political stakes. (M. Arkoun)

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ii, 89 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, v, 5-19; Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 331; Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 35-6, 136, ii, 39, iii, 227 and *passim*; idem, *Ṣadāḳa*, ed. Kaylānī, Damascus 1964, 67-8; idem, *Mathālib*, ed. Kaylānī, Damascus 1961, 18-19, 228, 306 and *passim*; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1307, 70-1; Amedroz, *Note on the historian*, in the Caetani ed. of the *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, xvii ff.; idem, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 335-57; Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930, 128-37; M.S. Khan, *Miskawayh's use of the Taʾrīkh of Thābit b. Sinān*, in *Bull. Inst. Isl. Studies*, vi-vii (1962-3), 49-57; B.H. Siddiqi, *Ibn Miskawayh's theory of history*, in *Iqbal*, xii (1963), 71-80; De Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, 116 ff.; Brockelmann, S I, 582-4 (with list of the works of Miskawayh); Abdul Haq Ansari, *The ethical philosophy of Miskawayh*, Aligarh 1964; M. ʿIzzat, *Ibn Miskawayh: falsafatuh al-akhlāḳiyya wa-maṣādiruhā*, Cairo 1946; M. Arkoun, *Deux epîtres de Miskawayh*, ed. in *BEO Damas* (1961); idem, *Contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme arabe ay IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawayh philosophe et historien* 2, Paris 1982; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 141-2; J.L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam*; idem, *Philosophy in the renaissance of Islam. Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and his circle*, Leiden 1986. (Ed.)

MISKĪN (a.), pl. *masākīn*, *miskīnūn*, "poor, destitute". The word is an ancient Semitic one. In Akkadian, *muškēnu/maškēnu* apparently in the first place designated a social class between the full citizens and the slaves, and thence acquired the sense of "poor, destitute" (see E.A. Speiser, *The muškēnum*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xxvii [1958], 19-28; *Chicago Akkadian dictionary, Letter M*, Part ii, 272-6; Von Soden, *Akkadisches Wörterbuch*, ii, 8641; idem, *Muškenum und die Mawālī des frühen Islam*, in *ZA*, N.F. xxii [1964], 133-41). In the latter sense, it appears in Aramaic as *meskīnā* and in OT Hebrew as *miskēn*. In Epigraphic South Arabian, we find *ms²kmy-m* only in Qatabanian, in a funerary inscription, apparently here denoting an inferior class not to be buried in the same tomb as the tomb's more aristocratic owner (see J. Walker, *A South Arabian inscription in the Baroda State Museum*, in *Le Muséon*, lix [1946], 159-62, and G. Ryckman's *Note additionnelle*, 162-3).

As also with the Ethiopic form *meskān*, the word must have passed into Classical Arabic from the Aramaic, according to Fraenckel (cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 264-5; A. Hebbo, *Die fremdwörter in der arabischen Propheten-biographie des Ibn Hischām (gest. 218/834)*, Frankfort 1984, 340-3). Here, on analogy with the intensive adjective *mifʿīl* form, *miskīn* is usually of common gender (cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 186), but the feminine *miskīna* is found with the sound pl. *miskīnāt*. In the Arabic of recent times, it has the connotation of "wretched, miserable", see e.g. Spiro, 567, and Hinds and Badawi, 823, for Egyptian colloquial, and Barthélemy, 350, for Syrian, passing into Italian as *meschino* and into French as *mesquin* "mean, shabby, stingy".

In the Ḳurʾān, it is very frequent, with the abstract *maskana* "poverty, indigence", appearing in II, 58, III, 108, and is often found in lists of the classes whose support was a duty for the Muslims. As in sūra IX, 60, it is found alongside of *fuḳarāʾ*, commentators and jurists have felt that some distinction must be made between the two. They usually explain *miskīn* as

needy, but not absolutely without possessions like the *fuḳarā*ʾ, and refer to sūra XVIII, 78, where there is a reference to poor people who possess a ship among them. How uncertain this is, is however evident from the fact that the Mālikīs in opposition to the Shāfiʿīs take the other view and regard the *miskīnūn* as the most needy; cf. also the quotations from *ḥadīth* in Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa ʾl-athar*, Cairo 1383/1963, ii, 385-6, and the definitions collected in Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 1395. The *miskīn*[an] *dhā matraba* of XC, 16, does not help us.

From the meaning "poor" gradually developed that of "base, miserable", also in the moral sense, cf. e.g. Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 6 ult. where Abū Sufyān's wife Hind is called *al-Miskīna*. On the other hand, the word can mean "humble" as in the words attributed to Muḥammad: "Let me live as a *miskīn* and die as a *miskīn* and include me among the *miskīnūn*."

In modern South Arabia, e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the term *miskīn* denotes the top layer of the population subject to the tribesmen, comprising the petty traders and artisans, constituting the layer above the *ḍuʿafā*ʾ (sing. *ḍaʿīf*), who are not physically weak but are non-arms bearing, comprising builders, potters and field workers. Here, then, *miskīn* seems not to convey the idea of "poor, wretched", but to be connected with the root *s-k-n* "to settle" (in modern South Arabian, *sākin* = "camp, village", cf. Landberg, *Glossaire daṯînois*, iii, 1958). See R.B. Serjeant, *South Arabian poetry. I. Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1951, 27 ff., 47; idem, *South Arabia*, in C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, ed., *Commoners, climbers and notables*, Leiden 1977, 230 ff.; idem, *Studies on Arabian history and civilisation*, London 1981, IX. It is further interesting that the term *miskēn* turns up again in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistan, where in e.g. the Kirkūk and Bulaymāniyya regions it denotes villagers who do not claim tribal origin, a class of lowly social status and often oppressed by tribal neighbours; see C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 12, 14.

Bibliography: Given in the article, and see also, for *ḥadīth* citations, Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 225-7. (F. BUHL [- C.E. BOSWORTH])

MISKĪN AL-DĀRIMĪ, the sobriquet and *nisba* of a poet from Tamīm of ʿIrāḳ, whose real name was Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Shurayḥ ... b. Dārim (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 60, and Register, ii, 409) and who lived in the 1st/7th century (Yāḳūt, *Udabā*ʾ, xi, 132, fixes the date of his death in 89/708).

The biographical notices which concern him tell us that he was very dark, handsome, courageous, and eloquent, but they give little information about his family and his offspring (he is said to have had a son called ʿUtba or ʿUḳba but Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, Cairo ed. i, 530, states that he left behind no progeny, nor does Ibn al-Kalbī ascribe any to him). They continue mainly with some items of information about the origin of his sobriquet, on his clashes with al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] and on his relations with the Umayyads. The surviving remains of his poetic output amount to some 300 verses, amongst which one may note a certain number which are attributed to several poets.

His name is said to have been due to certain verses (e.g. rhyme *-ik*, metre *ramal*) in which he describes himself as destitute (*miskīn* [*q.v.*]) but draws out of his misery and his personal virtues — of which the principal was probably his self-respect and pride — glory, and at the same time vaunts the nobility of his family, which seems to have had a fairly exalted place in his tribe. An exchange of invective with al-Farazdaḳ appears to have begun — or to have intensified — at the death of Ziyād b. Abīhi (53/673 [*q.v.*]). Since the governor of ʿIrāḳ had displayed a certain amount of generosity towards Miskīn and, in particular, had allowed him to utilise, for his herds, one of the protected extents of pasturage (*ḥimā* [*q.v.*]), the poet wrote an elegy at his death which immediately aroused al-Farazdaḳ; the latter nevertheless was afraid lest his adversary should ally with Djarīr [*q.v.*], so that the two enemies very soon made peace with each other.

Miskīn was on good terms with the Umayyad representatives in ʿIrāḳ, and made his way, according to his biographers, to Muʿāwiya in order to seek a pension from him, but met with a refusal and composed a poem (rhyme *-āhī*, metre *ṭawīl*) in which there appears a verse (the *shāhid* 167 of al-Baghdādī in the *Khizāna*) beginning with a phrase (*akhāka akhāka*) which the grammarians explain but criticise. The caliph, who relied for support on the Yemenis, tended to favour them at the expense of the North Arabs [see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN] in order to detach them from the partisans of both ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of Ibn al-Zubayr; but, in the face of the arrogance of the Yemenis, decided to recruit a detachment of Ḳaysīs and at the same time to allot a stipend to Miskīn, who was to receive it even though he continued to live in ʿIrāḳ. Muʿāwiya used the poet in order to float a "trial balloon" at the point when he had the idea of designating his son Yazīd as heir presumptive (although it would strongly appear that Yazīd himself was behind this manoeuvre). Miskīn accordingly recited before the ruler, who then promised to "reflect on the question", a poem in which he was able to say, without provoking a reaction from those persons present, "When the throne of the West shall become vacant, it is Yāzid who will become Commander of the Faithful." This piece of verse (rhyme *-ī/ūdū*, metre *ṭawīl*) was sufficiently famous to be set to music. The poet was likewise on good terms with another Umayyad, Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], who appreciated his poetry.

The poetic work of Miskīn al-Darimī does not seem to have been collected together in the mediaeval period. Hāshim al-Ṭaʿʿān is said to have collected together the remaining verses in a *Dīwān* published in Baghdād, but the author of this article has not seen this; he has however been able to consult a *Dīwān* of 55 fragments gathered together by ʿAbd Allāh al-Djubūrī and Khalīl I. al-ʿAṭiyya and printed at Baghdād in 1389/1970. These surviving fragments reveal in Miskīn a poet of the classical type endowed with sufficient talent to arouse disquiet in al-Farazdaḳ; they show him as generous, proud and inclined, like so many others, to personal glorification, but somewhat moralising (a verse in the rhyme *-ar* and the *mutaḳārib* metre, given in the *Dīwān*, no. 36, and also in *Aghānī*, xx, 170, is said to be the best ever composed on the topic of jealousy). A poem in which several of the ancient poets are passed in review and their places of birth and burial indicated, with the aim of mourning their passing (rhyme *aʿū*, metre *ṭawīl*; *Dīwān*, no. 41; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, ii, 116-17 = Cairo, iv, 74-6), develops a fairly frequent theme [see MARTHIYA]), but is probably not written by him.

Bibliography: The main biographies are in *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 167-78; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, 1907 ed., 119-35; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, v, 300-3; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 200-4 = *Udabā*ʾ, xi, 126-32; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 465-70, ii, 116-17 = Cairo, iii, 57-75, iv, 74-6. The editors of the

Dīwān have gone through a large number of works; one may note Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Burṣān*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamasā*, index; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 347-8 = Cairo, i, 529-30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index s.v. Rabīʿa; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 259, 261; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh al-ādāb*, i, 448; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 318; *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 448 ff.; see also Marzūḳ b. Tunbāk, *al-Tasāmuḥ fī ʾl-ghayra fī shiʿr Miskin al-Dārimī*, in *al-Dāra*, xiii/3 (1408/1987, 69-97.) (CH. PELLAT)

MIṢR, Egypt

A. The eponym of Egypt
B. The early Islamic settlements developing out of the armed camps and the metropolises of the conquered provinces
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  9. Republican Egypt 1952-1990. [see Suppl.]

A. As a proper noun in Arabic, diptote in inflexion and masculine in gender, Miṣr denotes the eponym of Egypt, the ancestor of the Berbers and the Copts. In accordance with the Biblical genealogy (Genesis x. 1 ff.), Miṣr is called the son of Ḥām, the son of Nūḥ. The biblical origin of the pedigree appears clearly in the form Miṣrāʾim or Miṣrām (cf. Hebrew *Miṣraim*) which is found side by side with Miṣr.

In some genealogies, between Ḥām and Miṣr there is inserted Bayṣar, a name of which the origin is unknown to me.

There exists, however, also quite a different genealogy, according to which Miṣrām is a son of Tablīl, one of the early heroes (*djabābira*), who ruled Egypt after the Deluge.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 217; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 210; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, ii, 394 = § 806; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 80; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 58; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Būlāḳ, 15; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Manūfī, *Kitāb Akhbār al-duwal*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, 5; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 16. (A.J. WENSINCK)

B. As an Arabic common noun, triptote and masculine in gender, pl. *amṣār, miṣr* denotes, in earliest Islam, the settlements developing out of the armed encampments established by the Arabs in the conquered provinces outside Arabia and then, subsequently, the capital towns or metropolises of the conquered provinces (e.g. in the tradition of Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, *bāb* 28, "The *amṣār* will be conquered at your hands"; but furthermore, in *ḥadīth*, any town may be called a *miṣr*, e.g. in al-Bukhārī, *Dhabāʾiḥ*, *bāb* 2, *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 15, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 25, and in al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 32, etc.). The word is of ancient Semitic origin; in Akkadian, the noun *miṣru* denotes "frontier, frontier marker, territory", whence *maṣṣartu* "watch, guard, guard-house, defence" verb *muṣṣuru* "to fix a border" (W. van Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ii, 619-21, 659; *Chicago Assyrian dictionary, letter M*, Pt. I, 333-44, Pt. II, 113-15, 245); in Jewish Aramaic, *miṣr, meṣrānā* denote a house or field as an exactly delineated and demarcated territory (J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; idem, *Neuhebräisches-talmudisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.).

The classical dictionaries (e.g. *LA*, vii, 23-4) give the meaning of *miṣr* as a frontier outpost and border (*ḥadd*) and as something which separates two regions, like Baṣra and Raḳḳa; the classical Arabic geographers (e.g. Ibn al-Faḳīh and al-Muḳaddasī) stress its more developed usage as a large urban centre where a ruler or governor resides and which has located there the administrative organs, treasury, etc., of its province. Al-Muḳaddasī (47, tr. A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition...*, Damascus 1963, 122, § 92) has the metaphor of a hierarchy of administrative units, in descending order, with the *miṣr* as the *malik* or king, followed by the *ḳaṣaba* as the *ḥādjib* or chamberlain, the *madīna* as the *djund* or army, etc., but notes also the definition of the jurists that a *miṣr* is any populous urban centre where an *amīr* or governor resides and where the Ḳurʾānic penalties (*ḥudūd*) are applied (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 2-3 n. 5).

Thus the term *miṣr* was first used for the encampments of the Arab *muḳātila* or warriors in places like Baṣra and Kūfa (often called *al-miṣrān*, the two encampments par excellence, e.g. in al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 13; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 454) when these temporary bases, from which the conquests were extended into e.g. Persia and Armenia, were placed on a more permanent basis by being divided into quarters for different tribal groups (the process of *tamṣīr* or *takhṭīṭ* [see KHIṬṬA]); for examples of this, see AL-BAṢRA and AL-KŪFA. The same process took place at e.g. Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (see below, section C. 2) and doubtless at al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in Ifrīḳiya. Then within a century or two it became a more general term for the larger urban centres of the Islamic lands, as used e.g. by al-Djāḥiẓ in the title of his *Kitāb al-Amṣār wa-ʿadjāʾib al-buldān* (ed. Pellat, in *Machriq* [1966], 169-205) [see AL-DJĀḤIẒ], until al-Muḳaddasī can give a list of the *amṣār*, on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ, as comprising ten, sc. Baghdād, Kūfa, Baṣra, Miṣr (= Fusṭāṭ), Rayy, Naysābūr, Marw, Balkh and Samarḳand (the tenth one having been apparently omitted by al-Djāḥiẓ or by a copyist) (33, tr. Miquel, 76, § 61).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, i, Paris-The Hague 1967, 48-9, 67, 324. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

C. As a proper noun in Arabic, diptote but feminine in gender, Miṣr further denotes the land of Egypt and its capital city.

1. Miṣr as the capital of Egypt: the name in early Islamic times. At present, and since its foundation over 1,000 years ago, the city of Cairo (al-

Ḳāhira) has been known thus, in full, Miṣr al-Ḳāhira. Miṣr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated south-west of later Cairo, when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Miṣr al-ḳadīma (Old Miṣr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of ʿAmr and the right bank of the Nile (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 16).

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo, the name Miṣr was regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 247, 251; Ibn Rusta, 115 ff.; al-Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-khums*, *bāb*, 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 74). We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fusṭāṭ or the Ṭūlūnid capital) is especially denoted by it. It may be supposed that the combination of Fusṭāṭ Miṣr "Fusṭāṭ in Egypt" (cf. e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 358; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 285, opposes Fusṭāṭ Miṣr to *arḍ Miṣr*) forms the link between the application of the name Miṣr to the country and to the capital. After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz. Babylon and Fusṭāṭ. The papyri never mention Miṣr as the name of either of these settlements. Yet in the latter part of the 7th century A.D., the application of the name Miṣr to one or to the other or to both must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu, who at least once uses Mesr as the name of a city, where he speaks of "The gates of Mesr" (25). In other passages, Mesr appears as the name of the country (201, 209).

The statement that the name Miṣr as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the south of the later Babylon, a city called Miṣr (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 15; idem, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 221 note). Caetani (*Annali*, A.H. 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of Miṣr. Butler's reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest. Finally, it may be noted that the Coptic name of Babylon was Keme.

Bibliography: A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, [2]1978; idem, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 168 ff.; *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien publié et trad. par H. Zotenberg*, Paris 1883, index.

(A.J. Wensinck)

2. The historical development of the capital of Egypt.

i. The first three centuries. See for this AL-FUSṬĀṬ.

ii. The Nile banks, the island of Rawḍa and the adjacent settlement of Djīza (Gīza).

The task of clearing up the historical topography of Cairo and the neighbourhood is very much complicated by the fact that the Nile has several times changed its bed since the conquest. At that time, its waters washed the Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿ and the Mosque of ʿAmr, but only a few decades later it had retreated so far back that there was sufficient land left dry between the castle and the new bank to be worth utilising. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān erected buildings here. The struggle with the Nile went on through the whole mediaeval period in the history of Cairo. Any methods of controlling the river were at this time quite unknown to the Muslims, and their amateurish efforts in this direction had at most but a very temporary success. The Nile then flowed much further east than at the present day and must also have taken a considerable turn to the east in the north of Fusṭāṭ so that great areas of the modern Cairo were then portions of the river-bed. The name al-Kabsh (*Ḳalʿat al-Kabsh*) is given to that quarter of the town near the Ṭūlūnid Mosque. This Kabsh lay immediately to the west of the Djabal Yashkur and was a favourite resort since it lay on the Nile. At the present day, it is more than ¾ mile distant from the river; and this is a good deal in the plan of a town. The many dried-up pools (*birka*) within the modern city also remind one of the gradual shifting to the west of the Nile. First of all, islands arose in the river-bed, then the water-courses which separated them from the banks were cut off from the mainbed; these were only filled with water at periods of flood, then they became *birka*s, till they finally dried up altogether. The areas gained from the river were first of all used as gardens, then finally built on, till now only the ancient name reminds one of the change they have undergone. It is in this way that the whole area between the modern bed of the Nile and the ancient settlements has arisen within the Islamic period. It is evident that this constant process of change does not facilitate the identification of localities.

At the period of the conquest, there was only one island in the Nile in this neighbourhood, called Djazīrat Miṣr or simply al-Djazīra. This island is in its nucleus identical with the modern island of Rawḍa. With Babylon [see BĀBALYŪN] it formed a single strong fortress and guarded the passage of the Nile. We have no definite information as to whether the Djazīra was already connected with Djīza also by a bridge in the time of the conquest or only with Babylon. In the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) —this is the earliest date known— there was a bridge over the whole Nile which was even then known as "the Old" and replaced by a new one. This old bridge must therefore —as is *a priori* probable— date back to the beginnings of Arab rule. In all the centuries following, this bridge crossed the whole Nile. It was a bridge of boats. According to some statements, the Djazīra was at first practically in the centre of the river. The arm which separated it from Babylon soon became silted up, however. In the year 336/947 the Nile had retreated so far that the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ had to get their water from the Djīza arm of the Nile. It was at this period under Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī [*q.v.*] that the deepening of the eastern arm of the Nile was carried out, to be repeated several times in the 7th/13th century under the Ayyūbids. In 600/1203, it was possible to walk dryshod to the Nilometer (*Miḳyās* [*q.v.*]) on the Djazīra. In 628/1230, the energy of al-Malik al-Kāmil brought about a permanent improvement, though al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ also annually took advantage of the period of low water to deepen the arm of the Nile which gradually became a canal. Why did they wish to preserve this particular channel? The reason is to be found in the military importance of the Djazīra. At the conquest, the Arabs found a castle here; the Byzantines, who were shut in by the Arabs, were able to escape over the Djazīra. After the fall of Babylon, we hear nothing further of the island fortress. In the year 54/683, the naval arsenal (*al-ṣināʿa*), a dock for warships, was laid down here. This arsenal is mentioned in the papyri of the 1st century A.H.; it was also a kind of naval base. Ibn Ṭūlūn was the first to make the island a regular fortress again, when he thought his power was threatened (263/876); but the Nile was more powerful than the will of Ibn Ṭūlūn,

and his fortress in the Nile gradually fell into the waters; the remainder was destroyed by Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj Ikhshīd in 323/934; two years later, this prince removed the arsenal also to Fusṭāṭ and the Djazīra became a royal country residence. The island appears to have become larger in course of time and more people came to settle on it. Under the Fāṭimids, it was a flourishing town and one talked of the trio of towns, Cairo, Fusṭāṭ and Djazīra. Al-Afḍal, the son of the Fāṭimid general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] built a pleasure palace with large gardens in the north of the island and called it Rawḍa. This name was gradually extended to the whole island which has retained it to the present day. Later, under the Ayyūbids, the island became a *wakf*. This *wakf* land was rented by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, who built the third great Nile fortress on it. This new fortress was called *Kalʿat al-Rawḍa* or *Kalʿat al-Mikyās*. Al-Malik al Ṣāliḥ evicted all the inhabitants of the island and razed a church and 33 mosques to the ground. In their place, he built 60 towers and made the island the bulwark of his power; this was the reason of his regular dredging operations to deepen the canal separating the island from the mainland. There, surrounded by the Nile (*Baḥr*), he dwelled with his Mamlūks who became known as Baḥrī Mamlūks from their citadel [see AL-BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪKS]: but even this stronghold in the Nile did not ensure his safety. After the fall of the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūk Aybak destroyed the fortress; Baybars rebuilt it, but later Mamlūks like Kalāwūn and his son Muḥammad used it as a quarry for their buildings in Fusṭāṭ. In the 9th/15th century the proud citadel of the Nile had fallen to pieces and another dynasty was building on its ruins. Rawḍa never again took a prominent part in history.

At the present day the most remarkable sight in Rawḍa is the Nilometer (*Mikyās* [*q.v.*]) which dates from the time of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

At the present day, Rawḍa is much built upon and only in the north, adjacent to Cairo University Hospital, do any gardens remain. Nothing came of the French expedition's plan of laying out a European quarter here. Before the regulating of the Nile this would have been a dangerous undertaking, for mediaeval writers tell us of occasional inundations of the island, when the Nile was exceptionally high. The idea, which was good in itself, was put into practice in a still better situation farther north on the Djazīrat Būlāk, the modern residential area of Zamālik.

From the historical point of view, Rawḍa is inseparably connected with Djīza (Gīza), with which it formed a defence of the passage up the Nile at the time of the conquest, and during the Middle Ages. Djīza was certainly not a foundation of the Arabs, but portions of the conquering army planted their *khiṭaṭ* there as did their companions in Fusṭāṭ. On account of its exposed situation to attack from the other side of the river, the caliph ʿUmar ordered Djīza to be fortified. The defences were completed by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the year 22/643. It was probably only a case of restoring or extending Byzantine fortifications. The *khiṭaṭ* of the tribes were partly outside the fortress, which was probably merely a stronghold at the entrance to the bridge. The strongest tribes settled here were the Ḥimyar and Hamdān; in the *masdjid* of the latter the Friday service was held; it was only under the Ikhshīdids that a Friday Mosque was built in Djīza in 350/961. Its military importance naturally went parallel with that of Rawḍa and the bridge over the Nile. This bridge collapsed in Ottoman times and was only rebuilt by the French. It was afterwards removed, and in 1907 the ʿAbbās Bridge was built, connecting the western edge of Rawḍa island with the west bank of the Nile at Djīza. In 1958 the new Djāmiʿa Bridge connected northern Rawḍa and the University on the west bank. Djīza is, of course, the site of one of the most imposing groups of pyramids, containing notably those of Cheops and Chefren, in Arabic *al-ahrām* [see HARAM], and of the Sphinx, in Arabic Abu 'l-Hawl [*q.v.*]. The main road from Djīza to the foot of the Great Pyramid of Cheops and the Mena House Hotel was built for the Empress Eugénie of France when she came to open the Suez Canal in 1869.

Djīza already had in the 19th century the Orman Gardens and the Djīza Palace built by the Khedive Ismāʿīl. By the early 20th century the Gardens came to house in part a zoo, and in 1925 the University of Cairo, originally Fuʾād al-Awwal University, established its campus there. In recent decades, extensive residential areas have grown up to the north of Djīza on the west bank at Dukkī and al-ʿAdjūza. Djīza has been the chef-lieu of a province of the same name or *mudīriyya* since the 19th century, comprising the west-bank districts of Imbāba, Djīza itself and al-ʿAyyāṭ and the east-bank one of al-Ṣaff, with the governorate covering in 1965 1,009.5 km². Djīza itself had in 1929 a population of 26,773, a figure now vastly swollen with the recent suburban spread of metropolitan Cairo and the influx of incomers from the countryside (see Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Kāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/3, 8-10)

iii. The Fāṭimid City, Miṣr al-Kāhira, and the development of Cairo till the end of the 18th century.

The modern Cairo was originally only a military centre, like al-ʿAskar and al-Kaṭāʾī, north of the great capital of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ. When the Fāṭimids in al-Kayrawān saw the precarious position of Egypt under the later Ikhshīds, they felt the time had come to put into operation their long cherished wish to occupy the Nile valley. On 11 Shaʿbān 358/1 July 969, their general Djawhar [*q.v.*] overcame the feeble resistance which the weak government was able to offer him at Djīza, and entered Fusṭāṭ on the day following. He pitched his camp north of the city and for seven days his troops poured in through the city. When on 18 Shaʿbān/9 July the whole army had collected around him, he gave orders for a new city to be planned. Such an important undertaking could not be carried out in those days without first consulting the astrologers as to what would be the propitious hour to begin. The historians tell us that a suitable area had been marked off and all the more distant parts of it connected with a bell-pull, so that the given moment at a sign from the astrologers work might begin everywhere at the same distant. The bell-rope was, however, pulled before the auspicious moment by a raven and the building began at a moment when the unlucky planet Mars, the Kāhir al-Falak, governed the heavens. This calamity could not be undone, so they sought to deprive the evil omen of its malignance by giving the new town the name of Manṣūriyya. As a matter of fact, Cairo does appear to have borne this name till the caliph al-Muʿizz himself came to Egypt and from his own interpretation of the horoscope saw a favourable omen in the rising of the planet Mars. The new foundation thus received the name al-Kāhira al-Muʿizziyya (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 377).

The process of expansion of the old city of the Fāṭimids can be reconstructed even at the present day without difficulty on a plan. The best is the French plan of the year 1798 in the *Description de l'Égypte*,

because it was prepared before Cairo had been modernised; see also the various maps and plans in Abu-Lughod, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*. In the centre between the northern boundary of Fusṭāṭ and Heliopolis (ʿAyn Shams), there lay at this time the little village of Munyat al-Aṣbagh, where the caravans for Syria used to assemble. Munyat al-Aṣbagh lay on the Khalīdj, a canal which traversed the whole length of the plain, leaving the Nile to the north of Fusṭāṭ, passing the ancient Heliopolis and finally entering the sea at the modern Suez. This canal was probably originally a silted-up branch of the Nile, which had been excavated for use as a canal even in ancient times. After the Arab conquest, it was again cleaned out by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to make a navigable waterway between Fusṭāṭ and the Holy Cities in order to supply the latter with corn. It then received the name of Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn. This Khalīdj was closed in 69/688 to cut off the corn supply of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Medina and finally abandoned as a waterway to the Red Sea in 145/762 in the reign of al-Manṣūr. It was still to remain for a thousand years the water supply of the plain north of Fusṭāṭ and formed the water-road, so famed in song, on the west side and at a later period in the centre of Cairo. After the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who did much for it, it bore the name of Khalīdj al-Ḥākimī; at a still later period it was called by a host of names of different stretches of it, which are given on the French map of 1798. Instead of flowing to the sea, in the latter centuries of its existence it ended in the Birkat al-Djubb in the north of Cairo and in its neighbourhood. It is only quite recently (the end of the 19th century) that it has vanished from the plan of Cairo. Its course is still clearly recognisable; it corresponds to the broad road followed at the present day by the electric tram from the Mosque of Sayyida Zaynab, or rather from a farther point in the south of Cairo to the northern suburb of ʿAbbāsiyya (Shāriʿ Ḥalwān).

The Fāṭimid city lay immediately south of Munyat al-Aṣbagh between this canal and the Mukaṭṭam hill. Its northern and southern limits are still defined by the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb Zuwayla. The town founded by Djawhar was rather smaller in compass than the Cairo of the later Fāṭimid period. At first, the open space in the south, where the Muʾayyad Mosque now stands, and the Mosque of the Ḥākim in the north were both outside the walls. In the west, the Khalīdj for centuries formed the natural boundary, as did the heights in the east. The main part of the Fāṭimid city was defined by a series of streets running north and south parallel to the Khalīdj, connecting the two gates just mentioned with one another and dividing the city into two large sections not quite equal in size. This series of streets is also clearly defined at the present day, though it must have been broader originally. It is still known by different names in the various sections, of which the best known is Shāriʿ al-Naḥḥāsīn. This is crossed at right angles by al-Sikka al-Djadīda, the continuation of the Muskī. Its name "New" Street proves what must be particularly emphasised to avoid misconceptions, viz. that the Fāṭimid city had no such main street running from east to west. It only arose in the 19th century.

If Fusṭāṭ had been divided into *khiṭaṭ*, Cairo was divided into *ḥāras* or quarters, which is really only another name for the same thing, exept that Cairo was intended to be a city from the beginning, while Fusṭāṭ grew out of the chance arrangement of a camp. The altered conditions of the period are shown in the fact that the quarters were no longer allotted to different Arab tribes but to quite different peoples and races. In the north and south lay the quarters of the Greeks (*Rūm*), to whom Djawhar himself possibly belonged. His settling his countrymen near the main gate of the city was probably intentional. Berbers, Kurds, Turks, Armenians, etc. were allotted other portions of the town. Some late-comers were settled in the Ḥārat al-Bāṭiliyya outside the first walls of the city between it and al-Mukaṭṭam. Lastly, the negroes, called briefly *al-ʿAbīd*, who formed a rather undisciplined body, were settled north of the Bāb al-Futūḥ beside a great ditch which Djawhar had dug to defend the city against attacks from Syria. This part of the town came to be called *Khandaḳ al-ʿAbīd* from the ditch and those who dwelled near it.

The splendid places of the caliphs formed the central portion of the town. We must be careful to distinguish between a large eastern palace (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr al-Sharḳī*) and a smaller western one (*al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr al-Gharbī*). Their sites had previously been occupied, to the west of the main series of streets, by the large gardens of Kāfūr, to the east by a Coptic monastery (*Dayr al-ʿIẓām*) and a small fortress (*Ḳuṣayr al-Shawk*), which were used for the building of the palaces. The East Palace was the first to be built immediately after the foundation of the city. On 23 Ramaḍān 362/28 June 993, the caliph al-Muʿizz was able to enter it in state. It was a splendid building with nine doors, of which three opened on the west part of the main street. This part was 1,264 feet in length and the palace covered an area of 116,844 square yards; it lay 30 yards back from the present street, from which one may gather how much broader the latter must have been. On the other side of the street lay the Garden of Kāfūr, which stretched to the Khalīdj. In it al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) built the smaller western Palace also called *al-ʿAzīzī* after him—the exact year is unknown—and its two wings stretched up to the street enclosing a broad square into which the street here expanded. As this series of streets passed between the two palaces in the centre of the town here, it was called *Raḥbat bayn al-Ḳaṣrayn*, a name which survived the palaces themselves for centuries and was still in use at the time of the French expedition. The whole street was also known more briefly as *Ḳaṣabat al-Ḳāhira*. The two palaces began to fall into ruins in the Ayyūbid period. The history of this part of the town, and of the great palace in particular, of which some fragments still survive built into other houses, has been most carefully dealt with by Ravaisse in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, i, iii.

As Cairo was from the beginning a military and at first not a commercial city at all, even Djawhar must have taken care to fortify it with walls. These walls were afterwards extended in the reign of the caliph al-Mustanṣir by the commander-in-chief Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and the gates built in the form in which they have survived to the present day. That Badr built all the walls, was disputed—perhaps wrongly—by Casanova. Mention is made in later times of a third building of walls in the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Djawhar's walls were of brick; no trace of them has survived. Even al-Maḳrīzī knew only of a few unimportant fragments, and says that the last remaining portions of them were destroyed in 803/1400. In spite of al-Maḳrīzī's admiring statements (i, 377), Djawhar's wall cannot have survived for any great length of time, for as early a traveller as Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Schefer, 131) describes Cairo as unfortified. Badr's defences, which were begun in 480/1087, consisted of a brick wall with strong gateways of stone, the portions of the walls adjacent to

them being of stone also. Max van Berchem (*Notes d'archéologie arabe. 1. Monuments et inscriptions fatimites*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. xvii [1891], 443 ff.) exhaustively studied these walls and gates and called particular attention to the fact that the great gates, which still command admiration at the present day, the Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb Zuwayla, were built by architects from Edessa and differ in a rather marked degree from the later fortifications of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which appear to be influenced by the Frankish style of the Crusading period. We also owe to van Berchem an accurate delineation of those portions of the walls which still survive at the present day and which date from the Fāṭimid period. The picture we have of the two walls of the Fāṭimid period is as follows. In the west, the town was bounded by the Khalīdj which ran below the walls for 1300 yards and served as a moat. It is a debatable point whether we may conclude from the street name Bayn al-Sūrayn, which is still in use, that two walls existed here one behind the other. Djawhar's walls were certainly a fair distance from the canal, the space being large enough to allow of pleasure palaces being built on it. There were three (according to Casanova, only two) gates here, from south to north, the Bāb al-Saʿāda, Bāb al-Farādj and the Bāb al-Ḳanṭara. At the latter, near the north-western stretch of the walls, there was, as the name shows, a bridge over the canal. This connected the town with the suburb and harbour of al-Maks, on the Nile, the ancient Umm Dunayn. On al-Maks, cf. *Papyri Schott Reinhardt*, i, 53 ff.; the name appears in the Graeco-Arabic papyri of the 1st/7th century; even before the foundation of Cairo, therefore, this was the harbour at which the customs were collected. Al-Maks must have comprised the modern Ezbekiyye and the area adjoining it on the north. The northern side of the town must naturally have been the most strongly fortified. Djawhar had a ditch dug here along the wall. The two gates, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb al-Naṣr, built by him, lay more within the town than the modern gates of the same name which only date from Badr's time. The Mosque of al-Ḥākim was originally built outside the walls and was first included within the fortified area by Badr. There seem, however, to be reasons for believing that al-Ḥākim was the first to advance the line of fortifications here as well as in the south and to build new gates (al-Ḳalḳashandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, 70; Salmon (see *Bibl.*), 50). The wall had two gates on the east, the Bāb al-Ḳarrāṭīn (afterwards al-Maḥrūḳ) and the Bāb al-Barḳiyya. In this locality, Badr's fortification also included the quarters which had arisen after the erection of Djawhar's wall. Finally, Badr moved the Zuwayla gate somewhat farther to the south. There were originally two gates. The town as extended by Badr was still anything but large. It may have been about $^2/_3$ of a square mile in area.

The intellectual and religious life of Cairo was concentrated in the great Mosque, the Djāmiʿ al-Azhar, in which the first act of worship was held on 7 Ramaḍān 361/30 October 971. On the history and importance of this mosque, see AL-AZHAR. The erection of the above-mentioned mosque outside the northern gates had already been begun in the reign of al-ʿAzīz and was completed by his successor, after whom it was called the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. The building operations lasted from 393/1002 to 403/1012. After an earthquake, it was entirely restored by Baybars II in 703/1303, who added the minarets. It was used by the French as a fortress and at the present day is in ruins. Of the other religious buildings of the Fāṭimids, only two deserve particular mention: the Mosque of Aḳmar, with its charming stone façade, so important in the history of art (Franz Pasha, *Kairo*, 29). It was finished in 519/1125, but it was only under the Mamlūks that it received the right of the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] being delivered there in 801/1398. The second of these monuments is the older Djuyūshī Mosque, built quite outside of Cairo on the summit of al-Muḳaṭṭam [*q.v.*], which was built in 478/1085 by Badr al-Djamālī (van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, no. 32; idem, *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, ii). On other buildings and inscriptions of the Fāṭimids, cf. the works of van Berchem just quoted. It is impossible to detail here all their buildings, etc. mentioned in literature; see further on these AL-ḲĀHIRA. Monuments. Most of them did not survive the dynasty or survived it for a brief period only.

During the Fāṭimid period, Cairo was not yet the economic centre for all Egypt which it was to become under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. This role was first held, as we have seen, by Fusṭāṭ. On the other hand, Cairo was pre-eminently the seat of a splendid court with all its military pageantry. Ibn Ṭuwayr and others have given us vivid pictures, preserved in al-Ḳalḳashandī and others, of the ceremonial processions and festivals, the magazines, treasuries and stables, the banners and insignia, the members of the royal household, the various classes of officers of state and court officials with all their punctilious ceremonial [see MAWĀKIB. 1. Under the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids, and also 6. In the Mamlūk Sultanate, in Suppl.]. Eye-witnesses, like Nāṣir-i Khusraw, confirm these accounts. It must have been a glorious period for Cairo, but was soon followed in al-Mustanṣir's time by a desolate epoch of anarchy when the economic foundations of its prosperity were destroyed by famine and unrest. A better era dawned on Cairo with the accession to power of Badr al-Djamālī. Cairo now began slowly to gain over Fusṭāṭ in economic importance, a process which gradually became more definite in succeeding centuries.

iv. The Citadel and post-Fāṭimid Cairo. Quite a new epoch in the history of Cairo, as in that of Egypt as a whole, dawns with the accession of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (Saladin) in 564/1169 and the advent of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] (see on these historical events in Egypt, below, section D). The history of the growth of the city only can be briefly discussed here. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn twice played a part in this development by erecting large buildings. P. Casanova has thoroughly dealt with this process in his *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* (*Mém. de la Miss. Arch. Franç. au Caire*, vi), though his conclusions cannot perhaps be regarded as final on all points. The material is too imperfect. At any rate he is probably right in saying that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the first instance in 565/1170 only restored and improved the fortifications erected by Djawhar and Badr. It was only after his return from Syria, when he was at the height of his power, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conceived the colossal plan of enclosing the whole complex of buildings forming the two towns of Fusṭāṭ and Cairo within one strong line of fortifications (572/1179). This new foundation was to be commanded by a fortress (*ḳalʿa*) after the fashion of the strongholds of the Crusaders. This fortress is the modern Citadel or, to be more accurate, its northern part. In the northwest, Cairo was to be protected by this strong fortress and in the south-west, by Fusṭāṭ. The east wall of Cairo was to be advanced farther east to al-Muḳaṭṭam and the entrance for inroads from Syria was to be definitely closed. A new wall ran along the hills from the new tower in the north-east, the Burdj al-Ẓafar, of which traces still exist. It then took

a turn westward towards the old city wall, the fortifications of which were to be extended farther south to the citadel. The north wall of Cairo was to be advanced westwards up to the Nile and to run along it to near the Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amᶜ, which was the extreme southern point of the whole system. A wall was to run thence in the east of Fusṭāṭ directly to the citadel. The citadel itself was to be the residence of the sovereign. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's trusted eunuch Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ [*q.v.*] was entrusted with the task of carrying out this gigantic undertaking; he had previously carried out building operations for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The huge undertaking was never completed nor did Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn avail himself of the citadel, but when in Cairo, as a rule he lived in the old vizier's palace of the Fāṭimid city. The most important part was the completion of the north wall, which was actually built eastwards as far as the Burd̲j̲ al-Ẓafar and westwards as far as al-Maks on the Nile. The portion connecting the eastern wall of the Fāṭimid city with the citadel was not completed. The names of several gates in the great wall which was to run from the citadel to the south of Fusṭāṭ, have been handed down, but it can hardly be assumed that they were ever built. The wall along the Nile was never begun at all; but it was probably the least urgently required.

These buildings had considerable influence in two directions. After the north wall had been advanced up to the Nile, the broad stretch of land between the K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ and the Nile was secure from invasion and the way was paved for an extension of the city in this direction. The K̲h̲alīd̲j̲ thus gradually came to be in the centre of this extended city. Through the removal of the forces of defence and later of the court itself to the Citadel, Cairo began to develop in the south also and the union with the northern suburbs of Fusṭāṭ [see AL-FUSṬĀṬ] thus came about. This process was not however completed till the Mamlūk period (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 378 ff.).

The Citadel was first appropriated for the use to which it was originally intended as the residence for the sovereign by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Kāmil, who was also the first to build a palatial residence here. He entered the new palace in 604/1207. From this time onwards, with the exception of the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, whom we have already become aquainted with as the builder of the fortress and royal residence of Rawḍa in the Nile, the citadel remained the abode of all the princes and pas̲h̲as who ruled Egypt till the K̲h̲edives went to live in various palaces which they had built for themselves in the plain again. It is difficult, however, to draw a picture of the gradual transformation of the Citadel, as the most radical changes were made in the Mamlūk period. The present walls still show that we must divide the whole area into two sections, the original north or north-east citadel, the Ḳalᶜat al-D̲j̲abal proper of the Ayyūbid period, which was and is still separated from al-Muḳaṭṭam by a deep ditch, and, in the south extending towards the town, the Citadel of the palaces where the Mamlūks built a complicated entanglement of palaces, audience-chambers, stables and mosques. We must therefore distinguish between the Citadel proper and the royal town which adjoined the Citadel. Of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's buildings, which lasted seven years, there remains today only a portion of the wall and the so-called Joseph's Well (*Bīr Yūsuf*); the latter is a deep shaft from which Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲, the architect of the fortress, obtained water. The machinery for raising the water was driven by oxen. A pathway hewn out of the rock leads down to the bottom of the well. The name Yūsuf is not of course the praenomen of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn but commemorates the Joseph of the Bible, legends of whom are attached to other portions of the Citadel also. Great alterations were made in the citadel by Baybars and his successors and their buildings again were completely altered by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, many of whose buildings have still survived, as for example the mosque wrongly called after Ḳalāwūn (erected in 718/1318) and remains of his palace in black and white, hence called al-Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ (built 713-14/1313-14). The same prince also laid down great aqueducts to bring the water of the Nile to the Citadel, as the wells were not sufficient to supply the increasing numbers of military personnel quartered there. At a later period Ḳāʾit Bey took an interest in the Citadel again and Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] also laid out a garden here. The Ottoman Pas̲h̲as built a good deal here also, but they allowed more to fall into ruins. Muḥammad ᶜAlī [*q.v.*] was the first to take an energetic interest in the Citadel again; he repaired some of the ancient palaces and built the so-called Alabaster Mosque, the D̲j̲āmiᶜ Muḥammad ᶜAlī, in the Turkish cupola style, the minarets of which give the present citadel its characteristic outlines. It was begun in 1829 and finished in 1857 by Saᶜīd Pas̲h̲a. The restoration of the walls also dates back to Muḥammad ᶜAlī.

It was not only in the Citadel but in the city lying at their feet also that the Mamlūks erected numerous fine buildings. The Cairo created by them was practically the Cairo that existed when the French expedition arrived there. A vivid picture of the home of the Mamlūks in the period of their splendour may be obtained from the plan of 1798. A series of splendid monuments stood here partly built on the ruins of Fāṭimid buildings. We will only mention a few that still exist: on the site of the ᶜAzīzī palace stood Ḳalāwūn's hospital, the *Madrasa* and tomb of his son Muḥammad al-Nāṣir and Barḳūḳ's *Madrasa*. There were also numerous Mamlūk buildings on the site of the great East Palace, including the K̲h̲ān al-K̲h̲alīlī, well-known at the present day. Of other large buildings at this period, there may also be mentioned the Mosque of Ẓāhir, built by Baybars I, of which the massive walls still survive at the entrance to the ᶜAbbāsiyya, the Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan at the foot of the citadel (cf. Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1895), of great importance in the history of art, the Muʾayyad Mosque at the Bāb Zuwayla, only completed after the death of its founder, and Ḳāʾit Bey's *Madrasa*; we cannot detail the numerous tombs outside the town proper nor the many other smaller buildings. What a lamentable contrast to this period of activity in architecture is afforded by what was done in the Turkish period (since 923/1517) in the city of the Mamlūks; only a few *Ḳonaks* or residences for Pas̲h̲as were built, a few *Sabīls* or fountains and one or two smaller mosques and *tekkes*. The configuration of the town did not, however, change so much between 1500 and 1800 as in any earlier period of the same length. In spite of the ravages of their soldiers, the city must have flourished and increased under the warrior princes of the Mamlūk period. It must have been a busy and splendid city. But the grave damage done by the Mamlūk system could only be repaired by strong rulers. The Ottoman Pas̲h̲as were not fit for the task and so Cairo slowly declined till Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his successors created a new Cairo which gradually became Europeanised.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Maḳrīzī, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ*; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*;

and ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*. There are occasional mentions of the city in most of the Arab geographers and travellers and in the travel narrative of the Persian Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Many European travellers and visitors have given accounts of the city: see on these P.-H. Dopp, *Le Caire vu par les voyageurs occidentaux du Moyen Age*, in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, xxiii (1949-50), 117-49. Of secondary sources, in addition to references given in the text, see *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne* (text and atlas); *Murray's Handbook for Egypt*, 7th ed., London 1888; S. Lane Poole, *Cairo, sketches of its history, monuments and social life*, London 1895; A.R. Guest and E.T. Richmond, *Misr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 49-83; D.S. Margoliouth, *Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus, three chief cities of the Sultans*, London 1907; Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sûdân*, 8th ed., Leipzig 1929; M. Clerget, *Le Caire: étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, Cairo 1934; Dorothea Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo and the monasteries of the Wādi Natrūn*, London 1962; G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okla. 1964; I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; A. Raymond, *Quartiers et mouvements populaires au Caire au XVIII*[ième] *siècle*, in *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, ed. P.M. Holt, London 1968, 104-16; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 years of The City Victorious*, Princeton 1971; Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII*[e] *siècle*, Damascus 1973-4; Susan S. Staffa, *Conquest and fusion, the social evolution of Cairo A.D. 642-1850*, Leiden 1977. (C.H. BECKER*)

v. Monuments. See for these AL-ḲĀHIRA.

vi. The city from 1798 till the present day. [see Supplement.]

D. HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC PROVINCE AND MODERN STATE OF EGYPT.

1. The Byzantine background, the Arab conquest and the Umayyad period 602-750.

(a) Byzantine Egypt. Byzantine Egypt continued for a long time the Graeco-Roman traditional patterns in culture and administration, but by the time of the Arab conquest some important changes had taken place which had drastically altered its social structure. A great number of Byzantine institutions survived in Arab Egypt for about one century.

Hellenism, paganism and Christianity. During the Byzantine period, Greek was the language of administration in which most of the official documents were written, and was moreover a living language used, side-by-side with Coptic, as a language of the upper Egyptian class, as manifested by the peculiar alterations in the Greek language of the Egyptian papyri. On the other hand, as in older times, a large number of Egyptians did not know Greek (J.R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, li, London 1984, 41).

Greek literary texts were used at schools, and a few Egyptian poets wrote Greek verses in florid style, manifesting an extensive though pedantic knowledge of Greek poetry and metre (M. Hamdi, Ἡ ἑλληνορρωμαϊκὴ παιδεία ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπό τοῦ Α' ἕως τοῦ Δ' μ.Χ. αἰῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παπύρους, Athens 1972; H. Livrea, ed. and tr. *Blemmyomachia* [P. Berol. 5003], Rome 1978). But it is noteworthy that one of the best Byzantine historians of the 4th-5th century, Olymiodorus, who wrote in a humble and precise style, was Egyptian (V. Christides, *The image of the Sudanese in the Byzantine sources*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xliii [1982], 8-97).

Hellenism in Egypt was closely connected with paganism which, in spite of the triumph of Christianity, continued to survive, especially in Upper Egypt, until the Arab conquest. In Upper Egypt the Egyptian monks were in constant struggle with the pagan Sudanese tribes of the Beja-Blemmyes, the last standard-bearers of the Greek cult, who had encroached deeply into the land of southern Egypt (Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, in *Listy Filologicke*, ciii/3 [1980], 135 ff.; and see BEDJA).

The church in Egypt was constantly involved in religious controversies, and the problem of the relationship between the divine and human nature in Christ, which shook the Byzantine Empire at large, was stubbornly discussed in Egypt and divided the Church there, especially after the Council of Chalcedon (451) which condemned the Monophysites. While the Byzantine Emperors supported the Orthodox party in Egypt, the Melkites, it is an exaggeration to say that "what the Egyptians [i.e. Monophysites] wanted was to oppose Constantinople" (H.I. Bell, *Egypt*, Oxford 1941, 131). The Monophysites were divided themselves into numerous sects, and many Egyptians did not actually blame the Byzantine state for the persecution of the Monophysites but attributed it to the evil nature of the religious leaders appointed by the Byzantines (F. Winkelmann, *Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xl [1979], 161-81).

On the eve of the Arab conquest, the Monophysites of Egypt suffered a heavy blow when the Byzantines removed the Monophysite Archbishop of Alexandria, Benjamin, and enthroned in his place the Orthodox Cyrus. The removal of Benjamin had grave consequences, not only because he was the head of the Monophysites, but because he moreover belonged to a wealthy family of landed magnates. The wealthy landlords were closely connected with the Egyptian Church, which was mainly supported by their donations (Ewa Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du VIe au VIIIe siècle*, Brussels 1972, 84 ff.). Thus the Byzantine position was weakened with Benjamin's removal and the consequent dissatisfaction in Egypt.

A feature of the economic and social development of Egypt in the 6th century was the growth of large private estates on a scale greater than previously (see E.R. Hardy, *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York 1931; M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens*, Leipziger historischen Abhandlungen, xiii, Leipzig 1909), to the point that certain scholars have termed Byzantine Egyptian society of the time feudal, and have compared the landowners, with their hordes of retainers, *bucellarii*, with Western feudal barons (see e.g. H. MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus, an economic and social study*, Amsterdam 1968, 63 ff.; I.F. Fikhman, *On the structure of the Egyptian large estate in the sixth century*, in *Procs. of the XIIth Internat. Congress of Papyrology*, Toronto 1970, 129-32); this view has however been combatted, e.g. by B. Bachrach, *Was there feudalism in Byzantine Egypt?*, in *Jnal. Amer. Research Center in Egypt*, iv (1967), 163-6, and J. Gascou, *L'institution des bucellaires*, in *BIFAO*, lxxvi (1976), 143-56, who consider this society to be at most only semi-feudal. A feature which in fact separated it from western feudal societies of the Dark Ages was the presence in Egypt of a bourgeoisie, an active commercial class, engaged in shipping activities in both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; the importance of these maritime activities can be seen e.g. in Byzantine hagiographical works (see H. Magoulias, *The Lives of the Saints as sources of data for the history of commerce in the*

Byzantine Empire in the VIth and VIIth cent., in Κληρονομία, iii [1971], 303-30; M.J. Hollerich, *The Alexandrian bishops and the grain trade: ecclesiastical commerce in late Roman Egypt*, in *JESHO*, xxv [1982], 187-207; and also MILĀḤA. i. In the pre-Islamic and early mediaeval periods.

At the turn of the 7th century Egypt suffered from many evils, especially at the time of the "tyrant" emperor Phocas (602-10). In the strife between Phocas and his successor Heraclius, it became the battleground of the two rivals (Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie II. Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie*, Warsaw 1981, 23 ff.). Anarchy prevailed, and Egypt's shattered monetary system reached its lowest ebb (P. Grierson, *The Consular coinage of Heraclius and the revolt against Phocas of 608-610*, in *NC* [1950], 71-93). In this period of anarchy, the activities of the circus factions, known as "Greens" and "Blues", which were not mere sporting clubs, exercised a detrimental element on the administrative structure and social life of Byzantine Egypt, in particular in Alexandria. Heraclius's victory was followed by a period of pacification and consolidation in Egypt which was again interrupted by the Persian conquest of Egypt (619-29 or 630), about which little is known (E.K. Chrysos, *The date of Papyrus SB 4483 and the Persian occupation of Egypt*, in *Dodone*, iv [1975], 343-48; L.S.B. MacCoul, *Coptic Egypt during the Persian occupation*, in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, xxxvi [1986], 307-13).

The Emperor Heraclius (d. 641) took great pains to restore order in Egypt, but it was still in disarray when the Arabs attacked it. Yet in spite of their dissatisfaction with the Byzantine administration, the Egyptians did not form a monolithic anti-Byzantine block as has been often suggested. Winkelmann, *op. cit.*, has correctly pointed out that there were different layers in the structure of the Egyptian society and that the attitude of each of them varied towards the Byzantine government. Moreover, it should be emphasised that there was no clear separation between Coptic and Greek ethnic elements in Egypt on the eve of the Arab invasion, as wrongly suggested by some scholars (see e.g. the simplistic view expressed by S. Vryonis, *Byzantine circus factions and Islamic Futuwwa organizations*, in *BZ* [1965], 39 n. 49; and for the earlier period, A. Lazarou, *Présence hellénique en Égypte romaine*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 51-76).

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(b) Islamic Egypt.

The Conquest of Egypt.

The study of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs bristles with many problems because of the confused and controversial accounts of the various sources. There is no comprehensive work to deal with this topic *in toto*, and A.J. Butler's *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the latest thirty years in the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, ²Oxford 1978 ed. by P.M. Fraser, contains valuable material, but certain parts of it have become obsolete (see the review by R.S. Bagnall in *Classical Jnal.*, lxxv [1979], 247-8).

The Byzantine sources, mainly Theophanes and Nicephorus, are vague and fragmentary. The Arabic sources are also fragmentary with many contradictory accounts. The most trustworthy Arab author is Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871 [*q.v.*]), while *The history of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church* (10th century) includes certain valuable material of an earlier chronicle written by Abba George at the end of the 8th century. The chronicle of the contemporary Egyptian author, John, Bishop of Nikiu, has been preserved only in a partial Ethiopian version and its valuable material has been distorted. Most of the Arabic accounts and the relevant passages of Nikiu's chronicle have been collected and presented in English by D.R. Hill in his *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests*, London 1971.

From the labyrinth of the conflicting descriptions of the Arab conquest of Egypt, we can discern with a certain clarity the following outline. The expedition against Egypt was undertaken by the Arab general ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]. Many Arabic sources describe ʿAmr's expedition against Egypt as a spontaneous action with the reluctant approval of the caliph ʿUmar. M. Ibrahim has correctly pointed out that ʿAmr decided to undertake the Egyptian campaign because he had traded in Egypt during pre-Islamic times and was familiar with its importance as an international trade centre (*The social and economic background of the Umayyad Caliphate: the role of Muʿāwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān*, diss., UCLA 1981, unpubl., 192 ff.). While this statement is valid, Ibrahim's assertion that ʿAmr acted as an agent of the merchant class of Mecca (*op. cit.*, 198) is farfetched.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ reached the frontier town of Egypt, al-ʿArīsh [*q.v.*], on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 18/12 December 639 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, repr. Baghdād n.d.). ʿAmr's army was composed of about 4,000 men, mainly horsemen, and carried no siege machines. From al-ʿArīsh he headed towards the important port of Pelusium (Faramāʾ), which fell to the Arabs after a one-month siege. ʿAmr's army, following thereafter the traditional invasion route, headed towards Bilbays, ancient Φέλβης and modern El-Ḳanṭara, the key town on the way to Miṣr, which fell into Arab hands after another month of siege [see BILBAYS].

The events that followed are somewhat confusing and there are many conflicting reports on the further march of the Arab army (cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, 2 ff., and especially Hill, *op. cit.*, 34 ff.). It seems that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ arrested his march when he arrived near the strong fortress of Babylon, at the edge of the town Miṣr, old Memphis, at the head of the Delta of the Nile, and appealed to the caliph for reinforcements. About 4,000 men under al-Zubayr arrived in June 640 and joined ʿAmr's army. In Heliopolis, later called ʿAyn Shams, a battle took place between the Arabs and the Byzantines in July 640, in which the Byzantines suffered a crushing defeat. The fall of Miṣr followed, and afterwards the Arabs stubbornly besieged the strong fortress of Babylon. Its defenders resisted bravely, but the death of the Emperor Heraclius inflicted a heavy blow on their morale and

on 21 Rabīʿ II 20/9 April 641, they abandoned the fortress and sailed to Alexandria via the river Nile.

It seems that Fayyūm was raided after the fall of Babylon and before the conquest of Miṣr (John of Nikiu's *Chronicle*, Eng. tr. R.H. Charles, London 1916, 178 ff.). We do not know the exact date when ʿAmr's army conquered Fayyūm, proceeded towards Bahnasā in middle Egypt, and subdued the entire southern part of Egypt (the Ṣaʿīd). Most probably, the conquest of middle and southern Egypt started immediately after the conquest of Babylon and was accomplished at the time the Arabs were engaged in their last endeavour, i.e. the siege of Alexandria (*ca.* 641).

According to John of Nikiu (*Chronicle*, 181), following the capture of Miṣr by the Arabs, the governor of Arcadia, Dometianus, escaped secretly from his capital Fayyūm and went to Nikiu; Fayyūm became an easy prey to the Arabs, who slaughtered its defenders. Dometianus was later forced to abandon Nikiu, which was then captured. The conquest of the other towns in middle and southern Egypt, i.e. Bahnasā, Ahnas and the others, is only briefly described in al-Balādhurī and John of Nikiu (Hill, *op. cit.*, 43 ff.).

There is, nevertheless, an epic romance written by an unknown author, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, which in spite of certain legendary elements offers us valuable information. Its author mentions as his main sources al-Wāḳidī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Khallikān, and his work contains material which has not been preserved in other sources (the text has not yet been published: French tr. by M.E. Galtier, *Foutouh al-Bahnasā*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, xxii, Cairo 1900). The Byzantine resistance in Bahnasā, as described in detail in the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, mirrors the general manner in which the warfare between Byzantines and Arabs took place as well as the attitude of the local Coptic population (see J. Jarry, *La conquête du Fayoum par les Musulmans d'après le Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, ix [1970], 9-20; Christides, *Sudanese at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt*, in *BZ*, lxxv [1982], 10 ff.). The Copts often assisted the Byzantines vigorously, but sometimes sided with the Arabs. In addition, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* reveals that a certain number of the Sudanese tribes, the Beja-Blemmyes and Nubians, rushed from Nubia to the assistance of the Byzantines (Galtier, 60 ff.). In order to check the continuous harassment by the Sudanese, who even after the conquest of the Ṣaʿīd continued their raids, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ sent his half-brother Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-Fihrī against them in a punitive expedition (641) (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 169-70, 174). But the restless Sudanese were only stopped by ʿAmr's successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*], who concluded with them the famous treaty known as the *baḳt* in 652 [see BAḲT].

While ʿAmr was besieging Babylon, he started negotiations with the patriarch and governor of Egypt Cyrus in order to conclude a treaty, but Cyrus was recalled to Constantinople and reprimanded by the Emperor Heraclius for these negotiations. After the failure of these last, ʿAmr continued his march and the Byzantines, following a last engagement in Kayrun, withdrew within the strong walls of Alexandria. The capture of the heavily-fortified Alexandria by the Arabs without any actual resistance by the Byzantines was due to the morale of the latter, which had reached its lowest ebb after so many defeats, and to the internal disputes of the Byzantine authorities. Theodore, the Augustal prefect, was absent and Dometianus, who replaced him, was more interested in fighting against Menas, the Prefect of Lower Egypt, than resisting the Arabs. Furthermore, constant riots of the opportunist parties of the Greens and Blues in Alexandria, whose main interest was the disturbance of the existing order, created a chaotic situation in this city.

Cyrus, the Melkite patriarch who had returned to Egypt, invested this time with full authority by the Byzantines to negotiate, went to Babylon to conclude a peace treaty with ʿAmr. ʿAmr received him in a friendly way and a final treaty on the surrender of Egypt was signed (see E. Amélineau, *Vie Copte de Samuel de Ḳalamūn*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. xii [1888], 367; Theophanes, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 338).

The Melkite patriarch and governor of Egypt Cyrus often appears in the Arabic sources under the name of al-Muḳawḳis [*q.v.* for a detailed discussion of the problems concerning him and his role].

Before ʿAmr made the final treaty with the representatives of Egypt, he concluded some minor treaties as occasion arose in the various stages of his conquest. The most important local treaty was concluded when ʿAmr sacked the fortress of Babylon; an agreement was reached between him and the Byzantine garrison, according to which the Byzantines left unhurt, leaving behind their military supplies. All the minor treaties eventually merged into a final settlement. The Muslim jurists disagree whether Egypt was taken by force (*ʿanwatan*) or by treaty (*ṣulḥan*), an important difference since in the former case Egypt would have been considered as spoils of war and its inhabitants would have been deprived of the right of protection (*dhimma*). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's brief statement illuminates the problem clearly: "some of Egypt was conquered by *ʿahd* and some was *ʿanwa*. ʿUmar made it all *dhimma* and that has lasted to this day" (for all relevant traditions, see Hill. *op. cit.*, 34 ff.).

Behind the theoretical dispute of the Arab jurists concerning the conquest of Egypt *ʿanwatan* or *ṣulḥan* lay the practical problem of how to legitimise any Muslim demands for increasing taxes without violating Islamic law. If Egypt was captured *in toto* *ʿanwatan*, then the whole country would be considered *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], i.e. conquered land distributed to the fighting soldiers.

The original text of the final treaty of Egypt has not been preserved. Al-Ṭabarī has reproduced a comprehensive account, while John of Nikiu, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the other Arab authors supplement it. Al-Ṭabarī calls it the treaty of ʿAyn Shams. Cyrus concluded the final treaty with ʿAmr in Babylon and therefore it is incorrect to call it the "Treaty of Alexandria" (J. Gascou, *Miscellanea. De Byzance à l'Islam, les impôts en Égypte après la conquête arabe*, in *JESHO*, xxvi [1983], 98-9).

The treaty was concluded between the Byzantines (*Rūm*) and the Arabs. The Byzantines were the first party representing the Byzantine emperor, the only legal party recognised by the Arabs. It is therefore absurd, as correctly pointed out by Butler, to say that "this is a treaty with the Copts not with the Romans... The people of Miṣr not the Roman army of occupation, still less the emperor Heraclius were the contracting parties on the other side..." (Lane Poole, 241 ff.; cf. Butler, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*, Oxford 1913, 24 ff.).

As has been said in the previous section, by the 7th century a mixed race of Hellenes-Egyptians had developed in the towns and frontiers of Egypt, where there was no distinction between Hellenised Egyptians and Egyptianised Greeks. Thus the first term of the agreement, which was actually a pledge of security

for the defeated (*amān*) and not an agreement between equal parties, specified that ʿAmr granted his security to all inhabitants of Egypt.

Under the term *al-Miṣr* "people of Egypt", all inhabitants of Egypt are included regardless of origin and religious beliefs. No special reference to Jews is made in the treaty, as preserved by al-Ṭabarī, but two ethnic groups are mentioned in a peculiar way which required special attention. First the *Nūb(a)*, a word which applies to two Sudanese groups which were in constant relations with southern Egypt, i.e. the Nubians as well as the Beja-Blemmyes. The seventh section of the final treaty mentions explicitly that the Nubians have the same rights as the rest of the ethnic groups of Egypt. In contrast, the first section mentions that the Nūb shall not be allowed to dwell along with the Egyptians. The apparent contradiction can be understood if we take into consideration that the seventh section refers to those Nubians who had already settled in Egypt and lived with the natives peacefully, while the first one refers to Nubians of Nubia outside Egypt, whose movements towards Egypt were restricted (Christides, *Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, 129-43).

As for the term *Rūm* of the seventh section in al-Ṭabarī's extract of the treaty, it does not refer to the Graeco-Egyptian town dwellers, but to the Byzantines who were fresh settlers, army officers, many of barbarian origin, who chose to remain in Egypt after their retirement, or other Byzantine officials who were sent from Constantinople (for these soldiers, see Gascou, *Militaires étrangers en Égypte Byzantine*, in *BIFAO*, lxxv [1975], 206).

Of the other terms, the most important is the one which refers to the poll-tax paid by those bound to the treaty. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and others report that this poll-tax amounted to two *dīnārs* per male adult, and John of Nikiu states that the safety of the Jews of Egypt was also secured.

In 645 the Byzantines, taking advantage of the uncertainty after the murder of ʿUmar (644), about which they were well-informed (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 343) sent an expedition under Manuel against the Muslims of Egypt. This was a blunder by the Emperor Constans II, who was later responsible for the defeat of the Byzantine fleet in the naval battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī (*q.v.* in Suppl., and see Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656. A classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in Βυζαντινά, xiii [1985], 1331-45). The Byzantines landed in Alexandria easily, since the Muslims had no fleet, killed the garrison and conquered some town in the Delta. However, they were utterly routed by ʿAmr and a second evacuation took place; see the various Arab traditions in Hill, 39 ff.. Manuel's reconquest of Alexandria forced the Muslim conquerors to proceed rapidly to the recruitment of Egyptian sailors and use of Egyptian ships. In fact, these participated in the second full-scale expedition of the Muslims against Libya in *ca.* 645, five years before the first Muslim raid against Cyprus (Severus, in *PO*, i, 497 ff.).

Causes of the fall of Egypt.

Certain general conditions, which facilitated the sweeping conquests of the Arabs over the whole Middle East, can also be discerned in the Arab conquest of Egypt; but the latter presents its own peculiarities. A salient characteristic which we meet in the first Arab conquests is the assistance of the nomad Arabs of the conquered lands to the Muslim invaders. This factor has acquired particular importance after recent studies which have convincingly shown that the Byzantines did not establish in Egypt and the other areas of the Eastern frontier a rigid chain of fortifications, but rather, fortified positions in which the nomads held a key position and freedom of movement (M. Sharon, *The military reforms of Abū Muslim, their background and consequences*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, ed. Sharon, Leiden 1986, 108; Ph. Mayerson, *The Saracens and the Limes*, in *BASOR*, cclxii [1986], 35-47).

The Byzantine hagiographical sources mention repeated raids by Arab nomads against the monasteries of Sinai, but they also report that there were certain Arab tribes allied with the monks. These Bedouin Arabs had settled in various places of Sinai, probably already from the first century A.D. (Cl. Bailey, *Bedouin place-names in Sinai: towards understanding a desert map*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Qtly.*, xvi [1984], 42-57, and idem, *Dating the arrival of the Bedouin tribes in Sinai and the Negev*, in *JESHO*, xxviii [1985], 20-49). For the Arab tribes which protected the Byzantines in Sinai at the time of Justinian, there is new information derived from the Arabic manuscripts of St. Catherine (*ibid.*, 33; al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1326, iii, 107).

In general, although our information is fragmentary, the overall impression is that the nomad Arabs did not play as prominent a role in the Arab conquest of Egypt as they did in Syria. Al-Ṭabarī confirms the information of the Byzantine hagiographical works that the Bedouin tribes of Sinai assisted the Byzantines against the invading Arab army, but on the other hand, al-Ḳalḳashandī reports the speedy alliance of other Arab tribes with ʿAmr (*Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1958, 193). Of course, we must also take into consideration that the inefficient payment of the allied Arab tribes of Egypt, as in other areas of the eastern frontier, by the Byzantines on the eve of the Arab conquest may have been a detrimental factor in the Byzantine defence of Egypt (W.E. Kaegi, *Heraklios and the Arabs*, in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, xxvii [1982], 116 ff.).

The Byzantines' exhaustion because of their continuous struggle with Persia in the Near East was particularly apparent in Egypt, which was occupied by the Persians just a few years before the Arab conquest. It is true that the Egyptians' dissatisfaction with oppressive Byzantine religious policies against the Monophysites cannot be denied, but this factor has been grossly exaggerated by many scholars who have not taken into consideration the multitude of the rival heresies within the Monophysite movement and the lack of any concerted resistance by all Egyptian Monophysites against the central Orthodox authority. In contrast, little attention has been paid to some Christian leaders, who, whether converted to Islam or not, offered actual assistance to the Arabs, motivated in the first place by personal ambitions. A typical case is Sanutius, appointed by ʿAmr as governor of the province of Rīf (Delta), who vigorously helped ʿAmr in his expedition against Libya.

Heavy taxation and corrupt administration were worse in Egypt than in any other of the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire; but above all, it was the disunity which prevailed in the Egyptian administration after Justinian's reforms and the rivalry between the multitude of authorities that created a chaotic situation there.

In contrast, under the leadership of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the invading Arab forces demonstrated coordination and unity. ʿAmr often consulted with the caliph and kept his army informed before any important decisions were made, as he did before the capitulation of

Alexandria. He cautiously counterbalanced the superiority in numbers and equipment of the Byzantine army by applying skilful military tactics. The Byzantines had constructed many well-fortified fortresses in Egypt, of which the most conspicuous was that of Babylon. ʿAmr, who did not possess any siege equipment, besieged Babylon patiently for a long time, cutting its supply lines and engaging the Byzantines in a continuous war of attrition.

Most of his army was composed of cavalry, which moved at ease across the terrain of the Egyptian deserts and oases. There were no definite, prepared, long-term plans, but the Arab army moved with great flexibility as the occasion arose. The existence of nomads and sedentary people among the ranks of ʿAmr's army, the former expert in hit-and-run attacks, and the latter more skilful and patient in the siege of towns, offered the Arabs a great advantage (Hill, *The role of the camel and the horse in the early Arab conquests*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp, London 1975, 39).

We have also to take into consideration that the Arab conquest of Egypt was facilitated by the favourable situation for the Arabs which was created in Constantinople at the most critical moments of their invasion. After the death of Heraclius and of his son Heraclius Junior Constantine, Heraclonas reigned, along with his mother Martina. The policy of Heraclonas and Martina towards the Arabs, in contrast to Heraclius's aggressive strategy, was that of pacification and surrender. They reinstated Cyrus and sent him back with full power to conclude a treaty of surrender with the Arabs (Dionysia Misiou, *The will of Heraclios I and the crisis of 641*, Thessaloniki 1985, 232 [in Greek]).

Administrative, fiscal and social changes during early Muslim rule until ʿAbd al-Malik.

From the conquest until the turn of the 8th century A.D., there were no abrupt and conspicuous changes in the lower levels of the administration. Simultaneously, a dual system of administration was imposed, one for the Muslims and another for the Christians, and an extreme centralisation replaced the loose Byzantine administrative system. The meticulous control of every facet of the administrative and fiscal machinery during this period strongly resembled the Ptolemaic one (see H. Cadell, *Problèmes relatifs au sel*, in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milan 1966, 284). But while in Ptolemaic times Egypt was an independent entity and no local resources were wasted, the Arabs continued the Byzantine policy of shipment of corn and tribute outside the country, now from Fusṭāṭ via Suez to Djudda and Medina instead of via the former route Alexandria-Constantinople.

At the top of the new administrative machinery there was now the governor of Egypt, who held the title of *wālī* (σύμβουλος, usually called πανεύφημος σύμβουλος) and was directly responsible to the caliph; he also held absolute judicial authority. The Arabs continued in Egypt, as well as in their other provinces, the Byzantine tradition of combining administrative and judicial power in the same hands (E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*², Leiden 1960; Aik. Christophilopoulou, Τὰ βυζαντινὰ δικαστήρια κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες I-IA, in Διπτυχα ix [1986], 164).

At the turn of the 7th century A.D., Egypt was subdivided into two geographical units, a division which continued for centuries. The first (Upper Egypt) included the old Byzantine provinces of Arcadia and Thebais and the latter Augustamnica and Egypt proper. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the old Byzantine division of southern Egypt into two provinces bearing the name of Thebais and a third called Arcadia reappeared in later times, i.e. the Upper Ṣaʿīd from Aswān to Akhmīm, the second Ṣaʿīd from Akhmīm to Bahnasā and the Lower Ṣaʿīd from Bahnasā to Fusṭāṭ (see Remondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô*, Paris-Cairo 1953, 21). The governors of these provinces bore the title of *amīr* in Arabic, rendered as ἀμίρ, ἀμιρᾶς or δούξ in Greek (see J. Maspero-G.Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *MIFAO*, xxxvi [1919], 227 ff.; H.I. Bell, *The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, in *BZ*, xxviii [1929], 278-86; K. Sayyida, *Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-wulāt*, Cairo n.d.; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mukhtār, *On the survival of the Byzantine administration in Egypt during the first century of the Arab rule*, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxvii [1973], 309-19. There is a certain confusion in this article in the use of titles as, for example, the identification of τοπάρχης and πάγαρχος, who were different administrators, etc.).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, who succeeded the first governor ʿAmr *ca.* 25/645-6, was responsible for the organisation of the office of finances (*dīwān al-kharādj*) in Islamic Egypt. The taxation system which was immediately applied after the conquest is not well documented, while for the following period there are still many unanswered questions (the main work is still D.C. Dennett's *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959; useful are A. Grohmann's studies, *Probleme der arabischen Papyrusforschung. II*, in *ArO*, v [1933], 273-83, and *Zum Steuerwesen Arabischen Aegyptens*, in *Actes du V*ᵉ *congrès international de papyrologie*, Brussels 1938, 123-34; Bell, *op. cit.*; see also L. Casson, *Tax collection problems in early Arab Egypt*, in *TAPA*, lxix [1938], 274-91; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Landlord and peasant in early Islam*, in *Isl.*, lvi [1979], 97-105; of particular importance are Kosei Morimoto's studies *Land tenure in Egypt during the early Islamic period*, in *Orient*, xi [1975], 109-53, and idem, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Tokyo 1981, in spite of their bibliographical gaps. See a thorough but occasionally severe review by Gascou, *Miscellanea*, 97-109; G. Frantz-Murphy, *Land tenure and social transformation in early Islamic Egypt*, in *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi, Beirut 1984, 131-9, and the arts. FAYʾ, GHANĪMA and ḌARĪBA; brief but useful remarks are also found in F. Donner, *The formation of the Islamic state*, in *JAOS*, cvi [1986], 283-95).

According to the so-called treaty of ʿAmr, the inhabitants of Egypt were supposed to pay a poll-tax of two *dīnārs* (not including women, children, slaves and beggars); but naturally, this left open the problem of a practical and fair distribution of the tax burden. Meanwhile, most of the Arab conquerors were given no land for cultivation but resided in the *amṣār* (garrison towns), mainly in Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. Cash stipends, *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*], were regularly paid to them and their families (see Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 368-417; A.S. Tritton, *Notes on the Muslim system of pensions*, in *BSOAS*, xvi [1954], 1702; G.-R. Puin, *Der Dīwān von ʿUmar ibn al-Ḫaṭṭāb. Ein Beitrag zur frühislamischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 1970).

Morimoto states that there were only a few early cases of land granted to Muslims, who acquired substantial land estates only after the 1st/7th century (*Land tenure in Egypt*, 112). While there is no doubt that the conditions which prevailed in Egypt after the 1st century accelerated the acquisition of land for the Muslims, the question that has remained unanswered is, who obtained the land abandoned by those who left

Egypt after its conquest and how much of the unclaimed land (*mawāt*) was taken by the community and/or the warriors (*muḳātila*)? The inhabitants were also obliged to offer supplies and hospitality to the conquerors. The *PEPF* 555, written in the first decade of the Arab conquest, reveals the beginning of the obligatory three-day hospitality offered to Muslim travellers by the local people.

From the Aphrodito and Edfu papyri we learn that less than half-a-century after the conquest of Egypt, an elaborate system of taxation was established. According to this, at first a specially selected group of prominent citizens of every *kūra*, the smallest financial district, was selected to prepare the cadaster (κατάγραφου), with a list of the taxpayers and the tax to be imposed on them. This register was sent to the treasury in Fusṭāṭ (the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*]). Afterwards, the governors sent demand notes (ἐντάγου) defining the amount of money taxes and *embole* (tax in kind to be paid) [see DJIZYA and KHARĀDJ]. In addition to these main taxes, a variety of other ones were also imposed (Donner, *Formation*, 287, n. 18). As in Byzantine times, the special grain tax known as ἐμβολή was regularly applied to the farmers. Part of the ἐμβολή was the ρουζικὸ (*rizḳ*) which was given not only in grain but also in various other kinds (oil, textiles, hides for the ships, etc.) (*PEPF* 557, Pap. Rem 94; see A. Grohmann's remarks in *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, in *Études de Papyrologie*, i [1932], 44, 59).

The Egyptians were again asked to offer forced labour services (ἀγγαρία) for the construction and repairing of bridges, canals and other public works; and an additional obligation was now their participation in the κοῦρσα, naval expeditions against the Byzantines.

The frantic efforts by the Arab authorities in Umayyad Egypt to construct ships and to equip them properly with sailors and marines are vividly described in the papyri. The *amīrs* constantly sent the local authorities threatening letters, demanding simple workers (ἐργάται or ἀγγαρευταί) and specialised technicians (τεχνῖται or καλαφάται) (cf. Pap. Lond. 1334; Pap. Apoll. Anô, 29, 5-6). The sailors (ναῦται) were recruited from each pagarchy or district in accordance with a well-defined quota system; the pagarchies undertook, moreover, the maintenance (δαπάνη) of the sailors and supplied them with farina (ἄλευρον), bread (ψωμίον) or wheat (σίτον) and other staple provisions. They also provided all the equipment of the ships (ἀρμαμέντον) (Gascou, *Papyrus grecs inédits d'Appolônos Anô*, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, ii, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979, 27).

These raids against Byzantium (κοῦρσα) took place following a stereotyped pattern. Orders were sent by the *amīr* to each pagarch to recruit Christian sailors and send them to the meeting points (ἐξπελλεύειν = *expellere*), while the Muslim marines were separately dispatched from their garrisons in Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. The marines (μάχοι) formed two classes: the *muhādjirūn* (μωαγαρίται), who were Muslims of Arab origin, and the newly-converted *mawālī* (μαυλεῖς). An Arabic papyrus informs us that even the quality of bread prepared for the marines (*muḳātila*) was better than that of the sailors (*nawātiyya*) Yūsuf Rāgib, *Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk*, in *JNES* [1981], 173 ff.). Egyptian workers and technicians were also recruited by the Arabs and sent out of the country to participate in the construction of mosques; for example, the P. Lond. 1403 informs us about a recruitment of such labour force, which was sent to Jerusalem for the construction of its mosque.

The early Islamic taxation system secured the continuation of the Coptic communities in the countryside and the preservation of the status of certain leading families, as is attested from the papyri of Aphrodito and Edfu. The nobility in the village communities, possessing the power of assessment of the taxes and holding important positions, including the post of pagarchus in the administration, exercised great power over the Christian population. Simultaneously, the Egyptian artisans who formed powerful guilds in Byzantine times did not disappear. In Pap. Rem. 75, dated by the editor to *ca.* 703, we meet a long list of professionals in Apollonopolis who belong to the guilds of sailors, fishermen, builders, pot makers, etc. Among them there is also a reference (l. 12) to the guild of the salaried farmers (μισθίων γεωργῶν) who worked under contracts. Such salaried farmers and salaried pot makers worked in the great estate of the pagarch Pappas in Apollonopolis (Pap. Rem. 98). Pappas was not the only wealthy landlord, and references to other great estates appear in Apollonopolis (see e.g. Pap. Rem. 78). Of course, these great estates were smaller than those of the Byzantine times, but the landlords still possessed their own bakeries, a number of camels, horses and numerous personnel (Pap. Rem. 98, l. 5: μάγκιψι εἰς τὸ οἶκον, l. 36: ἀλόγων; l. 33: καμήλων). Therefore, Dennett's statement (*Conversion*, 90) that in early Islamic Egypt "private ownership of land does not seem to have existed" is incorrect.

The artisans who worked in early Islamic Egypt were eagerly protected by the still powerful nobility of the preserved οἶκοι (great estates of the nobility). In the Byzantine period, the artisans were free to choose to work either for their sake in their workshops or under contract with the proprietors of the great estates and few were slaves (see F. Fikhman, *op. cit.*, where the author, based on the Greek papyri, deals extensively and in depth, with the problem of the Byzantine guilds of Egypt, and the excellent review article by E. Wipszycka, *Jnal. of Juristic Papyrology*, xvi-xvii [1971], 217-36). In early Islamic Egypt, their activities were restricted because of the lack of manpower, λειψανδρία (Pap. Rem. 26, l. 4).

In this period, conversion to Islam took place on a very limited scale. Since the new converts to Islam were not automatically relieved of the land tax, there were few incentives for the Egyptians to abandon their religion and traditions. It is only after ʿUmar II's policies, as demonstrated in his famous edict of 100/718, in which he encouraged fiscal relief for the newly-converted Egyptians, that such incentives were introduced.

For the Muslims in Egypt, the most important office after that of the governor of Egypt was that of the police commander. From the time of ʿAmr, a police force, *shurṭa* [*q.v.*], was established in Egypt to protect the governor and keep the order in towns (Tyan, *op. cit.*). This police force was actually part of the military; its chief, the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, was appointed by the governor until late Umayyad times, but his authority was in fact better established than that of the governor, for whom he acted as deputy when the latter was absent or ill. While theoretically he was under the jurisdiction of the governor, since he was selected from the local aristocracy, the *wudjūh*, he had grass-roots local support which could withstand the whim of all governors. They usually held office longer than the governors and were succeeded by members of their own families, creating powerful dynasties (H. Kennedy, *Central government and provincial elites*, in *BSOAS*, xliv [1981], 35 ff.). While the

authority of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* was restricted in Fusṭāṭ and the Arab settlements, the enforcement of order in Coptic provincial communities was left in the hands of the local administrators who, under the authority of the pagarch, could arrest and imprison the culprits (Pap. Rem. 63-69). The duties of the *bucellarii* as a sort of gendarmerie still continued in the Arab period but were greatly curtailed. While in the Byzantine period the *bucellarii* often undertook the important task of collecting taxes (see Pap. Oxy. 2480, l. 29, 35, dating from 565 A.D., πρὸς ἐξάνυσιν τῶν δημοσίων), such duties were now performed by the *muhādjirūn* Arabs (μωαγαρίται) and the *bucellarii* were reduced to doing minor tasks.

The Arab administration had another powerful official who acted as a watchdog, the *ṣāḥib al-barīd* or chief of posts and intelligence [see BARĪD], at whose disposal were the treasury officials (*ʿummāl al-amīr*) who secured the public safety of the individuals (*APEL*, vii, nos. 174-5; Donner, *op. cit.*, 286).

Justice for the Muslims was in the hands of the office of the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* (Chief Judge), and the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] acquired great power. As for the Christians, the chief judicial power was in the hands of the bishops, who in the early Umayyad period had retained at least partly some of their old civil administrative functions. According to the Justinian legislation (*C.J.I*, 55, 8) the bishops of the town participated in the supervision of sureties and in a number of other administrative functions. In the Pap. Oxy. XVI 1848 (6th-7th century) there is mention of a bishop advising on behalf of a tax payer. In Pap. Apoll. 46 (703-15 A.D.), a bishop appears participating in a committee of sureties. In the same papyrus there is the mention of ὁσπίδια, i.e. houses for the poor and/or sick, which continued to be under the supervision of bishops and the church in the Egyptian towns. Justice was also administered in the Christian communities of Egypt by the pagarch (πάγαρχος) (M.A. Cheira, *Le pagarque au Ier siècle P.H. d'après les papyrus d'Aphrodito*, in *King Farouk Univ., Bull. of Fac. of Arts*, i [1943], 105-18). In Byzantine Egypt after the 5th century A.D., there appears the administrative unit known as the pagarchia, a subdivision of the nome which included rural areas, i.e. districts financially administrated by pagarchs; these became the *kuwar* (sing. *kūra*) in Arabic. In addition to the pagarch there was another administrative high official, the toparch (τοπάρχης) who often replaced him.

While some of the Greek titles of officials found in the papyri of early Islamic Egypt show that certain Byzantine administrative officers continued to function, one should note that the same Byzantine titles frequently denote different functions in the Arab period, something which is often forgotten by scholars who simply accept the Arab adoption of an almost uninterrupted Byzantine administration.

The most conspicuous example of the use of a Greek title for an official whose function was greatly diminished in early Islamic Egypt was that of the βουκελλάριος. In the late Byzantine times, the βουκελλάριοι of Egypt were a sort of gendarmerie spread over various parts of the country, ready to repel any attacks by the Saracens or the Blemmyes, and simultaneously enforcing law and order in the countryside. Their latter function was often at the disposal of the great landlords, although they remained under the jurisdiction of the public administration. In the early Arab period, the term βουκελλάριος was restricted to a number of money carriers or messengers (Pap. Rem. 30.1) and nothing remained of their lofty Byzantine status (see Gascou, *L'institution des bucellaires*, 144 ff.) Thus Bell's theory (*The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs*, 280) that the *bucellarii* under the Arab period were simply an adaption of the Byzantine *bucellarii* cannot be accepted. A number of other armed or unarmed messengers carrying old Byzantine titles also appear in many other papyri. It should be noticed that in early Islamic Egypt, above all the various *servi armati* stood a new genre, that of the μωαγαρίται (*muhādjirūn*), while that of Σαραχηνοὶ and βερεδάριοι (from Ar. *barīd*) was also added.

The most impressive innovation at this time was the creation of a new office, that of the "commissioner" of the fugitives, ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων. In contrast to the ponderous administration of the late Byzantine times, this official, cutting through the hierarchy, nullified the power of the pagarchs—who were liable to capital punishment for neglect of their duties towards the fugitives—and being responsible only to the governor, the *amīr*, checked the proper application of his orders concerning the arrest and return of the fugitives to their homeland. Thus in Inv. nos. 1332, 1333, it is stated that the governor Ḳurra b. Sharīk [*q.v.*] sent from Fusṭāṭ six guards to Basil, the pagarch of Aphroditopolis, in order to search for fugitives, overriding the latter's authority.

There are numerous references to the fugitives (Greek φυγάδες, Arabic *djāliya*) in the Greek, Arabic and Coptic papyri of early Arab Egypt. The great number of all these fugitives puzzled Bell, who attributed their flight to the perennial dissatisfaction of the Egyptian peasants over their exploitation (*The administration of Egypt*, 284). Nevertheless, neither his explanations nor the statement of the biassed Coptic author, Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ, in the life of patriarch Alexander II (*PO*, v, 64), that men began to flee from place to place because of the harsh rule of Ḳurra b. Sharīk, sheds light on the actual reasons for the general phenomenon of the flights in various parts of Egypt (for references to the fugitives in the Greek and Arabic papyri, see Cadell, *op. cit.*, 118, n. 1; for the problem of the fugitives, see also N. Abbott, *The Ḳurrah papyri*, 67, 97; and on Ḳurra b. Sharīk, the art. s.v.). Bell and other authors associated the phenomenon of the great increase in flights at this time to the allure which Fusṭāṭ, the new capital of Egypt, exercised upon the peasants; but in reality, the opposite happened, and the novelty in early Islamic Egypt is the mass flight of town dwellers back to their villages, abandoning Fusṭāṭ.

The new capital Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] was chosen by the Arabs because of its geographical location, which was more convenient to them than that of the famous city of Alexandria: it stood in a key position between Upper and Lower Egypt and on a convenient route linked with the Red Sea. According to John of Nikiu, the ancient canal connecting Babylon with the Red Sea at al-Ḳulzum [*q.v.*] (near modern Suez), which had been silted up, was cleared out by the Muslims and reopened (*Chronicle*, 195). Thus the corn and tribute previously sent to Constantinople via Alexandria could be shipped by the Muslims through the Red Sea to Djudda and then to Mecca. Of course, such use of the canal must have been limited in scope and impractical, because of the labour involved in keeping it navigable; instead, the traditional camel route continued to be used. Fusṭāṭ, established outside the walls of the fortress of Babylon in the early years of the Arab conquest of Egypt, remained mainly a military camp where the Arab clans were grouped in well-defined tribal quarters. The *khiṭṭat ahl al-rāya* was located at the centre and the other tribes of the Arabs

developed around it, while a separate quarter outside, *khiṭṭat ahl al-ẓāhir*, was reserved for those who had no kinsmen (A.R. Guest, *The foundation of Fustat and the Khittahs of that town*, in *JRAS* [1907], 49-83; S.J. Staffa, *Conquest and fusion, the social evolution of Cairo A.D. 642-1850*, Leiden 1977, 18).

It can be understood that this new capital, where ʿAmr's mosque was erected and where the religion of Islam and Arab tribalism were so conspicuous, was unlikely to lure any great number of Copts in early Islamic Egypt, thus risking their freedom and abandoning their traditional villages.

The problem of fugitives reveals a serious pattern of socio-economic change, as is pointed out by Morimoto (*The fiscal administration*, 120 ff.), and it does not have simply a legal and fiscal aspect, as asserted by Gascou (*Miscellanea*, 106 ff.). A careful study of the papyri reveals that there were two categories of fugitives caused by two different reasons. In the first category, the peasants' flight was due to dissatisfaction with their poverty created by over-taxation, a typical reaction of the Egyptian fellahin from the Pharaonic period, and continuing in the Hellenistic and later periods (see A.E. Samuel, *The money economy and the Ptolemaic peasantry*, in *Bull. of the American Soc. of Papyrologists*, xxxi [1984], 196). In the second category, we notice the flight of unskilled labourers from Fusṭāṭ or other towns back to their villages, a unique event in the previous history of Egypt. It is for them that the most severe punishments were reserved, and any neglect of the proper authorities—including the pagarch—to catch fugitive labourers could even draw capital punishment upon them.

An Arabic papyrus from Aphroditopolis, dating from *ca.* 710 A.D. (P. Sorbonne INV, 2343), written in obscure style, describes some trade dealings of a fugitive with the pagarch Basil and the governor Ḳurra (Rāgib, *Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk*, 178 ff.). The mild treatment of this fugitive (*djāliya*) by the authorities is explained by the fact that he was not a labourer. By contrast, in Pap. Remond. 9, which describes the flight of skilled workers from the shipyards of Fusṭāṭ back to their villages, the pagarch is threatened with death if he fails to arrest the fugitives. This constant recruitment of unskilled and skilled labourers, who were asked to serve in the shipyards with their own tools and were considered as state servants (Pap. Remond. 52, ἐργατῶν δημοσίν ἐν Βαβυλῶν[ι]) deprived the villages of their most valuable and skilled manpower. In addition to the constant state demands for labourers, another unspecified number of builders was recruited from the villages and these were sent abroad to help the construction of mosques in other places of the Arab caliphate. This was not a novelty in Egypt, since in the *Life* of St. John of Alexandria (ed. Gelzer, 37), it stated that the Patriarch of Alexandria had sent one thousand Egyptian workers for the rebuilding of the church in Jerusalem; but now the demand for workers in the newly-established caliphate exceeded by far the previous requisitions (for the chronic problem of shortage of skilled manpower in late Roman and Byzantine Egypt, see *Greek papyri in the collection of New York University*, ed. N. Lewis, i, 1967, no. 25).

The drain of manpower from the villages did not only create serious economic problems in the Egyptian provinces but also caused social upheavals. The resettlement of Christian labourers from their village communities to Fusṭāṭ and the other towns, to a largely Muslim environment, created great dissatisfaction and forced them to abandon *en masse* the towns and return to the provinces. In order to deal with this serious problem, the state not only created the office of the commissioner of the fugitives, as noted above, but also ordered the issue of passports for all Egyptians who travelled (*PEPF*, 601-3). The problem of the fugitives is also related to the taxation of the monks. The financial burdens of the Coptic church until the mid-Umayyad period were somewhat heavier than in the previous Byzantine period. From Severus's *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, which covers the period from Benjamin I (622-61) to that of Michael IV (1092-1102), as well as from a number of Greek papyri, we learn that tax-exempt monasteries outnumbered by far those which paid taxes (Morimoto, *Land tenure in Egypt during the early Islamic period*, 121). Certainly, at the beginning of Arab rule, the monks were exempt from the poll-tax which was imposed on them later, after a great number of peasants had fled to them in order to avoid the burden of taxes.

The later period up to 750 A.D.

It seems that it was at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik that the monks, who hitherto paid no poll-tax, were obliged to pay this tax regularly. Meanwhile, the governor of Fusṭāṭ, ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz, applied stricter financial controls in the countryside (Eutychius, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho *et al.*, 41; Dennett, 81). At the same period, another change was completed; the Christian designs and inscriptions on coins were replaced with purely epigraphic designs and Ḳurʾānic inscriptions. Actually, there was a transitional period preceded by minor alterations in the Byzantine coins, but it was in ʿAbd al-Malik's time that the great reform was completed. See P. Grierson, *The monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik*, in *JESHO*, iii [1960], 241-24; N.M. Lowick, *Early Arab figure types*, in *The Numismatic Circular*, lxxviii/3 [1970]; R.J. Hebert, *The early coinage of Bilād ash-Shām*, in *Procs. of the 4th International Congress of Bilād al-Shām, Amman 1985*, Amman 1987, 133-54.

ʿAbd al-Malik's first important changes were followed by some sweeping further ones which cannot be easily traced. Christians could no longer become higher officials, the language of the administration was changed from Greek to Arabic, and Muslims replaced the Christian notables who assessed the taxes (J. Gascou-K.A. Worp, *Problèmes de documentation apollonopolite*, in *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie*, xlix [1982], 83-95; Frantz-Murphy, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.). One of the most sweeping changes which took place at the end of Umayyad Egypt, in order to increase the revenue of Egypt by any means, was the new status acquired by the director of finances (*ʿāmil*), who became responsible directly to the caliph in Damascus. For this purpose, a trusted and efficient person, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, was appointed in this position (*ca.* 106/724) by the caliph Hishām (for a brilliant presentation of his personality and activities, see Abbott, *A new papyrus and a review of the administration of ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 21-35, who somewhat underplays the bad consequences of his policies in Egypt caused by his financial system). ʿUbayd Allāh immediately ordered a new land survey, followed by an abrupt increase of taxation. According to the Patriarch Severus, the new measures of ʿUbayd Allāh doubled the revenue in Egypt (*PO*, v, 86). The tax rise caused immediately the first Coptic revolt in 107/725-26 (al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 73; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo, i, 79, ii, 492). ʿUbayd Allāh in 109/727-8 took another drastic action which greatly contributed to the

arabisation and islamisation of Egypt, i.e. he settled 3,000 Arabs from the tribe of Ḳays near Bilbays in the Eastern Delta and transferred their Arab-Muslim registration from the *dīwān* of Syria to that of Egypt.

By the end of the Umayyad period, Fusṭāṭ changed from a military town into a prosperous active city. While initially the peasant Copts strove to abandon Fusṭāṭ and return to their villages, the growth of the city now attracted many adventurous Christian merchants, artisans and newly-converted Egyptians (*mawālī*). In 114/732 ʿUbayd Allāh at another stroke brought 5,000 Arabs, again from the Ḳays group, and settled them in the Ḥawf, to the northeast of Fusṭāṭ, a turbulent area, to outbalance the power of the Copts who lived there (al-Kindī, 76).

In spite of the rapid arabisation of Egypt in the last quarter of the Umayyad period in Egypt, it should be noted that the Coptic language continued to be used by a number of Egyptians as late as the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries. Thus in some Arabic contracts of the period, most of which come from Fayyūm, it is stated that certain Egyptians, Christians and/or recent converts to Islam, did not know even oral Arabic and the contracts were read and explained to them in the "foreign language", i.e. Egyptian (Frantz-Murphy, *A comparison of the Arabic and earlier Egyptian contract formularies. Part I. The Arabic contracts from Egypt (3rd/9th-5th/11th centuries)*, in *JNES*, xl [1981], 212, 223).

The last important trend begun in late Umayyad Egypt and completed in the early ʿAbbāsid period was the replacement of the Egyptian notables who had the task of collecting taxes, by persons appointed by the government; this was a heavy blow to the leading rôle of the Copts in their rural communities, and enhanced islamisation in these areas (Frantz-Murphy, *op. cit.*, 133).

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(V. Christides)

2. From the ʿAbbāsids to the Fāṭimids 750-969.

Miṣr at the time of the ʿAbbāsid take-over in 132/750 was a country in which Islam and Arab culture were still confined to the ruling élite, the vast majority of the population still being Coptic Christians. Fusṭāṭ was the capital and centre of the Arab population, with the mosque of ʿAmr being the main place of worship. The leaders of Arab society were the group known as the *wuḏjūh*, the élite. They were mostly descended from families who had settled in Egypt after the original Muslim conquest and they occupied a privileged position, forming the local, inefficient militia which constituted the only standing military force in the country, and being paid *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*] accordingly. The *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* [see shurṭa] was usually chosen from their ranks. There also seems to have been an urban Muslim population at Alexandria who may have formed their own military force. In addition there were Arab tribes, notably in the Ḥawf deserts to the east and west of the Nile Delta.

The history of Miṣr in this period can be divided into a number of distinct phases. The first, which lasted until the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 193/809, was essentially a continuation of the Umayyad pattern, with governors sent from Baghdād rather than Damascus, and there seems to have been little change in the population or political structure and no settlement of ʿAbbāsid supporters from the East. The political history of the period was marked by frequent changes of governor and sporadic rebellions. Of the governors, only Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (142-52/759-69) [see muhallabids] remained in office for more than a few years and none were able to attain any independent status; in the twelve years 170 to 182 (787-99) there were sixteen changes of governor. Continuity was provided by the *aṣḥāb al-shurṭa*, who were effectively deputy governors.

The most significant events were the attempted ʿAlid rebellion of 145/763, which was frustrated by the governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim in its early stages, and the more wide-ranging revolt of 168/785 against the governorate of Muṣʿab, whose evil reputation as governor of the Djazīra is well known from the *Chronicle* of the Pseudo-Dionysus of Tall-Mahré. This revolt united the discontented Arabs of the Ḥawf behind Diḥya b. Muṣʿab, a descendant of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. The trouble became a crisis when the *djund* of Fusṭāṭ refused to support Muṣʿab and he was killed by the rebels. It was left to his *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* ʿAmr al-Maʿāfirī to restore order. This period also saw continuing uprisings of Coptic peasants, protesting against fiscal actions.

In the late 2nd/8th century, however, this system came under increasing pressure from Baghdād, anxious to extract ever-increasing sums of money from the province. This resulted in a variety of measures such as appointing special financial investigators like ʿUmar b. Mihrān in 176/792 and the summoning of the governor to Baghdād to present the accounts in person, as happened in 183/799 and 185/801, but inevitably much of the taxation was never recovered and after the fall of the Barmakids in 186/803 these attempts at fiscal discipline seem to have been relaxed.

As elsewhere in the Muslim world, the civil war which followed the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193/809 marked the end of the early Islamic polity. The collapse of central government led to a battle for power within the Muslim community and laid the country open to outside adventurers. Shortly before Hārūn's death, a detachment of Khurāsānī troops under al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam arrived in the country. They seized power in Fusṭāṭ in 200/815, destroying the local militia under the control of the *wuḏjūh*, but they were opposed in the north of the country by a local leader, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djarawī. To complicate matters further, Alexandria was taken over by refugees from al-Andalus who had been driven out by the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]. It was not until 211/826 that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*] finally returned the country to ʿAbbāsid rule: the Andalusīs were expelled and went to settle in Crete [see iḳrīṭish] and compromises were made with the other leaders, al-Sarī's son ʿUbayd Allāh being settled in Sāmarrā with a large cash payment.

The civil war profoundly affected Muslim Egypt. The power of the local *wuḏjūh* was destroyed, the process being completed when Arabs were dropped from the *dīwān* and so ceased to receive the *ʿaṭāʾ*. Power lay with a succession of military figures, all outsiders, and their military escorts. These men, some of Turkish or Armenian origin, served as deputies for important figures at the court in Sāmarrā, lacking in prestige and enjoying only short periods in office. The long-

term result was that Egypt no longer had a native Muslim élite and this wealthy country was in future ruled by groups from outside, either Turks from ʿIrāḳ and further east, or Berbers from the west.

It is probable that the governors who followed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir ensured that Egypt became firmly incorporated into the highly centralised middle ʿAbbāsid state. With no local militia to demand a share, revenue could be despatched straight to the capital. The financial administrators, like the hated and ruthless Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], became key figures in local politics. This fiscal centralisation carried within it the seeds of its own decline, and in Egypt as elsewhere the problem of the government in Sāmarrā gave ambitious governors the chance to keep the revenues for themselves and to use them to build up their own military power. It was in this way that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, originally deputy governor for his uncle, who remained in Sāmarrā, assumed authority.

The rule of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-84 [*q.v.*]) was in the main a period of peace and prosperity, if only because revenues which had previously been paid to the caliphs were now retained in the country. Ibn Ṭūlūn recruited a new army, mostly comprised of Greeks and black slaves with which to maintain his power. In order to house them he constructed a new suburb to the north of the old city of Fusṭāṭ, called al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, with its own congregational mosque, known to this day as the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and governor's palace.

His rule saw the beginning of Egyptian involvement in Syrian affairs. There were a number of reasons for this continuous preoccupation, among them the need to ensure alternative food supplies in case of a failure of the Nile, when popular discontent could prove dangerous, and also the problem of security, since Egypt could be invaded from Palestine if that were to be in hostile hands. There was also the attraction of the Byzantine frontier, especially for Ibn Ṭūlūn who took over responsibility for defence from the feeble ʿAbbāsid caliphs, thereby giving his régime both prestige and legitimacy. This preoccupation with Syria was to be one of the major issues in Egyptian history as long as the country remained independent under its own rulers. There were two possible policies. One was the advanced policy espoused by Ibn Ṭūlūn which held that the frontiers of Egypt lay at the Taurus and the Euphrates and that Aleppo, Antioch and all northern Syria should be under Egyptian control. The alternative was the more modest policy of the Ikhshīdids in the next century, whose ambitions were restricted to ruling Palestine and Damascus and to remaining on friendly terms with the rulers of northern Syria. Both Fāṭimids and Mamlūks were to pursue one or other of these policies.

Neither Ibn Ṭūlūn and his son Khumārawayh nor the Ikhshīdids attempted to break away from the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. They retained political and financial independence, but allowed a constitutional dependence which gave their rule legitimacy. Both Ibn Ṭūlūn in 269/882 and Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*] in 333/944 tried, without success, to persuade the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of the day to come and establish themselves in Fusṭāṭ.

Ṭūlūnid power ended with the occupation of the country by an ʿAbbāsid army in 292/905, and the country was to remain a province of the caliphate until 323/935. This spell of ʿAbbāsid rule was not particularly effective. Despite sporadic attempts, it seems that very little revenue was forwarded to Baghdād. This period saw the beginning of two new developments. The first was the Fāṭimid seizure of power in 297/909, which meant that Egypt became a frontier province. The Aghlabids had ruled Ifrīḳiya as independent sovereigns before, but they had no pretensions to expand their influence to the East. The Fāṭimids claimed to be the rightful rulers of the whole Muslim world and made no secret of their determination to take Egypt as the next stage of their progress. In 301-2/913-15 and 307-9/919-21 there were serious Fāṭimid attacks, which entailed the sending of forces from ʿIrāḳ to support the local governor. Although the threat was repelled, it meant that Egypt was more of a liability than asset to the caliphate, and the ʿAbbāsids were prepared to allow it to pass into the hands of anyone who could keep the Fāṭimids out (see further on these attacks, FĀṬIMIDS).

The second important development was increasing immigration from ʿIrāḳ. The 4th/10th century saw a prolonged economic and political crisis in ʿIrāḳ and many felt that the calmer conditions of Egypt offered more opportunities. Among these were professional bureaucrats, like the Mādharāʾī family [see AL-MĀDHARĀʾĪ]. The collapsing ʿAbbāsid administration had little use for their skills, but these were much appreciated in Egypt. The migration of these people was gradual but steady, and it led to the emergence of a Muslim civilian élite in Egypt for the first time. The administration became thoroughly arabised, although Coptic Christians continued to play an important rôle. It is probable that the arrival of these people was an important factor in the increased pace of conversion to Islam at this period (see on this process, AL-ḲIBṬ). Although there had been textile manufacture in early Islamic Egypt, notably the production of *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] for the government, immigrants from ʿIrāḳ at this time may have been responsible for the growth of the industry in the 4th/10th century.

Other immigrants included many Jews. It does not seem that early Islamic Egypt had a Jewish community of any great importance, but this changed with the immigration of many Babylonian Jews, like the family of the future *wazīr* Yaʿḳūb b. Killis [see IBN KILLIS] to the country and it was at this time that the flourishing Jewish community which we find described in the Geniza documents developed.

In 323/935 power in Egypt passed into the hands of another military man of eastern Iranian origin, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, later given the honorific title of al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], after the rulers of his ancestral home at Farghānā. In many ways, Ikhshīdid rule resembled the Ṭūlūnid one but it was less ambitious. None of the rulers built anything of note nor do they seem to have added new quarters to the capital city. Under the rule of the black eunuch Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who achieved effective power after Ibn Ṭughdj's death in 334/946 and remained as ruler, first in the name of Ibn Ṭughdj's son Unūdjūr and later in his own right until his death in 357/968, the Egyptian court became something of a culture centre with his patronage of the poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*] and others.

On the eve of the Fāṭimid conquest, Muslim Egypt was still far from achieving its potential as a great power. Ikhshīdid rule was conservative, more concerned with securing what it held and keen to maintain good relations with potential rivals like the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] in northern Syria if possible. The dynasty had no distinctive ideology and no significant body of supporters. Compared with Egypt at the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, the proportion of Muslims in the population had certainly increased but they were still not a majority in the country. The early Muslim élite had disappeared and a new one was only slowly forming and the economy was developing. All

the potential was there for Egypt to take its rightful place among the Muslim powers.

Bibliography: The main source for the early part of this period is Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* (to 334/946) and its companion, *Kitāb al-Ḳuḍāt* (to 246/861) both ed. R. Guest, Leiden-London 1912. For the later period, see *al-Mug̲h̲rib fī ḥulā 'l-Mag̲h̲rib* of the Andalusī Ibn Saʿīd [*q.v.*] (the Egyptian sections ed. Zaky M. Hassan, Cairo 1953), whose work incorporates earlier, now lost chronicles. See also Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, Cairo, ii-iii; C.H. Becker, *Beitrage zur Geschichte Ägyptens*; G. Wiet, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iv; Zaky M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1937; H. Kennedy, *Central government and provincial élites in the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, in *BSOAS*, xliv (1981), 26-38; H. Gottschalk, *Die Mād̲arāʾijjūn*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931; J.L. Bacharach, *The career of Muhammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd*, in *Speculum*, 1 (1975), 586-612; T. Bianquis, *La prise du pouvoir par les Fatimides en Égypte*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xi (1972), 49-109. (H. Kennedy)

3. The Fāṭimid period 969-1171.

The political and economic situation in Egypt following the death of Kāfūr was so chaotic that the leading citizens of al-Fusṭāṭ took the decision to recognise as their sovereign the Fāṭimid caliph of North Africa, despite his Ismāʿīlī persuasion. Encountering no resistance, the army of the Fāṭimid general D̲j̲awhar [*q.v.*] occupied the Nile Delta in the spring of 358/969; in S̲h̲aʿbān 358/July 969, al-Fusṭāṭ capitulated, in return for a guarantee of security (*amān*) which stipulated the reform of the monetary system, the restoration of public safety—in particular, protection of the pilgrimage routes—the resumption of Holy War against the infidels and toleration of the Sunnī cult (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, i, 103-6).

To the north-east of al-Fusṭāṭ, D̲j̲awhar founded a garrison town which, after the example of the Fāṭimid residence near al-Ḳayrawān, was called al-Manṣūriyya; it was only in Ramaḍān 362/June 973, when the caliph al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] had just established it as his headquarters that it was re-named *al-Ḳāhira* [*q.v.*], "the Victorious". In its capacity as "a place of exile" (*dār al-hid̲j̲ra*) of the Prophet's legitimate successor, the town of Cairo was the exclusive property of the Fāṭimid caliph, of his court, his administration and his army; the new al-Azhar mosque founded by D̲j̲awhar was the centre of Ismāʿīlism, while the town of al-Fusṭāṭ, with the old mosque of ʿAmr, remained the citadel of Sunnī orthodoxy.

The majority of the rural population of Egypt was still Christian and Coptic-speaking, Christian clerks (*kuttāb*) occupied the majority of administrative posts; Christian and Jewish officials made a career in the central administration, especially during the reign of the caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (365-86/975-96 [*q.v.*]). An attempt by the caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]) to purge the ranks of the civil service and replace the Christian *kuttāb* with Muslims was doomed to failure.

Throughout his reign, the caliph al-Ḥākim was at pains to put into effect the discriminatory regulations attibuted by Islamic tradition to the caliph ʿUmar I, according to which non-Muslims were required to wear distinctive clothing and signs (belts, black turbans, small crosses, etc.) [see G̲h̲IYĀR]. These measures, the significance of which has been considerably exaggerated by Christian and Sunnī authors, seem to have been effected only in a very liberal manner, judging by the numerous renewals of edicts relating to the subject. Between 398 and 410/1009-19, al-Ḥākim ordered the pillaging and destruction of a number of churches, monasteries and synagogues, evidently with the object of paying his troops (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho, 204, l. 9 ff., and 231, l. 13) and of restoring mosques which had fallen into ruins (al-Musabbiḥī, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 96, ll. 11 ff.; idem, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 295, ll. 16-20). But this policy was abandoned by al-Ḥākim himself and, under his successors, the Christians regained their former influence (cf. H. Halm, *Der Treuhänder Gottes. Die Edikte des Kalifen al-Ḥākim*, in *Isl.*, lxiii [1986], 11-72).

The Sunnīs were not inconvenienced by the Ismāʿīlī régime, even though the guarantees of the *amān* of D̲j̲awhar were not all observed. In particular, the obligatory introduction of the specifically S̲h̲īʿī formula of the call to prayer [see AD̲H̲ĀN] with the supplementary phrase "Let us go to the best of works" (*ḥayya ʿalā k̲h̲ayr al-ʿamal*), the prohibition of prayers traditionally offered during the nights of Ramaḍān (*tarāwīḥ*), and the Ismāʿīlī method of determining the end of the fast of Ramaḍān by calculation (*ʿadad*) and not by observation (*ruʾya*) of the moon, provoked constant tension between Ismāʿīlīs and Sunnīs. Al-Ḥākim temporarily pursued a policy of reconciliation between the Islamic persuasions, guaranteeing to the Sunnīs, by two edicts of toleration (397/1006 and 399/1009), unrestricted practice of their cultic rituals in accordance with the *amān* of D̲j̲awhar (Idrīs, *ʿUyūn*, vi, 293; Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Cheikho, 195; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ii, 78).

The Fāṭimids never attempted the forcible imposition of the Ismāʿīlī faith on their subjects, but they preached it systematically in all the provinces of the empire. Alongside every judge (*ḳāḍī*) responsible for the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) sense of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, there was a missionary (*dāʿī*) who initiated novices in the secrets of the esoteric (*bāṭin*) sense reserved for Ismāʿīlīs alone; the "sessions of wisdom" (*mad̲j̲ālis al-ḥikma*, see MAD̲J̲LIS, ii) were accessible to everyone. However, the success of Ismāʿīlī propaganda seems to have been quite ephemeral; after the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, Ismāʿīlism rapidly disappeared.

The claim of the Fāṭimid caliph to universal sovereignty was soon confronted with the reality of the international political situation. Fāṭimid power proved too weak to overthrow the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Bag̲h̲dād, as it was likewise incapable of maintaining long-term control of North Africa and Sicily. Nevertheless, under the caliphs al-ʿAzīz, al-Ḥākim, al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36) and al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94 [*q.vv.*]) Egypt played the role of a major Mediterranean power which competed successfully with the Byzantine empire on land and at sea, in southern Italy as well as in northern Syria. The Fāṭimids resisted repeated attempts on the part of the Byzantines to recover control of Syria (from 354/965 onward); in 429/1038 a thirty-year treaty was concluded and this was renewed in 440/1048. Although North Africa succeeded, from 443/1051 onward, in withdrawing from Fāṭimid authority in favour of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], Egypt maintained control of the Red Sea. The Holy Cities were under the domination of the dynasty since its inception, being dependent on deliveries of Egyptian corn. Just as in the period of the Eastern Roman Empire the land of the Nile had fed Constantinople, it now fed Mecca and Medina. Furthermore, there were in Upper Egypt major religious endowments (*awḳāf*) in favour of religious institutions of the Holy Cities, and the caliph of Cairo had supplanted his counterpart in Bag̲h̲dād as protector of the Holy Places and as the one responsible for the rites of pilgrimage.

From 439/1047 onward, the Fāṭimids also

dominated the Yemen in support of a dynasty of Ismāʿīlī missionaries, the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*], in such a way that they controlled all trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean via the Red Sea. Egypt thus became the pivot of international commerce. After land-tax (*kharādj*), the revenues derived from customs fees levied on spices and luxury articles emanating from India and the Far East constituted the most important element of the budget of the Fāṭimid state. In addition, Egypt controlled the supply of Sudanese gold and exported raw materials which were in great demand in Europe, such as alum, and products of high quality, for example woolen fabrics (Upper Egypt) and linen (Dimyāṭ, Tinnīs), brocades and items of precious glassware which were subsequently to be found in great quantity in the museums and church-owned treasures of Europe. An eye-witness of the prosperity of Egypt is the Persian Ismāʿīlī missionary (*dāʿī*) Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Cairo in 439/1047 and has left us a description of the town at the height of its splendour (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, repr. 1970, tr. W.M. Thackston Jr., *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, New York 1986).

The dominant position of Egypt in international commerce led to an influx of European traders. As early as 828 the Venetians had bought (or rather stolen) the relics of Saint Mark held in Alexandria. In 386/996, merchants from Amalfi (*al-Malāfiṭa*) maintained a trading-post in the Cairo arsenal (Yaḥyā al-Antākī, ed. Cheikho, 178), and their hospital and their church in Jerusalem are attested from about 1061 onward. From the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Genoese were present in Alexandria: the *fondaco* of the Pisans in Alexandria is mentioned for the first time in the period of the caliph al-Ẓāfir (544-49/1149-54); in 537/1143, the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] concluded a commercial treaty with the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II.

The precarious stability of the economy of Egypt and the vulnerability of its prosperity was revealed, however, when, from 444/1052 onward and again from 457/1065 onward, the flooding of the Nile failed repeatedly to reach adequate proportions, causing shortages and famine, following which the country was ravaged by epidemics. The ever-growing demands of the armies had exhausted the treasury reserves; poorly paid soldiers roamed the land as highway robbers; in 464/1072, the caliph al-Mustanṣir was besieged by rioters in his abandoned and looted palace in Cairo. The Fāṭimid dynasty was saved by the general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], a Christian Armenian who was summoned by the caliph from St. John of Acre to Cairo in the winter of 466/1073-4 and entrusted with the re-establishment of order in the land. It was Badr who ensured the security of the capital with the construction in 480/1087 of the new stone fortifications with the three great gates (which still survive) of Bāb Zuwayla to the south and Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Futūḥ to the north. For almost half a century, from 466 to 515/1074-1121, Badr al-Djamālī (d. 487/1094) and his son and successor al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] governed Egypt with virtually unlimited power, combining the functions of supreme head of the civil administration (*wazīr*) and of commander-in-chief of the armies (*amīr al-djuyūsh*). The two military dictators attracted a large number of Armenian Christians, accompanied by their clergy, who augmented the influence of the Armenian church to the detriment of the Coptic church; new military units composed of Armenians were mobilised. A whole series of reforms relating to the treasury, the monetary system and the administration brought a final phase of stability to the Fāṭimid régime, whose religious aura had long since been extinguished, and gave Egypt a new period of internal peace and economic prosperity. With Badr in control, the revenues of land-tax (*kharādj*) increased from 2,800,000 *dīnārs* in 463/1070-1 to 3,100,000 in 478/1085-6 (al-Makhzūmī, *Minhādj*, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 68) and, under the government of his son al-Afḍal, they even reached a total of 5,000,000 *dīnārs* (Ibn Muyassar, quoted by al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). In all probability, it was the period of Badr al-Djamālī which saw the re-organisation of the provinces of Egypt, a division which has largely subsisted into the modern age. The former districts (*kuwar*, sing. *kūra*), corresponding to the pagarchies of the Byzantine period which, according to al-Ḳuḍāʿī, were 89 in number under the Fāṭimids (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 309-11; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 175 f.) were replaced by 23 provinces (*aʿmāl*, sing. *ʿamal*) of much greater size, 9 in Upper Egypt and 14 in the Delta (Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. and tr. Evetts, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford 1895, 17-19, Arabic text 10-12; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 187 f.; *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, map B vii 13 "Ägypten unter den Fatimiden"). According to al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), quoted by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 309), the villages of Upper Egypt numbered 2,395, and those of the Delta 1,439.

The Saldjūḳid invasion of Syria, from 462/1069-70 onward, and the establishment of Crusader principalities along the Syrian coast and in Palestine (1098/99) deprived Egypt of its Syrian provinces and its natural defensive bulwark. In 526/1132, a religious schism caused the defection of the Ṣulayḥids in the Yemen; from 462/1070 onward (and finally in 473/1081) Mecca was subjected to the control of the Saldjūḳids and recognised the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. The Fāṭimid state was thus confined to the natural frontiers of Egypt and experienced a rapid diminution of its power. Following the assassination of the dictator al-Afḍal on the orders of the caliph al-Āmir (515/1121 [*q.v.*]), the land was rent by internal disorders; ministers, governors and generals competed for power, and at the same time Egypt was the object of the ambitions of its Christian and Muslim neighbours. The Byzantine emperor Manuel negotiated with the Christian king of Jerusalem an agreement allowing for the joint occupation of Egypt, a project which was not however realised; on three occasions, Amalric, King of Jerusalem, intervened in Egypt with a Crusader army to prevent the seizure of the country by the *amīr* of Aleppo Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (1162, 1164, 1167); during this period, Egypt was nothing more than a Frankish protectorate. But when the King appeared in Egypt for the fourth time, with the object of occupying the land definitively, the Syrians gained the upper hand; in 564/1169 the general Shīrkūh entered Cairo at the head of a Syrian army and appointed himself vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph. After his sudden death, which took place on 22 Djumādā II 564/23 March 1169, his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb [*q.v.*] succeeded him as vizier; it was he who, on 7 Muḥarram 567/10 September 1171, deposed the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid [*q.v.*], who was then nine years old, and proclaimed the *khuṭba* in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ. The Ismāʿīlī call to prayer was abolished, the *madjālis al-ḥikma* suspended, and Sunnism restored throughout the land.

Among the sources of information relating to Egypt in the Fāṭimid period, the most important are the chronicles of the court. Although none of these have

survived in other than fragmentary form, substantial quotations from the works of Ibn Zūlāḳ (d. 387/997), al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029), Ibn Muhad̲h̲d̲h̲ab, al-Rūd̲h̲abārī (born 363/973-4) and al-Baṭāʾiḥī (d. 588/1192) have been preserved in the works of later historians, in particular, in al-Maḳrīzī. The contribution of Christian writers is important: the Arabic chronicle of the Melkite John of Antioch (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, d. 458/1065) and the history of the Coptic patriarchs attributed to Sāwīrus (Severus) b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (4th/10th century) and his continuator Michael of Tinnīs (up to 437/1046). The Fāṭimid official al-Ḳuḍāʿī (d. 454/1062) was the first to describe the national geography of Egypt; his *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* were the model and the principal source of material for the work of the same title by al-Maḳrīzī. The manual of administration genre is represented for the first time by the *Kitāb al-Minhād̲j̲ fī ʿilm al-k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of al-Mak̲h̲zūmī (d. 585/1189); although surviving only in fragmentary form, the *Minhād̲j̲* is an invaluable source of information concerning the administration, agriculture and fiscal system of Egypt in the 6th/12th century.

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(H. HALM)

4. The Ayyūbid period 1171-1250.

Under the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), Damascus was the first capital of the Ayyūbid empire. The Fāṭimid palatine city of Cairo was abandoned, and when the sultan visited Cairo, he resided in the citadel constructed after 579/1183-4. After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589/1193), Egypt was governed by a branch of the Ayyūbid family. The different Ayyūbid principalities in Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt remained only by virtue of family ties, and the Ayyūbid empire constituted a kind of "dynastic confederation" (Gottschalk) or "semi-feudal family federation" (Cahen, *Ayyūbides*).

The most radical innovation effected by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was the introduction of the system of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] or military fief employed in Syria since the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. In 572/1176, the sultan ordered a new *rōk* (a term probably of demotic origin: *ruk̲h̲* "redistribution of land"), a kind of cadastral revision, of which the object was to measure the surface area of all the lands in Egypt, to assess their value in terms of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and to distribute them to officers and soldiers as *iḳṭāʿ*s, as a substitute for salaries. The system of *ḳabāla* of the Fāṭimid period was totally abolished: the civilian tax farmer (*muḳabbil*), paying to the treasury a proportion of the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* levied on his concession, was replaced by the military *muḳṭaʿ*, who retained the entire *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of his *iḳṭāʿ*, as compensation for his military service and for the equipment that he provided. The *rōk* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was put into effect in 577/1181 (Halm, *Ägypten* i, 14 ff.); according to the accounts (*Mutad̲j̲addidāt*) of his vizier, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], the value in *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* of land ceded as *iḳṭāʿ* in that year amounted to 3,670,500 *dīnārs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 17 ed. Būlāḳ i, 82).

The division of the provinces of Egypt established by the Fāṭimids was retained by the Ayyūbids; the manual of administration of Ibn Mammātī provides a complete list of the provinces and villages of the country (*Ḳawānīn*, 84-200). In 585/1189 al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil drew up a list of the respective fiscal yield of the provinces of Egypt, the total amounting to 4,653,019 *dīnārs* (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 17-19, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 87; Halm, *Ägypten* i, 33). Since the revenues of *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* were now removed from the direct control of the treasury, the central power was obliged to reserve a proportion of the territories of *iḳṭāʿ* which was regarded as crown property (*al-k̲h̲āṣṣ al-malikī*). Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil listed the revenues of these lands in the two last years of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (587-9/1191-3); they amounted to 354,450 and 354,444 *dīnārs* respectively (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 19 f.).

The army of cavalry mobilised by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was composed of free mercenaries who were, for the most part, of Kurdish origin like the sultan himself. The Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ began purchasing young Turkish slaves who were quartered in barracks on the island of Rawḍa to undergo military training and to serve as élite troops. These were the military slaves (*mamālīk*, sing *mamlūk*, "property") who, in 650/1252, put an end to the dynasty of the Ayyūbid sultans [see MAMLŪKS and 5. below].

Like the Fāṭimids, the Ayyūbids controlled commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. However, the presence of the Crusaders in Palestine and Transjordan threatened the naval routes of the Red Sea as well as the routes of pilgrimage. This led to the prosperity of the anchorage of ʿAyd̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] on the coast of the Red Sea (opposite D̲j̲udda), which was linked to Egypt by a track crossing the desert and ending, in the Nile Valley, first at Aswān and later at Ḳūṣ. In 578/1183, the Andalusian pilgrim Ibn D̲j̲ubayr used this much-frequented route and left a detailed description (*Riḥla*, ed. Wright, 66-9, tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 75-8).

Commercial relations between Egypt and the West increased still further in the Ayyūbid period. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conceded to the Venetian Doge Sebastiano Zani (1172-8) the right to open a *fondaco* in Alexandria; in 1177, he concluded a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa which was henceforward represented in Alexandria by a consul; and in 1207, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil negotiated a treaty with the city of Pisa. But in 615-18/1218-21 the three Italian republics

supported the Crusade of Damietta which had the object of conquering Egypt and imposing direct control on trade between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; the failure of the enterprise put an end to these projects.

One of the most important sources of the period, the *Mutadjaddidāt* ("News") of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), survives only in the form of quotations in the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maḳrīzī (which are thus our principal source). Besides the above-mentioned account by Ibn Djubayr, there exists a description of Egypt written by the Baghdādī doctor ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (*ca.* 1200). The manual of administration genre is represented by the *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* of the official of Coptic origin Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) who dedicated his book to the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAzīz (589-96/1193-8). The *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī gives us a complete list of the villages of this province with a detailed account of their crops and the duties levied on them in 641/1243-4.

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5. The Mamlūk period 1250-1517.

Ingeniously, the 9th/15th century Egyptian jurist and historian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (d. 888/1483) summarises the status of Egypt within the contemporary world as it had evolved in the by then two centuries of Mamlūk rule: Egypt is the "heartland" (*bayḍa*) of Islam and the legitimate "Seat of the imāmate" (*al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1969, 80, 185). In this brief and rather casual statement the author implicitly summarises three important developments in the history of the country that are all to be connected with the establishment of Mamlūk sway in the mid-7th/13th century.

(1) Egypt rose to become, at the expense of Syria, the unsatisfied hegemonial power in the Near East. The gradual shift of gravity from Syria to Egypt, discernible already in the changing territorial designs of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Damietta, culminated in the marginalisation of Syria in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion to the Middle East in 656-8/1258-60. Northern Syria became the fortified fringe of the Cairo-based new polity. The remaining Ayyūbid domains were either subjugated or assimilated to Mamlūk rule. The Syrian Desert now became a border almost in the modern sense of the word, separating most effectively the world that had hitherto been closely connected: Irāḳ and the Levant. In Arabia, Egypt resumed, in the two-and-a-half centuries of Mamlūk rule, its traditional protectorate over the Holy Cities. After century-long immobility an active expansionist Egyptian policy was resumed both to the west, against the Bedouins of Barḳa, and especially to the south, into Nubia.

(2) Egypt established itself, much more than Syria with more diverse cultural élites, as the bulwark of orthodox cultural and religious conservatism. The acute consciousness of having been spared the catastrophe of Mongol pagan domination that was reflected in numerous popular sayings and tales, nurtured the conviction that it was Egypt's hallowed rule and obligation to preserve the bases of Sunnī public order as well as the traditional religious culture in its Arab garb. Anti-sectarian sentiment and moral rigorism, visible in a rich anti-*bidaʿ* literature, stood in sharp contrast to the continuing exuberant frolic, levity and pageantry of popular culture of both rural and urban Egypt. A keen sense of history, and of historical responsibility, manifested itself, during the Mamlūk era, in an unprecedented plethora of chronicles and other works of history. This spirit was essentially defensive: the system so benignly saved from destruction by the unbelievers was to be maintained and buttressed, not to be reformed or even questioned. The challenges and creative impulses which Mongol and post-Mongol turmoil brought to the artistic, literary and scholarly worlds of Eastern (Iranian, Central Asian, Anatolian) Islam never affected or infecundated the land of Egypt.

The Mamlūk period saw the transfer of the defunct caliphate from the ruins of Baghdād to Cairo. This "shadow-caliphate" was to assume a double nature. It represented the retrograde orientation of the Mamlūk state and society, an Arab-Islamic Byzantium, as has most felicitously been said. At the same time, it served to legitimise the novel and most unorthodox ruling system of the Mamlūks. If the Saldjūḳs and Ayyūbids had had, in the first phases of their domination, their problems in justifying their accession to power, this problem was nevertheless far more pressing for the Mamlūks, who came as nobodies from the Eurasian steppes via the slave markets of Syria, Cairo and Alexandria into the highest echelons of government. They did not obtain this political ascendency as members of a homogeneous nomadic clan or confederation led by valiant or even charismatic leaders, as had been the case with Ṭoghrïl Beg or Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī [*q.vv.*]. They came rather to the Middle East as individuals with the social stigma of slavedom and a pagan birth.

After the Mamlūks had established their domination, they put forward these tokens of their original social inferiority as signs of military nobility; their pagan Turkish names were preserved as symbols of their élite status and also as a means to demonstrate the social apartheid between themselves and the autochtonous Arab-speaking Egyptian populace. For the surrounding world, however, at least in the critical first half-century of Mamlūk rule between 1250 and 1300, there remained a glaring deficit of conventional, i.e. Islamic, legitimisation for government. The careful imitation of the court rituals and offices of the preceding Ayyūbid (and Saldjūḳ) dynasties, the adoption of the regnal (*Malik*) titles by the Mamlūk sultans, and the demonstrative take-over of the tradi-

tional *nobile officium* of warden of the Holy Sites in the Ḥidjāz, were designed to reduce this deficit of standing among fellow Muslim rulers. The re-instalment of a fugitive ʿAbbāsid scion as caliph under the tutelage and increasingly arbitrary disposition of the Mamlūk sultan was even more effective. By this action, legitimacy was acquired by the Mamlūk sultan and at the same time demonstrated to be of little relevance in the categories of effective power. The most important means, though, towards gaining and securing recognition against all the prejudice and feelings of superiority among the established Islamic dynasties of the time was the stupendous Mamlūk success on the battlefield. Bravely and, as contemporary authors noted with awe and admiration, unselfishly these alien barbarians stood up to protect the defenseless *raʿiyya* of Egypt and Syria against the pagan foe. Even later authors such as Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406 [*q.v.*]) invoke the unique blend of "nomadic virtues and the firm resolve of true Muslim believers" among the Mamlūks. They spared the Egyptians the tragic fate which fellow-Muslims in so many other countries had suffered under the Mongol yoke. The capacity of the Mamlūks for extinguishing the last traces of the Frankish-Christian presence in Syria and Palestine was another significant source of respect. This achievement enhanced their claim to be full heirs to their Zangid and Ayyūbid predecessors who had rekindled the spirit of *djihād* against the Crusading invaders to the region.

Old as the system of Mamlūks, military slaves, was in Islam [see GHULĀM; MAMLŪK], it rose to respectable quantitative significance under the last Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. He recruited Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*] slaves from the lands to the north and east of the Black Sea in large numbers, garrisoned them on the well-protected island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile, where he had erected his new palace fortress, and thus created for himself a loyal body of troops—loyal to him personally and not to the Ayyūbid dynasty at large that was divided into rival factions ever since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death.

In 648/1250 the Mamlūks, in an unexpected and certainly also largely unpremeditated development, found themselves holders of supreme political responsibility in Egypt. One event had precipitated this process. It was the hardy Mamlūk praetorians of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who annihilated the advance guard of St. Louis, led by Robert of Artois, in the narrow streets of al-Manṣūra in spring 648/1250, thus turning the initial success of the Christian invaders into defeat. This first striking Mamlūk military triumph happened right in the critical interval between the death of al-Ṣāliḥ, kept secret from friend and foe alike, and the desperately awaited arrival on the battlefield in the Nile Delta of his son and prospective political heir al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh from the remote Ayyūbid province of Ḥiṣn Kayfā on the Tigris. There ensued Tūrānshāh's victory over the weakened Christian army, the capturing of the French king and, on 2 May 1250, the decisive incident leading to the establishment of Mamlūk rule over Egypt: Sultan Tūrānshāh, who had brought with him his own entourage from Ḥiṣn Kayfā to the Nile, systematically estranged the Mamlūk grandees of his late father who had just demonstrated their superb martial aptitude. Pre-empting a similar fate to themselves, a few leading Mamlūk officers decided to kill the Ayyūbid ruler under the eyes of the Frankish enemy.

From this moment on, the Mamlūks were no longer solely servants to a Muslim ruler with an undisputed juridical standing, but rather they usurped the sovereignty in their own right. The recruiting modalities of the new ruling caste were to remain the same: Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* imported, trained, and affranchised (*mamlūk*) military slaves as had been the case under al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. From Mamlūk ranks alone, sultans and the key military and also administrative personnel were supposed to be chosen. Tensions were inevitable (and proved concomitant to Mamlūk history at least to the early 9th/15th century) between, first, the dynastic tradition inherited from the Ayyūbids and copied by successful Mamlūk sultans, and second, the intrinsically Mamlūk principles of the ever-renewed selection of the most able candidates for high and highest offices from genuine Mamlūks, i.e. first generation aliens who had been born pagan, then been brought to Egypt, trained in the chivalrous arts, Islamised, and finally released into the exclusivity of a Mamlūk career.

Mamlūk sway in its earliest phase immediately after the killing of Tūrānshāh was more than precarious. No-one proved prepared, nor was really willing, to take over the reins of government. As an interim ruler, homage as sultan was paid to al-Ṣāliḥ's energetic and pragmatic widow Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Under the pressure of the Syrian Ayyūbids who felt summoned to liberate Egypt—their own domain, as they were prone to see it—from the hands of these slaves, and of a woman into the bargain, Shadjar al-Durr formally gave way to her *atābak* and new husband, Aybak al-Turkmānī, one of al-Ṣāliḥ's leading Mamlūk generals. Most historians of late mediaeval Egypt regard Aybak as the first Mamlūk sultan of the country. With him the *dawla turkiyya* is claimed to have begun. Yet Mamlūk control remained extremely fragile. Only by stating that Egypt was the proper domain of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh could Aybak bring his own army to pay fealty to him. Soon Aybak, at least *pro forma*, was even forced to step aside and to give way to an Ayyūbid figurehead as sultan. Thus the continuing general demand, both inside and outside of Egypt, for a fully legitimised government after the sudden disappearance of the house of Ayyūb from the country, was satisfied.

The first decade of Mamlūk rule over Egypt is a story of inter-factional strife and of unrelenting, if in the long run futile, attempts on the part of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II of Aleppo (and by now also of Damascus) to conquer Egypt. The leader of the mighty Baḥriyya regiment, al-Fāris Aḳṭāy, whose men had contracted an ominous reputation as a brutal marauding gang of soldiers assailing the population of Cairo, was killed, at Aybak's instigation, by the Khwārazm Mamlūk Ḳuṭuz. Aḳṭāy's comrades were either caught or they managed to flee the country, among them Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī, the famous future al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and real founder of the Mamlūk polity [see BAYBARS I]. Changing sides and protectors (Damascus, Karak) several times, Baybars and his men proved a wily, courageous and unscrupulous free-lance contingent, reminiscent of the equally irregular Khwārazmian and Kurdish contingents filling the chronicles of the period with their actions. Baybars' support was feared and coveted at the same time by the diverse Ayyūbid rulers of Syria.

The Mongol advance to ʿIrāḳ and the Fertile Crescent, the fall of Baghdād and of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and the imminent destruction of Syria, however, facilitated the closing of ranks between the rival Mamlūk groups. Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*], the energetic and uncompromising new Mamlūk sultan in Cairo, accepted Baybars and his companions with their legendary repute of military prowess back into the

Egyptian Mamlūk army. The Mongol envoys, demanding Ḳuṭuz's surrender, were executed. In the famous battle of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt (25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260 [*q.v.*]) in Palestine, the united Mamlūk army, led by Ḳuṭuz and Baybars, won the day against the Mongols, commanded by Hülägü's general Ketbog̲h̲a Noyon. As a result, Damascus was liberated where already a Mongol viceroy had been installed. The Mongol invasion of Egypt was once and for all averted.

Yet more than the Mamlūk exploits in the streets of al-Manṣūra, ten years earlier, the victory of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt became the symbol of Mamlūk strength, resilience, and sacrificial spirit. Even a monument was erected on the site of the successful battle to commemorate this historic event. Even though this victory meant only a first respite for the new lords of Egypt and Syria—many more Mongol attacks on Syria were to follow until 713/1313—the psychological effect of this triumph was enormous. The familiarity of the Mamlūks' cavalry with the fighting techniques of the Mongols certainly had influenced the outcome of this first Mamlūk-Mongol showdown. Contemporary chroniclers such as the Syrian Abū S̲h̲āma clearly saw the connection: "It is verily remarkable that the Tatars were broken and destroyed by their own kinsmen, the Turks" (*al-D̲h̲ayl ʿalā 'l-rawḍatayn*, [2]Beirut 1974, 208). Mamlūk-Mongol relations were, for this very reason, bound to be contradictory on the emotional level. The Mongol arch-enemy was at the same time a model. The Mongol military success was to be a constant source of inspiration for the early Mamlūks. Mongol habits and even institutions (courtly ceremonial; application of the *yāsa* for inter-Mamlūk litigation in lieu of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*) were emulated. In the Egyptian perspective, this split attitude is lucidly reflected. A historian like Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī (died after 736/1336), in his volume on the Ayyūbids and on Čing̲h̲iz K̲h̲ān, reports thrilling legends on the ethonogenesis of the Mongols and of the Turks, stories that had found their way from East and Central Asia through northwestern Persia to Egypt. Yet at the same time, in the context of these traditions, he makes a point of stressing, both symbolically and in the narrative itself, that the grand scheme of the Mongol conqueror for universal rule found its limits in the west: Egypt and the Mag̲h̲rib were destined not to succumb to the otherwise indomitable Mongol conquering armies.

Ḳuṭuz could not harvest the fruits of his secular victory. Baybars, who saw in him last but not least the murderer of Aḳṭāy, the former chief of his own regiment, arranged—in collusion with a few other malcontents, among them Ḳuṭuz's sword-bearer—the assassination of the sultan, perhaps, again, in order to avoid similar action against himself. The exact circumstances of this dastardly deed cannot easily be reconstructed. The victorious Baybars did everything to obliterate its traces, including—in a very literal sense—even the grave of Ḳuṭuz. Baybars was now given homage as the new sultan, although initially, as it seems, only in partnership with the mighty *amīr* al-Fāris Aḳṭāy al-Mustaʿrib, who had paved the way for Baybars to receive the *bayʿa* of the assembled *amīrs*. For the most part, they were deeply estranged by the brutal killing of the hero of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt and most resentful towards the murderer. In this context, the argument proferred by the 8th/14th century historian S̲h̲āfiʿ b. ʿAlī is interesting. It says that in the absence of a son of Ḳuṭuz, Baybars was to succeed in the throne by virtue of his (allegedly) being the regicide, because this was "the tradition of the Turks (*ʿādat al-Turk*)" (*Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-Ẓāhiriyya*, al-Riyāḍ 1976, 32, 155). Also, on the occasion of the murder of Sultan al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl in 693/1293 this principle is alluded by contemporary observers.

It was during Baybars' sultanate from 658/1260 to 676/1277 that the Mamlūk polity began to assert itself. The institutional foundations of the new centralised state were laid. The insecure frontiers to the north-east were gradually strengthened. The Frankish-Christian dominions in the Syrian and Palestinian coastland shrank under the relentless military as well as diplomatic pressure of the sultan. The internal opposition to Baybars, both by Mamlūk rivals (who fill the chronicles on the occasion of their detention, release from jail, or execution) and the Ayyūbid princes in Syria, had to be reconciled with the new order or to be suppressed by force. Whereas al-Malik al-Mug̲h̲īt̲h̲ of Karak, Baybars' former host, was deprived of his realm and life by cunning and treachery, much to the wrath of contemporary witnesses, the Ayyūbids of Ḥimṣ died out and their principality fell to the Mamlūks. Ḥamāt remained a special case. Ever since the inception of the Ayyūbid confederacy, the rulers of Ḥamāt had sided with their mighty cousins on the Nile, often against the interests of their immediate neighbours in Damascus or Aleppo. This loyalty to Egypt was also conferred upon the Mamlūks. At ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt and in the numerous later encounters between Mamlūks and Mongols, the contingent of Ḥamāt played an important and consistently loyal role. The razzias into the land of Lesser Armenia (*bilād Sīs* in the Arabic sources) in the second half of the 7th/13th century were largely the responsibility of the Ayyūbids of Ḥamāt, who contrived to secure their semi-independence well into the 8th/14th century. One of the last Ayyūbids of Ḥamāt was the famed historian and geographer Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331 [*q.v.*]); he even bore the prestigious title of sultan as proof of the standing and respect which the Egyptian sultan paid to his house. Shortly after Abu 'l-Fidāʾ's death, Ḥamāt lost its independence and became a province under the control of a Mamlūk governor.

The installation of an ʿAbbāsid refugee as caliph in Cairo in 659/1261 has already been mentioned (on this subject, see now the comprehensive article by P.M. Holt, *Some observations on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii [1984], 501-7). The first "shadow" caliph with the throne name of al-Mustanṣir proved insufficiently susceptible to Baybars' hegemonial claims. After a rule of only a few weeks he was despatched, together with some other princes whose kingdoms had been conquered by the Mongols, to ʿIrāḳ in order to recover the lands of his ancestors. He perished in an encounter with a Mongol army even before he could reach Bag̲h̲dād. When a second ʿAbbāsid claimant turned up and was installed as the caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, Baybars made sure that his own superior status as sultan was not imperilled. Until the end of the Mamlūk sultanate in 923/1517, al-Ḥākim's descendants were to reign as figureheads at the discretion of the Mamlūk ruler. Their public functions were strictly ceremonial, their political power nil. The caliph had hardly more prestige than the four supreme *ḳāḍīs* of the orthodox *mad̲h̲āhib*, as contemporary critics remarked. He accompanied the sultan during his campaigns as pawn and legitimator alike. From 700/1300 onwards the caliphs publicly legitimated the newly-elected sultan by their presence and by a diploma of investiture. They stood on slippery ground. They could easily be

dragged into inter-Mamlūk controversies about the apt candidate for the vacant sultanate. As symbols of the Islamic *umma* they also proved indispensable allies to the sultan in his dealings with foreign powers. The continuing prestige of their lofty office enhanced also the repute of their Egyptian hosts and protectors. Muslim rulers in India, South Arabia and Upper Mesopotamia solicited their own official investiture by the caliphs, as if one still wrote in the year 1220 when the ʿAbbāsids had managed to re-assert their political independence in ʿIrāḳ. Also, in Baybars' strategic alliance with the Khān Berke [*q.v.*] of the Golden Horde against the Īl-Khāns of Persia in 661/1263, the recently-installed caliph al-Ḥākim played a crucial role.

Whereas in the early phase of Mamlūk history, the sultan continued to perform the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to the caliph as head of the Muslim community, this established ritual of pre-Mamlūk times was abandoned by the mid-8th/14th century. From now on it was the caliph who paid homage to the Mamlūk sovereign. Political theorists of the period such as Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]) (but also jurists beyond the Egyptian and Syrian borders) accepted the absorption of the functions and prerogatives of the caliph by the sultanate as a necessary given fact, for it was the sultan who had proven himself the sole and effective vanguard and defender of the *umma* against its deadly enemies.

In 815/1412 a shadow caliph, al-Mustaʿīn, was even to assume the sultanate. The political context of this episode of a few months was exceptional. Barḳūḳ's son and successor, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj, had been deposed. The succession of the caliph to the office of sultan (according to the rules of the Mamlūk polity, a non-Mamlūk, "non-Turk", was barred from this office!) may have appeared as an acceptable makeshift solution in an otherwise deadlocked situation: al-Mustaʿīn was not entangled in the deep factional strife and ethnic rivalries (Turks/Ḳïpčaḳs *vs.* Circassians/Abkhāz) among the Mamlūk oligarchs of these days in the early 9th/15th century. Once, however, the strong man—in this case al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21 [*q.v.*])—had secured his leadership among the grandees, the sultan al-Mustaʿīn was instantaneously removed. He even lost ignominiously the office of caliph; it was granted to his brother. By this time, the dividing lines between sultanate and caliphate had long since been blurred in favour of the sultanate. When the Ottomans conquered Cairo in 923/1517, they took with them the last ʿAbbāsid caliph to Istanbul, where his traces were lost. The merger of the functions of *imām*-caliph and sultan both in political practice and theory that can be observed in Mamlūk times may well be seen as a model for the formation of the idea (and ideal) of the Ottoman sultan-caliph as it emerges at the latest by the 18th century.

The main stage of Mamlūk policy in the second half of the 7th/13th century was Syria. Egypt remained in the quiet shadow of the violent events that characterised the history of the Middle East between the Mongols' arrival in the region and the final pacification of Syria after the extinction of the last Crusaders in the Levant and the conclusion of a first treaty between Mamlūks and Mongols in 723/1323. Syria was downgraded to serve as Egypt's *glacis* and dependent territory.

This tranquility, as well as the shrinking menace from the outside, made it possible for the first Mamlūk rulers to consolidate their régime in Egypt. Reminding us of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Baybars is also credited with *incognito* nocturnal walks through the streets of his capital when the world believed him to be campaigning in Syria; it was his aim to remain judicially informed about malcontent groups and their concerns and to check the efficacy of his political measures. The frontiers of Egypt were gradually pushed west and south. When the unfortunate Crusader king Louis IX sailed to Tunis in 668-9/1270 and the local Ḥafṣid ruler asked for help from the Mamlūks, initial preparations were made to establish support lines for an Egyptian army marching westward. In the Nubian kingdom [see NŪBA], interdynastic troubles gave Baybars a chance to intervene and to subjugate the lands at the second cataract of the Nile to vassal status. From now on, one reads in the chronicles of the time the proud formula of the Mamlūk realm as stretching from the Euphrates (the common border with the Īl-Khānate) to Dunḳula (Dongola).

To forestall any repetition of the twice-successful Frankish invasion of Egypt from the north by the sea and the river Nile, the harbour of Damietta was blocked and the control over the *thughūr* at the Mediterranean coast, notably the important trading centre of Alexandria, increased. The Mamlūk capital was adorned with the spoils of the successful campaigns in the east: the wood and marble of the citadel of Yāfā (captured by the Mamlūks in 666/1268) was used in Baybars' own splendid mosque in the quarter of al-Ḥusayniyya. And after ʿAkkā, the seat of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, had finally been captured by the Mamlūks under al-Ashraf Khalīl, the son of Baybars' *de facto* successor al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn, in 690/1291, the ornate Gothic portal of the cathedral of the city was carried as a trophy to the heart of Cairo, where it was integrated into the *madrasa* of Khalīl's successors al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b, Ḳalāwūn.

After Baybars' death in 676/1277, his successful policy was continued without any significant rupture. Sultan Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) [*q.v.*] especially—who thwarted the hopes of Baybars' sons to inherit the sultanate—helped to consolidate the Mamlūk political and military system. During his energetic rule important changes took place. He was the last Ṣāliḥī ruler, i.e. the last sultan to have served the Ayyūbids. His successors only knew the Mamlūk ruling system as a self-perpetuating vehicle. On the other hand, he was the first to import Circassian Mamlūks; they soon—even before the brief sultanate of the Circassian Baybars II Djāshnikīr [*q.v.*] in 708-9/1309-10—claimed their share of the key positions in army and state.

Ḳalāwūn and his son al-Ashraf Khalīl (689-93/1290-3) took the last fortresses of the crusaders, Tripoli and ʿAkkā. Also, on the frontiers facing the shrinking kingdom of Cicilian Armenia and facing the Īl-Khānid empire on the Euphrates, further advances were made. In the army and in the administration the Mamlūk element was vigorously and systematically strengthened to the detriment of the traditional élites. The *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*], e.g., a non-Mamlūk socio-military unit that had constituted the most respected part of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī's army, began to lose its privileges and gradually deteriorated. It was composed of numerous subgroups, such as the offspring of Mamlūk officers (*awlād al-nās*), of free Turcoman and Mongol immigrants (*wāfidiyya*), of Bedouin chieftains of the deserts along the Nile delta and in Syria (whose loyalty and logistic support was vital for the communications within the empire), of eunuchs and even of Ayyūbid princes and meritorious civilians for whom

the lucrative membership in the *ḥalḳa* was little more than a sinecure. Under Ḳalāwūn, offices that had been traditionally held by civilians (like the vizierate) were for the first time (sometimes tentatively, sometimes definitively) entrusted to officers. The *mukalwat*, the bearer of the *kal(l)awta*, the typical Mamlūk headgear, took over the functions of the *mutaʿammim* "turban bearer", the civil (or religious) official, as contemporary observers metonymically described this momentous change. Otherwise, Ḳalāwūn took his duties as an Islamic ruler very seriously. His reign saw the persecution of Christians, but also the erection of his famous hospital, *al-bīmāristān al-manṣūrī*, on the ruins of one of the Fāṭimid palaces right in the centre of Cairo.

Like Baybars and so many of his successors in the sultanate also, Ḳalāwūn had to face a rebellion of the strong man of Damascus upon his accession to power. Yet whereas in early Mamlūk history such insubordination of the Syrian governor was also designed to achieve the restitution of Syria as a separate polity, this was decidedly different in later years. The unity of the Mamlūk state was no longer questioned. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries successful Syrian insurgents coveted the sultanate of Cairo for themselves. Al-Muʾayyad S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ is the most famous example. It was only under the Ottoman successors to the Mamlūks that Syria re-emerged as a separate territorial unit.

The decade following the assassination of al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl by the ambitious (and cultured) *amīr* Baydarā in the hunting grounds of D̲j̲īza in winter 693/1293 ushered in a period of unrest and peril for the young Mamlūk state. The conversion of the Īl-K̲h̲ān G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] to Islam (694/1295) increased rather than reduced the pressure by the Mongols on the Mamlūk frontier. New justifications for an assault on the old enemy, now consistent with the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, were sought and found. In 699/1299-1300 Syria was invaded and Damascus taken by G̲h̲āzān's forces. The defection of the Mamlūk governor of Damascus to the Mongols had paved their way to this triumph. Yet the Mongol hold on Syria proved untenable. After several battles stretching into the year 702/1303, they finally gave up their intentions.

Also, inside the Mamlūk domains there was sedition and unrest in this critical period, much of it of a socio-religious nature. After Baybars, upon his accession in 658/1260, had faced urban riots in Cairo by people of inferior social status (peddlars, pages and negroes) who had shouted the name of ʿAlī, the scene now moved to Upper Egypt. In 697/1297-8 a Fāṭimid-Ismāʿīlī contender rebelled, for a last time, in Edfu against the government in Cairo. He had the backing of the unruly Bedouins of the region, who were enjoying more and more freedom of action as a consequence of the gradual "méditerranéisation" (J.-Cl. Garcin) of Egypt, i.e. the abandonment of the old trade route Ḳūṣ-ʿAyd̲h̲āb, the demise of the river port of al-Fusṭāṭ, and the ensuing provincialisation of central and southern Egypt. At the same period, around the turn of the 8th/14th century, radical S̲h̲īʿis defied Mamlūk authority in Mount Lebanon. Only in 699-70/1271 had the last Syrian fortresses of the once indomitable Assassins been taken by Baybars.

Against such heretics, the Mamlūk religious policies were clear and unequivocal. Both the Mamlūk governing caste, and the religious leaders whom the Mamlūk authorities tried to canvass as civil and native spokesmen for their own designs, declared the battle against the *rawāfiḍ* the prime duty of all those responsible in the state—*umarāʾ* and *ʿulamāʾ*—once the external menace exercised by Christian and Mongol infidels had been contained. The historian al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442 [*q.v.*]) proudly declares that in his own days all vestiges of the S̲h̲īʿa had been effaced from the Egyptian lands. The public execution of the Imāmī theologian Ibn Makkī al-ʿĀmilī, the "first martyr" of the Twelver S̲h̲īʿa, in Damascus in 786/1384 at Sultan Barḳūḳ's order, attests to this uncompromising attitude. Nevertheless, the antisectarian Mamlūk policy was not free from contradictions. The pugnacious and upright Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), e.g., was at the same time appreciated as a popular tribune against the temptations of heresy and persecuted because of his diatribes against the corrupt and timid religious establishment in Egypt and Syria. Ibn Taymiyya's attacks were in considerable measure directed against the ubiquitous illicit popular religious practices and the pervasive Ṣūfī spirit to which the Mamlūk rulers of the country proved also susceptible. He contemptuously degraded the mystics as "but a class of lazy people whose lives were spent in idleness but rewarded with generous monthly salaries from *waḳfs*" (Leonor Fernandes, *The evolution of a Ṣūfī institution in Mamlūk Egypt: the Khānqāh*, Berlin 1988, 98). The veneration of holy men (*muʿtaḳadūn*) as well as the lavish support granted to the nascent Ṣūfī *k̲h̲ānaḳāhs* were characteristic of the nonconformist approach the Mamlūks tended to take for themselves towards religion, especially in the first years of Mamlūk history. Vestiges of the shamanistic tradition in which they had grown up as children before their arrival in Egypt, and perhaps also their personal uprootedness in a remote and foreign country, may well have prompted their attachment to strong religious personalities, particularly if these came from the "old country", i.e. the Turkish-speaking lands to the north. Baybars' scandalously uncritical loyalty to the criminal *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* K̲h̲aḍir al-Mihrānī has puzzled contemporary witnesses and modern historians alike.

The period of crisis after the premature death of al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl also saw the temporary institutionalisation of the dynastic principle of succession to the sultanate. Al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl was followed on the throne by his young brother al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, born in 684/1285. After the bleak and brief sultanates of al-ʿĀdil Kitbug̲h̲ā (during his rule a dramatic famine struck Egypt with all the concomitant hardship and popular discontent) and al-Manṣūr Lād̲j̲īn [*q.v.*] (he was killed because he had imprudently provoked the apprehensions of some of the key magnates of the state), al-Malik al-Nāṣir was reinstated (698/1299). Once more he had to abdicate (in 708/1309 to give way to the cultured sultan Baybars II al-D̲j̲ās̲h̲enkīr) before he could finally establish himself as autocrat during his long third reign (709-41/1310-41). In the office of sultan at least, one continued to tolerate an exception to the Mamlūk principle of the perpetual renewal and rejuvenation of the élite from the outside. The non-Mamlūk, pre-Mamlūk, element of the dynastic charisma still prevailed.

At this juncture, one should mention that never again would a "non-Mamlūk" sultan claim general recognition within the Mamlūk ruling caste with so little opposition as was the case with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He carefully presented himself as a scion of genuine Ḳipčaḳ background. He had been raised together with the élite corps of his father. As if to compensate for his "illegitimate" standing within the Mamlūk military aristocracy, he imported more Mamlūks for himself than any other sultan before or

after him. All the necessary facilities and means were provided for his royal Mamlūks (*mamālīk sulṭāniyya*) in order to guarantee the excellence of their training.

The third sultanate of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appears as the apogee of Mamlūk history altogether. The twenty years' crisis of the state between 693/1293 and 713/1313 (the year of the last Īl-Khānid attack on Mamlūk Syria) had been successfully mastered. The Mamlūk borders were secured. In 723/1323, with the help of the long-distance merchant Madjd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī, a treaty was concluded between the Mamlūks and the Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*]. Both sides had come to realise (the Mamlūks as early as 675/1277 when Baybars launched his costly and, in the long run, futile invasion into Anatolia) that no permanent territorial gains from their neighbour were feasible. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, instead, systematically extended Egyptian influence into Arabia. Not only the Sharīfs of Medina and of Mecca but also the Rasūlid lords of Yaman were forced to accept Mamlūk suzerainty. Mamlūk detachments were stationed in strategic locations in the peninsula. Three times al-Malik al-Nāṣir personally performed the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, thus demonstrating the stability of his régime. It was during his rule that the office of plenipotentiary deputy sultan was abolished, another indication of his absolute power.

In Egypt itself, al-Malik al-Nāṣir's policies of increasing the position of the active Mamlūk élite and also of securing for himself an adequate share in the riches of the country were equally successful. In the so-called *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* of 715-16/1315-16 he achieved what his predecessor Lādjīn had tried in vain to do. The *ḥalḳa* soldiers and officers lost most of their feudal land in this new cadastral scheme. It was transformed into *iḳṭāʿ*s for the royal Mamlūks or reverted to the royal fisc, whose share in the aggregate agricultural yield of Egypt rose from one-sixth to five-twelfths. The feudal lands granted to the new beneficiaries were, however, consistently divided up into comparatively small lots (not more than a few neighbouring villages at most; often condominia with more than one other *muḳṭaʿ*) and distributed all over Egypt in order to prevent the formation of a rural aristocracy and of a territorial basis for political opponents. Thus the governor (*wālī*) of the Delta province of al-Daḳahliyya had his official *iḳṭāʿ*s in Bahnasā in Middle Egypt and in Ushmūnayn even further south. The province of Manfalūṭ and most of the environment of Cairo were under direct control of the sultan.

There was much anger among all those groups that had been displaced or at least harmed by al-Malik al-Nāṣir's large-scale redistribution of land. In order to divert this wrath, violent anti-Christian campaigns were kindled. Copts [see AL-ḲIBṬ] had always played a key role in the central bureaucracy and could thus be shrewdly presented as responsible for whatever distress had happened in this situation. With the applause of the frustrated Muslim majority, the discriminating sumptuary regulations were enforced against Christians, Jews and Samaritans in these years. It was during this period of economic suffocation and general persecution that a large percentage of the Coptic families, who for centuries had remained faithful to their religious belief, finally succumbed and adopted Islam. The disappearance of Coptic as a spoken language also falls within this period. First or second-generation Coptic converts to Islam who, thanks to their professional experience in the administration of the arable and irrigated lands had always been favourite candidates for the superintendence of the army bureau (where the *iḳṭāʿ*s were registered and reassigned) or of the royal fisc, now two of the most powerful, responsible and vulnerable positions in the state, could easily find themselves victims too to this spirit of religious intolerance. When the financial expectations of the mighty beneficiaries could not be met, for whatever reasons, the sultan could present them as the facile culprits who—owing to their suspect religious background—could not count on any corporate help. Some of them were brutally sacrificed to the mob in these years.

With the new affluence in the privy budget of the sultan and with the diminishing expenditure for military campaigns, more funds could be invested into the amelioration of the economic infrastructure of Egypt. Large sums were spent for the repair of irrigation works. New canals were dug both in the Delta and in Cairo where *al-khalīdj al-nāṣirī* created a waterway to Siryāḳūs, the site of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's new *khānaḳāh*, and opened new lands for cultivation. The agricultural production of Egypt, the internal and external trade, both with Syria and with abroad, and also the population, grew rapidly during this period. In retrospect, it was to turn into the golden years of Mamlūk history. The *libido aedificandi*, the exorbitant building activities of al-Malik al-Nāṣir mainly, yet not exclusively, in Cairo, have left impressive traces of this era. To secure the supply of the citadel with water, new aqueducts were built. On the Cairo citadel, his majestic new mosque with tiles from Persian workshops and more than a hundred columns, all of a different provenance, attests to his imperial designs. A contemporary eulogist went so far as to hail him as another Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, as the future conqueror of Baghdād, chosen to redeem the injustice wrought upon Islam by the vile Mongol foe. Certainly, one must not interpret this encomium as a reflexion of the sober political judgement of the sultan himself, who in these very years was probably relieved to conclude the peace treaty with Persia. It rather mirrors the esteem which he had contrived to attract in Egypt thanks to his personal achievement and the propitious conditions surrounding him. Towards the end of his rule, this blissful image began to wane. When, full of distrust, he put his mighty, most successful and most popular Syrian governor Tankiz under surveillance, then detained and finally killed him, contemporaries were shocked. They keenly sensed that an exceptionally prosperous and happy chapter of the history of Egypt was coming to a swift end.

In rapid sequence now, eight sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad followed on the throne (from 741/1341 to 784/1382 or 792/1392 respectively). Many of them were under age and never ruled effectively. For the most part they were mere toys in the hands of powerful generals like Ḳawsūn, Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī, Ṣarghitmish, Yalbughā or Minṭāsh, although endowed with opulent allodial and feudal holdings, especially in the vicinity of the capital and in the far south. 14.5% of the tax yield of the province of Ḳūṣ, 12% of Ushmūnayn, 39% of *ḍawāḥī al-Ḳāhira*, 22% of Ḳalyūb and as much as 10% of the huge province of al-Gharbiyya, were the personal fiefs of the sons and brothers of the ruling sultan alone, according to data from the year 777/1376. Popular opinion still held the progeny of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in high esteem, as we can learn from Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, the invaluable—although hardly exploited—main source for this period (cf. *al-*

Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt, xvi, ed. W. al-Ḳāḍī, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1402/1982, 440).

Only al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (who ruled twice, the first time during the horrible first visitation of the plague to Egypt in 747-50/1347-49) seems to have shared the capacities and instincts of his father. His political philosophy was, however, pronouncedly different. Ḥasan disdained the Mamlūk ambience and perhaps, the whole Mamlūk system. He solemnly renounced his Turkish name Ḳumārī (to be found often in the bibliographical dictionaries of the time as a Mamlūk name) and raised consistently non-Mamlūk groups, especially *awlād al-nās* and eunuchs, to high and highest posts in the state. Also, women were among the chief beneficiaries of his policies. As has recently been remarked, it was not by chance that during his reign no rebel appeared in Syria. The key positions in the realm were in non-Mamlūk hands. Yet sultan Ḥasan thus jeopardised the whole Mamlūk system. It should be seen in this context that Yalbug͟hā al-ʿUmarī, one of Ḥasan's favourites, killed his own master, breaking a hitherto carefully-protected taboo. Under Yalbug͟hā's effective rule (his regency lasted until 768/1366, when sultan al-As͟hraf S͟haʿbān, with the support of discontented Mamlūks, took a vigorous hand in politics himself) the (re-) Mamlūkisation of state and military was to make rapid progress. Ḥasan is best known for the magnificent *madrasa* beneath the Cairo citadel, one of the most lavish monuments of Mamluk architecture. It contained separate *īwāns* for the four orthodox *mad͟hāhib*. Even though, ever since the Ayyūbid era, nominally equal status was granted to all four schools, it was the Ḥanafī *mad͟hhab* of the Turks (this term means "white military slaves" in the broadest sense in the Mamlūk period, i.e. it encompasses also Circassians) that received privileged support by the Mamlūk patrons of pious and scholarly endowments. With this policy of favouritism towards their Ḥanafī brethren, the Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs* tried to build up a counterpoise to the influential and self-assured local S͟hāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* with their widespread and inveterate anti-Mamlūk bias. In this respect also, Ḥasan seems to have had his own ideas. Correspondingly, the Arab authors of the time liked him; he seemed to combine the necessary political craftsmanship with an understanding for the needs and sensitivities of the Egyptian populace. Ḥasan had even studied theology and *tafsīr*; he had had a chance to do so when he was kept in prison by his adversaries for some time.

The second half of the 8th/14th century remained a comparatively peaceful period for Egypt and for the Mamlūk state as a whole in their relations with foreign powers. The increasing turmoil in the Īl-K͟hānate and its successor states further reduced the pressure on the Mamlūk borders. In 776/1374 the kingdom of Cicilian Armenia fell to the Mamlūks. Its last king, Leon V, was taken to Cairo where he was kept in honourable captivity until Barḳūḳ's accession in 784/1382, when he was released to Europe. A few years earlier, however, in 767/1365, a dramatic incident happened that for a moment seemed to imperil the achievements of the first Mamlūk sultans in their campaigns against the Christians of the Levant. King Peter I of Lusignan, the ruler of Cyprus and titular king of Jerusalem, sacked Alexandria with his fleet. Chaos ensued in the city, thousands of prisoners were taken, and many inhabitants perished. The Mamlūk authorities, both Yalbug͟hā and his governor Ibn ʿArrām, had proved totally unprepared for such an attack. Even though the Cypriots withdrew after only a week "like thieves in the night", as the disturbed witnesses bitterly remarked, this invasion profoundly shocked the contemporaries. For, once more, the preordained course of history, the inevitable triumph of Islam over Christianity, seemed upset. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. after 775/1374), in his voluminous treatise compiled around this event, is guided by the urge to make understandable to himself and to his avid readers how such a catastrophe could have happened. Cyprus was to pay a high price for this short-lived victory. Ever since this humiliating experience the Mamlūks had schemed for revenge; Sultan Barsbay, in 829/1426, eventually invaded the island, took King Janus captive home to Cairo, and made Cyprus a vassal to the Mamlūks.

A far greater threat to the external and internal stability of the Mamlūk domains was, once more, to come from the east with the advent of the Central Asian conqueror Tīmūr [*q.v.*] to Syria in the autumn of 803/1400. Tīmūr took Aleppo, Ḥamā and even Damascus without any major resistance. Fear and hatred against the *aʿād͟jim* spread in Cairo in the aftermath of this defeat (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, *Nud͟jūm*, xii, 253). The great historian Ibn K͟haldūn, who served the Mamlūks in Cairo as Mālikī supreme *ḳāḍī* and coined the famous dictum of the blessing which Mamlūk servitude meant for the Islamic community, met Tīmūr in his camp outside Damascus yet could do little more than plead for clemency. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the city had already paid fealty to Tīmūr. That Tīmūr did not compound his victory by marching further to Egypt but rather withdrew from Syria to fight and defeat the Ottomans in Central Anatolia, was not because of the merit of the Mamlūks. This benign turn of events notwithstanding, the results of Tīmūr's invasion into the Mamlūk territories were far-reaching and disastrous. Syria was, once more, devastated. Syrian artisans were deported to Tīmūr's capital Samarḳand. The necessity to raise and pay fresh contingents of troops further undermined the already frail economic foundations of the whole state. Syria, and as a corollary Egypt also, never fully recovered from Tīmūr's onslaught. It proved a significant first step towards the final collapse of the Mamlūk kingdom.

Besides other factors, notably the hospitality granted to Tīmūr's arch-enemy Aḥmad b. Uways, the D͟jalāyirid ruler of Bag͟hdād, in Cairo, it was the evident weakness and discord of the Mamlūk leadership that had invited Tīmūr to attack Syria. In 784/1382 Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], the Circassian *atābak al-ʿasākir* of the Ḳalāwūnid child sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥād͟jd͟jī, had wrested the sultanate from his nominal lord. To be sure, heavy opposition from Ḳalāwūnid loyalists and the defection of the Syrian governors forced Barḳūḳ to abscond soon after his coup and to allow Ḥād͟jd͟jī to return to the throne, this time with the new and programmatic regnal title *al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, "the one God has led to victory". Yet in 792/1390 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ had finally asserted himself. The powerful coalition of his adversaries was brutally broken up; some of the most horrible incidents of torturing and execution in Mamlūk history, a period so rich in such sinister occurrences, happened during this fierce civil war on both sides. Ḥād͟jd͟jī was deposed again, this time for good. He was to live until the year 814/1412 in respectful though humble confinement on the Cairo citadel, not unlike the ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph.

Barḳūḳ's achievement was considerable. He had faced and defeated the largest and best equipped coalition of Mamlūk rebels ever. Upon this experience he decided to build for himself a powerful household of his own Mamlūks, on whose loyalty he could

absolutely rely. It was from this Ẓāhiriyya household that all future sultans were recruited, either directly or indirectly as *mamlūks* or Ẓāhiriyya *mamlūks*, or, in the last decades of Mamlūk history, as *mamlūks* of *mamlūks* of Barḳūḳ. In a specifically Mamlūk metaphorical sense, Barḳūḳ can so be defined as the founding "father" of the Circassian sultanate.

The contemporaries realised that a momentous change took place with Barḳūḳ's seizure of power. The chronicles of the time—and modern historians in their suit—customarily draw a distinct line between the first, the Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish, and the second, the Circassian, era of Mamlūk history. The reasons for this strict bifurcation can only be guessed. The racial provenance of the new sultans and their pronounced Circassian (Abkhāz), anti-Ḳîpčaḳ *djinsiyya* must have been of importance (although at least two of them were not Circassians but rather Albanian or Greek), as well as the gradual abandonment of the dynastic principle of succession to the sultanate. Barḳūḳ himself (like his Ḳîpčaḳ predecessors and almost all the future Circassian sultans) had, quite understandably, tried to reserve the prestigious office of sultan for his own family. Yet under his rule this claim was evidently no longer accepted as a natural gift. He himself may have prompted this development. When his first son died prematurely, funds set aside for him were transferred to the coffers of the newly-founded *dīwān al-mufrad*, an additional source of revenue for the badly needed royal *mamlūks* (797/1395). To be true, Barḳūḳ could extract the *bayʿa* of the Mamlūk grandees for his second son, the youthful and impetuous al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj, yet unmistakably the automaticness of such a succession was becoming increasingly questionable. There is also economic evidence for these subtle changes. During Barḳūḳ's rule the so-called *sīdīs*, i.e. the male relatives of the sultan, who did not serve a productive function in the state, forfeited their *iḳṭāʿ*s in Egypt.

When Barḳūḳ died in 801/1399, Tīmūr must have been fully aware of the crisis and the ubiquitous tensions within the Mamlūk military aristocracy. He used the propitious moment to attack Syria when the young Faradj (801-8/1399-1405, 808-15/1405-12 [*q.v.*]) was trying to find firm ground in his new role as sovereign.

Faradj was unquestionably one of the most interesting personalities on the throne of Cairo in the Mamlūk period. He did his best to lead and to defend the country under the most adverse circumstances. Under the impact of the Syrian disaster he was ready to look for unconventional solutions to the most pressing problems of the state. He even awarded the highest military rank of *amīr miʾa* to a civilian, his exceptionally capable and resourceful secretary Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb. This man had largely borne the burden of reconstructing the empire and its economic foundations after Tīmūr had left behind him Syria in waste. Yet Faradj, to whom we owe three religious buildings (one, the white mosque on the citadel, is no longer extant), was not a very prudent politician. He was rash in his decisions and supplied his adversaries with facile arguments. His inconsiderate moves, e.g. in confiscating the endowments of one of his mighty enemies, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (and even to delete the founder's name from the inscription slab in order to put his own in its stead), served to undermine his status among the *ʿulamāʾ* upon whom he might otherwise have relied. He became, indeed, as al-Maḳrīzī writes so poignantly, the "most tragic (*ashʾam*) king of Egypt". In one of his numerous campaigns against rebellious Syrian grandees, Faradj fell into the hands of his enemies. In the presence of the cowardly caliph and various *ʿulamāʾ*, Faradj was tried and mercilessly sentenced to death, even though he had surrendered on terms.

As has already been briefly discussed, the new sultan was to be the caliph al-Mustaʿīn, at least, until al-Muʾayyad Shaykh [*q.v.*], one of Faradj's Syrian foes, was generally acclaimed as the new sovereign. After al-Mustaʿīn was deposed by Shaykh, he stayed detained in the Cairo citadel for many months before he had to accompany the minor sons of the poor sultan Faradj to the infamous state dungeons in Alexandria, a place of no return for so many prisoners before and after him.

Faradj was, it should be repeated here, the last son of a sultan to rule effectively and for more than just a few months. From 815/1412 onwards the dynastic succession was no longer truly accepted. Thus at last even the sultanate had to accommodate to the Mamlūk system of recruiting only outsiders, newcomers, to the disadvantage of those born in the country. After 815/1412, until the downfall of the Mamlūk empire, the sons of deceased sultans were allowed to mount the throne only temporarily until a strong man had been found among the various contenders. Actors and spectators alike seem to have known and accepted these new rules of the game. Therefore, when in the very final phase of Mamlūk history, Muḥammad b. Ḳāyitbāy (901-4/1496-8), for whom his father had vacated the throne, tried to assert and buttress his position, he not only failed politically and militarily; this was to be expected. More to the point, contemporary judges, both inside and outside Egypt, regarded his attempt as outright illegal, as contravening the Egyptian political tradition, according to which, as a Christian observer said, ever since the days of Joseph immigrant slaves, and not natives of the country, were supposed to wield power.

Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's political designs were well calculated. Having broken up the allied Syrian opposition (from whose ranks he himself had attained the sultanate), he extended the Mamlūk sphere of influence far north into central Anatolia. His ambitious military and administrative reforms, designed to imbue the Mamlūk system with new strength, never achieved fruition. He was also a very religious man, devoid of culture though he was. On the spot where he had languished in jail, i.e. directly in the neighbourhood of the Bāb Zuwayla, he had his impressive *khānaḳāh* erected. This building was to become a focus for Turkish literary activities well beyond the Mamlūk period. Shaykh himself sought the company of dervishes, preferably from the regions to the north of Syria. His capable successor Ṭaṭar did not however live long enough to justify the high-flying expectations he had aroused among his contemporaries. The panegyric vitae of Shaykh and Ṭaṭar written by the bilingual (Arabic and Turkish) historian, traditionist and jurist Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (from ʿAyntāb) (d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]) not only tell us much about Circassian genealogy (and about the popular cabbalistic play with letters and figures, current in these genres of writing) but also about the dire need of legitimacy which Mamlūk sultans seem to have felt in these years after the fall of the houses of Ḳalāwūn and Barḳūḳ. Another scholar of great repute who flourished in this very period should be mentioned here, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin b. Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470 [*q.v.*]). His father, a seasoned Mamlūk *amīr*, had served sultan Faradj during his short reign, both as governor and as father-in-law. The son personifies the limits and opportunities of the Mamlūk second

generation. He owned considerable property in Egypt (his endowment deed is preserved) and was at the same time a crafty and ingenious interpreter of Mamlūk lore and Turkish language to the Egyptian audience of his time. He wrote a special treatise on the phonological and orthographic problems which the Arabs had with Turkish names. He rejected violently al-Maḳrīzī's unjust and "racist" attacks against the appointment of a non-native, non-Arab (*ʿadjamī*) *shaykh* to the office of private secretary in Egypt (*Nudjūm*, xiv, 265-6; see L. Fernandes, *Mamluk politics and education*, in *Annales Isl.*, xxiii [1987], 95). His numerous enemies in the local academic institutions used his Turkish background in order to denigrate him and to question his scholarly acumen. Two of the richest historical sources of the time, especially on Mamlūk affairs, go back to Ibn Taghrībirdī.

With al-Ashraf Barsbāy's reign (825-41/1422-38 [*q.v.*]) the "Indian summer of the Mamlūk sultanate" (P.M. Holt) is associated. Major achievements in foreign relations are connected with this ruler. Cyprus was reduced to tributary status. The attempts of a leading *amīr*, Djānī Beg, to dislodge the sultan with the help of allies from among the Turcoman confederations in the Djazīra and Eastern Anatolia were frustrated even before the rebel re-entered Mamlūk territory. Furthermore, the shrewd scheme of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] to gain at first only symbolic, and then tangible political influence in the Ḥidjāz by sending a *kiswa* to Mecca to cover the Kaʿba, was rejected by Barsbāy. He had the Ḥanafī chief judge of Egypt confirm the prerogative of the Mamlūk sultan in supplying this precious textile. The Egyptian control of Western Arabia, re-established by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad a century earlier, was further strengthened when the harbour (*bandar*) of Djudda [*q.v.*]—instead of ʿAdan—was made the main emporium for the ships bringing the precious goods of India and the Far East to Egypt. Barsbāy occupied Djudda and put it under direct Mamlūk control. A garrison and a chief accountant were stationed there to safeguard the control and proper fiscal exploitation of the profitable Red Sea trade.

Ever since the Fāṭimid era the "rich trades" (Immanuel Wallerstein) with the East, directed through the Red Sea and Cairo, had been a central source of wealth for the Egyptian authorities. During the *pax mongolica* of one century, this trade route had temporarily fallen into neglect, to the benefit of the ancient silk-route through Transoxania and Iran. With the gradual disintegration of the Īl-Khānate during the 8th/14th century, however, the maritime route through the Indian Ocean had regained its old importance. Since the Ayyūbid period, the so-called Kārimī merchants [*q.v.*] of Egypt controlled this lucrative international trade from their commercial headquarters in Cairo and in the great ports of the Red Sea. This changed under Barsbāy's rule. In order to increase the depleted finances of the state, he removed his merchant advisers from the court and brought the spice trade under state monopoly. By this short-sighted move he forced the European customers in Alexandria to buy the precious commodities of the East at the prices (and with the quantitive limitations) decreed by the sultan and his bureaucracy. Complaints came not only from western quarters but also from the rulers of Persia. As early as 825/1423, Barsbāy had brought the Egyptian sugar industry under state control. The results of this policy were deleterious. With the Kārimī merchants also, their entrepreneurism and vigilance in the highly vulnerable, long-distance trade disappeared. After a brief increase in state revenue, demand fell, with a consequential negative impact on the Egyptian budget, which was already overburdened with high state expenditure on luxury goods (e.g. costly East European furs for Mamlūk robes) and, most importantly, slaves to replenish the Mamlūk ranks that were depleted by the plague and by constant and internecine warfare.

The decades following Barsbāy's death saw the brief sultanates of two old gentlemen, Djaḳmaḳ and Īnāl (841-65/1438-61), the last generation of Barḳūḳ's own Mamlūks. In these years, the Mamlūks gradually slipped into the defensive in their dealings with Anatolia and the borderlands to the northeast. The Ottomans, whose triumphal conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453 was duly celebrated also in Cairo during Īnāl's sultanate, began to annex the buffer principalities (the Dulghadirs, Ramaḍānids and Ḳaramānids) which the Mamlūks regarded as their proper sphere of influence. From the mid-9th/15th century onwards, Mamlūk-Ottoman relations were strained. In a first Ottoman-Mamluk war (during sultan Ḳāʾitbāy's long rule, 872-901/1468-96 [*q.v.*]), in which the Ottoman ruler Bāyezīd did not commit all his forces, neither side was victorious. Relations improved again. Only two years before the collapse of the Mamlūk state upon the Ottoman invasion of Syria, the Ottomans sent navigation personnel to support the Mamlūks in their endeavours to contain the dangerous Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean and into the Red Sea. Even Mecca and Medina were threatened at this critical moment.

In their dealings with the other neighbours to the north and east also, the Mamlūks were by no means the clear masters of the situation. The campaign of the *dawādār* Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī (incidentally a much-praised patron of Arabic and Turkish letters whose private library was hailed by contemporary authors, cf. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, x, 274, and is at least partially preserved at present in Istanbul) against the White Horde (Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu) in 885/1480 was a disaster. Yashbak was caught and executed in al-Ruhā (Edessa) at the command of Yaʿḳūb Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu like a common criminal. Also, the success of Yaʿḳūb's father, Uzun Ḥasan, "Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl", in having his name recognised in Medina, if only for a very brief interval, in 877/1473 was symptomatic of the gradual loss of control which the Mamlūks had so long been able to exercise on this front.

There was a direct connection between the decreasing prestige of the Mamlūk state in the concert of regional powers and the gradual, yet in the end, alarming deterioration of the Mamlūk military organisation, prowess and ethos. Hallowed rules of recruitment and promotion had been allowed to pass into oblivion. No longer were Mamlūks imported as malleable youngsters, ready to follow their master's commands without second thoughts and imbued with a deep sense of solidarity with their immediate comrades. Now, middle-aged Mamlūks were canvassed who often brought with them professional skills, e.g. in carpentry. They were no longer able and ready, either culturally and linguistically, to adapt themselves easily to the Egyptian environment. They could no longer be moulded into a homogeneous military household in which no member would have dared betraying his fellow-Mamlūk (*khushdāsh*) or their common master (*ustādh*). In the final years of Mamlūk history this philosophy had lost its overall validity. The grandees of sultan Ḳāʾitbāy's household schemed against each other without evident restraint. Four of them succeeded each other on the throne in brief

sequence between 904/1498 and 906/1501. Mamlūk factionalism and the deplorable economic foundations of the Mamlūk ruling class aggravated each other in a rapidly turning vicious circle. The principles of military training that had been held in esteem during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries—continuous exercise, advancement in rank only on the basis of proven merits, no sale of benefices reserved for Mamlūks to non-Mamlūks—had been allowed to lapse during the 9th/15th century, whilst the hippodromes [see MAYDĀN) lay in ruins. More significantly, the Mamlūk military system proved immune against the blatantly necessary technological modernisation. The use of gunpowder remained categorically limited to siege warfare during the 9th/15th century, at a time when the Ottoman Janissaries (who were to rout the Mamlūk army in 922/1516) acquired multifarious expertise with muskets and arquebuses. Handguns were regarded as incompatible with the lofty Mamlūk chivalrous spirit demanding the direct contest and confrontation with the enemy. When, in the last years of Mamlūk independence (for the first time under sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy), the first tests were made with field artillery, non-Mamlūk troops (blacks and *awlād al-nās*, the commanders of the *ḥalḳa*) were charged with this despised new weaponry. For the Mamlūk knight, used to fighting on horseback with the cross-bow, like in the glorious old days of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt, such service was beneath his dignity [see BĀRŪD. iii. The Mamlūks]. In naval warfare the Mamlūks had likewise not kept themselves abreast with new developments. As has already been mentioned, they depended on Ottoman logistic assistance when the Portuguese began to threaten the Indian trade routes and even the holy sites of Islam in Arabia [see BAḤRIYYA. II].

Although Egypt continued to be guarded by its *cordon sanitaire* in Syria from any major threat from the east, now problems became acute inside the country. In 876/1472 nomadic tribesmen from the eastern rim of the delta boldly entered the northern suburbs of Cairo and looted the shops. Upper Egypt, remote from the capital and correspondingly vulnerable, was in a chronic state of turmoil. The office of the *dawādār* [*q.v.*], lit. "holder of the inkwell" (in principle designed to supervise diplomatic and foreign relations) degenerated, so it appears, into the military governorship of the Ṣaʿīd. Bedouin revolts became a regular feature. Before campaigning against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, the above-mentioned Yas̲h̲bak, Ḳāʾitbāy's chief *dawādār*, had won a dubious reputation by his brutal punitive actions against the unruly Hawwāra Bedouins, who ever since the late 8th/14th century were the true masters of the Egyptian south. The growing importance of the security of Upper Egypt, the granary of the country, and, concomitantly, of the office of the *dawādār*, is best documented by the fact that the last Mamlūk ruler, Ṭūmānbāy, rose from this position to the sultanate, an unprecedented career.

The economic situation of the whole of Egypt had detoriated dramatically during the 9th/15th century, indeed ever since the first arrival of the Black Death in the country in the middle of the 8th/14th century. The demographic effects were disastrous. Whole regions, especially in the Nile delta, were depopulated. In cities like Alexandria and Maḥalla, the population dropped to a fraction of its former size. The crop yield of Egypt shrank from nine to less than two million *dīnārs* in the course of the 9th/15th century. Twelve more waves of the bubonic plague were to afflict Egypt before 1500. In the obituaries listed in the numerous historical works of the period, for the most part arranged by years (*ḥawādit̲h̲ wa-wafayāt*), countless military, religious, and scholarly luminaries are recorded as victims of the plague. The Mamlūks, as a social and ethnic group, seem to have been hit with particular severity by the plague. Why this was the case has been the subject of heated debates. Were they especially vulnerable because they, who came from the cold steppes and mountainous regions of the north, lacked the physical stamina and resilience of native Egyptians against such infections? Or was it rather the hermetic living quarters that promoted the rapid spread of such a highly contagious disease? Certainly, from the early 9th/15th century onwards, the rigid residential requirements for Mamlūks were loosened. Many officers moved to the city, married Egyptian women and allowed their children to grow up as natives with all the accompanying career options. Yet one should also realise that owing to the privileged status of the Mamlūks, who literally possessed the country, they could afford a satisfactory diet, still the best panacea against malnutrition and the ensuing illnesses.

The plague was pernicious also for the economic survival of the Mamlūk caste. The reasons are patent. The personal wealth of the Mamlūks rested on the *iḳṭāʿ* system, the allotment of one or several tax districts (*d̲j̲iha*) (often spread all over Egypt) with a fixed tax yield (*ʿibra*), commensurate to the military or administrative duties of the beneficiary. In the *dīwān al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, the army bureau, headed by a civilian, often a Copt or recent convert (see above), with the indispensable expertise in the agricultural geography of Egypt, these allotments were recorded, collected, re-issued and exchanged. From his assignment, the Mamlūk beneficiary had to cover his personal expenses as well as all the expenditures in connection with the army unit under his command, i.e. weapons, horses, fodder, equipment and personal gratuities. Even in the bleak days of Mamlūk decline, the army bureau seems to have continued working efficiently and rigorously. Upon the death, demotion, or promotion of a *muḳṭaʿ*, his assignment reverted to the central bureaucracy. It could not be passed on to the heirs of the holder, natural and consistent as the efforts of Mamlūk beneficiaries were to circumvent this iron law. Pious endowments were, owing to this impasse, increasingly discovered as a device to compensate for this drawback. The money invested into *waḳf* could now at least partially be stipulated to be made available to the well-paid *nāẓir*, the supervisor, of the endowment. Moreover, this office was, in most cases, reserved for the Mamlūk founder, his progeny and his freedmen, although this was a legally dubious procedure.

With the wholesale collapse of Egyptian agriculture, the basis of Mamlūk personal material welfare was thus eroded. Land was abandoned. Large parts of the delta, notably the provinces of al-Buḥayra to the south of Alexandria, of al-S̲h̲arḳiyya (on the south-eastern edge of the delta around the vital communication lines from Cairo to Syria) and al-G̲h̲arbiyya (the central delta), let alone the Ṣaʿīd, returned to tribal control. One can follow this process of gradual (re-)Bedouinisation of major parts of Egypt in this period when one compares the data in the different cadastral surveys that were made of the country in the years 777/1376, *ca.* 800/1397 and 885/1480. The entries in the *d̲j̲arīda iḳṭāʿiyya* for these three dates are more or less completely preserved in the works of Ibn Duḳmāḳ (d. 809/1407) and Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān (d. 885/1480). In these lists usually, albeit not con-

sistently, the legal status of the land (state land; royal land or *k͟hāṣṣ*; allodial land or *milk*; *iḳṭāʿ* land; *waḳf*) as well as the individual and group identity of the holders (unspecified *muḳṭaʿ*s; royal *mamlūks*; eunuchs; *sīdīs* and other members of the sultan's families, such as daughters, sisters and widows; caliphs; civilians; Bedouin chiefs) are indicated.

A Mamlūk officer whose tax district lay waste and no longer produced the grain whose sale was necessary for his own upkeep was bound to look for alternative sources of income. Urban commerce, a sphere that had hitherto not suffered all that much from Mamlūk infringements, indeed suggested itself as such an outlet. For trade and urban manufacturing flourished despite, or even because of, the general malaise. As has been mentioned before, the lucrative spice trade returned to Egypt as early as 745/1345. As A.L. Udovitch has plausibly suggested, the first generation of urban plague survivors benefitted from an enormous inheritance effect. Their business expanded rather than shrank in the decades after 750/1350 and thus provoked outright state intervention. All economic drawbacks notwithstanding, demand for luxury goods on the markets of Cairo not only did not decrease but instead grew considerably. Besides Russian furs needed for ceremonial Mamlūk costume (mentioned above), spices (by no means all re-exported to Europe) should be singled out as such precious commodities. It was all-too-inviting for the impoverished Mamlūks, whose rural fiefs no longer allowed for the customary sumptuous life style (visible primarily in the number of personal *mamlūks*), to begin filling their pockets with the arbitrary exploitation of the commercially active urban élite. The notoriously rapacious Mamlūk who populates the chronicles of Circassian history (and served to rationalise the more deeply seated racial and cultural prejudices of the native Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ* against the barbarian military) must be seen against this background.

Not only the Mamlūks but also the civil population of the major Egyptian centres suffered from this breakdown of the rural economy. It is true that prices for wheat and barley remained more or less the same. The decrease in production was matched by a decrease in demand. Yet all the labour attached to food production, i.e. the services of millers, bakers, boatmen, etc., became significantly more expensive. And of course all the stipends and salaries provided for in the pious endowments for pupils, students, professors, Ṣūfīs, architects, physicians, food-purveyors and janitors alike, were impaired by the shrinking of the economic resources of urban *awḳāf*. During the whole of the 9th/15th century, the administrators of these endowments were gravely at odds how to balance these losses of agricultural revenue and how to establish negative lists of priority of the services (as laid down in the *waḳfiyya*) that could be curtailed or even sacrificed. The great polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), himself overseer of the Baybarsiyya *madrasa*, got entangled in these everyday problems so far aloof from the world of theological, juridical and grammatical speculation for which he is famed.

This growing economic tightness in the institutions of higher learning was aggravated by a consistently high number of scholars in Cairo, the shining capital city of orthodox Islam during all the Mamlūk period, with the ensuing qualitative (though not quantitative!) decline in learned output. In the second half of the 9th/15th century we still have 130 colleges in Cairo alone, with some 3,000 students, compared to 6,000 in the previous century. And since the endowments with their fiscal immunity still fared comparatively well in juxtaposition with the state finances that no longer sufficed to pay for the campaigns inside, and beyond, the borders of Egypt, the sultans and their aides did not hesitate to infringe upon the (in principle) inviolable stipulations of *awḳāf* and confiscated part of their annual income to fill the gaps of the treasury. Even pious sultans like Ḳāʾitbāy (who did not desist from taking a pronounced personal stand in the scholarly religious controversies of the time) did not hesitate to break the *waḳf* laws. In public opinion they had lost their stringency long before. The sale of *awḳāf* and especially the exchange of mediocre for valuable *mawḳūf* (urban property and agricultural lands) had long ago become an established practice. The private documents of the last eighty years of Mamlūk history that have recently been made available, at least cursorily, by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn make clear that by this time endowments were anything but unalienable. They changed owners and legal qualifications at rapid speed, if the pressure upon the venal judiciary was only strong enough.

To contemporary authors, a rather contradictory image of rulers emerged in these critical last years of Mamlūk history. On the one hand, there were arbitrary confiscations and brutal exactions (one need only name the forced purchases, *ṭarḥ* or *rimāya*, imposed upon the civilians) by the sultans and their generals, who desperately tried to keep the system in abeyance. On the other hand, there was a last efflorescence of religious culture at and around the Mamlūk court. Many sultans impressed the populace, including the otherwise very haughty and critical scholarly observers, with their personal piety and devotion. The Egyptian "national" saint Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*] of Ṭanṭā was the object also of Mamlūk veneration. Religious sessions were held in the citadel, in the cemeteries among the tombs and convents of late rulers, and in the halls of Mamlūk grandees such as Yas͟hbak al-Ẓāhirī, who wrote Turkish poems and an Arabic treatise on the descent of the Prophet Muḥammad. Numerous prized translations from Persian and Arabic into Old Anatolian Turkish were produced with the encouragement of Mamlūk dignitaries. With one exception, the curious author Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī, mentioned at the beginning, these achievements were not, or at least not readily, recorded by the Arab contemporaries, for whom the Turks, with their political and military superiority, were difficult enough to tolerate. They were not supposed to be versatile in the Arabs' own domains, i.e. the arts, writing and scholarship. The sultans Ḳāʾitbāy (872-901/1468-96), Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy (901-4/1496-9), and Ḳānṣawh al-G͟hawrī (906-22/1501-16 [*q.v.*]) have left us Turkish *dīwāns* of their own. At Ḳānṣawh's *madjālis* on the citadel, religious and juridical texts were discussed by an impressive circle of learned men, some of them from regions far away. The sultan himself was polyglot, demonstrating the cosmopolitan atmosphere in Mamlūk quarters that contrasts favourably with the parochial and self-sufficient narrowness of the local Egyptian academe.

The relationship between the Mamlūk military aristocracy and the local population in all its different layers, both in the cities and in the countryside, had always been contradictory. The Mamlūks were the lords of the country and their autocratic powers were more or less unrestricted. They controlled the Egyptian economy through the *iḳṭāʿ* system, or, the further we advance in history, increasingly through the fun-

nelling of public funds into *awḳāf* of which they could, as has been said, dispose at liberty. Not without good reason, religious critics rebuked the liberality with which Mamlūk magnates spent their allegedly personal funds for endowments. These *awḳāf* were, it was said, to perpetuate the name of the *wāḳif* and otherwise to serve the needs of the sons and grandsons, to whom otherwise no privileges could be bequeathed; thus this sanctimonious behaviour was vituperatively brought into relief.

As founders and administrators of *awḳāf*, the Mamlūks also exercised great influence upon the civilian élites. It was within their prerogatives to dismiss professors or *shaykhs* who displeased them. In the *khānaḳāh* [*q.v.*], the Ṣūfī convent (an institution going back to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī's days and actively promoted especially by Baybars II Djāshenkīr and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn), the Mamlūks found a vehicle to exercise at least some influence upon the religious classes. On the one hand, they staffed these Ṣūfī establishments with men in their confidence—preferably, as has been mentioned, of Ḥanafī *madhhab* and often of foreign background (the *khawāniḳ* were interesting centres for the study of Persian and Turkish in Mamlūk Egypt). On the other hand, by stipulating a strictly orthodox curriculum and by gradually merging the functions of the *khānaḳāh* with those of the *madrasa* and Friday mosque, they secured the grudging approval of their potentially sharpest critics, the Shāfiʿī legists of autochtonous Egyptian origin. The celebrated al-Suyūṭī was one of the few who adamantly resisted any such temptations by the Mamlūk court. His prestige was so high that the sultan could not afford to punish him for his obstinate refusal to pay even minimal honours to the ruler.

The question to which degree, if at all, Mamlūk autocracy was intrinsically limited, has been discussed in recent research, but the time for a conclusive answer has not yet come. Certainly, the Mamlūks who were transplanted from an alien world into the tightly-knit web of Egyptian society, could not simply rule in splendid isolation in the Cairo citadel aloof from the *misera plebs*. The irritation with which the Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ* registered Mamlūk inroads into their own domains; the numerous bonds established between the military and the judiciary by marriage and patronage; the Mamlūk and civilian joint ownership of land and urban property to be gained from the documents; and last but not least the interesting mediating role played by Mamlūk offspring, who were not supposed to inherit the functions and privileges of their fathers and were thus enticed into looking for opportunities in the civil sphere—all these phenomena (that still require careful and copious future research) attest to a heterogeneous, but by no means totally segregated or polarised society. Certain groups within the civilian élite were, as Carl. F. Petry has shown, even very closely tied to the Mamlūks. One can single out the foreigners whom the sultans (and grandees) had brought with them from Syria to Egypt. And there were, as has been mentioned, neo-Muslims of Christian background whose loyalty appeared dubious to the Egyptian Muslims and Christians alike and who were therefore bound to tie all their fortunes to their Mamlūk lords. Furthermore, the merchant class had (at least until Barsbāy established his state monopolies) free access to the rulers. Successful long-distance merchants such as Madjd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī, the father of the Mongol-Mamlūk rapprochement, and the numerous representatives of the merchant community of Isʿird or Siirt in northern Syria, were helpful diplomatic envoys and agents. Much to the annoyance of conservative Mamlūks, funds supposed to be spent for military purposes sometimes found their way into the pockets of civilians whose support was important for the ruler. We already mentioned Ibrāhīm b. Ghurāb, a civilian bureaucrat, whose services to sultan Faradj were honoured with the highest military rank.

We know lamentably little of the lower classes of the Egyptian population, fascinating as this topic is to the social historian. During the incessant Mamlūk uprisings and factional wars in the latter day of the sultanate, we hear again and again of the lumpenproletariat siding with one Mamlūk protector (and patron) or the other. In such critical situations, these *zuʿr* and *ḥarāfīsh* [see ḤARFŪSH] were enlisted as vehicles to spread fright and threats. The main victims of these odd alliances were the small craftsmen, traders and shopkeepers whose property was destroyed or robbed, and who had to fear for their lives.

Yet when the final downfall of the Mamlūk sultanate came, the same people soon seem to have sensed that this régime had not been just a gang of marauders and oppressors. "Rather the tyranny of the Turks than the self-righteousness of the Arabs" (*djawr al-Turk wa-lā ʿadl al-ʿArab*) seems to have been a current slogan in the streets of Cairo as early as the late 9th/15th century, as we read in one of the works by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḳudsī (d. 888/1483). One had to acknowledge the services which the Mamlūks had rendered to Egypt and to Islam. It is not altogether meaningful and promising to ask, as has been done in the recent past, whether it was the Mamlūk foreign and praetorian régime that was instrumental in barring Egypt from the miraculous developments that brought Western Europe, in the following centuries, the blessings of capitalism, enlightenment, industrialisation and modern thought. Keeping in mind the almost insurmountable ethnic and bureaucratic tensions in this policy, it is not cogent to deny Mamlūk Egypt the character of an organic state.

The end of Mamlūk power and splendour, so vividly depicted also in European travel narratives, consular reports and paintings, was quick and, despite all signs of internal weakness and increasing external vulnerability, unexpected. The mounting pressure on the part of the Ottomans after the accession of the bellicose sultan Selīm I Yavuz (918/1512), the imprudent Mamlūk vacillations in their relationship with the Ottomans' arch-enemy, the heretic Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī of Persia, and the picture of complete discord presented to the outside, induced Selīm to invade Syria in 922/1516. Largely thanks to the high treason and defection of the Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey, but also the superior fighting power of the Ottoman army with their muskets, the Mamlūks with all their outmoded knightly ethos were utterly defeated. Sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī, eighty years old, died of an apoplectic stroke during the battle. His royal standard and other spoils of this crucial battle of Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] today adorn the War Museum in the Topkapı palace in Istanbul. Incited, invited, and almost driven by the ambitious Mamlūk traitors headed by Khāʾir Bey, Selīm followed the defeated Mamlūk army into Egypt. Here Ṭūmān Bāy had been elected new sultan in the hour of affliction. But his troops had no chance either. They lost twice to the Ottomans, at al-Raydāniyya before the gates of Cairo, and then finally close to Djīza, i.e. at a site where so many battles were fought that became decisive for the history of Egypt. Ṭūmān Bāy was cap-

tured and mercilessly hanged on the Bāb Zuwayla by the Ottoman invader, to the intense despair of the population of Cairo. Reports of the mid- and late-10th/16th century still echo the sadness with which this tragic end of the Mamlūk kingdom was registered by the people of Egypt. A splendid chapter in the history of the country had come to an end. The unique Mamlūk system with its chivalrous ethos and its peculiar morale, that combined the utmost brutality in its internal controversies and its sacrificial spirit for Muslim and Egyptian interests; a flourishing cultural, scholarly, and religious life; the impressive architectural heritage that continues to characterise mediaeval Cairo to our days; the conservative tranquillity of life, at least in the good days of Mamlūk history—all these and many more reminiscences may have contributed to keep this outlandish régime in a far from solely negative memory. Many institutions of Mamlūk Egypt, including the principle of recruiting Caucasian, white slaves, were to survive the Ottoman conquest. It was only in those ensuing decades that the term Mamlūk received its exclusively bleak connotations that are prevalent into our own time.

Bibliography: The vast primary and secondary literature on Mamlūk Egypt until 1967 has been brought together in I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 217-42 (a total of 573 entries, many of which deal with Syria). An important supplement to this list is contained in the new edition of this work, Cambridge, England 1984, 192-7. One may also consult the appendix on sources and studies in U. Haarmann, ed., *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987, ch. "Der arabische Osten im Mittelalter" (U. Haarmann), 640-7.

Monographic descriptions of the history of Mamlūk Egypt of recent vintage are P.M. Holt: *The age of the Crusades. The Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*, London 1986 (see esp. the bibliographical essay on the primary sources at 207-16) and R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages. The early Mamluk sultanate 1250-1382*, London 1986 (a second volume on the Circassian régime is announced). (U. Haarmann)

6. The Ottoman period 1517-1798.

On 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/23 January 1517 the Ottoman army under Selīm I annihilated the last Mamlūk field force at al-Raydāniyya outside Cairo. Al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bāy, the fugitive Mamlūk sultan, was betrayed to the Ottomans and hanged at the Zuwayla Gate of his former capital 22 Rabīʿ I 923/14 April 1517. To the Ottomans, a potentially dangerous rival power had been eliminated, and the extensive territories of Syria and Egypt had been annexed. To some Mamlūks, however, Selīm had been a useful ally in their inveterate factional politics. The Ottoman victory at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] had at least been facilitated by the defection of the Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey, who, after the occupation of Syria, had urged Selīm to advance on Cairo and overthrow Ṭūmān Bāy. Probably Selīm would have left Ṭūmān Bāy as a vassal ruler, but the Mamlūk sultan's own partisans rendered such an accommodation impossible. The outcome of the conquest was not the destruction of the Mamlūks and their institutions but a developing symbiosis of Mamlūk and Ottoman elements, which evolved into a curious and anomalous policy within the Ottoman imperial system.

The triumph of Khāʾir Bey's faction was consummated when he was left as viceroy, bearing the old Mamlūk title of *malik al-umarāʾ* and residing like the former sultans in the Citadel of Cairo. Under him, the proscription of the Mamlūks soon ended; they, as well as the bureaucrats of the old régime, returned to comfort, dignity and office. Selīm had however left an Ottoman presence in the form of garrison troops: the two infantry formations of the Janissaries (*Mustaḥfiẓān*) and the *ʿAzebān*, and the two cavalry corps of *Gönülliyān* and *Tüfengdjiyān*. To these were added by 1524 two other cavalry corps: the *Čerākise* (recruited from Circassian Mamlūks) and the *Čawushān*, and in 1554 a third, the *Müteferriḳa*, the viceroy's bodyguard. Khāʾir Bey's successors were Ottomans from Istanbul. One of them, Ibrāhīm Pasha (931/1525) was also the grand *wezīr*, and was responsible for the promulgation of the *ḳānūn-nāme* [*q.v.*], which regulated the administrative system of Ottoman Egypt. The Mamlūk territorial divisions remained as subprovinces under governors designated, as in the past, *kāshifs*, who were also perhaps usually of Mamlūk origin. Upper Egypt was dominated, as it had been under the last Mamlūk sultans, by a clan of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], the Banū ʿUmar, who ruled the region until 1015/1606-7. An Ottoman reform, at first of great significance, was the ending of the Mamlūk system of assignments of revenue (sing. *iḳṭāʿ*) as remuneration. A new cadastral survey was made in 933/1526-7. The intention was, it seems, to substitute a salaried military and civil establishment for the *muḳtaʿ*s of the old régime.

These steps towards the ottomanisation of Egypt followed a time of troubles. Shortly after Khāʾir Bey's death (928/1522), a revolt broke out, headed by two survivors of the old régime, Djānim and Ināl, who now held office as *kāshifs*. Their rebellion was suppressed by Ottoman troops under the Ottoman viceroy. In 930/1524 a more serious challenge was offered by a later viceroy, Aḥmad Pasha (*al-Khāʾin*, "the Traitor"), who although not himself a Mamlūk, recruited a private army mainly from Mamlūks and usurped the sultanate of Egypt. Expelled from Cairo by a loyalist counter-group, he was shortly afterwards captured and executed.

The ensuing period of about 60 years was uneventful. Egypt was administered according to the *ḳānūn-nāme* by a succession of viceroys in consultation with the council of notables, the *Dīwān*, which met four times weekly. Nevertheless, developments during this time were to produce the troubled history of Egypt in the next 200 years. An important factor was a shift in the financial system, as tax-farmers (sing. *multazim*) increasingly took over the rural and urban sources of revenue. These *iltizām*s passed into the hands of the Ottoman and Mamlūk grandees, and formed the financial basis of their power. The landed *iltizām*s, like the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the old régime, were technically sources of revenue, but in practice (if never in law) they gave rise to a species of rural (but not feudal) lordship controlling the agrarian administration of the villages.

Meanwhile, Egyptian society, formally divided into an Ottoman-Mamlūk ruling group and a mass of subjects (*reʿāyā*), was becoming increasingly complex and, in the towns at least, curiously homogeneous. The Ottoman garrison corps (sing. *ōdjāḳ*), permanently stationed in Egypt, soon ceased to be aliens. Intermarriage with Egyptian women (although repeatedly and ineffectually forbidden), and the abandonment of *devshirme* recruitment, opened the corps to men of Ottoman-Egyptian descent, the *Mīsirliyya*. The occasional arrival of fresh detachments of Ottoman troops does not seem to have provoked the polarisation and conflict which occurred between the local (*yerliyya*) and imperial Janissaries in Damascus. Moreover, the

distinction between the Ottoman military and Egyptian civilians broke down. Probably from about the middle of the 10th/16th century, merchants and artisans of Cairo enrolled increasingly, particularly in the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān*. Their military service was only nominally required; their financial contributions bought them the protection (*ḥimāya*) of their corps in a society where the formal structure of Ottoman government was breaking down. Reciprocally, "military" members of the corps participated in the commercial life of Cairo, and again the later 10th/16th century appears to have seen the increase of this movement.

This beylicate in Egypt presents some unusual features. Although personal or institutional continuity cannot be traced, it seems likely that the *sand̲j̲ak beyis* of Egypt were the ottomanised successors of the high *amīrs* of the Mamlūk sultanate. No longer maintained by *iḳṭāʿ*s, they were originally salaried officers, although later they drew their great wealth from *iltizāms*. They stood apart from the command-structure of the garrison corps. In the 10th/16th century they were not all Mamlūks, and service in Egypt might be only an episode in their careers. In the following two centuries the beylicate became almost exclusively the preserve of Circassian Mamlūks, members of powerful military households, notably the (D̲h̲u 'l-) Faḳāriyya, Ḳāsimiyya and Ḳāzdug̲h̲liyya [*q.vv.*, also MAMLŪKS. (i)(f), (ii)(b)]. By this time, the whole of their careers from the command of expeditionary forces as *serdārs*, normally passed in Egypt, where they became governors of the sub-provinces, and acquired a prescriptive right to the great and profitable offices of *defterdār*, *amīr al-ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* and interim viceroy (*ḳāʾim maḳām*). The neo-Mamlūk households included hereditary and *mamlūk* members, as well as free-born armed retainers (sing. *sarrād̲j̲*). The original demarcation between the military corps and the beylicate broke down as corps officers founded *mamlūk* households (notably the Ḳāzdug̲h̲liyya), while Mamlūk chiefs enrolled their free-born retainers in the corps. In the 12th/18th century the links of patronage and clientage were far more important than the formal structure of Ottoman-Egyptian administration.

In that formal structure, the weakest element was the Ottoman viceroy at its head. Holding office briefly and precariously, usually a stranger to the province which he governed, the viceroy endeavoured to secure the transmission of the annual tribute (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]) to the sultan's treasury, and to acquire a personal fortune sufficient to defray his own expenses in obtaining the post. Both his public and his private interests therefore ran counter to those of the *multazims*, who were concerned to secure as large a share as possible of the revenues they farmed. The end of the 60 peaceful years of Ottoman administration came in 994/1586, when a military revolt was provoked by an inquiry into a deficiency of the *irsāliyye*. The viceroy, formerly an Ottoman treasury official, was brought down from the Citadel and deposed by the troops. This was the first of a series of revolts, which culminated in the killing of a viceroy by rebels in 1013/1605. Although severe repressive measures were taken between 1016/1607 and 1020/1611, they did not result in any permanent restoration of the viceroys' authority. Henceforward with rare exceptions, they gained what influence they could by playing off rival grandees against one another. During the 12th/18th century they became virtually prisoners in the Citadel, pompously received by the grandees, and sometimes ignominiously deposed by them.

In the middle decades of the 11th/17th century, the dominant figures in Egyptian politics were the beys. In 1040/1631 they removed a viceroy who had procured the murder of one of their number, invested a bey as *ḳāʾim maḳām*, and reported the matter to the sultan's government, which confirmed their action, thereby setting an important precedent for the next century. The beylicate was at this time divided between the households of the Faḳāriyya and the Ḳāsimiyya, between whom there may have been some degree of ethnic rivalry, the former being Circassians and the latter apparently in part Bosniak. The head of the Faḳāriyya, Riḍwān Bey, was *amīr al-ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲* almost continuously from 1041/1631 to 1066/1656. A curious genealogical work of these years suggests that he regarded himself as the lineal and lawful successor of Barḳūḳ and Barsbāy. If, however, he nourished plans for a revival of the Mamlūk sultanate, he died with them unrealised. Thereafter, the fortunes of the Faḳāriyya quickly declined. The turning-point was an episode known as "the Conflict of the Beys" (*wāḳiʿat al-ṣanād̲j̲iḳ*) in 1071/1660. The incident which set off the crisis was significant in itself. It began as no more than a rural affray between the peasants of two *multazims*, but one of them was a Janissary officer and the other was supported by the rival *ʿAzebān*. The backing given by the Faḳāriyya to the Janissary *multazim* involved them in resistance to the viceroy, who was inevitably brought into alliance with Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak, the chief of the Ḳāsimiyya. The Faḳāriyya were proscribed and almost annihilated. This episode was an early manifestation of a polarisation which ran through the Egyptian society of the period: the Mamlūk Faḳāriyya and Ḳāsimiyya households were linked (not always in a stable coalition) with the rival Janissary and *ʿAzebān* corps, and there was a further link with a more ancient popular schism, originally of Arab tribal origin, between two groups designated Saʿd and Ḥarām.

The Ḳāsimiyya had broken the Faḳārī ascendancy but their triumph was brief. The next viceroy procured Aḥmad Bey's assassination, and the beys, while retaining their hold on the great offices and fulfilling their military functions, ceased to challenge the viceregal authority and relapsed for some decades into political obscurity. During these years the power of the Janissaries was at its height, but the corps, like the beylicate, was a faction-ridden body, as the events of 1087/1676-94 were to show. In these years a turbulent junior officer (*bās̲h̲ ōdā bās̲h̲ī*), Küčük Meḥmed, repeatedly made himself the most powerful man in the corps. At the end of his career he assumed the role of a popular tribune. In 1103/1692, after a successful coup, he compelled the commanding officers of the seven corps to abolish the protection dues (*ḥimāyāt*) levied on the tradespeople of Cairo; and in 1106/1694, when the city was threatened by dearth and famine after the failure of the Nile flood, he intervened vigorously to hold down the price of the grain. This measure offended not only the dealers but also their patrons among the Janissary officers. At this point, Küčük Meḥmed was murdered, grain-prices rose immediately, and Cairo experienced a dreadful famine. The instigator of the murder was almost certainly a high officer of the Janissaries, Muṣṭafā Kʸahyā al-Ḳāzdug̲h̲lī.

The coup of 1103/1692 has further political significance in that it marks the revival of the political activity of the Faḳāriyya. In the 32 years since the Conflict of the Beys, the household had been refounded and at this time it held most of the great offices. The Faḳārī chief Ibrāhīm Bey was seeking to

gain control of the Janissaries in collusion with Küčük Meḥmed. The attempt collapsed with Küčük Meḥmed's death, but ironically his opponent Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī had also been an associate of Ibrāhīm Bey in the coup and was the founder of a Mamlūk household allied to the Faḳāriyya.

The next major political crisis, the Great Insurrection (*al-fitna al-kubrā*) of 1123/1711, also began with a Janissary boss, the *bāsh ōdā bāshī* Afrandj Aḥmad. His activities set the Janissaries against the other six corps, headed by the *ʿAzebān*, who were supported by the Ḳāsimiyya, while the Faḳāriyya were on this occasion divided. At the end of the episode the Ḳāsimiyya were completely victorious. Afrandj Aḥmad had been put to death, and the site of political power had moved to the Mamlūk households. While the old constitutional structure remained, with the viceroy at its head and his *Dīwān* as his council of state, the *de facto* supremacy (*riʾāsa*) was held by the head of the dominant household. When, as always after 1168/1754, the holder of the *riʾāsa* was a bey, he came to be called *shaykh al-balad*. An assembly of the grandees (*djamʿiyya*) appears to have superseded the *Dīwān* as the effective consultative body. Meanwhile Upper Egypt, the granary of Cairo, reverted to tribal rule, the various chiefs being allied to the Faḳāriyya or the Ḳāsimiyya. From about 1153/1740-1 onwards, the paramountcy was held by Shaykh Humām b. Yūsuf, who came from a section of Hawwāra.

The ascendancy of the Ḳāsimiyya ended in 1142/1730. Their chief opponents were now the Ḳāzdughliyya, headed by Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā, a corps officer like the founder, and the last to play a major political role. Although henceforward until the coming of Bonaparte the Ḳāzdughliyya virtually monopolised the *mashyakhat al-balad* and the great offices, they in turn split into rival households. The ultimate victor in a power-struggle after the death of Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā (1168/1754) was ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who ruled Egypt autocratically as *shaykh al-balad*, broke the power of Humām in 1183/1769, and as the sultan's delegate intervened to install a Hāshimite protégé as *amīr* of Mecca in 1184/1770-1. The expeditionary force was commanded by his favourite *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Abu 'l-Dhahab [*q.v.*], who was then sent to invade Syria as the ally of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the Arab ruler of Galilee. After taking Damascus, however, he returned to Egypt, and drove ʿAlī Bey into exile in Syria (1186/1772). ʿAlī attempted to regain power, but was intercepted and died of his wounds (1187/1773).

Like Riḍwān Bey in the previous century, ʿAlī Bey had given indications of an ambition to restore an independent Mamlūk sultanate over Egypt and its dependencies. Abu 'l-Dhahab made no such challenge to Ottoman overlordship, and was on campaign against Shaykh Ẓāhir when he died in 1189/1775. The ensuing decade was a miserable period for Egypt. There was a recurrent power-struggle, in which Ismāʿīl Bey, a survivor of Ibrāhīm Kʸahyā's household, was pitted against two of Abu 'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey and Murād Bey, who together formed a reluctant and unstable duumvirate. Extortion, oppression and anarchy meanwhile reigned in the countryside, while the administration, such as it was, defaulted on the payment of tribute to Istanbul.

This last consideration in particular prompted the sultan's government to make a determined effort to break the power of the Mamlūk beys and to bring Egypt again under effective Ottoman control. An expeditionary force under Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] arrived at Alexandria in Shawwāl 1200/August 1786. Proclamations in Arabic promised the reduction of taxes and the restoration of the *ḳānūn-nāme*. The Ottoman forces occupied Cairo and Lower Egypt, but Murād and Ibrāhīm held out in Upper Egypt. The situation was thus at deadlock when Ḥasan Pasha was recalled in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1201/October 1787, as war with Russia was imminent. The makeshift settlement on his departure left Ismāʿīl Bey as *shaykh al-balad* in Cairo with a small Ottoman supporting force, and Ibrāhīm and Murād nominally confined to the territory they held in Upper Egypt. When Ismāʿīl died of plague on 16 Shaʿbān 1205/20 April 1791, they came back to Cairo and restored their duumvirate. They retained power until another expeditionary force, composed this time of French troops under General Bonaparte, occupied Egypt in 1213/1798.

The high politics of Egypt during this period of nearly 300 years thus consisted largely of a prolonged struggle for power and the control of the revenues, in which the main contenders were the Ottoman viceroy, the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān* corps, and the beys. At the same time, there was a parallel but more obscure movement of low politics: popular movements of one kind or another, stimulated by the recurrent natural cycle of low Nile, dearth and epidemic, and aggravated by the unconscionable exactions of the grandees and their agents. An early phase of this is probably to be found in the revolts in the late 10th-early 11th/late 16th-early 17th centuries, which although ostensibly military rebellions seem to have been produced largely by the rural cavalry corps who lacked the privileges and corporate strength of the Janissaries and *ʿAzebān* in Cairo. A second phase may be observed about a hundred years later, when between 1089/1678 and 1149/1736 repeated episodes of dearth aggravated by monetary crises resulted in a series of popular risings in the capital. The years of oppression and anarchy following the death of Abu 'l-Dhahab in 1189/1775 form a third such phase. Here again the populace of Cairo were the agents of revolt, but associated with them, and giving legitimacy to their actions, were the *ʿulamāʾ*. Al-Azhar became as it were the citadel of resistance to oppression, anticipating the part it was to play during the French occupation.

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7. The early modern period 1798-1882.

(*a*) *The French occupation, 1798-1801.*

In the night of 1-2 July 1798, a French expeditionary corps under the command of General Napoléon Bonaparte disembarked west of Alexandria, with the aim of threatening the British position in India by occupying Egypt. The Mamlūk army under Murād Bey was defeated (Battle of the Pyramids, 21 July) and Mamlūk rule was ended. The French established a new administration, while seeking to win the cooperation of the Egyptians through a system of *dīwāns* of notables in Cairo and the provinces. Yet the population of Cairo revolted for a first time on 21 October 1798, and there were occasional risings all over the country.

French rule in Egypt was never consolidated. After a campaign into Syria had achieved no decisive result, Bonaparte returned to France on 23 August 1799, leaving the command, successively, to generals Jean-Baptiste Kléber (assassinated on 14 June 1800) and ʿAbd Allāh Menou, a convert to Islam. While from now on the ultimate aim of the French had become to bring their troops safely back to France, they did not give way easily to efforts of the Ottoman Empire, assisted by Mamlūk groups and by Great Britain, at recapturing Egypt. An offensive of Turkish and Mamlūk forces was defeated in the Battle of Heliopolis (al-Maṭariyya) on 20 March 1800, and the consequent second revolt in Cairo was suppressed. In 1801 British landing forces intervened. Now a honourable capitulation was achieved; the French withdrew from the Cairo area in July, and from Alexandria on 2 September 1801.

The three years of French occupation brought Egypt considerable hardship and disruption. The occupiers raised high taxes and interfered with many traditional concepts and institutions. But they introduced new ones in their place. With the troops, an impressive team of French scholars from various disciplines had come, who founded on 23 August 1798 the *Institut d'Égypte* for the purpose of "le progrès et la propagation des lumières". They prepared an encyclopaedic survey of the country which they found, the admirable *Description de l'Égypte*, and prompted innovations in many fields. Some of them may have had no immediate effect on the Egyptian public, but others—e.g., medical work—were certainly noticed. To sum up, it may be stated that the French expedition did not set in motion all modern developments in Egypt, as has sometimes been claimed, but that it brought the country in direct contact with European culture and drew it into the power-play of European politics.

(*b*) *The Ottoman interlude; Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-48)*

After the withdrawal of the French, the Ottoman Empire on the one hand and several Mamlūk factions on the other tried to re-establish their rule, while Britain sought to maintain influence by playing off these groups against each other. An additional intervening group were the *ʿulamāʾ* of Cairo, who during the French occupation had developed increased self-confidence as leaders of the populace. They found an ally in the person of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], an ambitious officer from Macedonia who had come to Egypt with the Ottoman forces in 1801 and taken command of their Albanian contingent in 1803. An agreement between Muḥammad ʿAlī and the *ʿulamāʾ*, led by al-Sayyid ʿUmar Makram, the *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, served as a basis for a rising against the Ottoman *wālī*, Khurshīd Aḥmad Pasha. On 13 May 1805 the *ʿulamāʾ* declared Khurshīd deposed; Makram and ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharḳāwī, the *shaykh al-Azhar* who under the French had presided over the *dīwān*, invested Muḥammad ʿAlī with viceregal powers. The event is important for Egyptian historical consciousness; while some scholars regard it as lying in the tradition of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who were supposed to intervene against unjust rulers and used to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community by supporting the strongest contender for

power, national-minded Egyptians tend to value it as an act of popular sovereignty at the beginning of the modern Egyptian state. In fact, it cannot be denied that by concluding an agreement with the *ʿulamāʾ*, Muḥammad ʿAlī accepted some sort of constitutional limits to his power.

After the Porte had recognised Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a as *wālī*, he was obliged to share power with the *ʿulamāʾ* for some time, but the banishment of ʿUmar Makram in 1809 marked the end of their political influence. Meanwhile, the British, then at war with the Ottoman Empire, had once more landed troops in March 1807, but in September had been forced to withdraw. Muḥammad ʿAlī succeeded also in breaking the power which the Mamlūks had regained in the provinces, and finally destroyed this military caste by massacring several hundreds of them in the citadel of Cairo on 1 March 1811. From now on he was the undisputed master of Egypt.

For the outside world, Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule was notable mainly for a number of military campaigns, which he undertook at first on behalf of his sovereign, the Ottoman Sultan, but gradually more and more for the purpose of enlarging and strengthening his own domain.

Immediately after getting rid of the Mamlūks, Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1811 opened a campaign against the Wahhābī movement [see WAHHĀBIYYA], which since the beginning of the century had developed into a permanent menace of the Ottoman provinces surrounding Arabia. After many ups and downs, the Saʿūdī capital, al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], was conquered in 1818, and Egyptian control over the Arabian Peninsula was maintained in varying degrees till the early forties.

After securing the oasis of Sīwa in February 1820, Muḥammad ʿAlī began expansion in the Sudan by occupying Dongola, Berber, Sennar and Kordofan in 1820-1; in 1840 al-Tāka, extending towards the Red Sea, was included, and the ports of Suakin and Massawa were leased from the Ottoman Sultan in 1846. The Sudanese possessions were organised under a governor-general (*ḥukmdār*) in *mudīriyyas* in conformity with the Egyptian administrative system.

When the Greek War of Independence began in 1821, the Sultan called once more for the help of his Egyptian henchman. Egyptian troops put down rebellions in Crete and Cyprus in 1822-3, and in February 1825 landed on the Morea [*q.v.*], which they occupied almost completely till the end of the year. In 1826 they took part in the capture of Missolonghi north of the Gulf of Corinth. After British, French and Russian squadrons destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet in the Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to terminate his participation in the war. On 6 August 1828 he concluded an agreement with Britain on the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the Morea. Crete remained under Egyptian administration till 1840.

The withdrawal from the Greek War marked the beginning of a new phase in which Muḥammad ʿAlī's ambitions turned openly against the Ottoman Empire. For a long time, he had regarded Syria as a desirable accretion to his domain. Using a quarrel with the *wālī* of Ṣaydā as a pretext, he started against him in late October 1831 a campaign which soon induced the Sultan to send his own troops into the fray. After a difficult siege, the Egyptians, under the command of Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], captured ʿAkkāʾ on 27 May 1832 and then took Damascus on 16 June. A victory at Baylān on 30 July opened for them the way across the Amanus mountains to Adana and into Anatolia. At Konya, on 21 December, they won a decisive victory over the Turkish army, taking its commander, the Grand Vezir Res̲h̲īd Meḥmed, prisoner. On 2 February 1833 Ibrāhīm's forces reached Kütahiyya, about 200 km only from Istanbul. Now the European powers intervened in order to save the Empire. Early in May a settlement was achieved, obliging the Egyptians to withdraw from central Anatolia, but giving Muḥammad ʿAlī the *eyālets* of Saydā, Ṭarābulus, Damascus and Aleppo; Ibrāhīm was appointed *muḥaṣṣil* of the *eyālet* of Adana.

During the nine years of their presence in Syria, the Egyptians initiated important modern developments in the fields of politics and economics, but of course the occupation also brought interference and hardships, which caused various rebellions of the population. In 1839 an Ottoman army marched against the Egyptians, yet it was once more defeated in the battle of Nizip (Nuṣaybīn), west of the upper Euphrates, on 24 June. As at the same time, a change of the Sultan's throne (death of Maḥmūd II on 30 June and accession of ʿAbd al-Mad̲j̲īd) and the desertion of the entire Ottoman fleet to Muḥammad ʿAlī increased the threat to the Empire even more, the European powers intervened again in order to prevent the Porte from making too great concessions; only France took the side of Egypt. When Muḥammad ʿAlī refused the conditions offered to him by the London Convention of 15 July 1840, British and Turkish troops landed near Bayrūt on 11 September. Their advance and a rising of the Maronites of Lebanon forced Muḥammad ʿAlī to sign an armistice convention with the British on 27 November. In February 1841, the last Eyptian troops left Syria.

With his Syrian policy, Muḥammad ʿAlī had obviously pursued wider-reaching plans; there had been indications that he thought of substituting an Arab empire for the Ottoman one, or at least of taking over the role of the Sultan's guardian and tutor. After the European powers had stopped him at Kütahiyya he had considered proclaiming his independence. Now he was forced to give up such ambitions. In a final settlement with the Sultan which Muḥammad ʿAlī accepted on 10 June 1841, he had to abandon all his territorial acquisitions except the Sudanese provinces, and to agree to a limitation of his armed forces and the regular payment of tribute to the Porte (set, however, not as a percentage of Egypt's revenues but as a fixed amount). On the other hand he secured the viceregency of Egypt not only for himself but also for his male descendents according to seniority, i.e. the oldest member of the family would be the successor, just like in the Ottoman dynasty. It was also important that the European powers, by assenting to this settlement, guaranteed it. Muḥammad ʿAlī had submitted to the sovereignty of the Sultan, yet had won concessions which prepared Egypt to become a state in its own right.

Muḥammad ʿAlī gained the means for realising his ambitions by a purposeful policy directed towards monopolisation and modernisation. Soon after becoming *wālī*, he abolished the *iltizām* system and confiscated the *rizaḳ aḥbāsiyya* (agricultural *waḳf* estates), thus assuming control of all agricultural land (when from 1829 onwards, he began creating a landed aristocracy by granting uncultivated land to members of his family and to his favourites, they remained initially under his influence, even if these measures prepared the introduction of a system of private property later on). In this way, he could decide in detail what Egyptian agriculture produced. At the same

time, he monopolised the entire trade. As the industries which he created remained state enterprises, it can be said that he controlled the economic life of the country completely. In conjunction with a rigorous tax policy, monopolisation was laid out to finance the foreign enterprises of the ruler, but also to give him a strong centralised power.

All this implied the creation of a modern state apparatus. A new administration was established. The central government was organised on the principle of official deliberation, with the various departments entrusted to *dīwāns*; from 1829 onwards a larger consultative assembly was convened, comprising provincial notables as well as representatives of the *ʿulamāʾ* and, later on, of the merchants. The state organ to which most attention was devoted was, of course, the army; it was no longer recruited from the Mamlūk caste or from mercenaries but raised from the country by conscription. In addition, a navy was built up.

As the bureaucracy and the armed forced needed, above all, qualified people, great efforts had to be made in the fields of training and education. Since 1809 young men had been sent to Europe for studying the military sciences, navigation, shipbuilding, engineering, printing, etc.; the range of subjects was gradually widened, and from 1826 the students went mainly to France. Simultaneously, schools were founded in Egypt (e.g., a land surveyors' school 1816; various officers' schools from 1821; a school of medicine 1827; a school of agriculture and administration 1829; a school of midwifery 1832, being the first girls' school; a polytechnic 1834; a school for languages and translation 1835). Soon the government became aware of the necessity to prepare the students for the technical instruction dispensed by these institutes; so a preparatory school (*madrasa tadjhīziyya*) was opened in 1825, and primary schools (*makātib mubtadiyān*) followed in 1833.

These modernising efforts naturally extended to the economy. In the agricultural sector, new cash-crops (most importantly, long-staple cotton) and new techniques were introduced; irrigation was improved. In the industrial sector, Muḥammad ʿAlī pursued a systematic policy of founding modern factories. At first the production of weapons and ships had priority, but in the 1820s so many textile mills were established that a more general import substitution must have been the aim. In the labour force, foreigners played a considerable role; yet more and more Egyptians were recruited and trained for the factories. Even if the results were far from satisfying, the experiment was remarkable.

The failure of Muḥammad ʿAlī's attempt at empire-building forced him to abandon many of his modernisation plans and to curtail the others. In the economic field, the Anglo-Turkish commercial convention of 1838, and the treaties with other European powers following it, contributed to the decline when the stipulations banning all monopolies and setting a low tariff for imports were applied to Egypt in the 1840s.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's ambitious policies, involving harsh taxation, conscription and other government interference, were painful for the Egyptian people, but they served a grand design for establishing in the East, at an early time, a modern state capable of winning and maintaining political and economic independence. In the end, the attempt was wrecked by European intervention. Yet Muḥammad ʿAlī left the country free of debt and had also avoided granting concessions to foreigners. In addition, many developments pointing towards a modern Egypt had been set in motion. Although Muḥammad ʿAlī, himself a foreigner to the country, relied to a large extent upon military and civilian functionaries from other parts of the Ottoman Empire and upon European advisers, he could not do without the Egyptians. Thus his rule caused or accelerated deep socio-economic and cultural changes. In particular, a new middle class began to rise, trained for service in the modern state by modern schools, dispensing secular education where so far Islamic education had dominated. The necessity of expressing the new knowledge imported from the West in the vernacular set off a revival of the Arabic language and literature [see ʿARABIYYA. ii. 4. Modern written Arabic, and NAHḌA].

When old age made Muḥammad ʿAlī incapable of ruling, his son Ibrāhīm took over the government in April 1848; he was confirmed as *wālī* by a *firmān* of the Sultan on 2 September. But Ibrāhīm died before his father, on 10 November 1848, and a grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I, became viceregent. Muḥammad ʿAlī died on 2 August 1849; see further on him, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ.

(*c*) *ʿAbbās I (1848-54), Saʿīd (1854-63) and Ismāʿīl (1863-79)*.

After an interval of a few years, the policy of modernisation was resumed by Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors. Now, however, it took place under different conditions. Egypt opened itself to overwhelming foreign influences which were no longer firmly channelled by its government. As a result, the country was led to apparent prosperity but then to financial ruin, dependence and, in the end, foreign occupation.

The interval consisted of the reign of ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I, commonly just called ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], who, widely reputed to be hostile to modernisation, in fact continued the course of retrenchment to which his grandfather had turned after 1841. ʿAbbās was murdered in obscure circumstances on 13 July 1854. The two viceregents succeeding him, Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Muḥammad Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who died on 18 January 1863, and Ibrāhīm's son Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], were responsible for the opening of Egypt to foreign penetration.

It is undeniable that they brought Egypt considerable material advancement. Their large programs of public works improved the infrastructure. As his only major project in this field, ʿAbbās already began the construction of the Alexandria-Cairo railway, the first in Africa and the Near East (contract with the British engineer Robert Stephenson, 1851). When Ismāʿīl was deposed in 1879 he left a rail network of 1,881 km, covering the Delta and reaching Suez as well as Asyūṭ. Numerous bridges were constructed. The harbours of Alexandria and Suez were extended and modernised. The cities of Cairo and Alexandria profited from generous programs of sanitation, embellishment and extension. Irrigation canals were excavated or improved on an immense scale.

The project which received most attention was the Suez Canal. Shortly after his accession, Saʿīd granted the concession for the building of this waterway connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the French diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps on 30 November 1854. Great difficulties of financing and diplomacy hampered its realisation, but construction work started on 25 April 1859, the Porte at last gave its assent in 1866, and on 17 November 1869 the opening of the canal for navigation was celebrated in the presence of an illustrious crowd of international guests.

The focus of economic development lay in agriculture. Beside the great landowners from the viceregal family and the upper stratum, a new class of provincial notables acquired larger estates, after a law enacted by Saʿīd in 1858 had introduced full private property for one category of land and rights close to this status for another. Having established direct relations with the merchants and through them with the international market, these landowners strongly expanded the production of cotton, which was in great demand because of the decline of supply from America during the Civil War. So there was a period of prosperity, even if poor peasants and agricultural labourers did not benefit much. When, however, the cotton boom came to an end in 1866, profits fell and debts grew in the farm sector as a whole. At the same time, this sector had to carry the main burden of the taxes which the government strove to raise continuously. A revival of industrial activities did not go far. State factories, mainly working for the armed forces, suffered under the increasing shortage of funds. Private enterprises remained mostly limited to processing agricultural products (cotton ginning, oil extraction etc.); a considerable number of sugar mills was established on Ismāʿīl's own estates.

In education, also, a new effort was started. A primary school law of 1868 set the aim of integrating the traditional Koran schools, the *katātīb*, into the system of modern state schools. In 1871, the *Dār al-ʿulūm* was founded for the purpose of preparing students of al-Azhar University to teach in the modern schools. In 1873 and 1874 the first regular girls' schoools were opened. The growing number of people who had to some degree received a modern education began to form a stratum from which new intellectual movements could rise.

As far as the government was concerned, economic growth never brought in enough revenue to cover expenditure. The solution was borrowing. Of course, it had always been done, but until ʿAbbās it had not reached important proportions. Then Saʿīd incurred such large obligations that he was forced vastly to increase the floating debt. In 1860 he obtained his first foreign loan on a personal basis, and two years later the first public loan. Ismāʿīl continued in the same way. European capitalists were always ready to lend, but, taking advantage of the privileges granted to foreigners by the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] and the political influence of their governments, they provided money only under conditions extremely unfavourable to Egypt, which had not only to pay high interest but also to concede even higher deductions from the nominal value of the loans. At the end of Ismāʿīl's reign, the total funded and floating debt came close to £ 100 million. Furthermore, many national assets had passed into foreign ownership; e.g., in 1875 Ismāʿīl had sold his Suez Canal Company shares to the British government. In addition to financial and economic dependence, the result was political interference by the European powers.

The successors of Muḥammad ʿAlī were always eager to preserve and, if possible, to increase the degree of independence with Egypt had reached within the Ottoman Empire. They fulfilled their military obligations toward the Sultan by sending troops when asked (Crimean War 1853-6; suppression of risings in ʿAsīr 1864-65 and Crete 1866; Balkan War 1876-77) and sought to influence the Porte by official and unofficial payments. Ismāʿīl achieved the most noticeable concessions. By a *firmān* of 27 May 1866, the succession of the Egyptian viceregents was changed from the principle of seniority to that of primogeniture. A *firmān* of 8 June 1867 granted Ismāʿīl the title K͟hedive (*k͟hidīw* [*q.v.*]), newly-created in order to distinguish the viceregent of Egypt formally from the *wālīs* of ordinary provinces; at the same time, he was authorised to issue regulations for the internal affairs of Egypt and to conclude agreements with foreign agents, below the level of international treaties, on matters concerning customs, foreigners' police, transit and mails. Finally, a *firmān* of 8 June 1873 recapitulated and supplemented all the rights which Egypt had obtained, including agreements with foreign states on all matters of commerce as well as the contracting of foreign loans; in addition, the number of the armed forces would no longer be limited. Egypt had come close to formal independence from its old sovereign.

Ismāʿīl was also aware of the legal handicaps which the capitulations put on Egypt's dealings with foreigners, and started an important effort to overcome them. Meeting the refusal of Europeans to submit to local jurisdiction and their insistence to have their cases heard before their consular courts, Muḥammad ʿAlī had founded special commercial courts in Alexandria and Cairo consisting of Egyptian and foreign judges. Ismāʿīl took up this idea and, benefiting from the newly-won right of negotiation with foreign governments, in 1867 proposed a judicial reform according to which all cases involving foreigners would be judged by such mixed courts. After difficult negotiations with the capitulatory powers, and after special civil, penal, commercial and procedural codes, founded mainly on French law, had been promulgated in 1875, the Mixed Courts (*al-maḥākim al-muk͟htaliṭa*) were established in the following year, with the serious restriction that the powers deprived them of almost all criminal jurisdiction [see also MAḤKAMA. 4. i. Egypt].

Yet another policy, intended to emphasise Egypt's development as an independent and modern state, was directed toward representation of the people and at least formal restrictions on the absolute power of the ruler. On 25 November 1866 Ismāʿīl inaugurated the Consultative Chamber of Delegates (*Mad͟jlis s͟hūrā al-nuwwāb*), based upon laws issued on 22 October. Its 75 members were elected by the village *s͟hayk͟hs*; it met once a year. On 28 August 1878 the Khedive declared: "Je veux dorénavant gouverner avec et par mon conseil des ministres," establishing the principle of ministerial responsibility; he did so, however, under the pressure of the European powers keen on using the council of ministers for strengthening their control of Egypt [see also MAD͟JLIS AL-S͟HŪRĀ].

For, in the meantime, Egypt's growing difficulties in meeting its financial obligations had raised fears among the European creditors of a complete insolvency, and they urged their governments to intervene. On 2 May 1876 Ismāʿīl was forced to establish a *Caisse de la Dette publique*, comprising a French, a British, an Italian and an Austrian commissioner, to receive those revenues assigned directly for interest and debt repayment. As this did not seem sufficient, on 18 November 1876 the "dual control" was created, through which a Briton and a Frenchman as controllers-general assumed supervision of government revenue and expenditure as a whole. From now on, an increasing number of Europeans were employed in all branches of the administration. An even higher level of foreign involvement was reached when a Briton became minister of finance and a Frenchman minister of public works in the government formed in August-September 1878 under the principle of ministerial responsibility.

In these years, a public opinion had begun to stir, expressing itself in a number of independent newspapers which appeared since 1876 and in discussion circles like that formed around Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], who had settled in Cairo in 1871, encouraged by the Egyptian government. At last the Khedive chose to mobilise influential groups of the local society, Turco-Circassians as well as Egyptians, as his allies against foreign control. Early in April 1879, more than three hundred civil officials, army officers, *ʿulamāʾ*, urban and rural notables signed a statement of national demands (*al-lāʾiḥa al-waṭaniyya*). On 7 April Ismāʿīl dismissed the ministry comprising the European ministers and the next day had a national government formed. Feverish diplomatic activity between the European capitals and Istanbul followed. In the end, the Sultan deposed Ismāʿīl on 26 June 1879, appointing his son Muḥammad Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*] as his successor.

(*d*) *The early part of Tawfīḳ's reign* (*1879-82*) *and the ʿUrābī movement.*

Under the new Khedive, the dual control over Egypt's finances was re-established, even if foreigners did not become government ministers again. A final settlement between the country and its creditors was drawn up in the law of liquidation of 17 July 1880, which set the total consolidated debt at £ 98,378,000 and earmarked more than half of all state revenues for interest and repayment. While thus achieving collaboration with the European powers, and while domestic opposition was suppressed, the government made a serious effort at reforms, particularly after Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha had become prime minister on 21 September 1879. Although obliged to keep state revenues high, Riyāḍ gave orders to collect taxes from the farmers by reasonable methods, without jeopardising anybody's existence; on the other hand he put the screw on the big landowners and reduced their tax privileges. The use of the *kurbādj* or knout by tax-collectors was forbidden and the corvée (*sukhra*) for other than public purposes abolished. But these reform policies were not given time to bear fruit.

Elements of a true national movement were now assembling, consisting of three distinct groups: merchants and rural notables of native stock who, although many of them had been elected to the *Madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*, still felt excluded from real power by the old, mainly Turco-Circassian, élite attached to the ruling dynasty; the native officers, who had been admitted to the army in large numbers since Saʿīd's time, yet were prevented from rising to the higher ranks by Turco-Circassian superiors; and intellectuals, mostly those affected by modern education, including technocrats as well as pious Muslims turning towards religious reform, but also conservative *ʿulamāʾ*.

The first to come to the fore were the military. Already on 18 February 1879 a riot of officers discharged for budgetary reasons had played a role in Ismāʿīl's action against foreign control. In January 1881 discontent among the Egyptian officers arose again, as the Turco-Circassian minister of war had retired many of them while sparing those of his own ilk. When the officers asked for the dismissal of the minister, he tried to courtmartial them, thus setting off a general mutiny on 1 February. Tawfīḳ was indeed forced to exchange the minister for one acceptable to the Egyptians, Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*]. The officers' movement, whose leadership was taken over by colonel (*mīr-alāy*) Aḥmad ʿUrābī Bey, then gained strength by forming an alliance with the rural notables led by Muḥammad Sulṭān Pasha. On 9 September a military demonstration in front of the Khedive's palace in Cairo obtained the dismissal of Riyāḍ Pasha, the formation of a new government under Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha and the election of a new chamber, whose president became Muḥammad Sulṭān. While there was agreement on the need to improve the constitutional system, the chamber clashed with the government over the details. It forced the Khedive to appoint a new ministry on 4 February 1882 under al-Bārūdī, with ʿUrābī as minister of war. Three days later, Tawfīḳ enacted the new basic law for the chamber, now called *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* only; although leaving large powers to the Khedive and the government, it established a certain constitutional control over them by the elected delegates, including the participation of the latter in the budgetary process.

Britain and France, who had been following the rise of the national movement in Egypt with misgivings, on 8 January 1882 had begun a policy of open intervention by proclaiming, in identical notes presented to the Khedive, that they intended to support him and maintain the existing system of financial control. On 15 May they announced the imminent arrival of a combined naval squadron in Alexandria, and on 25 May they demanded the resignation of al-Bārūdī's ministry and ʿUrābī's banishment from Egypt. The ministry resigned indeed, but Tawfīḳ was forced to reinstate ʿUrābī as minister of war. On 11 June there was an outbreak of popular violence in Alexandria in which about forty Europeans were killed, in spite of the presence of the Anglo-French squadron. Meanwhile, international diplomacy and Egypt's Ottoman suzerain had been brought into the drama; but a conference of the powers, opened at Istanbul on 23 June, achieved nothing, and Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], who would of course have liked to use the chance for reinforcing his influence in Egypt, could only send emissaries there. In the end, the decisive intervention fell upon Britain which, although with great reluctance on the part of the Gladstone government, wanted to prevent France from winning preponderance on the Nile. So it acted on its own by having its ships bombard Alexandria on 11-12 July, on the pretext of keeping the Egyptians from further fortifying the harbour.

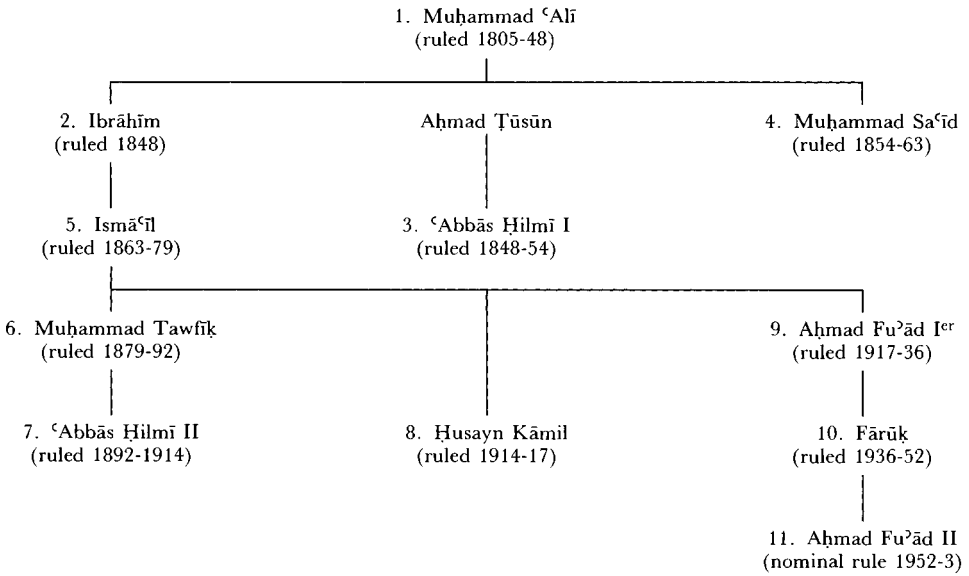
This brought about the final break between the Khedive and ʿUrābī, who had remained minister of war when a successor government had been formed after al-Bārūdī's resignation. When Tawfīḳ now sought the protection of British troops in his palace in Alexandria, ʿUrābī proclaimed himself responsible for the defence of the country, demanding that henceforth only his orders shoulf be followed. In Cairo an "emergency council" (*al-madjlis al-ʿurfī*) was established to serve as a provisional government. Consisting of officers and officials, among them some Copts, it made a remarkable effort to mobilise the resources of the country for fighting, but also to maintain order and to protect the European residents.

Up to its end, the ʿUrābī movement enjoyed the moral support of the large majority of the Egyptians, to whom it explained itself in terms of a *djihād* against the domination of infidels. On the other hand, most of the notables who had been its allies abandoned it, as they thought it unreasonable to fight against the Khedive and the British at the same time; and even part of its intellectual supporters withdrew. *Al-Madjlis al-ʿurfī* never succeeded in controlling the whole of the country. Yet British military might was needed to bring the movement down. In August a British

expeditionary corps occupied the Suez Canal and on 13 September 1882 beat the Egyptian army at al-Tall al-Kabīr. *Al-Madjlis al-ʿurfī* capitulated to the Khedive, and ʿUrābī rendered his sword to the British. The leaders and many participants of the movement were tried by military courts; ʿUrābī was sentenced to death, but on British urging the sentence was commuted to exile for life (in 1901 he was allowed to return to Egypt).

The ʿUrābī movement had not aimed at a political or a social revolution. Although refusing obedience to the Khedive, it had never made concrete plans to depose him, and it had always asserted its loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan. As to structural changes in Egyptian society, it had never gone beyond promising more social justice and diminishing the role of the Turco-Circassian aristocracy. Yet it represented a serious endeavour of some important Egyptian groups to decide on their own how Egypt's problems should be solved, and in the *Madjlis al-nuwwāb* it had created an institution for achieving this purpose. Even if the struggle for independence had failed, the foundations of a national consciousness had been laid on which future generations could build.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DYNASTY FOUNDED BY MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ

1. Muḥammad ʿAlī (ruled 1805-48)
   - 2. Ibrāhīm (ruled 1848)
     - 5. Ismāʿīl (ruled 1863-79)
       - 6. Muḥammad Tawfīḳ (ruled 1879-92)
         - 7. ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II (ruled 1892-1914)
       - 8. Ḥusayn Kāmil (ruled 1914-17)
       - 9. Aḥmad Fuʾād Ier (ruled 1917-36)
         - 10. Fārūḳ (ruled 1936-52)
           - 11. Aḥmad Fuʾād II (nominal rule 1952-3)
   - Aḥmad Ṭūsūn
     - 3. ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I (ruled 1848-54)
   - 4. Muḥammad Saʿīd (ruled 1854-63)

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8. The British Protectorate and the end of the monarchy 1882-1952. [see Supplement.]

9. Republican Egypt 1952-1990. [see Supplement.]

MIṢRĀʿ [see ʿArūḍ].

MISRĀTA or misrāta, also Mesrāta, important Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*] of the Barānis (Brānès) group.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, to whom most of the information concerning this people is owed, the Misrāta derived their origin from a certain Meld, who was the son of Awrīgh, son of Barānis and the brother of the Hawwāra. According to Ibn Ḥazm, and also according to the Berber genealogist Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān, both quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, the Misrāta and other families descended from Meld, including the Saṭaṭ, the Warfal and the Wasīl, had a common grandsire in Lahān, and for this reason they were collectively designated by the name Lahāna. These Lahāna are believed to be identical to the ancient *Laganiki* or *Lasaniki*, a Lybian tribe mentioned by Ptolemy which inhabited the axis Ptolemais (Tolmeta)—Cyrene in Cyrenaica (called Barḳa [*q.v.*] by the ancient Arab authors). The French historian J. Desanges locates this small tribe, whose true name should be read Lasaniki, between 35 and 40 km to the west of Cyrene. It is probably in the same region, or in the mediaeval province of Barḳa in general, that Ibn Khaldūn locates the tribe of the Banū Djaʿfar which claimed to be of Arab origin, but which was descended, if the genealogists of this tribe quoted by Ibn Khaldūn are to believed, "from the family of Misrāta, a branch of the Berber tribe of Hawwāra". The tribe of the Banū Djaʿfar, according to Ibn Khaldūn, was still occupying in the 8th/14th century its ancient sites near (the town of) Barḳa, currently al-Mardj. Apparently it is here that the earliest homeland of the family of Misrāta should be sought, as also that of the ancient *Lasaniki*. Later, but evidently still before the Arab conquest of North Africa, this tribe moved further west, occupying the most eastern sector of the coastal zone of the future *arḍ Hawwāra* in central Tripolitania. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdarī, a traveller and native of Valencia in Spain, who made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 688/1289, on leaving the territory of the Berber tribe of the Ḥāha, near Mogador in Morocco, where his family resided, passed through the *balad* of Misrāta situated in the coastal region of central Tripolitania. According to this traveller, this was an oasis, poor and thinly inhabited. Al-ʿAbdarī's account does not accord with that of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 731/1331) who provides a totally different description of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*, written on the basis of the geographical work of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286) a contemporary of al-ʿAbdarī. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ states, speaking of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*, that "the land is planted with olives and palms. The inhabitants export horses to Alexandria. Pilgrims on their way (from the Maghrib) to Mecca are treated by them (i.e. by the inhabitants of the *ḳuṣūr Misrāta*) with the utmost courtesy."

In the period of Ibn Khaldūn, who wrote at about the turn of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the condition of the canton of Misrāta became still more prosperous. The naming of the town of Misrāta (currently Misurata), borrowed from the name of the tribe, gradually supplanted the usage of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd which had designated, at least from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century, the most western conurbation of the oasis of Misrāta. The tribe of Misrāta of Tripolitania, still very numerous in the period of Ibn Khaldūn, was active in commerce. Misrāta merchants visited the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Sudan. A distance of 16 days' march separated Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd (or the town of Misrāta) from Zāwilat Ibn Khaṭṭāb in the Fezzan (currently Zouila), which gave access to most parts of the Sudan.

The economic situation of the land of Misrāta remained the same or even improved further towards the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the period of the descriptions of North Africa supplied by Leo Africanus. According to this traveller and writer, Mesrate (i.e. Misrāta) was a canton on the Mediterranean coast which contained numerous castles and villages, some on the plain, the others in the mountains. The inhabitants were, on the evidence of Leo, very wealthy because they paid no tribute and because they were active in commerce. They handled the goods which arrived in their country by Venetian galleys and transported them to Numidia, in other words into the interior of North Africa, where they were exchanged for slaves and other goods coming from Ethiopia and the Sudan. These varied goods, including slaves, were exported to Turkey.

A certain proportion of the tribe of the Misrāta took part in the migrations of its sister tribe the Hawwāra, of which various segments made their way, through Ifrīḳiya, towards what are now Algeria and Morocco. A group of Misrāta which accompanied these segments settled in the central Maghrib, on the mountain of Djabal Hawwāra which dominates the town of Baṭḥāʾ. According to A. Épaulard, the town of Baṭḥāʾ (whose precise location is unknown) was probably situated on the left bank of the Mina, in the region of the present-day town of Relizane, on the main route from Tlemcen to Algiers. Today, only a few ruins remain. Leo Africanus states that in his time, that is about the beginning of the 10th/16th century, al-Baṭḥāʾ was "a large town, very civilised and very populous... built recently by the Africans (Berbers)". According to Épaulard again, it was probably built at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. Later, it was destroyed and, in Leo's time, only the foundations remained.

It may be added that a diminutive group of Misrāta, probably natives of the oasis of Misrāta, arrived at an uncertain period, possibly at the time of the conquest of Sicily by the *ḳāḍī* Asad b. Furāt in 218/826 or shortly afterwards, in the region of the town of Catania, where there were observed (during the period 468-519/1075-1125) peasants belonging to the diocese of this town and descended from the tribe of Misrātah (Misrāta).

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MIṢRĪ EFENDI [see NIYĀZĪ].

MIṢṢĪṢ, MIṢṢĪṢA [see MAṢṢĪṢA].

MISURATA [see MISRĀTA].

MISWĀK (A.), a term denoting the toothbrush as well as the tooth-pick. The more usual word is *siwāk* (plural *suwuk*) which denotes also the act of cleansing the teeth. Neither of the two terms occurs in the Ḳurʾān. In *Ḥadīth*, *miswāk* is not used, *siwāk*, on the other hand, frequently. In order to understand its use, it is necessary to know that the instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent. The piece of wood used as a tooth-pick must have been smaller and thinner, as appears e.g. from the tradition in which it is related that Muḥammad one day received a visitor and kept the tooth-pick "at the end of his tongue".

Concerning Zayd b. Khālid, it is related that he used to sit in the mosque keeping the tooth-pick behind his ear, "just as a writer will keep his pen" (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18). When Muḥammad was in his last hours, there entered a man with a piece of wood fit for a *siwāk*; ʿĀʾisha took and chewed it, so as to make it smooth (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 83).

In general, *Ḥadīth* emphasises the value attached by Muḥammad to the *siwāk*. When he entered his house, his first movement was towards it (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 27). His servant ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd received the epithet of *ṣāḥib al-siwāk* because he used to take care of Muḥammad's *siwāk* (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, *bāb* 20). When Muḥammad woke at night, he cleansed his mouth by means of the *siwāk* before he washed himself and performed the worship (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 8; *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 73; *Tahadjdjud*, *bāb* 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 30; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trads. 46, 47). When fasting, Muḥammad also made use of the *siwāk* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 445, 446).

The *miswāk* is chiefly used before the *wuḍūʾ* as a preparation before the *ṣalāt*. It is said that this was the practice of Muḥammad (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 48), who attached so great a value to it that he would have declared it obligatory before every *ṣalāt* were it not that he feared thereby to overburden his community (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 8; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 42; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18). In one tradition it is said, as a matter of fact, that the obligatory use of the *siwāk* before every *ṣalāt* was introduced by Muḥammad as a compensation for the abolition of the obligatory *wuḍūʾ* before every *ṣalāt* (Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 25). In another tradition (al-Nasāʾī, *Djumʿa*, *bāb* 66) the use of the *siwāk* is called obligatory before the Friday worship.

The appreciation of the *miswāk* which appears from all these traditions culminates in the fact that it belongs to the customs of the "natural religion" (*fiṭra*: Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 29) or to the ordinances of the Apostles (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 1).

Nevertheless, *Fiḳh* does not declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory in any case. There is general agreement on this point. According to some traditions, however, the Ẓāhirīs did declare the use of the *miswāk* obligatory before the *ṣalāt*, but these traditions are not generally accepted. According to *Fiḳh*, the use of the *miswāk* is recommended at all times, especially in five cases: in connection with the *ṣalāt*, under all circumstances; in connection with the *wuḍūʾ*, with the recitation of the Ḳurʾān; after sleep; and as often as the mouth has lost its freshness, e.g. after long silence.

According to the school of al-Shāfiʿī, the use of the *miswāk* is blamable (*makrūh*) between noon and sunset at the time of fasting, for the foetid smell (*khalūf*) of the faster's breath is beloved by Allāh (cf. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 6).

It is recommended to use a *miswāk* of *arāk* wood of medium hardness, neither too dry nor too moist; to cleanse the palate as well as all sides of the teeth, beginning from the right side of the mouth, moving the *miswāk* upwards and downwards in order not to hurt the sockets of the teeth.

Bibliography: References to the *Ḥadīth* literature in Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. Tooth-brush; the juridical points of view in al-Nawawī's commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Būlāḳ 1290, 873-4, i, 325; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 172; Goldziher, in *RHR* (1902), xliii, 15-16; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 354 n. 94. (A.J. WENSINCK)

MĪTHĀḲ (A., the noun of instrument from *wathiḳa* "to trust, have confidence in", or *wathuḳa* "to be firm", in usage the equivalent of the *maṣdar mīmī* or noun of place and time *mawthiḳ*), covenant, agreement, used 25 times in the Ḳurʾān and often linked with its synonym *ʿahd* [*q.v.*].

In a few places, it refers to political compacts (IV, 92/90, 94/92, VIII, 73/72, and cf. the use of *ʿāhada* in VIII, 58/56), and once to the compact between husband and wife (IV, 25/21), but the majority of usages relate to compacts between God and various members of His human creation, the unilateral imposition of a covenant by God upon Man. Thus we have the *mīthāḳ* with the prophets (III, 75/81, XXXIII, 7; cf. VII, 131/134-5); the *mīthāḳ* with Muḥammad himself when he was at Medina (II, 78/84); the *mīthāḳ* with the People of the Book (III, 184/187), once specifically with the Christians (V, 17/14), but most frequently in reference to God's covenant with the Children of Israel at Sinai, subsequently broken by them (II, 25/24, 60/67, 77/83, 87/93, IV, 153-4/154-5, V, 10/7, 15-16/12-13, 74/70). The source of the concept of covenant, and the imagery associated with it, is clearly Biblical, going back to the Pentateuchal *bᵉrīt* (see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, London 1977, 8-12). Noteworthy, however, are references to God's *mīthāḳ* or *ʿahd* with the believers (XIII, 20,25,LVII, 8) and the *mīthāḳ* of the Book (VII, 168/169), which link up with the idea which grew as part of the Islamic Creation story of a primordial compact: that God, according to predestinarian interpretations found e.g. in al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], separated the future elect from the damned before Man was actually created. Likewise, in a Shīʿī work which apparently stems from the early 4th/10th century and may be from the hand of the historian al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*], and which aims at proving ʿAlī's role as the *waṣiyy* and the repository of the Prophet's thoughts, the *K. Ithbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, we have retailed the story that, in the act of creation, God took a lump of clay, from which were formed the Prophet, the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*], etc., and then passed them through the flame unharmed; after this, God concluded with them a *mīthāḳ* involving *tawḥīd*, *risāla*, *imāma*, etc., and then He went on to create Adam (cited by Ch. Pellat, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite, colloque de Strasbourg (6-9 mai 1968)*, Paris 1970, 78-9).

Muslim lore, building on Ḳurʾān, VII, 171/172, also applied the idea of a covenant (*mīthāḳ*, *ʿahd*), a

pledge (*amāna*) and a promise (*waʿd*) between God and Man to subsequent events, the covenant of Adam and of Adam's progeny [see ĀDAM]; see al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. I. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922-3, 33-5, tr. in A. Jeffery, *A reader on Islam*, The Hague 1962, 187-8. These concepts were frequently to figure in later Ṣūfī literature; cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], Paris 1954, 194, and G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qur'ānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*, Berlin 1980, 154-6. The Muʿtazila, however, regarded the *mīthāḳ* of pre-eternity as being only a symbolic (*madjāzī*) representation of what actually happened; cf. L. Gardet and M.M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 218 n. 4, 397.

In modern Arabic political and diplomatic parlance, *mīthāḳ* denotes a treaty, pact or agreement. Finally, one might note that the cognate form *mawthiḳ* is used in the Ḳurʾān, XII, 66, 80, for the assurance from God taken by Jacob upon his sons for their safely bringing back Joseph.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, 61; H.U.W. Stanton, *The teaching of the Qur'ān*, London 1919, 80; Wensinck, *Concordance*, vii, 134-5; A. Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 119 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĪTHĀḲ-I MILLĪ (T.), the "National Pact", a proclamation voted by the last Ottoman Parliament which met in Istanbul in January 1920. Essentially, the National Pact proclaimed the territorial integrity of the remaining non-Arab heartlands of the Ottoman Empire. It was passed at a time when, after defeat in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was threatened by the dismemberment of Anatolia and Rumelia which was provided for in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Under the terms of that treaty, Greece was to receive a large portion of Thrace and the Dodecanese Islands, whilst there was a distinct possibility that Izmir and its environs would eventually become Greek. Armenia was recognised as an independent state and the Kurds were granted autonomy with the right to choose independence within a year. As early as 1918, alarmed by the threat of dismemberment, societies for the defence of rights were formed in Thrace, Istanbul, Izmir and Manisa, and also in the east of Anatolia.

A meeting of the Society for the Defence of the Rights of Eastern Anatolia which was arranged for July 1919 in Erzurum was used by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) to mobilise support from military and local personages for action against the Allies, whose partial occupation of Anatolia was made more obnoxious by the landing of Greek troops in Izmir on 14 May 1919. The Erzurum Regional Congress preceded the National Congress, which was planned to be held in Sivas in September and was announced in a document known as the Amasya Proclamation (21 June 1919), the first call for a national assertion of independence. Although originally called together for regional purposes, the Erzurum Congress soon addressed itself to the national situation. The Congress resolved to maintain the unity of the country, to set up a national government to do so, to rely on the national will, to prevent the Christian population from enjoying privileges which would compromise the political rights and upset social equilibrium, not to accept a mandate, and to bring about the immediate convening of a national assembly. These principles were broadened into a Declaration which, with very few changes made by the National Congress at Sivas, formed a broad basis for the independence proclaimed in the National Pact in 1920. The Sivas Congress (4-12 September 1919) gave the Erzurum Declaration a more national tone by stressing the independence of all Ottoman territories within the borders established by the armistice agreement of 1918, and did not restrict itself to expressing that specific concern about the six eastern provinces, where the Armenian threat in particular was felt, which was evident in the Erzurum Declaration. The Sivas Declaration is also rather stronger in its refusal of privileges to Christians in a way which would alter political control and upset social harmony, and specifically speaks of determination to resist a Greek state in the vicinity of Izmir. In the Sivas Declaration, reference is made to the sentiments of respect and fraternity of all Muslims within the armistice boundary of 30 October 1918—sentiments which could be seen to make concern for Kurdish autonomy unnecessary.

In October 1919 a change of government in Istanbul allowed negotiations to take place in Amasya between Muṣṭafā Kemāl and the Navy Minister, Ṣāliḥ Pasha. At this meeting, which resulted in what has become known as the second Amasya Declaration, there was agreement on the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. Paricular reference was made to the need to make no new concessions to non-Muslims that would undermine national sovereignty; to cede no provinces to the Allies that were inhabited by Ottoman Muslims; and to call together a freely-elected parliament outside Istanbul, and thus outside Allied influence. The decisions at Amasya were not ratified by the Istanbul government and the parliament met in Istanbul in January 1920, though without the participation of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, who foresaw that he would be in danger. The National Pact was voted on 28 January.

Article 1 of the National Pact went beyond the Sivas Declaration by stipulating that all the territories occupied by an Ottoman Muslim majority formed an indivisible whole whether or not, it is implied, those Muslims lived within or outside the lines of the Armistice Agreement. The Sivas Declaration had only demanded recognition of the indivisibility of territory on the Ottoman Muslim side of the armistice line. Although it seems that this wording reflected pressures to include Syria within the national boundaries, it was recognised in the National Pact that those portions of the Ottoman Empire with a majority Arab population *and* under Allied occupation after 30 October 1918 were to decide their fate by free vote. The Arabs had not been mentioned in the Sivas Declaration.

Article 2 allowed the three *sandjaḳs* (subprovinces) of Kars, Ardahan and Batum, which were adjacent to the Soviet Union, to decide their own future by free vote. (A free vote had already been taken in 1918, under the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk when the inhabitants had decided to join the Ottoman Empire.) Article 3 required the legal status of Western Thrace to be decided by the free vote of the inhabitants. Article 4 required the security of Istanbul and implied free passage for commerce through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Article 54 ambiguously, but shrewdly, guaranteed the rights of minorities "as defined in the treaties concluded between the Entente Powers and their enemies", implying that the new state would be in good company in denying autonomy to minorities. This article expressed, though in much more general terms, the attitudes towards minorities evident in the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. But at no point in the

Erzurum and Sivas Declarations, nor in the National Pact, is there any reference to Turks, only to Ottoman Muslims. Although the National Pact clearly did not include areas where there were Arab majorities within its scope, it was not overtly a declaration of *Turkish* independence, however much it came to be regarded as such later. Article 6 declared that no restriction was accepted on political, financial and judicial development—an all-embracing article which does not directly derive from the Erzurum and Sivas Declarations. In short, the National Pact expresses the resolutions of the two congresses in much more general terms, making no specific mention of Christian minorities. It also addresses itself to new problems, sc. those of Western Thrace, Istanbul and the Straits. It was clearly a document for international attention. Ignored at Sèvres, it became nevertheless the basis of the settlement in the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923.

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MITHḲĀL [see dīnār].

MIᶜWADH [see ḥamāʾil].

MIYĀN MĪR, MIYĀDJĪ, Bālā Pīr, popular names of the Indian Ṣūfī saint Mīr Muḥammad or Shaykh Muḥammad Mīr, son of Ḳāḍī Ḳalandar. He was born most probably in 957/1550 at Sīwistān (Sehwan) in Sind. His father died when he was 7 years old, and he received Ḳādiriyya instruction from his mother until the age of 12. He then became a *murīd* and *khalīfa* of Shaykh Khiḍr in the mountains of Sīwistān (said to have died in 994/1586). Miyān Mīr is also said to have maintained an Uwaysī [see uways] contact with the spirit of ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī. At the age of 25, Miyān Mīr came to Lahore, where he enjoyed a reputation for austerities and spiritual powers, including *kashf* and foreknowledge, healing and resuscitation, converse with beasts and trees and nocturnal transport to the cave on Mount Ḥirāʾ [*q.v.*] near Mecca. He received attention from the emperors Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān [*q.vv.*], and the eldest son of the latter, Muḥammad Dārā Shukūh [*q.v.*] became his discipline and composed a *tadhkira* which is our main source regarding Miyān Mīr. Mullā Shāh Badakhshī, also a subject of this prince's attention, was a principal *khalīfa*. Miyān Mīr was also resorted to by Mughal soldiers and other Central Asian immigrants for healing or the resolution of difficulties. He died at the age of 87 Muslim years, of which more than 60 had been passed in Lahore, on 7 Rabīᶜ I 1045/21 August 1635. Nawwāb Wazīr Khān erected Miyān Mīr's fine tomb and its precinct, which stand in the suburb of Lahore (formerly the cantonment) which bears his name.

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MIYĀNA, in the early Islamic souces more usually Miyānidj, a town of Persia situated on the Ḳizil-Üzen [*q.v.*] affluent of the Safīd-Rūd which drains southeastern Ādharbāydjān [*q.v.*]. The modern town lies in lat. 37°20′ N. and long. 47°45′ E. at an altitude of 1,100 m./3,514 ft.

Being at the confluence of several rivers on the section of the Ḳizil-Üzen known in mediaeval Islamic times as the "river of Miyānidj" (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 224, tr. 216), Miyāna (literally, "middle place", cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, v, 240) was in mediaeval times an important place on the route connecting Tabrīz with northern Persia and that connecting Marāgha with Ardabīl. It is mentioned in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Ādharbāydjān under Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-ᶜAbsī (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326), but the settlement of Arabs there does not appear to have taken place till early ᶜAbbāsid times, when al-Manṣūr's governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī established there members of the South Arabian tribe of Hamdān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 331; Ibn al-Faḳīh. 285). The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century describe Miyāna as a moderate-sized but prosperous and fertile place, producing cereals and fruit (al-Muḳaddasī, 378; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 333, 353. tr. Kramers and Wiet, 329, 346; cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam*, 142, § 35.2; Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). A considerable number of *ᶜulamāʾ* traced their origin to it (al-Samᶜānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, xiii, 514-16, s.v. *al-Mayānadjī*). Although no coins ever seem to have been minted there, the place retained some importance into Mongol times, and a battle between the Īl-Khānid Abū Saᶜīd and his rebellious *amīrs* was fought near it in 719/1319 (*Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 409); but in Mustawfī's time it was only a village, together with its dependencies yielding an annual revenue of 25,800 *dīnārs* (*Nuzha*, 86, tr. 88).

At the present time, Miyāna, with a population of 28,447 by the 1970s, is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* of the same name, which comprises 290 villages and a population of 173,998, in the province of East Ādharbāydjān. It is a station on the railway line from Tehran to the Russian frontier at Djulfa, opened to Miyāna in 1942. It is described as getting its water from the river and from four *ḳanāts* and as possessing in its Friday mosque the tomb of a grandson of the Imām Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiḳ called Ismāᶜīl (Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 515-16).

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MIᶜZAF, Miᶜzafa (a., pl. *maᶜāzif*), a term denoting today any string or wind instrument or even, more restrictedly, a piano, but one which was

employed in mediaeval Islamic times to instruments with "open strings" (*awtār muṭlaḳa*). Al-Djawharī (d. before 400/1010 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ṣaghānī (d. 659/1261 [*q.v.*]) define them as being "musical instruments which you beat upon like the *ʿūd* (lute), the *ṭunbūr* (pandore) and suchlike", meaning by this that *maʿāzif* were played with the fingers or a plectrum in the same way as the *ʿūd* and *ṭunbūr* were. The *Tādj al-ʿarūs* includes the tambourine among the *maʿāzif*, but it is an erroneous deduction from the saying of ʿUmar, *marra bi-ʿazfi duffin* ("he passed by the sounding of the *duff*"), which has misled many writers (cf. Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.). Al-Khwarazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237 (4th/10th century), states that the *miʿzafa* was "a stringed instrument belonging to the people of ʿIrāḳ" whilst al-Muṭarrizī (6th/12th century) says that the *miʿzaf* was "made by the people of Yaman", a provenance which Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. before 300/912) also gives the instrument (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 93 = § 3219). A more precise classification is allowed by al-Shalāḥī who includes the *miʿzaf* among barbitons (*barābiṭ*) and lyres (*layrān*), which agrees with our oldest authority, al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (2nd/8th century), who says that both *miʿzaf* and *miʿzafa* were terms given to "an instrument of many strings", whilst al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) specifically denominates *maʿāzif* as instruments of "open strings" (Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 77, 110). In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the *miʿzafa* is rarely placed in the hands of the minstrels, probably because it was of inartistic merit. One performer on the instrument, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Baskhīr (3rd/9th century), was asked sarcastically if it were a rat-trap (*Aghānī*[2], x, 153).

Tradition avers that *maʿāzif* were "invented" by Ḍilāl (*sic*) the daughter of Lamak [*q.v.*] (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 89 = § 3213, where has been read Ṣillā, the name of Lamak's wife). Since there was a *ḥadīth* condemning *maʿāzif* as signs of the end of the world (al-Tirmidhī, ii, 33) it is quite likely that the *fuḳahāʾ* thought it consistent with policy to make Ḍilāl or Ḍalāl ("error, destruction") the originator of these *malāhī* or "forbidden pleasures". On the other hand, we read that "David the Prophet had a *miʿzafa* on which he used to play when he recited the psalms" (*ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 189), which was an echo of the Jewish tradition that he was an adept on the *kinnōr* (I Samuel, xvi, 16,23). The name may be a survival from the days of belief in sympathetic magic. The voice of the *djinn* was termed *ʿazf*, and the spiritual world could be conjured by the sounds of the *miʿzaf*. In Islamic times, musicians claimed that their music was inspired by the *djinn*. The Greek μάγαδις was an instrument of the same class as the *miʿzaf*. It was of Lydian origin and the name is suspiciously like the Semitic one.

Lyre and cithara. Although we see these instruments in the hands of the ancient Semites on the monuments, they do not appear to have had acceptance among the musicians of Islamic times except with the *fallāḥīn*, unless the seven-stringed *wanadj* (= *zanadj*) of Khurāsān was such an instrument (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 90 = § 3214). Both words are of Greek origin and they appear in Arabic as *lūr* and *ḳīṭāra* generally. In Palestine and Egypt to-day, a primitive type of lyre is known under the name of *ṭunbūra barbariyya* or *ḳīṭāra (kissara) barbariyya*. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Egypte, état moderne*, i, 918) and Saint Saëns (Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, i, 528) have shown that much of the ancient Greek method of lyre-playing still obtains in the modern Egyptian *ḳīṭāra* playing. It is worthy of notice that the Arabic word for striking the *ḳīṭāra* strings is *ḥarraka*, and this is practically identical with the Greek κρέκω.

Harp. Whilst we possess an actual example of a Sumerian harp with the sound-chest below the strings, this type does not seem to have had any vogue with the Arabs or Persians in artistic music, and is only found among the peasantry. In Palestine and Upper Egypt to-day it is called the *ṭunbūra sūdānī* and *nanga*. The harp with the sound-chest above the strings has been a far more important instrument with the Semites and is to be found in the Assyrian sculptures (cf. Assyr. *sanaḳu* and Ethiopic *sanḳo*). Ewliyāʾ Čelebī says that this instrument, which the Persians called the *čang*, was "invented" by Pythagoras to solace Solomon (*Travels*, i/2, 227), and even al-Shalāḥī says that it was of Byzantine (*Rūmī*) origin (fol. 15). Yet Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Djawharī show that it was peculiar to the Persians and, indeed, the type may be found on the Sāsānid sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 175). The Arabs called it the *djank* or *ṣandj* (cf. al-Djawālīḳī, ed. Sachau, 97). It may be that the *djank* and *ṣandj* were different types of harp, the Persian and Arabian. There were certainly two types, the straight sound-chest and the crooked. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, the Byzantine *salbāḳ* (σαμβύκη) and *lūr* (λύρα) are likened to the *djank* and *ṣandj* respectively. Among the Arabs, the *djank* is mentioned as early as al-Aʿshā (Maymūn, d. *ca.* 8/629). Al-Fārābī devotes a section in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī* to *maʿāzif*, *djunūk* or *ṣunūdj*, and other instruments "in which there is made to every note, according to its state, a solitary string", and he shows them strung with both fifteen (diatonic) and twenty-five (chromatic) strings (Kosegarten, *loc. cit.*). Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Zayla (d. 440/1048) deal with the *ṣandj*, whilst in the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (8th/ 14th century) and the works of Ibn Ghaybī (d. 839/1435) the *čang* is fully described. The oblique sound-chest was 109 cm. long, and the handle (*dasta*) 81 cm. long. From the sound-chest to the horizontal bar below, twenty-four or twenty-five strings of goat's hair were stretched, being fastened to metal pegs (*malāwī*). Some players even used thirty-five strings so as to embrace the scale of the Systematists. The face of the sound-chest was of skin, but the remainder of the framework was of vine or plum tree wood. The handle was placed under the left arm (cf. the pictures in the mss.) and the fingers of both hands were used in performance, plectra (*zakhamāt*) being fastened to the finger tips. Nowadays, the harp has fallen into complete desuetude among the Arabs and Turks. Even among the Persians it has become rare, and in its modern form it was little different from the occidental instrument (Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, 13), whilst the instrument shown by Kaempfer (16th century) under this name was a zither. In 1638 Ewliyāʾ Čelebī found only twelve players of the *čang* in Istanbul because, he said, it was a difficult instrument to play (*Travels*, i/2, 234). At this time, the Turkish *čang* had forty strings, and a very large instrument of the 16th (not 17th) century is given by Engel (*Mus. instrs. in the South Kensington Museum*, 59).

Although the "humped back" of the *čang* or *djank* became a favourite theme for poets, and it was certainly the best known type, yet an instrument with a "straight back" was also to be found. A more pronounced "hump" existed in a type mentioned by Ibn Ghaybī and called, probably on account of this feature, the *agrī*. It was strung similarly to the *čang* but had a wooden instead of a skin face on the sound-chest, and its tuning-pegs were also of wood.

A Byzantine harp called the *salbāḳ* (erroneously written *salyāḳ*, *shalyāḳ* [cf. SHALYĀḲ in *EI*[1], which clashes with the opinion of the present writer], or *salbān* in most dictionaries and manuscripts) was also known to the Arabs. It was actually a survival of the

old Greek σαμβύκη, and is described in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 236, as "an instrument of the Greeks (*Yūnāniyyūn*) and Byzantium (*Rūm*) resembling the *djank*). According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, it had twenty-four strings (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 91 = § 3216; cf. Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, 4 ff.). Ibn Sīnā classes it with the *ṣandj* among the instruments with "open strings" stretched across a space.

Psaltery. In describing those instruments with "open strings" stretched across a surface, both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention a particular type named the *ʿanḳāʾ*. Whilst the name suggests a "long-necked" instrument, the details given of strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges (*ḥamilāt*), compel one to recognise in it a trapezoidal psaltery, one species of which was known later as the *ḳānūn*. The word *ʿanḳāʾ* also stood for "phoenix" and we know that the Greeks of old had an instrument called the φοίνιξ. This may account for both the instrument and the name among the Arabs. It is not mentioned, however, after the 11th century.

The *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*], the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, is said by Ibn Ghaybī to have been invented by Plato, although the instrument as known in the 4th/10th century is attributed to al-Fārābī (Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. dict.*, iii, 309). The word itself is derived from the Greek χανόυν. Although the instrument is delineated in the various mss. of the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (4th/10th century) *sub kithara*, yet the name *ḳānūn* is not given. It is mentioned in the *Thousand and one nights* (ed. Macnaghten, 49th and 149th nights), and in one place is designated the *ḳānūn miṣrī* ("Egyptian psaltery"). In Spain it was particularly favoured, and al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231) includes it among the Andalusian instruments manufactured at Seville (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*), ii, 142,4). In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and in Ibn Ghaybī it is described in detail. The shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound-chest, 9 cm. deep, was made of vine or plum tree wood. The lengths of the bass and treble sides were 81 and 40.5 cm. respectively, whilst the oblique side was 74.25 cm. It was mounted with sixty-four strings (seventy-two? thus in Ibn Ghaybī), arranged trichordally. Although the *ḳānūn* has fallen into disuse in Persia, it is still a great favourite in the Maghrib, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from fifty-one to seventy-five strings.

A rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass was the *nuzha*. It was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 693/1294) and a design is sometimes to be found in his *Kitāb al-Adwār* (see Farmer, *Arabic musical mss. in the Bodleian Library*, frontispiece). Its features are also fully discussed in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and by Ibn Ghaybī. Its dimensions were 74.25 × 54 cm., whilst the depth of the sound-chest was 27 cm.; 108 strings were mounted in the instrument.

Dulcimer. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla describe an instrument with "open strings" played on with beating rods (*maṭāriḳ*) which is called the *ṣandj ṣīnī* ("Chinese *ṣandj*"). This is clearly the dulcimer, later to be generally known as the *sinṭīr* and *sanṭūr* (also written *ṣanṭūr*, *sinṭīr* and *ṣanṭīr*), a word derived immediately from the Aramaic, but probably traceable to the Greek ψαλτήριον. Indeed, it is invariably found in the hands of Jews and Greeks. It is of similar structure to the *ḳānūn*, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one. The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks (*maḍārib*) instead of plectra as in the *ḳānūn*. We find it mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and al-Haythamī (d. 970/1563), but its popularity was but fitful among the Arabs. In the 18th century it is doubtfully acknowledged by Russell (i, 152) and Niehbur (*tumpanon*). In Egypt, both Villoteau and Lane show that it was only to be found in the hands of Jews, Greeks and other foreign residents, whilst native writers like Mushāḳa and Darwīsh Muḥammad make no mention of it. To-day it is practically unknown in Syria and Egypt. In the Maghrib it is unnoticed by Höst, Christianowitsch and Salvador-Daniel, and although it is dealt with by Delphin and Guin, it is scarcely known to-day. In Persia, however, it obtained greater recognition. In the 17th century it is mentioned by Chardin but not by Kaempfer, whilst Advielle in the 19th century gives both a design and a description. In Turkey, whilst the word is registered in the 17th century by Meninski, it is not mentioned by Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, nor described by Ewliyāʾ Čelebī, in their lists of Turkish musical instruments. In the next century, however, it is recognised by Toderini, and to-day the *sanṭūr* is one of the most esteemed instruments in the country, where it may be seen in two forms: the *sanṭūr turkī* and the *sanṭūr fransiz*. The former, exclusively used by the Jews, has 160 strings, grouped in fives, giving thirty-two notes, a two octave chromatic scale. The latter, which is confined to the Turks, was introduced from the West about the middle of the last century by a certain Ḥilmī Bey. It is mounted with 105 strings, also grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound-chest in the Occidental way.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929; idem, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; idem, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1931; J.P. Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum magnus*, Greifswald 1840-2; Land, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la gamme arabe*, Leiden 1884; Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, *al-Fārābī*, Paris 1930; Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ*, India Office ms. 1811, fol. 173; Ibn Zayla, B.L. ms. Or 2361, fol. 235b; *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, B.L. ms. Or. 2361, fols. 263-4; Ibn Ghaybī, ms. Oxford, Marsh 828, fol. 78; Shalāḥī, ms. Madrid 603; *ZDPV* (1927), c, 19; Haythamī, ms. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin 5517, fol. 24b; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776-80, 143; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgo 1712; Russell, *Natural history of Aleppo*, London 1794; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900)*, in *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, x, Munich 1979, index s.v. instruments/*miʿzafa*.

(H.G. FARMER)

MIẒALLA (A.), lit. "an instrument or apparatus for providing shade, *ẓill*," apparently synonymous with the *shamsa*, *shamsiyya*, lit. "an instrument or apparatus for providing shelter from the sun", probably therefore referring to the sunshade or parasol born on ceremonial occasions and processions [see MAWĀKIB] over early Islamic rulers.

1. In the ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid caliphates.

The historical sources provide a few references on practice in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Thus the official Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT] was responsible in al-Muʿtaṣim's time for the manufacture of *inter alia* the *m.sh.m.s* (? *mushammas*, *mishmas*) (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1183). During al-Mustaʿīn's reign, control of the caliphal *shamsa* was disputed by the Turkish generals, and at one point it was held by al-Yīnūḳ al-Farghānī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1553). The troops accompanying al-Muḳtadir in 294/906-7 and protecting the Pilgrimage caravan against the Car-

mathians of Zakarawayh had a *shamsa* which had been set with jewels by al-Muʿtaḍid (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2274; ʿArīb, 16). In 320/932 al-Muḳtadir marched on his fatal expedition against Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] wearing a *tākhtadj* coat, a black turban and with his head shaded by a *shamsa* (ʿArīb, 167).

Whether this *shamsa*, etc., really was a parasol is thus not entirely clear from the contexts, but whatever it was exactly, it passed also to the Fāṭimids, and one of those caliphs' Ṣaḳlabī soldiers had the duty of functioning as *ṣāḥib al-miẓalla*; see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 131, Eng. tr. 133; I. Hrbek, *Die Slawen im Dienst der Fāṭimiden*, in *ArO*, xxi (1953), 572.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 786, ii, 84; *Glossarium* to Ṭabarī, p. CCCXVI; M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantine, essai de comparaison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 388-9.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Mamlūk sultanate. In Mamlūk sources this appears as *djitr*, *shitr*, from Pers. *čitr*, denoting the parasol as one of the insignia of royalty (cf. the canopy borne over the monarch at the English coronation). Although of widespread use by oriental rulers, including the Saldjūḳids (cf. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, 206, n. 57), al-Ḳalḳashandī states that in the Mamlūk sultanate it was a survival from the Fāṭimid caliphate. According to this statement (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 7, 8, 46, based on al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Aymān Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 32-3), it was made of yellow silk with gold brocade, and the staff was surmounted by a silver-gilt bird, whence its usual name in this period of *al-ḳubba wa 'l-ṭayr*. In processions at the two *ʿīds*, it was carried by an *amīr* of the highest rank, who rode beside the sultan, and was remunerated with a robe of honour. In several respects the Mamlūk *miẓalla* differed from its Fāṭimid prototype as described by al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 469). The latter appears to have lacked the bird, to have varied in colour according to the caliph's robes, and to have been carried in processions generally.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. Holt)

3. In the Islamic West. Here it would seem that a certain imprecision, hence variability, existed in the meaning of two words derived from the same root and designating "shades". Properly speaking, the *maẓall* is a canopy and also the general's tent, insignia of command, rallying point and headquarters on campaign. In this sense, it is a synonym of *ḳubba*. The *miẓalla/maẓalla*, however, is a parasol. Lévi-Provençal let himself be caught in this confusion between *maẓall* and *miẓalla* (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 14, 111). We may note that the *Vocabulista* had *maẓall/galerus*, *capel de sol*, and P. de Alcalá, *medel*, *medelit/ramada*, *sombra de ramos*.

Technically speaking, as against *maẓall*, a portable but firm construction—at least for the daytime and whose sudden removal provoked many a rout—and quite spacious (the commander withdrew there, slept there and met his officers in council there), the *miẓalla*/parasol constitutes a movable piece of equipment whose ultimate purpose is to accompany a particular person during his diurnal travels in order to protect him from the sun. The use of the parasol constituted one of the special privileges of the sovereign, at least under the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*; see also Ibn Hamado, *Hist. des rois Obaidides*, 14-15/27-8; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 448, 451, 455, 456, 477: al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 473]. It has still to be demonstrated that the Umayyads made use of it in the East. As for al-Andalus, the only indisputable mentions are references to fixed canopies, supported by several posts, that one drives into the ground and arranges to pitch them [cf. MAWĀKIB]. The use of the parasol did not constitute one of the external insignia of the caliph's power. Ibn Khaldūn never mentions it in his enumeration of the "sovereign's attributes". Nor is it to be found in the descriptions of processions as being part of the etiquette displayed [see MARĀSIM]. In this sense, it is striking to record that no reference to a normal use of this parasol during the Umayyad caliphate appears to have come down to us. The poets speak of the *ḳubba* [*q.v.*], real or metaphorical, the chronicles of the *ḳubba* and *maẓall*, but never of the *miẓalla*. It seems, however, that the sporadic (and non-"official") use of this apparatus was not totally unknown. On the contrary, it would be difficult to understand the emphasis with which al-Rāzī stresses the fact that, during the capture of Calatayud, in 325/937, "the caliph al-Nāṣir rode from one point of the town to another, until dusk, without protecting himself from the sun (*ghayr muẓalla*)" (*Muḳtabas*, v, 269).

The use of the parasol by the Almoravid, Almohad, Marīnid and Naṣrid rulers is not attested either by the chronicles or the geographers' accounts. When Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Khaṭrat al-ṭayf*, 44) described a *miẓalla*, in 755/1354, it was not actually a sunshade but a fixed canopy. In fact, he tells us that it was supported by poles of plane tree wood, *ʿalā ʿumūd al-sādj* (which is quite different from a parasol which only has one stem). This canopy had been erected by the Genoese merchants (*tudjdjār al-Rūm*) of Almeria. The fact that Ibn al-Khaṭīb lingers on it would tend to prove that it was an exceptional object, whose use was unknown in Granada and which constituted an import. One may add that Leo Africanus does not mention the use of the parasol in Fez, Tlemcen or Tunis. Thus it would seem that its use in the Maghrib may not be earlier than the Saʿdids. The first known mention is that of the *Nuzhat al-hādī*, 116, "When the Sultan al-Manṣūr rode with his royal retinue, the sunshade was carried by the officer whose rank was closest to that of the caid Ebruiz.... When the sultan went on foot to the *masdjid*.... the sunshade was carried by Ebruiz himself."

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. Chalmeta)

4. In the Persian, Indian and Turkish lands. Although in the Arabic cultural context *miẓalla* denotes both a parasol considered as one of the insignia of rank and also a large tent, in the Iranian cultural sphere this term is usually replaced by Pers. *čatr*, also in Urdu in the form *čhatar* (Skr. *čhattra*). The use of a parasol held over the sovereign long antedates Islam not only in the Middle East, as noted by Laylard (*Nineveh*, ii, 327) but also in China; a parasol hub and a hooked bronze ferrule found in the Hsiung-nu burials at Noin Ula (see Rudenko, *Kul'tura*, fig. 42) are probably of Han manufacture. Concomitant use in religious contexts is already attested on a coin of Caracalla (*r.* A.D.211-17), where two parasols flank a *baetyl* at the temple of Jupiter Sol at Emesa (Ḥimṣ) in Syria; both royal and devotional use are shown in the art of Gandhara, Ajanta, Sanchi, Amaravati and Dunhuang (the Buddhist use extends to Thailand and Burma), in either an umbrella shape, or a more mushroom-like form with downward-curving edges, often elaborated with fringes and pendants. A heavy stone umbrella forms the crowning member of the Djayn and Buddhist *stupas*. This dual significance is resumed in the Muslim Persian concept of the *sāya-yi Ẓill Allāh*, "shade of the Shadow of God".

The existence of the *čatr* among the Sāmānids in the 4th/10th century is attested by Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] without further detail (de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri, poète persan*, 13, tr. 166). Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 639) refers under the year 431/1039-40 to black *čatr*s and a black standard with short shafts, all in cases of black silk: the Ghaznavids had used this colour since the reign of Maḥmūd, though their founder Sevük-Tigin had a red parasol, *čatr-i laʿl*. The close association of *čatr* and standard in colour was to remain typical of following dynasties; in this case black may have been adopted from ʿAbbāsids, though it is noteworthy that Firdawsī attributes it to the Tūrānians—possibly an anachronism. By the time of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd (acceded 459/1059) the *čatr* was surmounted by the jewelled figure of a falcon. The office of its bearer, *čatr-dār*, was among the highest that a *ghulām* could attain, with the standard bearer, the master of the wardrobe, and the armour-bearer (*ibid.*, 410; Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk*, fol. 15b, tr. Shafi, 200). Correspondingly the capture of a parasol is deemed by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to be worthy of special reward (*op. cit.*, fol. 126b ff.).

For the Ḳarakhānids, Maḥmud al-Kāshgharī (wrote 466/1072-3) (*Dīwān lughat al-Turk*, facs. edn., fol. 106) cites both the horsetail *tūgh* and a curved parasol as set up on the battlefield as the emblems of war, *ʿalāmāt al-ḥarb*: the parasol (A. *ḳubba*) is defined as of silk, made for the kings of the Turks to protect them from summer heat or rain and snow; the Khāḳāni term given, *čowač* (also denoting "crown" in Khʷārazm Turkic), was still current in the time of Rabghūzī (wrote 710/1310), referring symbolically to the vault of heaven (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, cited Radloff, *Versuch*, iv, 59). A black silk *čowač* is the single emblem of rank attributed to the chief minister, *yughrush* (Kāshgharī, 462), with the same practical purpose; it seems that orange, *āl*, may have been reserved for the sovereign and his family (cf. *ibid.*, 53). These *čowač* could be folded (*ibid.*, 470). Illustrations of parasols used by the roughly contemporary Khitan, both open and folded, survive in the Wen-chi scrolls (*op. cit.* scenes 2, 14-8): that of the *khān* is red, like a shallow, ribbed umbrella about 1 m across, with a double-edge flounce and a reinforcement round the gilt finial, the shaft being about 3.0 m high, carried by a bearer walking beside his horse. It appears only during journeys. These traditions appear to have been continued by the Saldjūḳs: thus Ṭoghrïl first entered Nīshāpūr under a red parasol, while that of Kāwurd, governor of Kirmān, carried the figure of a bow and arrow, and that of Sandjar was black. The Saldjūḳs of Rūm, once under the hegemony of the Īlkhāns, are likely to have employed their black parasols, also used by the Khʷārazm Shāhs, though Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II changed the colour to blue to indicate his opposition to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Rashīd al-Dīn refers specifically to the *sarāparda* [*q.v.*] and *čatr* as the *ālat-i salṭanat* in the reign of Berkyārūḳ (487-98/1094-1104) (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Ateş, *Selçuklar tarihi*, 65). Such *čatr*s, like the standards, were placed as a mark of respect on the tomb of a deceased ruler, and the possession of a *čatr* was tantamount to the possession of the throne, as when Baybars marched on Anatolia (676/1277). Both the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks used yellow for their *čatr* and standards, as heirs to the Fāṭimids. According to the Chinese *Meng-ta pei-lu* (*ca.* 1221), Čingiz Khān used only a red and yellow parasol besides his nine-tailed standard (tr. Olbricht and Pinks, 72). An early 8th/14th century illustration (Staatsbibl., Berlin, Diez'sche Klebebände A, fol. 71, s. 50) shows an Īl-Khānid prince riding below a red parasol held on an angled staff by the mounted bearer. Though the top is cut by the picture frame, the *čatr* appears to have a shallow concave slope; it is cut in gores, which continue into the plain vertical flounce.

Under the Tīmūrids, the *čatr* seems to have been known in Čaghatay as *shögür*, a term which spread to Ḳalmaḳ Mongolian as *shükr*. A painting in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of *ca.* 1434 (Freer Gallery, Washington, no. 4/18) shows Tīmūr entering Samarḳand under a parasol of dark red brocade semé with small gold motifs, formed in a shallow concave curve from the central hub, *ca.* 1 m in diameter, with an edge flounce 20 cm deep and thus similar to the Īl-Khānid version. An example in the Gulbenkian Anthology of Iskandar Sulṭān (177) of 813/1410-11 is the same shape, scarlet with gold arabesques, but the spirally gilded pole is set at an angle to the parasol itself, as though adjustable (see Gray, *Persian painting*, 74,97); in both cases the bearer is mounted as well as the monarch, and this remains the pattern in bookpainting. Gonçalez de Clavijo records that in 807/1404 Sarāy-Mulk Khātūn, Tīmūr's first wife, made her court entry shaded by a white silk parasol "like the dome of a round tent", and made to stay open by a round wooden hoop (? *arco*) raised on a lance-like shaft (*Historia*, fol. 62a). Following the contemporary emphasis on their practical function, the *čatr*s shown in Türkmen and Ṣafawid paintings are depicted almost exclusively in outdoor scenes of battle, hunting, games or royal encounters and travel. The Ṣafawid type resembles the Tīmūrid in being conical, with the shaft set at a variable angle, probably as an adjustment to its use from horseback, but the cone is steeper, at *ca.* 40°, and is of the characteristic arabesque brocade with a red flounce, and sometimes a macramé fringe; a gilded bird may be set on top (see the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī of 946/1539, BL ms. Or. 2265, fol. 18a, or the Houghton *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, fol. 182b).

India. The use of parasols under the Dihlī Mamlūks is remarkable for the number of colours referred to, each apparently associated with a particular rank or individual. Thus Iltutmish rewarded his victorious son Maḥmūd with a red parasol, *čatr-i laʿl*, in 623/1226, and his younger brother Rukn al-Dīn with a green one, *čatr-i sabz*, on his appointment to the fief of Badāʾūn. In 658/1260 the throne at the Ḳaṣr-i Sabz at Dihlī was flanked by a red parasol and a black one, both set with costly jewels. Malik Yüz Beg, when claiming royal status, assumed three, sc. red, black, and white (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, text 181, 318, 263). The white was used by Balbān (ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ*, 150-3), framed with willow. Amīr Khusraw writes of black, red, white, green and tamarisk *čatr*s at Nawrūz in Dihlī in 686/1287, and extolls their qualities (*Ḳirān*, 57-9). For the Khaldjīs, too, the royal parasol was black, *čatr-i siyāh-i sulṭānī* (idem, *Khazāʾin*, 65) or white, to be raised at dawn (*ibid.*, 66), whereas the Rāʾī of Deogīr was given a blue one, *saḳf-rang* (*ibid.*, 72); yet Baranī calls the red one presented by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to his son Khiḍr Khān on his appointment to Čitōṛ in 703/1303 *čatr-i bādshāhī* (*ibid.*, 68, cf. Baranī, *Taʾrīkh*, 367). It appears that the *čatr* directly represented the ruler or his deputy, according to its colour, whereas the awning, *sāyabān*, was the symbol of royal authority even when the ruler was not present. "The mighty sovereign at the centre of the blackness of his parasol is like the 'vision of man', for the eye of God is over him," *bādshāh ba-niyā ki miyān-i siyāh-i čatr bi 'l-ʿayn-i insān ʿayn ast: ʿayn allāh ʿalayhi* (Khusraw, *Khazāʾin*, 64). The black parasol remained the principal one under the Tughluḳ dynasty,

though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that in 734-42/1333-42 Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] had no less than sixteen *čatr* (spelled *shaṭr*), some gilded, and some set with jewels (*Riḥla*, iii, 415), and al-ʿUmarī reports seven as carried over the sultan's head as he rode to war, of which two were set with gems (*Masālik*, 19, l. 20). Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1890, 107-8, lists the black umbrella among the 21 royal prerogatives maintained by Fīrūz Shāh. The conferring of a *čatr* as a non-hereditary privilege was characteristic of the reward through status rather than monetary benefit practised under the Sultanate.

Reference to the earlier Mughal book paintings such as the *Bābur-nāma* of *ca.* 999/1590 (BL ms. Or. 3714, fols. 52a, 94b, 273b, 274a, 306a) show the *čatr* used, as before, to shade the ruler in the field; the form, like that of the Ṣafawids, is conical, with a deep flounce, a gilt pear-and-ball finial, and an angled shaft borne by a horseman. In some cases the surface is of blue flowered brocade, and in others red (e.g. fol. 274a); the rim is emphasised, with either a gilt border, or an intended, coronet-like golden trim, sometimes with a row of pearls. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* lists the *čatr* second after the throne among the insignia of royalty (*āʾīn* 19), specifying "it is adorned with the most precious jewels, and there may not be less than seven (*čatr* or jewels?)." Another type is shown with a convex dome supported by a system of curved stays from the shaft (*Bābur-nāma* fol. 94b). Nevertheless, *čatrs* do not appear prominently until the reign of Djahāngīr, when a pair of the conical type is set either side of the throne in a carefully composed court scene below a three-tiered tent (Leningrad *Muraḳḳaʿ*, no. e 14, fol. 22); thereafter, they are used regularly in similarly symmetrical tented settings by Shāh Djahān for court appearances, where golden parasols have the gently convex profile still to be seen at Rādjpūt palace museums (cf. the ex-Vever coll. court scene of 1037/1627-8, Freer S86.0406). Later, a *čatr* is shown surmounting the peacock throne (court scene at Āgrā, 1048/1638, by ʿĀbid, *Binney coll.*, 58). Contemporary court literature confirms this use, the parasols being set on a dais below the audience tent, *aspak*, used at festivals: they were jewelled, and hung with pendants, strings and fringes of pearls (cf. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, *ʿAmal-i ṣāliḥ*, i, 282-3, and Muḥammad Wārith, *Pādshāh-nāma*, fols. 406b-407a). They do not, however, appear in tentless palace settings (see the Windsor *Shāh Djahān-nāma*, *passim.*). In *ca.* 1070/1660 Awrangzīb was depicted with a single golden *čatr*, fringed with pearls and set with squared rubies and emeralds, but one of the older Tīmūrid shape (Welch, *Imperial Mughal painting*, 57).

The Ottomans seem to have used the parasol neither at court nor in the field, except for a version too large, at 3 m across, to be carried, set up to shade the royal tent on state occasions (see *Süleymān-nāme*, fols. 297a, 346a, 441a, cf. 550a, for Ṣafawid equivalent).

Bibliography: For the pre-Islamic examples referred to, see Sir A. Layard, *Nineveh*, London 1848-9; S.I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura Khunnov i Noinulinskie kurgani*, Moscow 1962; Madanjeet Singh, introd., *Inde, peintures des grottes d'Ajanta*, UNESCO, New York 1954, pls. xiv, xvii, xxv; K. Krishna Murthy, *The Gandhara sculptures*, Delhi 1977, 113-14. For the Sāmānids, see Manūčihrī, *Dīwān*, ed. and tr. A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski as *Menoutchehri, poète persan du onzième siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1886. For the Ghaznavids, see Abu 'l Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ḳ. Ghanī and ʿA.A. Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945; Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk*, ms. India Office 647 (Ethé 2767), ed. A.S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967; I.M. Shafi, *Fresh light on the Ghaznavîds*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 189-234; Gulam Mustafa Khan, *A history of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 80-3. For the Ḳarākhānids, see Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Divānü lügat-it-türk*, facsimile, Ankara 1941; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte*, repr. The Hague 1960. The Khitan scenes are shown in *Eighteen songs of a nomad flute: the story of Lady Wen-Chi*, ed. R.A. Rorex and Wen Fong, New York, Metropolitan Museum 1974. For the Saldjūḳs, see Gulam Mustafa Khan, *op. cit.*, 82 n., and F. Köprülü, *Bayrak*, in *İA*, ii, 407-8, without specified sources; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Cāmiʿ al-tavārīḫ (metin)*, ii, 5 *Selçuklar tarihi*, ed. A. Ateş, Ankara 1960. For Čingiz Khān, see *Meng-ta pei-lu und Hei-ta shih-lüeh*, ed. and tr. P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, as *Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 56, Wiesbaden 1980. For the vowelling of *shögür*, see H. Vambery, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867. For Tīmūrid miniatures, see B. Gray, *Persian painting*, London 1977; O. Galerkina, *Mawarannahr book painting*, Leningrad 1980, 44; V. Enderlein, *Die Miniaturen der Berliner Baisonqur-Handschrift*, Frankfurt a.M. 1970, 19, 28, showing construction. For Clavijo, see Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, Seville 1582. For the Türkmen and Ṣafawids, see listings in N. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian manuscripts*, London, British Library 1977, 303, under *Parasol*; S.C. Welch, *Royal Persian manuscripts*, London 1976, 75; *idem*, *Wonders of the age*, Harvard, Fogg Art Museum 1979, 21, 51. For India under the Sultanate, see Minhādj al-Dīn Abū ʿUmar Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. W.N. Lees, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1864; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. Mahdi Husain, Agra 1938; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn*, Lucknow 1845; *idem*, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, ed. Syed Moinul Haq, Aligarh 1927; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1862; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣar*, ed. and tr. O. Spies as *Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿOmarīs Bericht über Indien*, Leipzig 1943. For Mughal India, see Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1872; *Bobirnoma rasmlari* ("Miniatures of Bābur-nāmā"), ed. Hamid Suleiman, iii, Tashkent 1973; *Al'bom indiyskikh i persidskikh miniatyur XVI-XVII vv.*, ed. L.T. Gyuzalyan, Moscow 1962, pl. 32; G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Paris 1913, ii, pl. clxi, no. 229; E. Binney, *Indian miniature painting*, i, Portland 1973, no. 58, pl. on p. 100; M.C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, Williamstown 1978, 78-80, no. 24; S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal painting*, London 1978, 113, pl. 37; D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Die indische Malerei*, Stuttgart 1980, 39, 132; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū Lāhawrī, *ʿAmal-i ṣāliḥ or Shāh-Jahān nāmah*, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1923-39; Muḥammad Wārith, *Pādshāh-nāma*, BL ms. Add. 6556. For the Ottomans, cf. E. Atil, *Süleymanname, the illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent*, Washington D.C. 1986, pls. 27, 33, 43, cf. 56. For Southeast Asia, see D. MacKenzie Brown, *The white umbrella*, Berkeley 1953, 157; also rubbing from the Angkor-Wat complex in the Siegel collection, showing the Khmer King Suryavarman II (1113-50) flanked by twelve parasols of the Ajanta type.

(P.A. Andrews)

5. In Indo-Muslim architecture. An architec-

tural form of the *miẓalla* is known in India as *čhatrī*, diminutive of the Skt. *čhattra*, sc. small, canopied structures placed at the junctions of the *chemin de ronde* of a fortification, or as decorative elements at roof level on mosque, tomb or other building, or as simple cover of an inhumation less imposing than a tomb proper [see MAḲBARA. 5]. In certain architectural styles (e.g. Bengal, Mālwā) a *čhatrī* may cover a *minbar* [*q.v.*] or, as in the Red Fort in Dihlī, a baldachino intended as the ruler's seat.

The earliest uses seem to be in fortification, where a *čhatrī* at the angles of a wall-walk affords protection from the elements for the guard; heavy domed rooms, with almost solid sides, often as the upper part of a *burdj* [*q.v.*]. The best existing example is in the corner towers of the fortified Khirkī mosque in Dihlī (Yamamoto *et alii, Architectural remains of the Delhi Sultanate period*, pl. M.7); by the time of the fortified Ḳadam-i Sharīf [see DIHLĪ. Monuments], the *čhatrī* has assumed its characteristic form of a domed canopy supported on four strong pillars, with heavy protecting eaves (Yamamoto, pl. 0.8); thereafter it continues as a regular feature, on four, six or even eight supports, on buildings of the Dihlī sultanate, whence it spreads to most of the provincial styles [see HIND. vii]. Among the earliest royal tombs at Dihlī are the *čhatrīs* over the graves of Rukn al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh and Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh at Malikpur outside the complex known as Sulṭān Ghārī (S.A.A. Naqvi, *Sultan Ghari, Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, iii [1947], pl.). There are sporadic uses of the *čhatrī* in the "Sayyid" and Lōdī periods as a sort of lantern crowning the dome of a tomb, e.g. in the "Pōtī" of the "Dādī-Pōtī" complex near Ḥawḍ Khāṣṣ, the tomb of Mubārak Shāh in Mubārakpur, and (according to old illustrations) in the tomb of Shēr Shāh in Sahsarām [*q.v.*] (H.H. Cole, *Preservation of national monuments. Report for...1882-3*, Calcutta 1883, two pls.; also in J. Ferguson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1876, ill. 288; this was later replaced, by a British engineer, with an incongruous heavy stone *kalaśa*-and-*amalaka* finial). In Lōdī times the pillars supporting the dome become much thinner (e.g. in the Djahāz Maḥall at Mihrawlī, south of Dihlī; Yamamoto *et alii*, pl. O. 22), and this tendency persists into the Mughal period. *Čhatrīs* are used with great freedom on all roofs, and with the reintroduction of the minaret [see MANĀRA] under the Mughals, invariably form its topmost storey, or crown corner turrets as in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla in Āgrā, or the tomb of Mīrzā Muḳīm Abu'l Manṣūr Khān (Ṣafdar Djang) in Dihlī. In Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, outside Āgrā, is first seen the expedient of uniting two *čhatrīs*, at the corners of the building, under one common projecting eaves-pent, leading to the common Mughal practice of a string of conjoined *čhatrīs* as a feature above doorways, etc.: a row of seven above the Lahawrī gate of Dihlī fort, thirteen surmounting the central arch of the Buland Darwāza in Fatḥpur Sīkrī, eleven over both front and rear elevations of the ornamental gateway to the Tādj Maḥall, nine over the central arch on each face of the tomb of "Ṣafdar Djang", which is directly modelled on the Tādj gateway, etc. The cupola over the baldachino (*nashīman-i ẓill-i Ilāhī*) in the Dīwān-i ʿAmm in the Red Fort of Dihlī is unusual in having a "Bengali" roof with curved cornices, an innovation made popular in Shāh Djahān's reign.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: architectural remains of the Delhi sultanate period*, i, Tokyo 1967, for a complete photographic corpus of sultanate buildings in the Dihlī region; good illustrations for Fatḥpur Sīkrī in S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fatḥpur-Sīkrī*, Bombay 1975, or in the *Marg* special Fatḥpur Sīkrī volume, Bombay 1987; the Tādj Maḥall is best illustrated in M. Bussagli, *Il Taj mahall* (*Forma e colore* series), Florence 1965, and now in W. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *The Tāj Maḥall: the illumined tomb*, Seattle-London 1989. But adequate illustrations abound in all works of Indian architecture, for which see *Bibl.* to HIND. vi. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-MĪZĀN (A.) balance, is the *nomen instrumenti* from *wazana* "to weigh", which means to weigh in the ordinary sense and also to test the level of something, like the Latin *librare*. Here we shall discuss:

1. The various instruments used for weighing in the ordinary sense; brief notes are added on the ascertainment of specific gravities.
2. Levelling instruments.
3. Aspects of the balance in Indian Muslim art.

1. BALANCES.

The steelyard (*al-ḳarasṭūn* [*q.v.*]) has already been dealt with, and the general principles of the balance are also discussed in that article.—The usual balance with two arms of equal length had the same shape among the Muslims as in ancient times and at all periods in the West; this we know from extant specimens and illustrations in various works, notably in al-Khāzinī, in a manuscript of al-Ḳazwīnī with reference to the constellation Libra (fig. 1), in a manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī, in the *ʿĀʾīn-i ʿAkbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl (fig. 2). In the beautiful manuscript from which Ch. Schefer published the *Safar-nāma* of Naṣīr-i Khusraw, on p. 88, in the illustration of the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, there is a balance labelled *terazu* (*Sefer Nameh, Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. Ch. Schefer, *Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* ii/1,
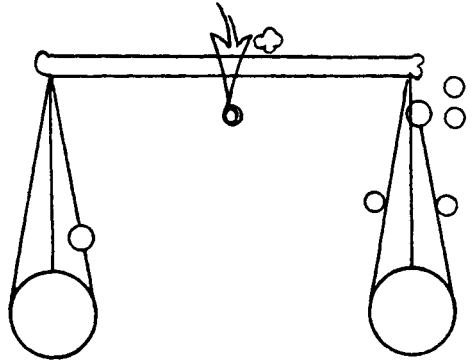
Fig. 1

Paris 1881). The common balance is called *mīzān*, but in the Ḳurʾān we also find *ḳisṭās*, which, according to al-Thaʿlabī, is a loanword (in fact, from Greek or Aramaic, see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 238-9). Other names are *shāhīn*, which does not only mean the beam and tongue of the balance and is contrasted by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ to the *ḳabbān* (steelyard), also *taris* from the Persian *tarāzū*, then *miḥmal* for scales for gold and *ḳubba* for beam and tongue. *Mindjam* means the tongs and also the beam. According to J. Ruska, *ḥabbāba* seems to be used for scales (for gold). On the expressions connected with *ḳarasṭūn*, see that article. Al-Muḳaddasī, 141, mentions Ḥarrān as a place where balances were made; in this town, many very skilful mechanics were
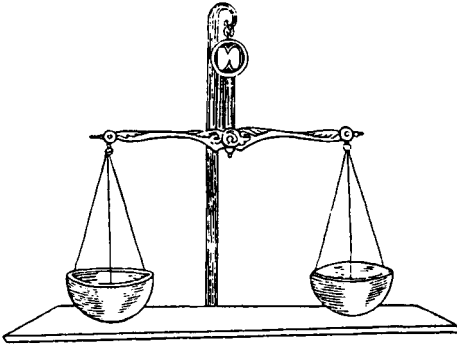
Fig. 2

engaged in making astronomical instruments. The accuracy of the balances made in Ḥarrān was proverbial.

The Arabs devoted special attention to the construction of balances used to identify metals and jewels for their specific gravity, to distinguish false from genuine and pure and to ascertain the composition of alloys of two metals by the use of the principle of Archimedes. They called these balances *mīzān al-mā*ʾ, "water" (hydrostatic) balances. Of makers of these, al-Khāzinī (*flor.* early 6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) mentions Sanad (Sind) b. ʿAlī (*ca.* 250/864), Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (320/932-3), Ibn al-ʿAmīd (359/969-70), Yuḥannā b. Yūsuf (perhaps al-Ḳāṣṣ, d. *ca.* 370/980-1), Ibn Sīnā (428/1037), Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Massāḥ (the "measurer, also mentioned by al-Bīrūnī without the "Massāḥ") and Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Khayyāmī (as the celebrated mathematician is never called Abū Ḥafṣ, it is doubtful whether he is the individual mentioned by al-Khāzinī). The balances made by these names are still fairly simple as only two, or at most three, scales were used in them. A contemporary of al-Khāzinī, namely Abū Ḥākim al-Muẓaffar b. Ismāʿīl al-Asfizārī (d. before 515/1121), added two more scales; these and other improvements made the scales much more convenient to use. Of him, al-Bayhaḳī says (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xx. *Einige Biographien nach al-Baihaḳī*, in *SPMSE*, xlii [1910], 17): "He constructed the balance of Archimedes with which one ascertains forgeries. The treasurer of the Great Sultan feared that his frauds would thus be discovered. He therefore broke the balance and destroyed its parts. Al-Muẓaffar died of grief as a result." Al-Khāzinī then took up al-Muẓaffar's work and made the balance a most accurate means of measuring; he called it the univer-
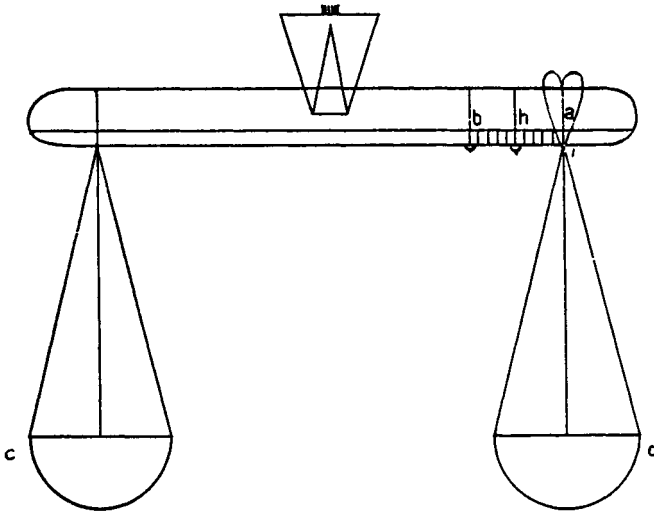
Fig. 3
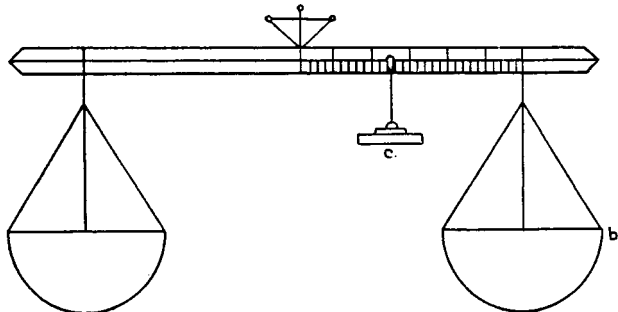
Fig. 4

sal balance, *al-mīzān al-d̲j̲āmiʿ*. But, no doubt in memory of his predecessor, he called his book *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*. For special purposes such as the examination of gold and silver and their alloys, many contrivances were made with balances and the movable scales and running weights on the beams, for example in the physical (*ṭabīʿī*) balance of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (fig. 3); it goes back to Greek models, e.g. of Archimedes (fig. 4; cf. al-K̲h̲āzinī, *op. cit.*).

Here we shall describe somewhat more fully the "balance of wisdom" of al-K̲h̲āzinī. (H. Bauerreis, *Zur Geschichte des spez. Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter*, diss., Erlangen 1913, has reconstructed the "balance of wisdom" as nearly as possible following the data of the original. Reproductions are in Erlangen and the German Museum in Munich. The illustration is taken from a photograph. In the original right and left are reversed.)

Al-K̲h̲āzinī gives the beam *A* of the balance (fig. 5) a thickness of 6 cm. and a length of 2 m. In the centre it is strengthened by an additional piece *C*, obviously intended to avoid any bending at this point. A crosspiece *B* (*ʿariḍa*) is let in here. Corresponding to it is a similar cross-piece *F* on the lower part of the tongs, in which moves the tongue *D*, itself about 50 cm. long. The upper cross-piece *E* is hung by rings to a rod which is fastened somewhere. Pegs or small holes are placed at exactly opposite places of the crosspieces *B* and *F* to which threads are tied or drawn through. The friction at an axis is thus avoided, which, in view of the great weight of the beam, is quite considerable. The knob visible below the beam under its centre is used to secure the tongue to the beam or to take it out in order to adjust it evenly. The tongue has for this purpose a peg at the foot which goes through a hole in the beam. Al-K̲h̲āzinī also observes that one could also take shorter beams, but then all the other dimensions must be proportionately smaller. The beam is divided not on one side only, as in the illustration, but on both. The scales are hung on very delicate rings of steel (*g̲h̲urāb* "ravens"), the points of which fit into little niches on the upper surface of the beam.

Five scales are used in ascertaining specific gravities, i.e. in investigating alloys and examining precious stones. Of these, the scale *H* (fig. 5^{a}) is called the cone-shaped or *al-ḥākim*, "the judge", as it is used to distinguish false from true. It goes into the water, and in order to meet less resistance in sinking, is cone-shaped and pointed below. The scale *J* is called the winged (*mud̲j̲annaḥ*, figs. 5^{b} and 5^{c}, side and top view). It has indented sides so that it can be brought very close to the adjoining scales. It is also called the movable (*munaḳḳal*). There is also a movable running weight *K* (*al-rummāna al-sayyāra*) which serves, if necessary, to adjust the weight of the lighter beam; it is therefore also called the *rummāna* of the adjustment (*al-taʿdīl*). The other scales are used to hold weights.
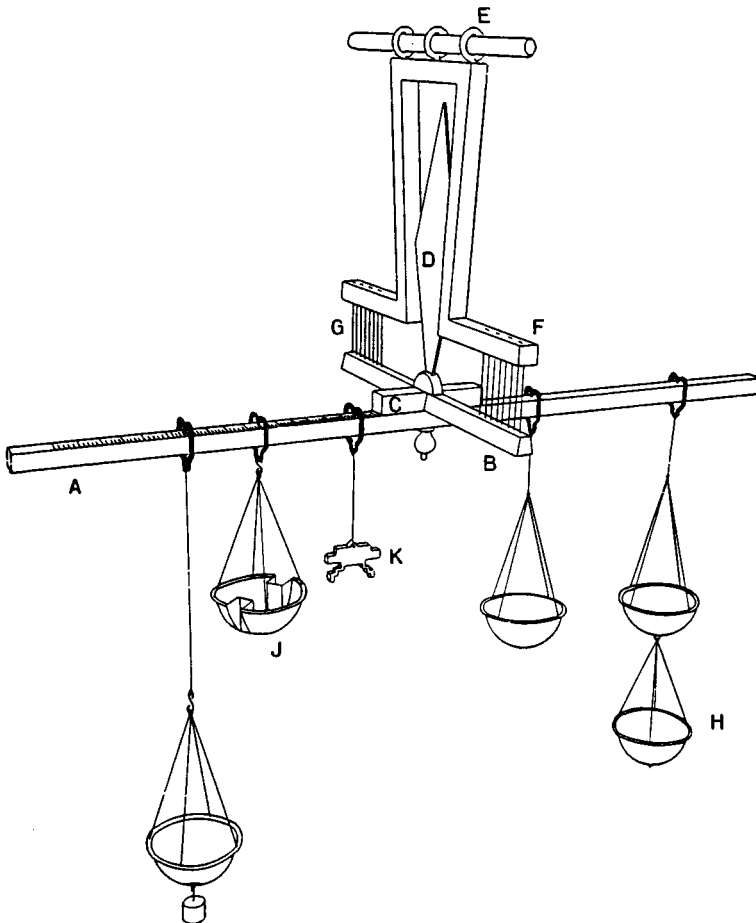
Fig. 5.

Al-Khāzinī attained an extraordinary degree of accuracy with his balance. This was the result of the length of the beam, the peculiar method of suspension, the fact that the centre of gravity and axis of oscillation were very close to each other, and of the obviously very accurate construction of the whole. Al-Khāzinī himself says that when the instrument was weighing 1,000 *mithḳāls*, it could show a difference of 1 *ḥabba* = 1/68 *mithḳāl*, i.e. about 75 cg. in 4.5 kg. We thus have accuracy to 1/60,000.

Al-Khāzinī used his scales for the most varied purposes. Firstly, for ordinary weighing, then for all purposes connected with the taking of specific gravities, distinguishing of genuine (*ṣamīm*) and false metals, examining the composition of alloys, changing of *dirhams* to *dīnārs* and countless other business transactions. In all these processes, the scales are moved about until equilibrium is obtained and the desired magnitudes in many cases can at once be read on the divisions on the beam.
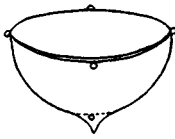
Fig. 5a.
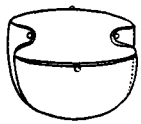
Fig. 5b.
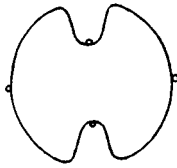
Fig. 5c.

False balances. That as early as the time of Muḥammad balances showing false weights were used for fraudulent purposes is shown by various passages in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra XXVI, 182; VII, 13; XVII, 37). We read, for example, "Weigh with the just (or upright, *mustaḳīm*) balance." Al-Djawbarī (*flor.* 1st half of the 7th/13th century; Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iv. *Über Wagen bei den Arabern*, in *SPMSE*, xxxvii [1905], 388 and Suppl. art. AL-DJAWBARĪ) describes two such arrangements. In the one, the beam of the balance consisted of a hollow reed closed at the ends, in which there was some quicksilver; by a slight inclination of the beam, this could be made to flow as desired to the side of the weights or of the articles and thus make the one or other appear heavier. A balance like that was used in Cairo in the time of E.W. Lane by a dishonest market inspector (*muḥtasib*). In the second pair of scales, the tongue was of iron and the merchant had a ring with a magnetic stone. By bringing the ring close to it the balance went down to the right or left.

The balance or the principles applying to it were used for many purposes besides weighing. Contrivances turning on an axis in which sometimes one and sometimes the other side becomes lighter or heavier, especially by the admission or release of water, were used to produce automatic movements; they are often called *mīzān* (cf. e.g. the writings of the Banū Mūsā and of al-Djazarī; e.g. in F. Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥiyal. Das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Banū Mūsā*, Abh. 2, *Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Med.*, Heft ii [1922]; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kais. Leop. Carol. Akademie*, c [1915], no. 5, and other passages). In the hour balance used to measure time, a container filled with sand or water is hung at one end of a lever poised with arms of equal length and has a hole in the bottom. The equilibrium disturbed by the gradual loss of sand or water is compensated for by weights which move along the other arm. From their weight and position one can calculate the time that has passed (Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxxvii, *Über die Stundenwage*, in *SPMSE*, xlvi [1914], 27; a full description is given by F. Hauser in E. von Basserman-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*).

Most artisans also describe as "scales" *al-misṭara*, i.e. ruler, *al-barkaz*, compass, *al-ḳūniyā*, setsquare and level, as they serve to show lapses from the straight etc. *Miḳyāl*, ell, *shāhīn* and *ḳubbān* are "scales" with which one measures whether things are correct or excessive measure in business transactions (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, i/2, 128). For a few further meanings of *al-mīzān*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *wazana*.

In mathematics , the balance is used to eludicate certain mathematical processes. The steelyard is used to illustrate the inversed relation; the weights are in inverse proportion to the length of the arms (cf. e.g. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, in *Programm Forchheim* [1905-6], 93; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i/2, 10, and other places). Al-Bīrūnī uses the balance to explain the procedure in solving equations (*al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala*) (*Kitāb al-Tafhīm*, ms. Berlin, 5665, fol. 9b). The method of the double error is also called the "process with the use of the beam".

One knows whether a number is divisible by nine by casting out the nines: to do this one adds up the figures in a number and takes away nines from the total until 9 or another number is left; the number left is called *mīzān*. The word *mīzān* also means testing the correctness of any calculation (cf. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Khulāṣāt al-ḥisāb*, ed. G.H.F. Nesselmann, Berlin 1843).

In magic squares, the sum of the largest and smallest figures is called *al-mīzān*; it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals (G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, xiii [1922], 223).

Alchemy is often called *ʿilm al-mīzān*, the science of the scales, or of accurate measurement, as in the preparation of the elixir, etc., the choice of the right proportion of the ingredients is an important matter.

Among other uses of the word *mīzān*, it may be mentioned that a tree on a boundary near Bāniyās at the source of the Jordan was called "tree of the balance" (*mīzān*). We may also note that on the day of judgement a balance with a very long beam will be erected (on it, cf. e.g. M. Wolff, *Muhammadanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, text, 81, tr. 148, and al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira*, ed. L. Gautier, Leipzig 1878, text, 67, tr. 79).

Specific gravity. We have already mentioned that the "balance of wisdom" and other scales were used to test the purity of metals, etc. and to ascertain the composition of alloys; we shall now briefly discuss the work of the Arabs on this subject. Two magnitudes have to be considered. The weights of equal volumes are compared, which corresponds to an investigation of the specific gravities. (It is to be noted that expressions like specific gravity and specific volume, which refer to the unit of weight and the unit of volume, are not found among the Arabs. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, gives the amount of water displaced by 100 *mithḳāls* of various substances corresponding to their volume, and the weights of the metals which

have the same volume as 100 *mithkāls* of gold, and in the case of other substances the same volume as 100 *mithkāls* of blue *yākūt*.) Al-Bīrūnī, for example, takes hemispheres of the different metals or rods of equal size and compares their weights, or the volumes of equal weights are compared by finding those of any weights and then comparing the specific volumes (i.e. the volumes of the unit of weight). For these measurements, one either used methods based on the principle of Archimedes, according to which a body loses in a liquid as much weight as the volume of the fluid displaced by it, or one measures the fluid displaced by the body itself. For this purpose al-Bīrūnī constructed a cone-shaped vessel (*al-āla al-makhrūṭiyya*) (fig. 6). This vessel is filled with water until it begins to run out by a pipe at the side; then a definite mass, as large as possible, of the substance (weight P_1) is weighed, as is the scale P_2 that is placed under the outlet pipe. The substance is then put in the vessel and the pan with the water displaced weighed (P_3), so that from P_3-P_2 we get the volume of water corresponding to the mass P_1, which is then calculated by al-Bīrūnī for a weight of 100 *mithkāls*. As almost always, in ascertaining the specific gravity, the Arabs rely on the ancients, particularly on the work of Menelaus "on the artifice by which one ascertains the quantity of each of a number of mixed bodies", *fī ḥīla allatī yuʿrafu bi-hā miḳdar kull wāḥid min ʿidda adjsām mukhtaliṭa* (from the Escorial ms.) and *maʿrifat kammiyyat tamayyuz al-adjrām al-mukhtaliṭa* (according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 321). In al-Bīrūnī's word, Archimedes himself is mentioned
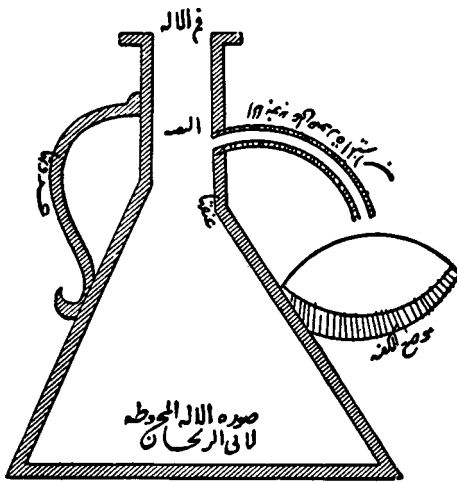
Fig. 6

and a certain Manāṭiyūs (according to Nöldeke, probably Μαντίας). The Muslims, however, did not slavishly take over the statements of the ancients. Al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, for example emphasises that one can ascertain the composition of an alloy of two components but not one of three, as Menelaus says. Among the Muslims it was certainly al-Bīrūnī who did most in this field, in his work "on the relations which exist between metals and jewels in volume" (*Maḳāla fī 'l-nisab allatī bayn al-filizzāt wa 'l-djawāhir fi 'l-ḥadjm*, cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, p. xxxxiv), which still exists, and also in another work, which only survives in fragments quoted by al-Khāzinī. Al-Bīrūnī was induced to compose the first-named by the difficulties encountered by goldsmiths in ascertaining the quantities of metals necessary to copy a given article. As predecessors, he mentions
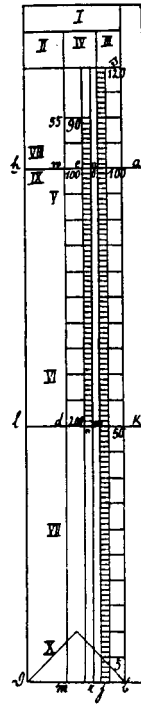
Fig. 7

Sanad b. ʿAlī, Yuḥanna b. Yūsuf and Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Bukhārī. So far as we know he was followed and his results were used by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Khayyāmī (see above), al-Isfizārī (see above), al-Khāzinī (see above), Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210, Suter, no. 328), and Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, Eliyā Misrākhī, a work ascribed to Plato which was composed in the time of Bāyazīd by a slave of a son of Sinān, a Turkish work by al-Ghaffarī, and a Persian one by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (on these works, as on mineralogical literature in general, see Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxx, *Zur Mineralogie des Islam*, in *SPMSE*, xliv [1912], 205). We must also mention the study by Abū Manṣūr al-Nayrīzī, who is not to be confused with the commentator on Euclid, and the work on the measurement of bodies which are compounded of other substances, in order to ascertain the unknown amounts of the separate constituents: *Minbar fī misāḥat al-adjsām al-mukhtaliṭa li 'stikhrādj miḳdār madjhūlihā* by Samūʾīl b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbās al-Maghribī al-Andalusī (d. 570/1174-5 at Maghāra; see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 209; Suter, no, 302).

The statements on specific gravities refer to: A. Metals: gold, mercury, bronze (*ṣifr*), copper, brass (*shibh*), iron, tin (*raṣāṣ*), lead (*usruf* and *usrub*). B. Precious stones: blue *yāḳūt*, red *yāḳūt*, ruby, emerald, lapis lazuli, pearl, coral, cornelian, onyx and rock crystal. C. Other substances: Pharaonic glass, clay from Siminyān, pure salt, salt earth (*sabakh*), sandarch, enamel (*mīnā*), amber, pitch, wax, ivory, bakkam wood and willow wood.

The weights of equal volumes of liquids and the volumes of equal weights of liquid are sometimes found directly, sometimes ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus. The former magnitude plays an important part in the liquids used in everyday life like oil and wine. The second was of more scientific interest. It is especially interesting that the Arabs found that hot water and hot urine had a larger

volume than equal weights cold. They also knew that ice had a larger volume than the same weight of water.

The facts ascertained with the araeometer of Pappus for fluids refer to cold fresh water, hot water, ice (which does not properly belong to this connection), sea water, vinegar, wine, sesame oil, olive oil, cow's milk, hen's egg, blood of a healthy man, warm and cold urine.

Fig. 7 shows the araeometer reconstructed by H. Bauerreiss from al-Khāzinī. *X* is a massive cone used to make the instrument heavy. There are inscriptions corresponding to the Roman numerals. For details, the reader may be referred to H. Bauerreiss's article. The principle that floating bodies of the same weight sink in water to the same depth finds application in a juristic trick cited in the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fi 'l-fiḳh* of Abū Ḥātim al-Ḳazwīnī. The weight of a camel is ascertained by putting it in a boat and noting how deep the boat sinks. The camel is then replaced by iron weights until the boat sinks to the same level (cf. J. Schacht, in G. Bergsträsser, *Beitr. zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*).

In medical works and treatises on weights and measures, figures are given for the weights of equal volumes of wine, oil and honey (cf. Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*).

So far as it is a question of particular bodies, the values as ascertained by the Arabs agree very well with those obtained by modern science and even surpass in accuracy those obtained by it up till the beginning of the last century.

Bibliography: Given in AL-ḲARASṬŪN.

2. LEVELLING (*wazana*, to weigh, corresponding to Latin *librare*).

The Arabs certainly adopted a large number of methods of levelling and testing levels from other peoples, either the Byzantines or the Persians. The statements in Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] (see below) about the making of canals, etc., agree with those of Vitruvius, who in turn drew on Greek sources. The Arabs learned partly from Greek works; for example, we are told that according to Philemon (according to M. Steinschneider, Philo), the incline in canals must be at least 5 : 1,000; but they also utilised data gained from the practical experience of landowners, canal builders, etc. Whether the Arabs were acquainted with the standard works of Hero on this subject, the *Metrica* and the "On the Dioptra" (Hero, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. Schöne, iii, Leipzig 1903), is not known, for no corresponding title is found in the biographical or bibliographical works. But the writing mentioned in the *Fihrist* "On the use of the astrolabe" may have dealt with geodetic problems. Many problems in the Arabic sources are very similar to those dealt with in the work "On the Dioptra"; only the Arabs use the astrolabe or quadrant instead of the dioptra. Whether one or other of the methods described below was discovered independently by the Arabs, and by whom, cannot be established from the authors on the subject, who were mainly practical men. They are described in the most different places.

In levelling, one is faced with two problems: firstly to make a surface exactly perpendicular, and secondly to ascertain the point on the same level as a given one, or to ascertain the difference in height between two points.

1. A surface is made level and horizontal in the following way:

A ruler with a straight edge is moved over the surface and one sees whether it touches it everywhere so perfectly that no light penetrates between ruler and surface; in this case the surface is perfectly smooth (al-Shīrāzī, see below). That the ruler itself is straight is ascertained by seeing whether a thread stretched along it and fastened to it at one end can be lifted the same height from the ruler along its whole length. Whether three rulers are straight is tested by putting them side by side and exchanging their sides (Ibn Yūnus, in K. Schoy, see below).

To examine whether a surface was perfectly horizontal, the following tests were adopted:

Water is poured over the surface and it is observed whether this flows equally in all directions; this is one of the most usual methods. The same plan is given by Proclus in his *Hypotyposis* (ed. K. Manitius, Leipzig 1909, 50, 51). According to him, one pushes supports under a level surface on all sides till it shows no slope anywhere; this is the case when water poured on it remains standing without running to one side.

2. An object which can roll is placed on one side; if it does not roll off but only oscillates, the surface is horizontal (al-Shīrāzī, see below).

3. Water is poured onto a plate or dish (*djafna*, fig. 8) with an edge which is parallel to the surface and of
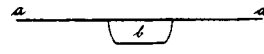
Fig. 8

the same height all the way round, and it is observed whether the water comes exactly up to the edges on all sides (Ibn Luyūn, see below). An exactly straight ruler is laid on the plate and one looks over this.

Ibn Sīnā (ms. Leiden, no. 1061), in order to test whether the upper surface of the base of a theodolite is horizontal, makes a cavity in it with exactly perpendicular walls, pours water in and proceeds as in the case of the plate. To test whether a large ring is absolutely smooth, al-ʿUrḍī used a process which he called *al-afādayn*. This is not a ready-made instrument, but an apparatus to be put together from case to case. The ring to be tested is first of all placed exactly horizontal with the ground by means of the level (fig. 9). Inside the ring on its concave side, a circular gutter of potter's clay is built. Its outer edge comes up to the level of the surface of the ring while its inner edge is a little higher. The gutter is filled with water and some light ashes are scattered on it. If the water flows over
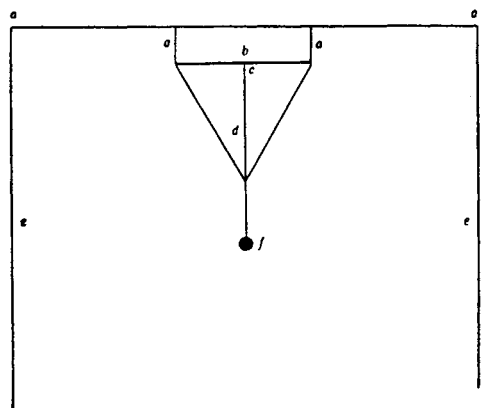
Fig. 9

In the original the rod is at *e*, the rope at *a*, at *b c* is the *murdjiḳāl*, a triangle of wood, at *d* thread, at *f* *thaḳkāla*, weight.

the ring the depressions in the ring are filled with it, while the ashes remain on the raised parts of it. The inequalities in the surface of the ring are thus brought out (fig. 10). Al-ᶜUrḍī emphasises that the test must be made in absolute calm.
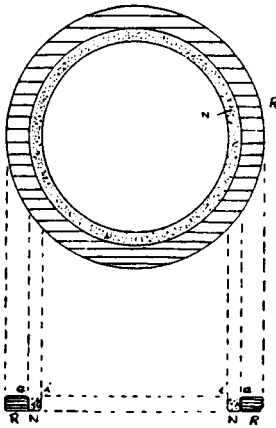
Fig. 10

Al-ᶜUrḍī also used the same method in order to see whether the outlets for water in a distribution system at Damascus were all of the same level. In the centre of the reservoir he put a gutter like this and deepened or raised the bottoms of the channels running out of it until the water from the gutter spread equally over the channels which revealed any inequalities (fig. 11). Cf. H.J. Seemann, in *SPMSE*, lx, 1928), 49, 81 and J. Frank, in *Zeitschr. f. Instrumentkunde*, xlviii [1929].
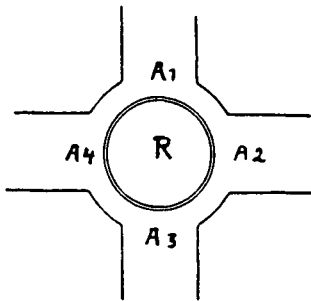
Fig. 11

4. A plumb-line (*s͟hāḳūl, buld, balad* [from βόλις], *t͟haḳḳāla*) is dropped from the apex (fig. 12) of an isosceles triangle, made for example of wood, with its perpendicular marked; a piece is sometimes left open in the centre of the under side for the weight of the plumb-line. If the plumb-line coincides with the perpendicular, the surface is horizontal (the figures go back to al-S͟hīrāzī and al-K͟halk͟hālī). Such drawings have led to the erroneous idea that Muslim students were already acquainted with the pendulum (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Verhandl. d. d. phys. Ges.* [1919], 663; the apparatus is called *al-fādin* [e.g. in al-S͟hīrāzī and al-ᶜUrḍī, see below], Dozy, *op. cit.*, also *al-ḳādin*).

In the architect's balance (fig. 13), according to Ibn Luyūn or al-Ṭig͟hnārī (see below), a quadrangular piece of wood is placed on the beam *a a* to be examined; in the middle of it, a perpendicular line *b a* is drawn before which a plumb-line is hung; according to the original figure, it seems to be two parallel lines between which the plumb-line hangs.
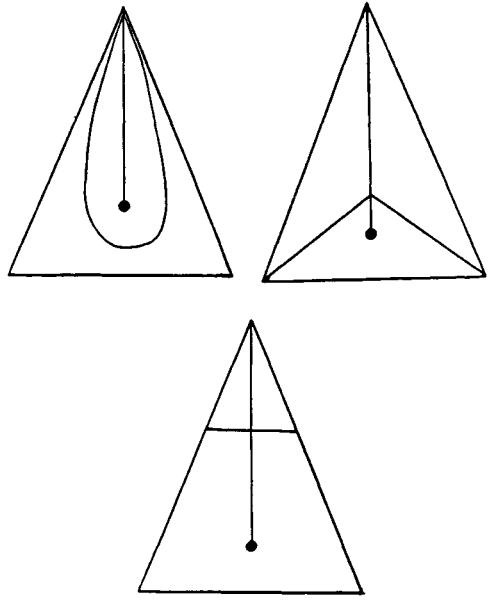
Fig. 12

Al-Marrākus͟hī (*flor.* later 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]) has described a more perfect form (fig. 14). In the figure *a b*, *a c* and *d e* are rods, and *a b* = *a c* and *a d e* is an equilateral triangle; *d e* is pierced in the centre. A plumb-line is hung from *a* through the hole. If the surface on which *b* and *c* are put is horizontal, the thread of the plumb-line goes through the centre of the hole.
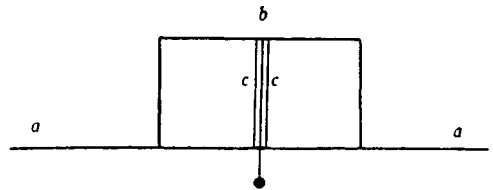
Fig. 13

Whether the levels and other instruments are themselves correct, whether for example the plumb-line from the apex to the base is perpendicular, is tested in this way. After the plumb-line comes to rest in one position of the level, the latter is put in various positions on some horizontal surface, particularly in one
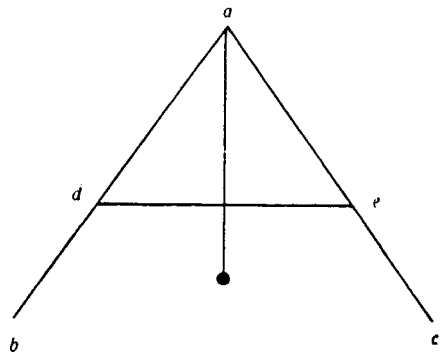
Fig. 14

perpendicular to the first, and in one in which left and right have places exchanged. If the plumb-line always comes to rest, the level is correct but if it only does so in the former case the error can be corrected by adjusting the position of the surface and that of the level.

The level here described is usually called *kūniya* (γωνία); the word, however, is also used for the wooden setsquare, as used by carpenters (see *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 255) and land surveyors like Abu 'l-Wafāʾ (see *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin*, Heft iv [1922], 98). A synonym is *afāḏān*, according to al-S̲h̲īrāzī (*Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk, Maḳ*. 2, ch. 13). From the same root we have in Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya (ms. Leiden no. 1279, 527) *fawdān*, in Dozy (*Supplément*, ii, 246) *fādin* and *fādim*. Connected with this is *fawdān*, dual of *fawd*.

Sometimes one finds it stated that levelling is done with the *s̲h̲āḳūl*; e.g. in al-Battānī (ed. Nallino, text, 1903, 137), *mawzūn bi 'l-s̲h̲āḳūl*, and an exactly similar statement is made by Ibn Sīnā (ms. Leiden no. 1061). A setsquare is either brought up to the plumb-line and a perpendicular dropped on the surface from it, or the *s̲h̲āḳūl* is used for the level, the essential part of which is the plummet.

On larger surfaces, such as roofs, etc., a long rod (*ḳubṭāl* = *cubitale*) is first of all laid down, and on it the apparatus for testing the level is placed; this is called *mīzān al-izur* (or *al-bannāʾīn*, that of the architects; cf. Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. At the apex A and B (fig. 15) of two sharp-pointed tetrahedra of equal height $A\ I\ H\ K$ and $B\ L\ M\ N$, a rod of some length $A\ B$ is laid, on which is fixed a triangle with a plumb-line hanging from it or an arrangement such as is already described for the scale-beam. If the plumb-line or the tongue comes to rest, the rod and therefore the surface is horizontal (al-Marrākus̲h̲ī).
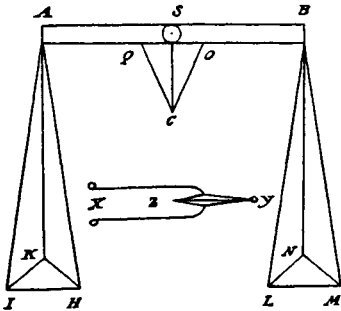
Fig. 15

The necessity of making surfaces exactly level continually crops up in building, and also in setting up astronomical instruments, and in constructing the Indian circle with which the meridian and then the direction of the *ḳibla* is ascertained. In this case, the level surface is usually not prepared on the ground but on a firm foundation, perhaps of stone. The construction for the Indian circle is already described in the *Hypotyposis* of Proclus (*loc. cit.*) in the same way as by the Arabs.

We now deal with the tests used to see if a thing is perpendicular:

1. The simplest method is to hang a plumb-line beside it. In the case of level perpendicular surfaces, this must touch it all the way down if its point of suspension is on it. This method is always recommended in working with the quadrant (see also below).

2. If the point of suspension is a little in front of the surface, the thread must be equidistant from it all the way down.

3. In the side of the gnomon, a perpendicular rod, often with a cone-shaped top, Ibn Yūnus (see below) cut out a groove which ended in a hemispherical cavity. In the groove a thread is hung from the top of the gnomon with a ball-shaped weight. If this comes to rest in the hollow, the gnomon is perpendicular.

4. The gnomon is moved backwards and forwards (turned about on its foot: *muḳbal wa-mudbar*); its shadow must only move so far on the level surface, on which it stands, as is in keeping with the movement of the sun during the turning (Ibn Yūnus, see below).

5. A circle is described at the foot of the rod and a pair of compasses used to test whether the distance of the top of the gnomon is the same from all points of the circle.

6. Ibn Sīnā drills a small hole through the gnomon parallel to its base, puts it in a vessel with a horizontal bottom which is filled with muddy water and examines whether the surface exactly coincides with the level of the hole.

7. In order to examine whether a level surface is standing exactly perpendicular, two exactly equal parallelepipedal blocks of wood (fig. 16) are placed on it, L_1 and L_2, one above the other. From the upper edge of L_1 a plumb-line is hung; one watches whether its thread exactly touches L_2; the best plan is to place a very thin ruler between L_1 and the plummet and test the position of the thread with respect to L_2 (al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, see below).
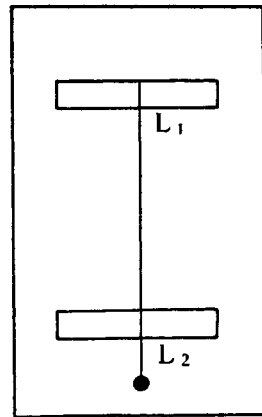
Fig. 16

2. In order to ascertain the difference in height between two points s_1 and s_2 which are at a distance from one another, as is necessary in making a canal for example, one looks horizontally from s_1 with a apparatus which is at a height h from the ground to a vertical rod at s_2 and ascertains the height h_1 at which the point observed is above the ground. A mark can be made on it (in modern mensuration, the rod at s_2 has divisions marked on it); the difference in height is h_1-h. According to fig. 19, the Arabs, like Hero, seem to have used something similar. Ibn al-ʿAwwām (see below) uses a square board on which are marked a number of circles touching one another, which are distinguished by different colours or have different centres. In order to place the rods absolutely

perpendicular, plumb-lines are hung beside them (fig. 17).

The horizontal line of vision is obtained in various ways:

1. A rod (e.g. an ell long) with square sides is put up in such a way that the upper surface appears horizontal to the eye and one looks along this surface.
2. The rod (*ḳubṭāl*) is put on the above-mentioned dish or plate (fig. 8) and one looks along it.
3. At the end of the rod, nails are fastened at the same height and their heads are pierced and one looks through the holes.
4. For a rough examination, one can put, at two places, two tub-shaped bricks which for convenience may be made each out of two half-pipes (Ibn al-ʿAwwām, see below).
5. An astrolabe is put in a horizontal place such as the edge of a well or on its cover, and one looks through the eyepiece.

Other methods of ascertaining differences of level are as follows:

1. An assistant is sent from the higher positions to the lower holding a rod of a known length *l* vertically until one sees just the end of it; if *h* then is the level of the eye, *l-h* is the difference in height. If the distance is too great for the top of the rod to be distinguished, a light is put on it, e.g. a lighted candle, and the observation is made by night.
2. If it is a question of ascertaining whether a place outside a well is lower than the level of water in the well, the distance of the latter from the surface of the ground or from the edge is ascertained by letting a rod and thread down with a shining heavy object at the end and used in calculation.

Two apparatuses, closely connected with each other, are the following:

3. To a rod (fig. 17) the triangle with the plumb-line is attached. To its two ends, two threads with weights at the ends are attached, *a* and *b*. Two posts *1* and *2* are erected at the points, the difference in level of which is to be ascertained. The one thread is fastened to the end of the lower post *1* and the other hung along and over the post *2* until its weight comes to rest. The amount of shifting of the thread measures the difference in height (al-Khāzinī, see below).
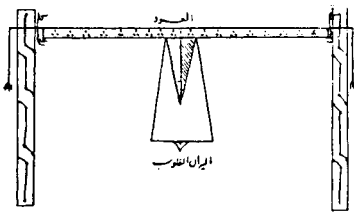
Fig. 17

4. The *murdjiḳāl* (the bat, fig. 18) consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb-line which hangs from the middle of one side. The triangle is suspended by this side. Two rods, an ell in length, are erected to 10 ells apart; a rope is passed from the rop of one to the top of the other and by two threads *a a* the *murdjiḳāl* is suspended in its centre. If the plumb-line goes through the triangle, both places are on the same level; if not, one is raised by putting stones below it for example. The end of the rope can, as in 3, be moved along (Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. In the Paris manuscript no. 2468, an unknown author describes 3 apparatuses for levelling (figs. 19a-c). In the first (*al-mashhūr*, the known) a rod of wood
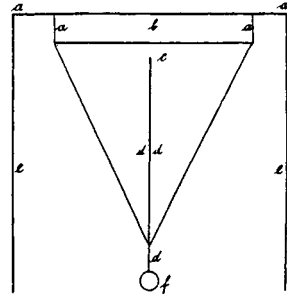
Fig. 18

an ell in length is bored through its entire length and tongs with a tongue are suspended from its centre (fig. 19a). Through the hole, a rope some 15 ells long is drawn which is fastened to the two vertical rods already mentioned. The second apparatus (fig. 19b: *al-shabīha*, the "similar") corresponds to the *murdjiḳāl*; only the two threads *a a* are replaced by rings which are put over the long rope *a a* . The third arrangement (fig. 19c: *al-anbūb*, the pipe) is also mentioned by al-Karkhī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī but not described;
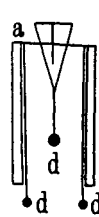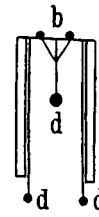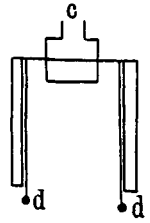
Fig. 19a Fig. 19b Fig. 19c

(From the ms. Paris no. 1417, *a* is the known, *b* is the similar, *c* the pipe, *d* the weight.)

it probably corresponds to our canal-level, a communicating pipe filled with water, such as is very fully described by Hero (*Dioptra*, 197 and *loc. cit.*), but he gives it no particular name, probably because it is associated with a dioptra. On the plumb-line of the figure is written *thaḳḳāla* (cf. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xxxv, see below).

Al-Ṭighnārī mentions another instrument called *mīzān al-ḳaṭʿ*, and Ibn Waḥshiyya (see below), one of brass called *ḳafar* or *ḳaḳar*. Neither are described, however. Arab authors who give fuller descriptions of Arab instruments are the following:

1. Ibn Waḥshiyya (or Abū Ṭālib al-Zayyāt) [*q.v.*], in *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, "the Book of Nabataean Agriculture" (cf. H. Schmeller, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch. und Medizin*, Erlangen 1922, Heft iv, 26). His data are supplemented by those of numerous commentators.
2. Al-Khāzinī, in the *Kitāb Mīzān al-ḥikma*; cf. Th. Ibel, *Die Wage im Altertum u. Mittelalter*, diss. Erlangen 1908, 159 ff.
3. Ibn al-ʿAwwām (*ca.* 524/1130) in *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, see below).
4. Abū ʿUthmān b. Luyūn (d. 740/1349) in his *Radjaz fī 'l-filāḥa*, deals with levelling ground, etc., and gives notes on al-Ṭighnārī [see FILĀḤA. ii] and others (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, 317, and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 302, 579).
5. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (953/1547-1030/1622),

Essenz der Rechenkunst, ed. F. Nesselmann, see Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x, 319).

Full details of levelling are given in the astronomical books in the treatment of the ascertainment of the meridian, e.g. in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311 [*q.v.*]; cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, x [1922], 267), al-Khalkhālī, etc. Many books on the astrolabe give information on the subject in their treatment of surveying problems, e.g. in al-Bīrūnī (cf. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xviii, 59 ff.).

Once again are given here the names of the levelling instruments: *mīzān, mīzān al-bannāʾīn, mīzān al-ḳaṭʿ, mīzān al-izur, ḳubṭāl, kūniyya, fādin, ḳādin, afādayn, djafna, murdjiḳāl, kakar.*

The writer knows no comprehensive treatise on levelling in connection with canal building, etc., in the early Muslim period. For the literature, see Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iii, 229; xviii, 26, and H. Schmeller, *op. cit.*, 41. For knowledge of these matters in ancient times, see C. Merkel, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Altertum*, and H. Diels, *Antike Technik*², Leipzig 1920.

Bibliography: Lerchundi and Simonet, *Crestomatía arábigo española*, Granada 1881, 138-9 (see also Ibn Luyūn, i.e. of Léon); cf. also Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, Leipzig 1888, 187-98; K. Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber* (Ibn Yūnus), 6-7; E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, i, fasc. F, 1923; Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, x. *Zur Technik der Araber*; iii. *Über Nivellieren und Vermessen*, in *SPMSE*, xxxviii (1906), 310-21; idem, *Beiträge*, xviii, no. 3, *Geodaetische Messungen*, in *ibid.*, xli (1909), 59-78; idem, *Beiträge*, xxxv. *Über Nivellieren*, in *ibid.*, xlv (1914), 15-16; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk* (cf. Wiedemann, in *Zeitschr. für Physik*, x, (1922), 267; idem, in *Verhandlungen der deutschen Physik. Gesellsch.* (1919), 663); al-Marrākushī, *Traité des instruments astronomiques*, ed. L.A. Sédillot, i, 376; Ibn Sīnā, *Fī ittikhādh al-ālāt al-raṣdiyya* (ms. Leiden no. 1961); cf. also Wiedemann, *Über ein von Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) hergestelltes Beobachtungsinstrument*, in *Zeitschr. für Instrumentenkunde* (1925), 269-75; Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Khalkhālī, *Risāla fī 'l-dāʾira al-hindiyya*, *Abhandlung* (ms. Gotha, 1417); Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī, *Risāla fī kayfiyāt al-irṣād wa-mā yuḥtādju ilā ʿilmihi wa-ʿamalihi min al-ṭuruḳ al-muʾaddiya ilā maʿrifat ʿawdāt al-kawākib*, etc. (ms. Paris, no. 2544; also contains descriptions of the instruments in the observatory at Marāgha [*q.v.*]; see H.J. Seemann, *loc. cit.*). See also DJĀBIR B. ḤAYYĀN and MISĀḤA.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

3. ASPECTS OF THE BALANCE IN INDIAN MUSLIM ART.

The "Straightforward" sense, the balance (centrally) pivoted (there seem to be no depictions of the steelyard), is shown in certain Mughal miniature paintings; e.g. in fol. 245 (artist: Mukund) of the Chester Beatty *Akbar-nāma*. Akbar is being weighed against silver and gold, seated on a square cushion occupying one of the balance-pans, on a large balance suspended from the roof of a pavilion (an occasion of court ceremony, with the *magas rān* and the *ḳur* conspicuous; see MARĀSIM. 5; the incidents are described in *Akbar-nāma*, iii, 177-8; tr. iii, 304). There is a similar incident of Djahāngīr's time where the young Prince Khurram is being similarly weighed against gold and silver on the anniversary of Djahāngīr's date of accession in the Ūrta garden at Kābul; the (unsigned) miniature is on a leaf which presumably formed part of the projected *Djahāngīr-nāma*, and refers to an incident of 1016/1607, although the painting is of some twelve years later (BM 1948-10-1069). The balance is shown also in some of Djahāngīr's commissioned "allegorical" paintings (to use the terminology of Asok Das for some paintings which seem to have been inspired by Djahāngīr's dreams, see *Bibl.*), always empty and level, and representing the "scales of justice" in the *ʿadl-i Djahāngīr*; there is an extraordinary scene in a miniature by Abu 'l-Ḥasan in the Chester Beatty Djahāngīr album (*Catalogue*, pl. 62) where Djahāngīr, standing on a globe in a (European) wooden stand atop an ox standing on a fish, transfixes the severed head of Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], which stands on a spear fixed in the ground, with an arrow (European *putti* wait above him with spare arrows). Between the stand of the globe and the shaft of the spear is a chain of twelve bells running obliquely, from the middle of which is a balance; a Persian verse on the miniature refers to the "justice of Djahāngīr". The chain of bells represents the *zandjīr-i ʿadl* which Djahāngīr had directed to be suspended from the battlements of the Āgrā fort so that suppliants might advert him of their grievances (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, i, 7). See Chester Beatty Catalogue, i, 3, for Wilkinson's interpretation, and tr. of the verses.

Also in the Chester Beatty collection (*Catalogue*, iii, pl. 86), the young Shāhdjahān is depicted standing on a globe (a direct reminiscence of Djahāngīr's "allegorical" paintings) which bears the representations of a lion and a lamb; over the beasts, directly under Shāhdjahān's feet, is an empty level balance (another version appears in the Kevorkian album, ? Hāshim, 1038/1628). A level balance appears also in a *darbār* scene in another Shāhdjahān album, where it figures as a device on the front of the throne; and, perhaps the most familiar example, carved on the translucent marble screen in the Red Fort in Dihlī between the Khʷābgāh and the Rang Maḥall, the *mīzān-i ʿadl* straddling the ornamental water-channel known as the Nahr-i bihisht. The intention again seems to have been to depict the emperor as the dispenser of Justice, following Djahāngīr's precedent.

Bibliography: T.W. Arnold, rev. and ed. J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The library of A. Chester Beatty: catalogue of the Indian miniatures*, Oxford 1936; Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal painting in Jahangir's time*, London Ph.D. thesis 1967, later publ. Delhi 1978. There is a full description of the weighing of Djahāngīr against various commodities on his birthday (29 Shaʿbān 1026/1 September 1617) in Māndū, with a description of the balance, in J.M. Campbell, *Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xix (1896), 194-5, based on statements by the travellers Roe, Terry and Coryat.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

MĪZĀN ("balance"), an Ottoman political weekly (later daily), published in Istanbul, Cairo, Paris, Geneva and again in Istanbul between 1886 and 1909 (with interruptions). Founded, owned and edited by Mīzāndjī Meḥmed Murād [*q.v.*], it "contained nothing beyond the personal opinions of Mourad Bey" (Ahmed Emin). It described itself as "A Turkish Newspaper", but also stressed its "Muslim and Ottoman" character. The history of *Mīzān* reflects the main stages in the journalistic and political life of its founder. First published in Istanbul where it had to conform to the Ḥamīdian censorship requirements (nos. 1-158, October 1886-December 1890), *Mīzān* was re-established outside Ottoman control after Murād had fled to Europe and had eventually decided to publish his newspaper in Cairo, this time as a more polemical and combattive paper (nos. 159-84, January-July 1896). Following Murād's move to Paris in late summer 1896, *Mīzān* was re-

founded in the French capital as the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*] besides *Mechveret* (nos. 1-18, from December 1896), only to be transferred to Geneva a few months later (nos. 19-29, May-July 1897). Murād's final return to the Ottoman empire resulted, after the proclamation of the Constitutional Period, in yet another re-foundation of *Mīzān* in Istanbul in July 1908, now published as a daily and progressively critical of the ruling *Ittiḥād we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti* (nos. 1-135, until April 1909). *Mīzān* was finally suspended soon after the incident known as the *31 Mārt waḳʿasī*.

Bibliography: An invaluable source lies in Meḥmed Murād's autobiographical works [see MĪZĀNDJĪ MEḤMED MURĀD. 2. Works, 1]. For a selection of leading articles from the *Mīzān* of the Egyptian and French-Swiss periods, see ʿÖmer Fārūḳ (ed.), *Ether-i Meḥmed Murād, taḥarrī-yi istiḳbāl. Mīṣirda ve Avrūpāda neshr olunan "Mīzān"dan muḳtebesdir*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1329-30/1911-12. At present, the most detailed general account is Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey. Hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1979, ch. 2, *Mizan*, 227-399.

(M.O.H. URSINUS)

AL-**MĪZĀN** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

MĪZĀNDJĪ MEḤMED MURĀD, Ottoman politician, official and journalist: editor of the weekly (later daily) *Mīzān* [*q.v.*] and for some time leader of the *Ittiḥad we Terakkī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]; lecturer in history at the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye and in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn, commisioner in the Public Debt administration and member of the Shūrā-yi Dewlet [*q.v.*]; political essayist, author of several history books, novelist and playwright (1854-1917). Murād is one of the most colourful, and controversial, figures of the Ḥamīdian era: a radical idealist in much of his political writings from the period of exile, but a moderate reformist when presiding over the Young Turk party; as an official in the service of the Sultan he was ambitious and reportedly "never content with the position he held, even if elevated to the highest rank" (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, according to Ali Haydar Yücebaş). The historian Murād was sometimes compared with Treitschke (Yaḥyā Kemāl). As a Muslim, he did not hesitate to demonstrate his sympathies with Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and the Wahhābī [*q.v.*] movement (*Tārīkh-i Ebü 'l-Fārūḳ*, i, 262-7). Of the leading political intellectuals of his time, Murād is one of the most communicative with regard to his own person (cf. his 5-volume autobiography!), probably the result of his desire to explain and justify some of his most controversial moves.

1. Life. Mīzāndjī Meḥmed Murād (alias Emīrōf Murād, Ebū 'l-Fārūḳ) was born in 1270/1854 as the son of Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḳādī Ṭāhā, *ḳādī* of Ḥurāḳī in the republic of Dārghū, Dāghistān, and head of a local family of (Shāfiʿī?) *ʿulamāʾ*. He received a traditional education in Arabic and Ḳurʾānic studies until the age of ten, when he himself decided to be taught in Western subjects instead. Murād registered at a Russian school in the provincial capital where he soon acquired a profound knowledge of the Russian language, whereupon he was sent to Stavropol to continue his studies in a lycée at the expense of the Russian government. Here he found the opportunity to read Draper and Guizot as well as Rousseau and Montesquieu and to satisfy his interest in world politics by following the news in various Russian and French newspapers. It was during this period that Murād began publishing essays in Russian papers and periodicals, and regularly putting down notes in his *Defter-i khāṭirāt* (see below, 2. Works, *Alter Ego*). The news of the promotion of the liberal Aḥmed Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] to the rank of vizier, together with the tragic death of his best friend Ḥaydar Bāmātōf in 1288/1872, led Murād to leave Russia for Istanbul (according to his memoirs, the focus of all his hopes and dreams from early childhood). He arrived there in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1289/February 1873. After a prompt conversation with Midḥat Pasha (conducted in French as Murād—in his own words-"did not have any Turkish" at that time) and an audience with the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Esʿad Pasha, Murād was introduced to Shīrwānīzāde Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha who became Grand Vizier the very day Murād was his guest (17 Ṣafar 1290/16 April 1873). This and the fact that Rüshdī Pasha saw Murād as his compatriot secured the latter a prominent place in the pasha's *ḳonaḳ*. Having been given an apprenticeship in the Maṭbūʿāt Ḳalemi of the Foreign Ministry instead of a military post offered to him at the instigation of Esʿad Pasha (which he refused), Murād was then additionally appointed *mühürdār* (private secretary) of the Grand Vizier. But the dismissal from the Grand Vizierate and subsequent death of Shīrwānīzāde Rüshdī Pasha on 11 Shaʿbān 1291/23 September 1874 suddenly left Murād without his patron, leaving him no other choice than to retreat from the inner circle of power. During the subsequent years of political instability, Murād lived through a personal crisis which came to an end only with his marriage in 1294/1877 and his appointment to a lectureship in the newly re-opened Mekteb-i Mülkiyye the same year. Teaching general history and geography, political and Ottoman history, "he made world history an Ottoman discipline" (Yaḥyā Kemāl). For use as a textbook in history classes, Murād compiled the first comprehensive modern *History of the Romans* to be written in Ottoman-Turkish (vol. ii of his *Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī*). His appointment to an additional lectureship in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn in Shawwāl 1297/October 1880 was followed by his installation as a member of the Inspection Committee of the Ministry of Education (Ṣafar 1299/January 1882, re-appointed Djumādā II 1305/February 1888), and by his promotion as director of the Dār al-Muʿallimīn on 9 Radjab 1299/ 27 May 1882. This marks the zenith of Murād's career in the Ottoman educational system; his manifest belief in the political press as a particularly suitable means of enlightening people and influencing politics soon led him to reduce his commitments as a history teacher and to establish a newspaper of his own: the first issue of *Mīzān* appeared on 22 Muḥarram 1304/20 October (*sic*) 1886. Although he had resigned from all his functions in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn by Rabīʿ I 1303/January 1886, he continued teaching history and geography in the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye until 1313/1895. Tensions between Murād and the central authorities arose after he had frankly commented in *Mīzān* on the Armenian question and had advocated the abolition of tax privileges for the Sultan's estates. The last issues of *Mīzān* appeared in Djumādā I 1308/December 1890 after the newspaper had been suspended several times. In 23 Shaʿbān 1308/4 April 1891, however, the Sultan appointed Murād commissioner of the Public Debt administration as some kind of douceur. An encounter between Murād and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II in Rabīʿ I 1313/September 1895 took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, and gave rise to expectations on Murād's side that he had a real chance to be appointed to a high-ranking post close to the Sultan

(whom he described at this occasion as "like an angel"). But as these hopes did not materialise, Murād finally decided to leave the country. He resigned from his functions in the Public Debt administration on 1 Djumādā II 1313/19 November 1895 and embarked on a Russian steamer later the same day, leaving his family behind. Travelling to Western Europe via the Crimea, Kiev and Vienna, Murād arrived in Paris early in December 1895. After a cool encounter with Aḥmed Rıḍā, the leader of the Society of Union and Progress in France, and with Lord Salisbury in London shortly thereafter, Murād decided to re-establish his newspaper in Cairo, under some kind of British protection. As Murād's exodus on a Russian steamer seemed to have confirmed widespread suspicions that he was a Russian spy, Murād was sentenced to death *in absentia*. The fear of being abducted by agents of the Porte, together with the fact that he was separated from his family, contributed seriously to the deterioration of his health. Suffering from nervous tension, Murād was declared mentally ill by many of his enemies who thus found an easy explanation for the increasingly radical stance of *Mīzān*. After Ottoman pressure on the British and Egyptian governments for his extradition, Murād was requested to leave Egypt. On 30 Muḥarram 1314/10 July 1896 he left Alexandria for Paris. Back in the French capital, Murād—despite several reservations—became a member of the Society of Union and Progress and was soon elected its leader. *Mīzān* was re-established again, this time as the official organ of the Society besides *Mechveret*. But tensions between Murād and Aḥmed Rıḍā resulted in the splitting-up of the Society, and in the transfer of its headquarters to Geneva on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1314/24 April 1897. After continued disputes with Aḥmed Rıḍā, Murād resigned from the leadership on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1314/31 May 1897. Less than two months later, he suddenly decided to return to Istanbul. The decisive factor in his decision appears to have been Aḥmed Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha, head of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's intelligence service, who met Murād in Paris and Geneva to convey the Sultan's conditions under which he could be pardoned. Murād boarded the train for Istanbul on 12 Rabīʿ I 1315/11 August 1897. But in spite of being promised an immediate audience with the Sultan on his return, Murād was refused entry and put under surveillance, eventually being offered a function in the intelligence service (which he appears to have refused). Almost two years passed until he was appointed a member of the Financial Department of the Council of State (Shūrā-yi Dewlet). Murād remained in this office until the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period, when he resigned, devoting himself again to the publication of *Mīzān* which was then refounded for the fourth and last time. Continuing the tradition of being an opposition paper, *Mīzān* soon turned against the now ruling *Ittiḥād we Terraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti*. As a result, in Ramaḍān 1326/October 1908 Murād was taken into the custody of the Ministry of War for about a week, and his newspaper shut down. During the disturbances which followed the so-called *31 Mārt Waḳʿasi*, Murād was accused of being a partisan, if not a prominent figure, of the political reaction, whereupon he was arrested on 3 Rabīʿ II 1327/24 April 1909. After a badly-conducted trial, Murād was sentenced to life confinement in a fortress, the first two years of which he spent on Rhodes where he began to work on his famous multi-volume Ottoman history. In Rabīʿ II 1329/April 1911, he was transferred to the island of Lesbos or Midilli [*q.v.*]. Being pardoned by the cabinet of Ḥüseyin Ḥilmī Pasha, Murād returned to Istanbul in Djumādā I 1330/April 1912. Together with his son ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, he travelled to France and Switzerland for medical treatment in the summer of 1913. Murād died in his house at Anadolu Ḥiṣārī on 21 Djumādā II 1335/15 April 1917.

2. Works. 1. *Autobiographical*: *Khayāl ve ḥaḳīḳat-i ḥāl*, unpublished ms. (extensively used by B. Emil, see *Bibl.* below); *Alter Ego*, a "*defter-i khāṭirāt*" composed in Russian (known so far only through a quotation in *Meskenet*, 21); *Meskenet maʿdheret teshkīl eder mi?*, Istanbul 1329/1911 (covering Murād's early life until 1895); *Müdjāhede-i milliyye. Ghurbet we ʿawdet devirleri*, Istanbul 1326/1908; *Ḥürriyyet wādīsinde bir pen̄če-yi istibdād*, Istanbul 1326/1908 (covering most of the year 1908); *Tatlī emeller adjī ḥaḳīḳatlar*, ed. Ṭahazāde ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, Istanbul 1330/1911-12 (from the *31 Mārt Waḳʿasī* to Murād's banishment to Rhodes); *Enḳāḍ-i Istibdād ičinde zügürdün tesellīsi*, Istanbul 1329/1911 (largely overlapping with the preceding). 2. *Historical*: Some of the following titles were composed primarily as textbooks for use in the Mekteb-i Mülkiyye. The earliest of these is *Rōma tārīkhi*, first published in 1297/1879-80 as vol. ii of the following: *Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī*, 6 vols. Istanbul 1297-9/1879-80 to 1881-2 (first impression; fourth and last: 1327/1911); *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh-i ʿumūmī*. Istanbul 1302/1884-5; *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh-i Islām*, Baghčesarāy 1890; *Dewr-i Ḥamīdī āthārī*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1 (a bibliography for part of the Ḥamīdian period); *Tārīkh-i Ebü 'l-Fārūḳ, Tārīkh-i ʿOthmānīde siyāset we medeniyyet iʿtibāriyle ḥikmet-i aṣliyye taḥarrīsine teshebbüth*, ed. Ṭahazāde ʿÖmer Fārūḳ, 7 vols., Istanbul 1325-32/1909-16 (vol. i with another impression in 1330/1914). This remarkable Ottoman history has remained a torso; of the originally planned twelve vols. (see *muḥīṭ-i ether* on p. 2 of vol. i) only the vols. i-vii (the latter dealing with the Köprülü era) have been published. 3. *Political essays*: *Le Palais de Yildiz et la Sublime Porte*, Paris 1896; *Yīldīz Sarāy-i Hümāyūnī ve Bāb-i ʿĀlī*, Cairo 1313/1895-6; *Müdāfaʿa niyyetinde bir tedjāvüz*, Paris 1314/1896-97; *La force et la faiblesse de la Turquie*, Geneva 1897; a good deal of Murād's political writings first published in *Mīzān* (Egyptian and European periods) can be found reprinted in *Taḥarrī-yi istiḳbāl. Miṣīrda we Avrūpāda neshr olunan "Mīzān"dan muḳtebesdir*, 2 vols. Istanbul 1329-30/1911-12. 4. *Novels*: *Ṭurfanda mī yoḳsa ṭurfa mī?*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1 ("the way I spent the first months of employment in the Sublime Porte is accurately illustrated at the beginning of the novel *Ṭurfanda*" [Meḥmed Murād, in *Meskenet*, 40]). 5. *Plays*: *Tendjere yuwarlandī ḳapaghīnī buldī*, Istanbul 1325/1909.

Bibliography: By far the best general study of the life and works of Meḥmed Murād is Birol Emil, *Mizancı Murad Bey. Hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1979.

(M.O.H. Ursinus)

MIZMĀR (a.) means literally "an instrument of piping". In the generic sense, it refers to any instrument of the "wood-wind" family, i.e. a reed-pipe or a flute. In the specific sense, it refers to a reed-pipe (i.e. a pipe played with a reed) as distinct from a flute, as we know from Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) who describes the *mizmār*—a reed pipe—as an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow", as distinct from an instrument like the *yarāʿ*—a flute—"which you blow into from a hole". Ibn Zayla (d. 439/1048) writes similarly, but substitutes the Persian word *nāy* for the Arabic word *mizmār*. In Ibn Sīnā's Arabic treatise *al-Nadjāt*, we read of the *mizmār*, but in the identical passage in his Persian *Dānish-nāma* the word is *nāy*. Further, the

Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, 236, says, "the *mizmār* is the *nāy*." For the present purpose, "wood-wind" instruments (*mazāmīr*) may be divided into. 1. reed-blown types; and 2. pipe-blown types. Among the former we have single reed-pipes of the clarinet, oboe and saxophone types, as well as double reed-pipes, the bagpipe, and the *chêng*. Among the latter, we have the flute and recorder, as well as the pan-pipes.

a. Reed-blown types.—Single reed-pipes occur in ancient Semitic art and literary remains (Lavignac, i, 35 ff.). Hoary gossip attributes the "invention" to the Persians (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214), whilst Djamshīd himself is claimed to have been the actual "inventor" (Ewliyā Čelebī, i, 641). With Islamic peoples, reed-pipes are found with a conical or cylindrical tube (*unbūb*) pierced with finger-holes (*thukūb*), and played with a single or double beating reed (*kaṣaba*, *kashsha*). Among the Arabs of the 6th century A.D., the *mizmār* finds a place at convivial parties (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii), and in the 1st/7th century, it is one of the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of the Ḥidjāz (*Aghānī*, ii, 172). When Islam came, an anathema was placed on reed-pipes, mainly, it would seem, on account of the female reed-pipe player (*zammāra*) who, as was common in the East, was looked upon as a courtesan, and, indeed, the terms *zammāra* and *zāniya* became almost synonymous. It is improbable that the Prophet Muḥammad could have referred to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) in a well-known *ḥadīth* in praise of the chanting (*ḳirāʾa*) of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. The reference was rather to "a *mazmūr* (Hebr. *mizmōr* "psalm") from the *mazāmīr* of the House of David" (cf. Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, 33). In early days, what the Arabs called the *mizmār* the Persians called the *nāy*, and the latter distinguished the flute by the name *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*). Later, they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* (black *nāy*) and the flute the *nāy safīd* (white *nāy*) because of the colour of the instruments. About the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, a musician at the ʿAbbāsid court named Zunām invented a reed-pipe which was named after him the *nāy zunāmī* or simply *zunāmī* (TʿA). What the invention was we can only conjecture. It may have been the cylinder used for altering the pitch of the instrument, or perhaps it was the introduction of a conical tube (see Farmer, *Studies*, 79, 92). At this period we have no information whether the various reed-pipes had cylindrical or conical tubes or whether they were played with single or double beating reeds. The word *zunāmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, whatever favour the invention itself found. In the West, where the name eventually became vulgarised into *zullāmī*, it became the most important reed-pipe not only in Spain, as we know from al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231; al-Maḳḳarī, *Moh. dyn.*, i, 59), but also in the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 353). It became the *xelami* of the Spaniards (see also Schiaparelli, s.v.).

The *mizmār* (= *mizmār wāḥid*) is described and delineated by al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). It had eight holes for fingering, giving a complete octave. He also describes a smaller reed-pipe called the *suryānay* (Kosegarten, 95; Land, 122; D'Erlanger, 262). One special feature of this instrument was called the *shaʿīra*. In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237, we read: "The *shaʿīra* of the *mizmār* is its head, and it is that by which is made narrow and wide [in compass]." It was actually the cylinder inserted into the head of the instrument which lowered the pitch when required (see Farmer, *Studies*, 82), a device called later the *ṭawḳ* (*Kanz al-tuḥaf*) or *faṣl* (Villoteau). It was called the *shaʿīra* perhaps on account of the button at the top of the cylinder which was turned round. The word *suryānay* came to be modified into *surnāy* and then *surnā*. Popular etymology opined that the word was derived from *sūr* "festivity" and *nāy* "reed", but this form only appears in the lexicons (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*). Some moderns even write *ṣūrnāy*. The *surnāy* found its way into martial music as early as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century (*Aghānī*, xvi, 139: the text has *surnāb*).

In the 5th/11th century, Ibn Zayla shows how, by devices in the fingering and embouchure, other notes were obtained on the reed-pipe (Pers. *nāy*). In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (9th-15th cent.) the *mizmār*, also called the *nāy siyāh*, is both described and delineated. More valuable is the explanation of the actual making of the beating reed with which the instrument was played, from which we learn that it was a double reed. In the next century, a Turkish author Aḥmad-oghlu Shukr Allāh copied extensively from his work (Lavignac, i, 3012). Ibn Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) says that all the notes could be obtained on the *zamr siyāh nāy* by accommodating the fingering and the embouchure. The smaller instrument, the *surnā*, was defective in the upper octave, he says. A similar type of reed-pipe to the latter called the *balabān* is also mentioned by him. Ewliyā Čelebī says that it came from Shīrāz. In the treatise of Muḥammad b. Murād (9th/15th century), we learn that the *nāy aswad* (= *nāy siyāh* = *mizmār*) was 27 cm. long.

With the Turks, the Persian word *surnā* had been altered to *zūrnā* and the term had become common to both the *zamr* (= *mizmār*) and *surnā* in the East. Ewliyā Čelebī (11th/17th century) mentions among the Turkish reed-pipes of his day the *ḳabā zūrnā* or *ʿadjamī zūrnā*, the *ʿarabī zūrnā*, the *aṣafī zūrnā*, and the *shihābī zūrnā* (a Moroccan reed-pipe). He also speaks of the *ḳurnāṭa* which, he says, was an English invention (i, 642). If this is the same as the *ḳurnayṭa*, it was the clarinet, an instrument which Denner is said to have "invented" about 1690, which is after its mention by Ewliyā Čelebī. The Persians still continued to call their reed-pipe the *surnā*, and a 11th/17th century design of the instrument is given by Kaempfer. Both Russell in Syria (i, 155) and Villoteau in Egypt (i, 356-7) refer to several kinds of reed-pipes in use in the 18th century.

The latter delineates these and describes them fully. They are three, the *ḳabā zūrnā* or *zamr al-kabīr*, the *zamr* or *zūrnā*, and the *zūrnā djurā* or *zamr al-ṣughayyir*, the first being 58.3 cm. and the last 31.2 cm. in length. The modern instrument is also delineated by Lavignac, 2793; and Sachs, 428. For specimens, see Brussels, nos. 122, 355, 357; New York, no. 1331.

In the West also we find a new name, or instrument, the *ghayṭa* or *ghāyṭa* [*q.v.*]. It is said to have been introduced by the Turks (Delphin and Guin, 48), but the name is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377), who likens the Mesopotamian *surnāy* to the Maghribī *ghayṭa* (ii, 126). There are, however, two kinds of *ghayṭa*, one being a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and another being a conical tube blown with a double reed. This may explain why *ghayṭa* does not always equate with *surnāy* and *mizmār* in the West (*Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, 93; Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, 34). The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ghīṭa*. For details, see Bū ʿAlī, 103; Delphin and Guin, 47. For specimens and designs, see Höst, 261, tab. xxxi; Brussels, no. 351; New York, nos. 402, 2824; Lavignac, 2921.

A reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe was the *būḳ* played with a reed. The original *būḳ* [*q.v.*] was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal. Pierced with holes for fingering, and played

with a reed, a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone, was evolved. In the 4th/10th century, this *būḳ* was "improved" by the Andalusian caliph al-Ḥakam II (*Bibl. de autores Españ.*, li, 410). Ibn Khaldūn, who describes it, says that it was the best instrument of the *zamr* family (ii, 353). Ibn Ghaybī, in his holograph ms. in the Bodleian Library, writes *bāḳ*, but adds "also called *būḳ*", but the latter remark has been deleted. It appears to be delineated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, fig. 41, b.).

Another interesting instrument is the *ʿirāḳiyya* or *ʿirāḳya*, which may have been the forerunner of the European rackett. It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed. It is probably the descendant of the *nāy al-ʿirāḳī* that al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) speaks of. It is delineated and fully described by Villoteau (i, 943 f.). Examples are given at Brussels, no. 124; New York, no. 2861.

With Islamic peoples, reed-pipes belong to outdoor music. Just as we see them in the *Alf layla wa-layla* as being essential to folk, ceremonial, processional, and martial music, so they are today, and probably have always been.

Double reed-pipes. Ibn Khurradādhbih says that the Persians "invented" the double reed-pipe called the *diyānay* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*), the earliest instrument of this type that we know by name in Arabic literature, although it appears in the 2nd/8th century frescoes at Ḳusayr ʿAmrā (Musil, pl. xxiv). It has been suggested that the word should be *dūnāy*, but *diyānay* is also given by al-Fārābī (see Farmer, *Studies*, 57), who describes and delineates the instrument which, he says, was also called the *mizmār al-muthannā* or *muzāwadj*. The two pipes were of equal length and each was pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them. Probably the instrument known in the Middle Ages as the *zammāra* (vulg. *zummāra*) was actually the old *diyānay*, although it merely equates with *fistula* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (5th/11th century) and the *Vocabulista* (7th/13th century). As early as the 7th/13th century we read of the *mawṣūl* in Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 136). The name itself means "joined" (see *Studies*, 78), and it was doubtless a double reed-pipe. Since the 18th century at least, *zummāra* has been the name for this instrument in the East (cf. Niebuhr, i, 145), and Lane (367) describes and delineates it. It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds. It is to be found with a varying number of finger-holes and is named accordingly (Sachs, 433). In the Maghrib, it is called the *maḳrūn* and *maḳrūna* (Lavignac, 2793: *RA*, 1866), whilst in Syria it is given a vulgarised or metathetical form of the old *muzāwadj* (cf. Sachs, 257; Dalman, *Pal. Divan*). For specimens and descriptions, see Brussels, nos. 115-18; New York, nos. 2167, 2633; and *ZDPV* [1927], 19. Specimens in the collection of Farmer range from 18 to 43 cm. in length.

Another type of double reed-pipe has only one pipe pierced with finger-holes, whilst the other serves as a drone. This also carries the name of *zummāra* when the two pipes are of the same length (cf. Niebuhr, i, 145). When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe it is known as the *arghūl* (*arghun*, Mushāḳa, 29; *ʿarḳūn*, Lavignac, 2812) in modern times (cf. Freytag, *Chrest. Arab.*, 1834, 34) in Egypt and Syria. Villoteau (i, 962) gives a detailed description with scales and designs of three sizes, 107, 82.6 and 38.6 cm. in length (in the South Kensington Museum, there is one 144 cm. long). Like the preceeding instrument, it is played with single beating reeds. The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes (*ziyādāt*) which are affixed to lower the pitch. In Syria the smaller type of *arghūl* is named the *masḥūra*, a most significant name, in spite of it being ignored in the lexicons. Lane, 367, figures a six-finger holed instrument which, he says, was used at *dhikrs* and by Nile boatmen. For specimens see Brussels, nos. 342-6; *ZDPV* [1927], pl. 2.

Bagpipe. An ancient instrument in the Orient. Just prior to Islam we have it figured on Sāsānid sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, pl. 64). We do not know its ancient Semitic name, but Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention it as the *mizmār al-djirāb*, describing it as being played by "an artificial contrivance". Although Niebuhr (i, 146) calls it the *zummārat al-ḳirba*, and Lane, 386, names it the *zummāra bi-suʿn*, the more general term used in Arabic speaking countries is *zukra*, although we find *mezwed*, pl. *mzāwd*, used in Tunisia (Von Hornböstl, 4) and in Algeria. The word *zukra* is given variations by some European authors, as in the *zūḳḳara* of Villoteau (i, 970) and the *suḳḳara* of Rouanet (Lavignac, 2812). In Persia, the bagpipe has long been known as the *nāy anbān* and *nāy mashk* or *mashkak* (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*), whence the Hindūstānī name *mashk* or *mushuk* (Tagore, 24; Day, 151). In Turkey, the older word was *ṭūlum*, *ṭulūm* or *tulūm* (Meninski, Sachs; cf. Ewliyā Čelebī, i, 642: *ṭulūm düdük*), but *ghaydā* would appear to be equally popular, and this name is to be found throughout the Balkan countries (cf. Arab. *ghayta*; Span. *gaita*; Eng. *wayghte*).

The bagpipe used by Islamic peoples is generally equipped with a chanter pipe (with five or six finger-holes) and mouthpiece, but rarely with a drone pipe. The chanter, terminating in a horn bell (*Schallstück*), is often double, a feature which was probably the original reason for the term *zummāra* being used with the bagpipe. The woodwork is sometimes inlaid with metal, whilst another feature is the adornment of the instrument with tassels, beads, shells, and other frippery. Designs may be found in Niebuhr (tab. xxvi) and Sachs (434), and actual specimens in Brussels, no. 372.

Instruments of free reeds. The Chinese *chêng* is such an instrument. Probably it was not used by Islamic peoples, although known to them. The *chêng* is described in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* as follows: "The *mustaḳ* is a musical instrument of the Chinese. It is made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*), and its name in Persian is *bīsha mushta*" (237). We get a little more information from Ibn Ghaybī, who informs us that the *čubčīḳ* or *mūsīḳār-i khatāy* was made of tubes of reed joined together. It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by fingerholes. For description and designs, see Van Aalst, *Chinese music*, 80.

b. Pipe-blown types. —The flutes of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, unlike those of Western Europe, are played vertically, a current of air being blown across the orifice (*manfakh*) at its head. Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 623, 636, 642 read قوال, not قزال) is not sure whether it was Pythagoras or Moses who "invented" the first instrument of this type, the shepherd's flute, called the *ḳawāl* (cf. χαυδός). Ibn Khurradādhbih says that it originated with the Kurds (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 90 = § 3214), and Ibn Ghaybī (*Sharḥ al-adwār*) says that this instrument was the *nāy abyaḍ* (white *nāy*). We know from Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846) that the Arabs called this flute or reed-pipe the *shiyāʿ*. A characteristic of the Arab flute was its length, hence the ancient Greek proverb which likened a talkative person to an Arabian flute (*Menandri Fragm.*).

In the early days of Islam, the Arabs called their flute the *ḳuṣṣāba* (later modified into *ḳaṣaba*), and this is the name used by the poets al-Aʿshā (d. 8/629) and Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj (2nd/8th century). These terms

fell into desuetude in the East when Persian musical influence were at their height. The Persians called their flute the *nāy narm* (soft *nāy*) so as to distinguish it from the *nāy* proper and the *surnāy*, which were reed-pipes, and so the Arabs of the East called their flute the *nāy*, although in the West the old word *ḳuṣṣāba* or *ḳaṣaba* was retained. Another term for the flute in early days, perhaps a different kind, was *yarāʿ* (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 236), and in the 5th/11th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* it equates with *calamaula*. In the 7th/13th century, it was still a common name with Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in the East, and with al-Shaḳundī in the West (al-Maḳḳarī, i, 59: read *yarāʿ* not *barāʿ*). In the contemporary *Vocabulista in Arabico*, it (*yarāʿ*) agrees with *fistula*. The words *hayraʿa* and *hariʿa* (al-Djawharī, al-Fīrūzbādī) would appear to be vulgar forms of *yarāʿ*.

Whilst the diminutive *ḳaṣība* (*ḳuṣayba*) sometimes occurs in reference to a small flute, *shabbāba* and *shabāb* (√*shabba* "to grow up") were the more general terms used in ʿIrāḳ (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, i, 97), Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 136), Spain (al-Shalāḥī, *Voc. in Arab.*), and the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 352). It became the *exabeba* of Western Europe. Another name for a small flute was *djuwāḳ*, and this word also found a place with the Latins as the *joch* (Du Cange). In Persia, the small flute was called the *pīsha* (*Kanz al-tuḥaf*), hence the Balkan *piscoiu* and *pisak*.

We read of the *nāy* in the *Aghānī* (ix, 71), but we cannot be sure whether it was a flute or a reed-pipe. Al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, 45) ignores the flute (*nāy*) and says that it was inferior (*ukhur*) to the *mizmār* (reed-pipe), but it soon gained wide recognition in chamber music probably by reason of Ṣūfī appreciation and the *dhikr* of the *darwīsh*. Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 693/1294) describes the *nāy* with eight holes for fingering, the thumb-hole at the back being called the *shudjāʿ* ("vehement"), its name revealing its function. In the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (8th/14th century) we find two very small flutes mentioned, but in the *Sharḥ al-adwār* (9th/15th century) we find that the *nāy abyaḍ* was normally 63 cm. long. Five larger sizes are given, the longest being 99 cm., with two smaller sizes, the limit being 31.5 cm. Ibn Ghaybī also registers several varieties including the *nāy bamm* of 67.5 cm. approximating in pitch to the *bamm* string of the lute, and the *nāy zīr* of 33.75 cm. approximating to the *zīmr* string. Ewliyā Čelebī (12th/18th cent.) gives the names of a number of Turkish flutes (i, 623) including the *shāh manṣūr*, the *dāwūdī*, and the *bolāheng*. Villoteau (i, 954) describes and delineates the Egyptian instruments of the late 12th/18th century. The largest, 77 cm. long, was the *nāy shāh* (= *shāh nāy*), and the smallest, 48.8 cm. long, was the *nāy djiraf*, the *kiraft* of modern Syria (Mushāḳa, 29). Other flutes named by him are the *nāy kushuk*, the *nāy sufurdja* (? *supurda*), the *nāy muṭlaḳ*, and the *nāy ḥusaynī*. In Turkey the *supurda* is the smallest flute used in chamber music (Lavignac, 3019). Turkish and Egyptian flutes are usually well made, with a head to support the lips. In Palestine and the Maghrib they still retain, more or less, a primitive appearance, and although the seven-holed flute is common (Christianowitsch, pl. 2), the five- and six-holed instrument has acceptance (Delphin and Guin, 45; *ZDPV* [1927], pl. 1). In the Maghrib, the flutes in the orchestras still retain the name of the *ḳaṣaba* (vulg. *ḳaṣba*), and they are generally about 40 cm. long, whilst the *djuwāḳ* or *shabbāba* (*shabāb*) is smaller. In the interior, longer flutes like the *giblī* and *sudāsī* may be found. Delphin and Guin give an account of these.

The recorder, or flûte à bec, also found favour in the East. This is the Arabic *nāy labak* (mouth *nāy*), the Persian *sūt*, the Turkish *dūduk*, and the Hindustānī *alghūza*. As early as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (4th/10th century) we read of the *ṣaffāra*, which was doubtless a flûte à bec (see Farmer, *Studies*, 83). Villoteau (i, 951) says that it was an instrument of this type in his day in Egypt. The *dūduk* or *dūdūk* is mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebī in nine different species (i, 642), and is also mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 400). The *shāhīn* would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in mediaeval Western Europe. It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the *ṭabl* or drum, hence the phrase in al-Ghazālī: "The *shāhīn* of the drummer (*ṭabbāl*)."

Pan pipes are also common to folk usage. Both Pythagoras and Moses are credited by Ewliyā Čelebī (i, 624, 636) with the "invention" of the *mūsīḳār* or pan pipes. Although the word stands for "a composer of melodies" in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (see also Meninski), it referred to a musical instrument in the 9th/15th century (*N. et E.*, xiv, 312). A contemporary writer, Ibn Ghaybī, says that "the *mūsīḳār* is one of the [wind instruments with] free pipes. Its notes are determined by size [of pipes]. The longest have the low notes, and the shortest the high notes." We find the instrument called *mūsīḳal* (*Farhang-i shuʿūrī*), whilst Ḥādjdjī Khalīfā (i, 400) has *mithḳāl*, and Toderini (i, 237) *mescal*, which probably gave birth to the Romanian *muscal*. The term *mūsīḳāl* survived up to modern times (Villoteau, i, 963), but the more general word used today (Mushāḳa, 29) is *djanāḥ*. (Pedro de Alcala [1503] mentions a harp by this name, but perhaps he confused the name with *djank*.) Russell (*The natural history of Aleppo*, i, 156), writing in Syria in the 18th century, says that pan pipes were to be found with from three to twenty-three pipes. Kaempfer, 743, delineates an 11th/17th century Persian instrument.

The names of instruments in the *mazāmīr* group in Arabic are legion. Many of those not mentioned in this article are regional and are of folk origin, their source being often discernible, such as in the *zamdjara* and *zamkhar*, to name only two. More interesting however, are the older words like *hunbūka*, *naḳīb* and *zanbāḳ*. The first two occur in al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1414), and *naḳīb*, which equates with *mizmār*, reminds us of the much debated passage in Ezekiel, xxviii, 13. *Zanbaḳ* occurs in al-Azharī (d. 370/980) and even earlier (cf. Lane). The Greek σαμβύκη and the Latin *sambuca* were stringed instruments, and Isidore of Seville's *sambuca* as a "wood-wind" instrument has long been suspect, but since *zanbaḳ* is to be found in Arabic equating with *zammāra* and *mizmār* there would appear to be good reason for accepting Isidore of Seville.

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For specimens of instruments: Brussels, *Catalogue descr.... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique*; New York, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments,* 1st ed.

(H.G. Farmer)

MIZWALA (a.), sundial. This term and *sāʿa shamsiyya* are used in modern Arabic, but in mediaeval Islamic times horizontal sundials were referred to either as *rukhāma,* lit. "marble" or *basīṭa,* lit. "flat", and vertical sundials as *munḥarifa,* lit. "inclined". The gnomon was usually called *shakhṣ, shākhiṣ* or *miḳyās.* One expression of the Muslim concern with timekeeping and regulating the times of prayer [see mīḳāt] was an avid interest in gnomonics, the theory and practice of sundial construction. Muslim astronomers made substantial contributions to both aspects of the subject, and by the late mediaeval period there were sundials of one form or another in most of the major mosques in the Islamic world. Those which survived usually bear markings for the hours (seasonal or equinoctial) and for the midday (*ẓuhr*) and afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayers. Since the beginnings of the permitted intervals for these two prayers were defined in terms of shadow lengths, their regulation by means of sundials was singularly appropriate.

The earliest surviving Arabic treatise on sundials deals with their construction and is attributed to al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*], active in Baghdād in the early 3rd/9th century. The work consists mainly of a set of tables of coordinates for constructing horizontal sundials serving 12 different latitudes. Each of al-Khwārazmī's sub-tables for a specific latitude displays for both of the solstices the solar altitude, the shadow of a standard gnomon, and the solar azimuth (see Pl. XVI, fig. 1). With these functions tabulated, construction of the sundial would have been almost routine. A 4th/10th-century treatise on the construction of vertical sundials has also survived. This is by one of the two Baghdād astronomers Ibn al-Ādamī or Saʿīd ibn Khafīf al-Samarḳandī (the copyist of the unique manuscript was not sure). Two auxiliary functions are tabulated with which one can generate pairs of orthogonal coordinates useful for marking vertical sundials serving any terrestrial latitude and inclined at any angle to the local meridian. Also from the ʿAbbāsid period, probably the 3rd/9th century, is the earliest text on the portable conical sundial.

Thābit b. Ḳurra (fl. Baghdād, *ca.* 300/900 [*q.v.*]) wrote a comprehensive work on sundial theory dealing with the transformation of coordinates between different orthogonal systems based on three planes: (1) the horizon, (2) the celestial equator, and (3) the variable plane of the sundial. As far as we know, Thābit's treatise, despite its merits, was not influential. Later Muslim astronomers were more interested in the practical side of gnomonics.

The major work on spherical astronomy and instrumentation in the later period of Islamic astronomy was the compendium by Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī [*q.v.*], who worked in Cairo *ca.* 680/1280. There are lengthy sections on sundials, with numerous tables and diagrams. The discussion concentrates on descriptions of the mode of construction; there is little underlying theory. The text deals with horizontal, vertical, cylindrical and conical sundials as well as simple, portable vertical sundials, in plane, cylindrical or conical format. Al-Marrākushī's treatise was widely influential in later astronomical circles in Egypt, Syria and Turkey.

A contemporary of al-Marrākushī in Cairo, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳsī, prepared a set of tables for marking vertical sundials for the latitude of that city. For each degree of inclination to the local meridian he tabulated the coordinates of the points of intersection of the lines for the seasonal hours and the *ʿaṣr* curve with the shadow traces at the equinoxes and the solstices (see Pl. XVII, fig. 2). The astronomer Ibn al-Sarrādj, active in Aleppo some fifty years later, devised several ingenious sundials for all latitudes.

Only a few sundials survive from the mediaeval period. Hundreds or even thousands must have been constructed from the 3rd/9th century onwards, but the vast majority have disappeared without trace. The oldest surviving Islamic sundial (see Pl. XVIII, fig. 3) was made by Ibn al-Ṣaffār, an astronomer of some renown who worked in Cordova about the year 400/1000. Only one-half of the instrument survives, but the remains are adequate to establish that gnomonics was not the maker's *forte.* The sundial is of the horizontal variety and there are lines for each of the seasonal hours and the *ẓuhr* prayer; there would also have been markings for the *ʿaṣr.* The gnomon is now missing, but its length is indicated as the radius of a circle engraved on the sundial. Several other, later Andalusī sundials which survive are singularly poor testimonials to their makers' abilities; yet proper sundials must have existed in mediaeval al-Andalus.

The Tunisian sundial shown in Pl. XVIII, fig. 4 is a much neater production. It was made in 746/1345-6 by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥasan al-Shaddād, and it is of considerable historical interest because its markings display only the times of day with religious significance. For the afternoon (right-hand side) the curves for the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* are marked according to the standard Andalusī/Maghribī definitions. For the morning there is a curve for the *ḍuḥā,* symmetrical with the *ʿaṣr* curve with respect to the meridian, and a line for the time of the *taʾhīb* one equinoctial hour before midday, this institution being associated with the communal worship on Friday [see djumʿa]. It was the symmetry of the *ḍuḥā* and *ʿaṣr* on this sundial that first led to an understanding of the definitions of the times of the daylight prayers in Islam.

The astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, chief *muwaḳḳit* of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, constructed in 773/1371-2 a horizontal sundial, some 2 m × 1 m in size, which is undoubtedly the most splendid sundial of the Middle Ages (see Pl. XIX, fig. 5). It was erected on a platform on the southern side of the main minaret of the Mosque. It could be used to measure time after sunrise in the morning and time before

sunset in the afternoon, as well as time before and after midday. This means that it measured time relative to the *ẓuhr* and *maghrib* prayers, and the *ʿaṣr* curve enabled regulation of time relative to that prayer also.

No vertical sundials survive from the first few centuries of Islamic astronomy, but we know they were made because of the treatises on their use which were compiled from the 3rd/9th century onwards. The *munḥarifa*, meaning simply "vertical and inclined to the meridian", usually bore markings for each seasonal hour and the *ʿaṣr* prayer bounded by two hyperbolic shadow-traces for the solstices. Tables such as those of al-Maḳsī (see above) would be particularly useful for constructing such sundials on the walls of mosques.

Numerous sundials from the period after the 10th/16th century survive in mosques from Morocco to India. No inventory of these instruments has been made, beyond non-technical surveys of those in Istanbul. In any case, they constitute but a modest testimonial to a millennium of Muslim activity in gnomonics.

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On a sundial used by Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] and other instruments which attest to the original association of the times of prayers with seasonal hours, see King, *On the origin of the prayers in Islam*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1990).

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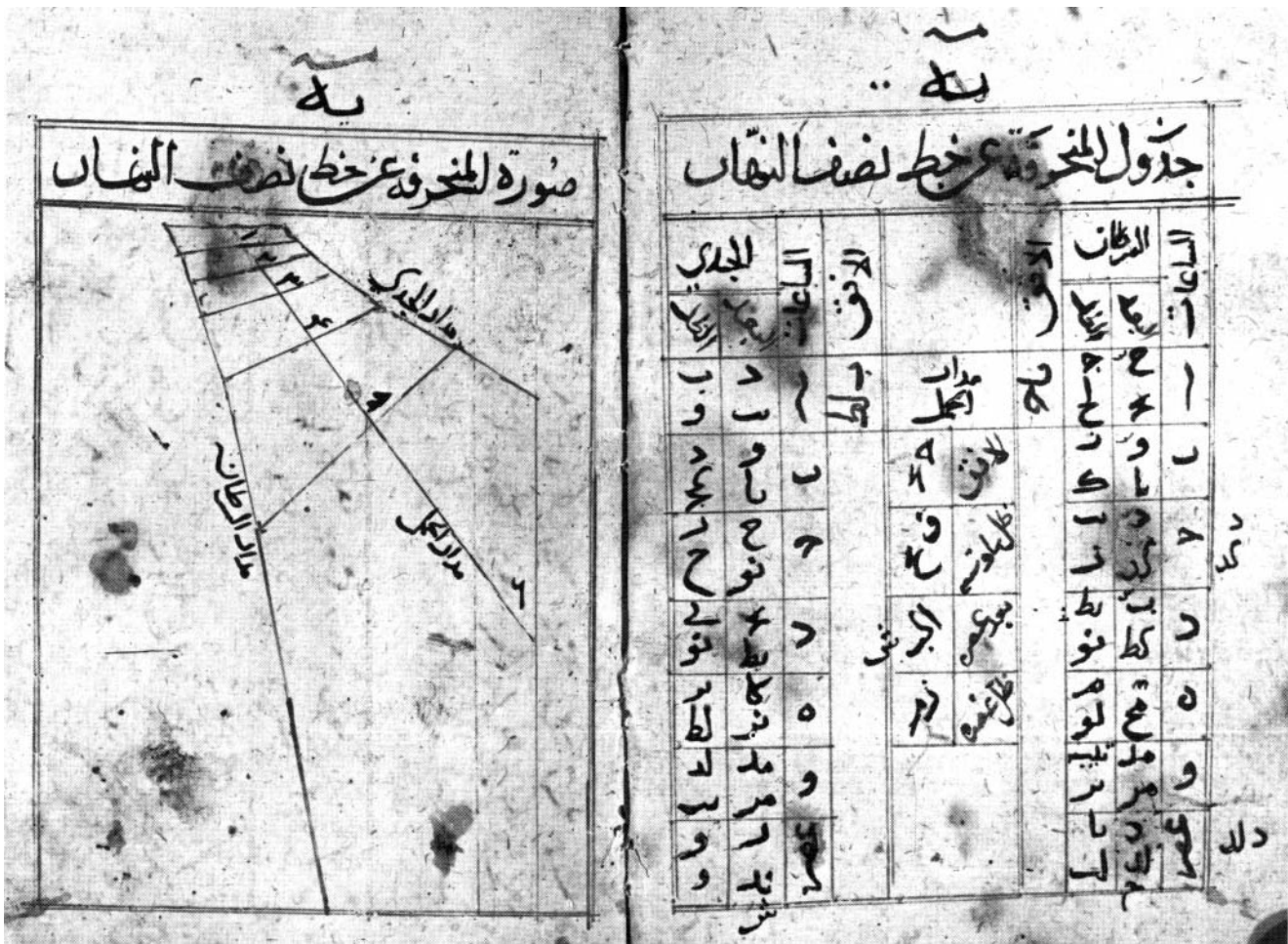
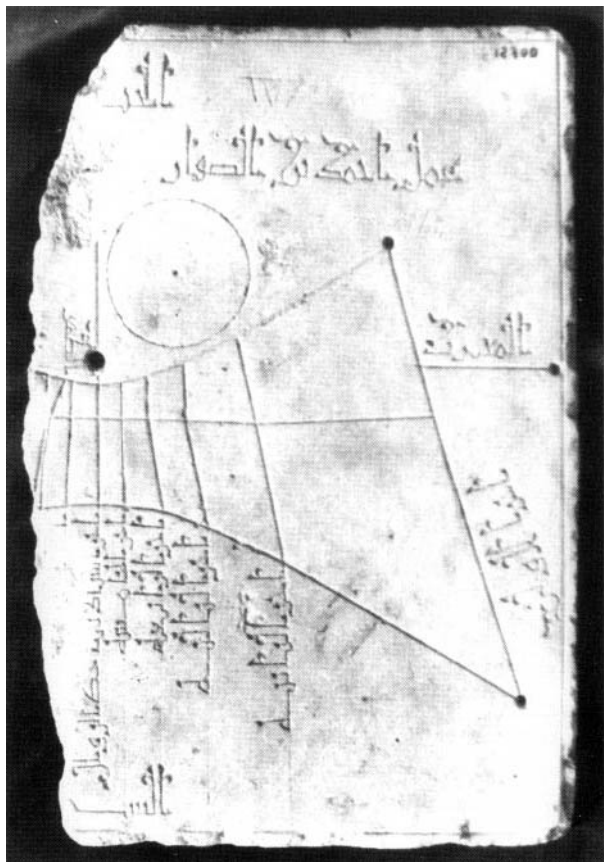
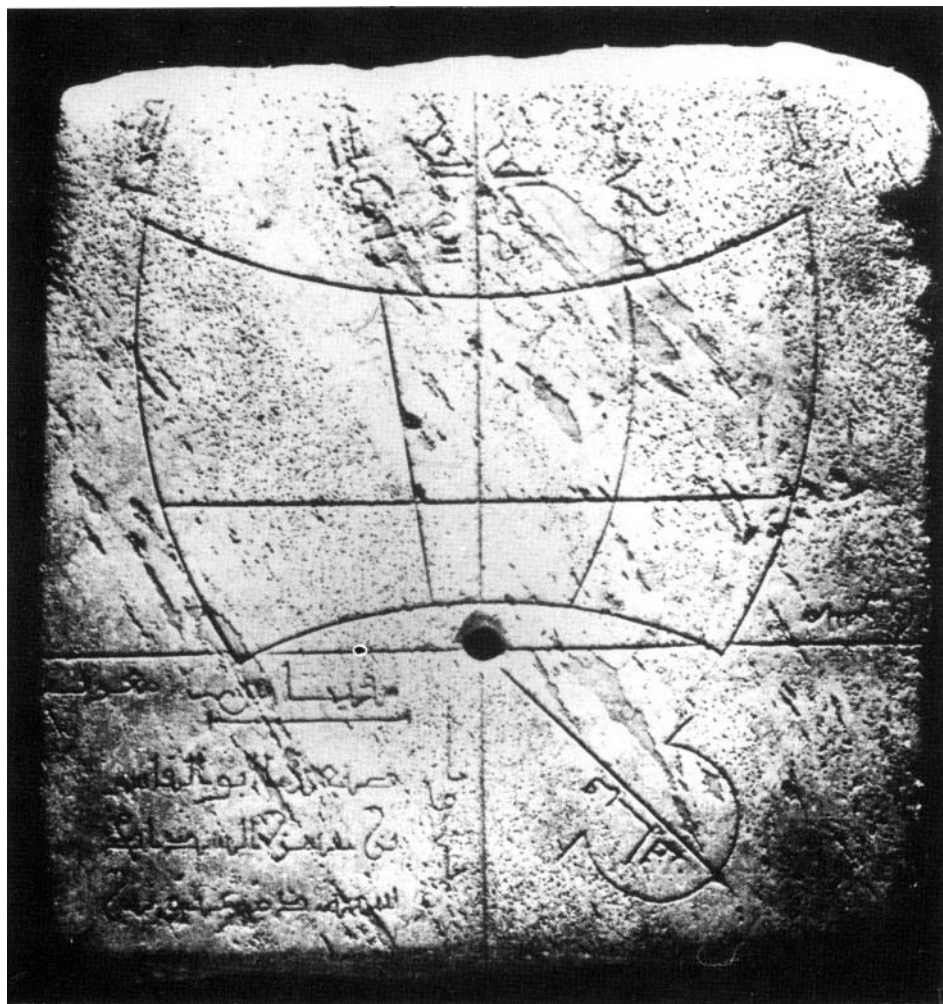
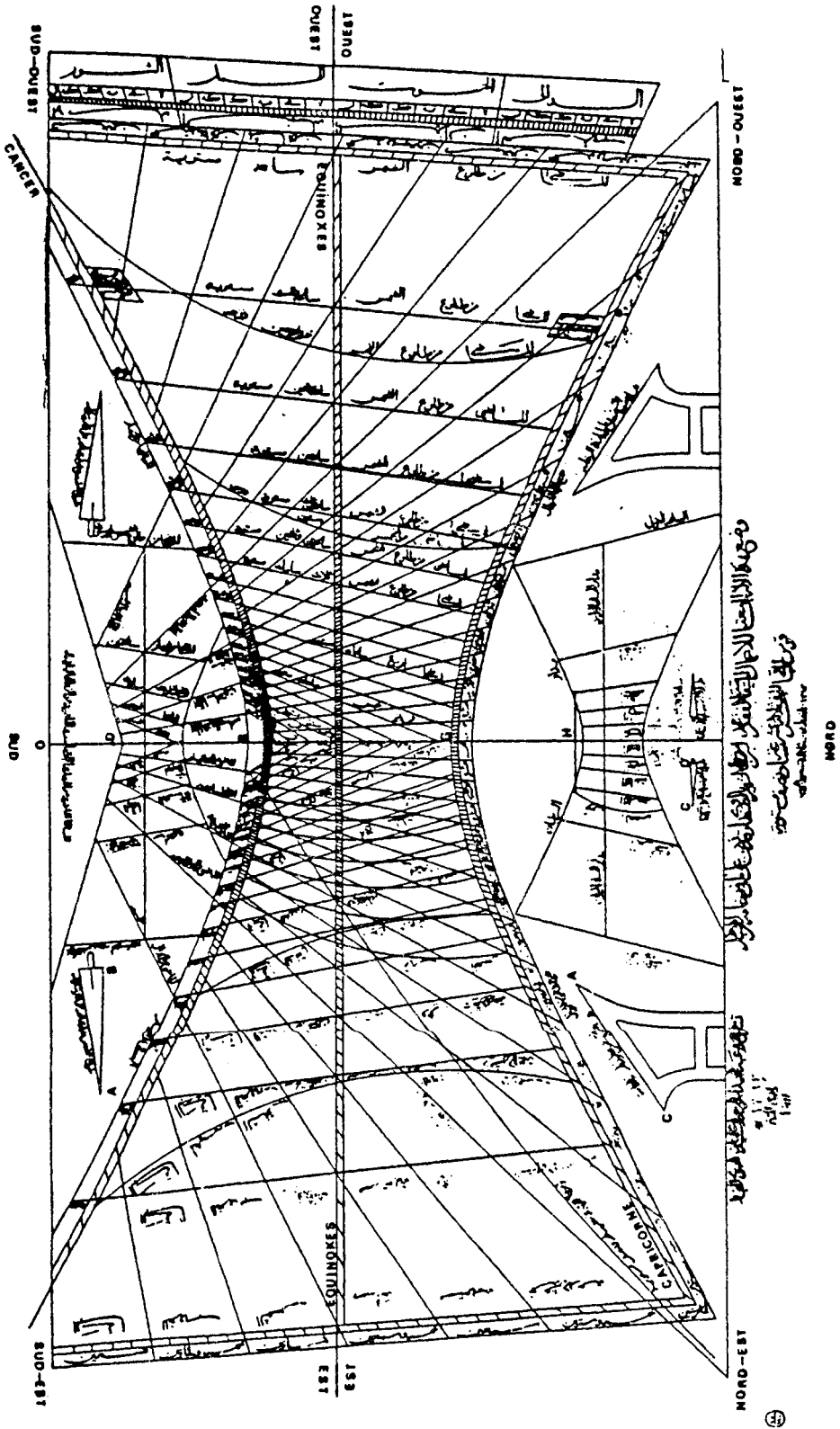
MIZWĀR, arabicised form of the Berber *amzwaru*, "he who precedes, he who is placed at the head", equivalent to the Arabic *muḳaddam* and, like this, frequently has in North Africa the meaning of chief of a religious brotherhood (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], the superintendent of a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] or the chief of a body of *shorfā* [*q.v.*]. In those districts of the Maghrib where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwār* is sometimes the equivalent of *anflūs*, the political adviser to a body (cf. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930, 222).

The term *mizwār* (or *mazwār*) is found early in the histories of the Maghrib in connection with Almohad institutions. There it means the head of a faction, and the corresponding office seems at this time to be often confused with those of *ḥāfiẓ* and *muḥtasib* [*q.v.*]. In the time of the Muʾminid caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, each of the twenty-one Almohad tribes had two *mizwārs*, "one for the first rank of the hierarchy, i.e. the earliest recruits of the Almohads, and another for those who had joined them later (*ghuzāt*)" (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 70; cf. also 63-4, and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, introduction to the translation of the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Paris 1927, p. xxxvi). *Mazwār* was in constant use in Fās for the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the principal Sharīfian groups who lived in this capital (see R. le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 489). In Marrakech, the same title was borne, under the Almohads, by the head of a kind of guild of physicians in the town (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 251).

1. An extract from al-Khʷārazmī's tables for sundial construction showing two pairs of sub-tables for each of latitudes 21°, 28°, 33°, 35° and 40°, based on obliquity 23;51° [see MAYL]. The final pair of tables is for latitude 29;30° but with obliquity 23;35°. These tables occur here in a treatise on astrolables and sundials by al-Sidjzī (*fl.* Iran, *ca.* 975). Taken from ms. Istanbul Topkapı 3342, 8 + 9, with kind permission of the Director of the Topkapı Library.

جدول المنحرفة عن خط نصف النهار

صورة المنحرفة عن خط نصف النهار

2. An extract from al-Maḳsī's tables for constructing vertical sundials for the latitude of Cairo. This particular sub-table serves an inclination of 15° to the meridian. Taken from ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub *mīḳāt* 103, fols. 68b-69a, with kind permission of the Director of the Egyptian National Library.

3. The oldest surviving Islamic sundial, made about the year 400/1000 in Cordova by Ibn al-Ṣaffār. The curve for the *ẓuhr* is just visible on this fragment, and there would have been curves for the beginning and end of the *ʿaṣr* as well. Photo courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

4. A 8th/14th-century Tunisian sundial indicating four times of day with religious significance: the *ḍuḥā* and the *taʾhīb* before midday, and the *ẓuhr* and the *ʿaṣr* after it. Property of the National Museum of Carthage; photo courtesy of the late M. Alain Brieux, Paris.

5. The markings of the splendid sundial of Ibn al-Shāṭir which once graced the main minaret of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. The original sundial is in fragments, preserved in the garden of the nearby Archeological Museum. This copy is made from an exact replica made by the 13th/19th-century *muwaḳḳit* al-Ṭanṭāwī which is still *in situ* on the minaret. Courtesy of the Syrian Department of Antiquities and the late M. Alain Brieux, Paris.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

AL-**MIZZA**, modern form Mezzé, a village lying, according to the mediaeval geographers, half-a-*farsakh* (i.e. about 4 km./2½ miles) to the west of Damascus [see DIMASHK], described as extensive, populous and agriculturally rich, being irrigated by one of the streams of the Baradā river. It was also known as Mizzat Kalb, having been in the Umayyad period a locality heavily settled by South Arabian, Kalbī supporters of the Sufyānids, and being also the spot where the Companion of the Prophet Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī was reputedly buried (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 11/27). In historical accounts of the Umayyads, it is mentioned several times as a centre of the Kalb, especially in the confused last years of the dynasty; thus in 127/745 Marwān II after suppressing the revolt of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] sent a force against his opponents in the Damascus area, and the properties of the Yamāniyya at al-Mizza were burnt down (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1894; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 329; cf. G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam, the Umayyad caliphate AD 661-750*, London 1986, 98).

By Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, however, it is again described as flourishing. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 236, tr. Gibb, i, 148; cf. also Ibn Djubayr, 277, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, London 1952, 288) found it to be one of the largest villages of the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*], famed *inter alia* for its *ʿulamāʾ*, including the traditionist Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Zakī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341-2 [*q.v.*]). Al-Dimashkī (*Nukhba*, tr. Mehren, 265-6) mentions the renown of its rose water. The expanding modern city of Damascus has now crept towards al-Mizza, and the city's airport is located there.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, v, 122; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 508; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 38, 47; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 307-8.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MIZZĪ**, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤADJDJĀDJ YŪSUF B. AL-ZAKĪ ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Yūsuf al-Kalbī al-Ḳuḍāʿī, famous Syrian traditionist. Born near Aleppo in 654/1256 of Arab stock, he moved early in life with his parents to al-Mizza [*q.v.*], a rich village just outside Damascus where he received a traditional education in Ḳurʾān and some *fiḳh*. When he was in his early twenties he embarked upon a career as a traditionist hearing *ḥadīth*s with the masters of his time. One of his fellow pupils was Taḳi 'l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328 [*q.v.*]), who remained a life-long friend. Al-Mizzī travelled extensively in search of traditions in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the Ḥijāz and developed into the greatest *ridjāl* expert the Muslim world had ever seen. Furthermore, he acquired a mastery in Arabic language and grammar. When he was still a young man, he had some contacts with controversial Ṣūfī circles but he soon discontinued these, probably as a result of Ibn Taymiyya's warnings against them. A Shāfiʿī as to his legal preference, he nevertheless wholeheartedly espoused the new ideas and the creed proposed by Ibn Taymiyya, something which even landed him for a short time in jail.

From 718/1319 onwards, al-Mizzī became the head of one of the major *ḥadīth* academies of Damascus, the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya, which was in a fact a *waḳf*. Before entering this *madrasa* he had to profess that he upheld the creed of al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], but in spite of his pledge to this effect, he had many adversaries who doubted his sincerity and who suspected him of having been "corrupted" by Ibn Taymiyya's creed. Even so, he taught *ḥadīth* in this academy until his death in 742/1341.

Among his students we find, apart from Ibn Taymiyya, such scholars as al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, and his son-in-law Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372 [*q.v.*]), the author of *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*.

Al-Mizzī's fame as a *muḥaddith* rests mainly in two voluminous works:

I. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, a biographical lexicon listing all the transmitters of the *isnād*s occurring in the "Six" canonical collections as well as in some other minor tradition collections. It constitutes a milestone in the *ʿilm al-ridjāl* in that it is the first comprehensive lexicon that aims at being exhaustive, much more so than any of its predecessors. As Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, the modern editor of the *Tahdhib*, points out, it not only comprises the biographical material collected in earlier works of that kind, but al-Mizzī has also brought together virtually every scrap of information on the *ruwāt kutub al-sitta* that he could lay his hands on (see Maʿrūf's introduction to his edition in progress, i, 41-9). Various scholars have produced compendia of al-Mizzī's original, none being more famous than the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448) [*q.v.*], which with its twelve volumes amounts to approximately one-third of the unwieldy original. For a survey of all the reworkings of the *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, see Maʿrūf's introduction, i, 51-71.

II. *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, which is available in the complete and reliable edition of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn. This work contains the *musnad*s of all those first generation transmitters, the Companions of the Prophet, arranged in alphabetical order, who, after the Prophet, had the *isnād*s of the "Six Books" and a few other minor collections. (In the final part of vol. xiii, the so-called *mursal* traditions [see ḤADĪTH] headed by the Successors are brought together.) The individual *musnad*s comprise complete *isnād*s or *isnād* bundles but do not contain the complete *matn*s supported by these *isnād*s. Only the *ṭaraf* (plural *aṭrāf*), a technical term which indicates the "gist" or an epitomising phrase of each *matn*, precedes the sometimes substantial list of names from the *isnād* as it occurs in the various collections. Within each Companion's *musnad* the material is presented in the alphabetical order of the second link after the Prophet, the Successors, and in large *musnad*s it is in turn divided up into material presented in the alphabetical order of the third and sometimes fourth links in the *isnād*s. The edition currently available is especially helpful in that it presents this complex material in an array of different letter sizes with many appropriate modern symbols, easily recognisable abbreviations and a variety of numberings inserted, thus greatly facilitating the use of an otherwise awesome textbook.

In the study of Muslim tradition, al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfa* is indispensable and this for the following reasons:

1. It is the only work of its kind which comprises also al-Nasāʾī's *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, a collection which that collector later excerpted to produce his *Sunan* as we know it today (also known by the name *al-Mudjtabā*). *Al-Sunan al-kubrā* was never edited, and although the *Tuḥfa*'s editor once announced that he was going to undertake a complete edition, except for one slim volume containing the chapter on *ṭahāra*, his plans have not yet been carried out. An analysis of al-Nasāʾī's *Kubrā isnād*s shows how that collector added masses of single strand *isnād*s to already existing *isnād*

bundles collected by his predecessors, strands which he diligently left unmentioned in his later, excerpted *Sunan*. Sezgin's *GAS*, i, does not yet know of any mss. of the *Kubrā*.

2. Repeated use of the *Tuḥfa* provides the analyst of *isnād*s with a host of important data which are otherwise difficult and time-consuming to unearth. Thus the *Tuḥfa* enables the user in the case of *ḥadīth*s supported by a sizable number of different *isnād* strands to determine at one glance the "common link", that is, the possible originator or (the proto-version of) the *matn*. For example, if one wishes to know the possible provenance and authorship of a certain canonical tradition quoted somewhere without *isnād*, the subsequent procedure could be followed. The tradition is first traced in Wensinck's *Concordance* and hence in any of the available collections listed there from where the Companion and the two or three oldest transmitters of its *isnād* can be gleaned. Then, consulting the extensive alphabetical lists of transmitters at the beginning of each volume of the *Tuḥfa*, the Companion's name is located, after that, within this Companion's *musnad*, that of the Successor whose name is always preceded by *, and, when necessary, within the collection of that Successor the name of the next transmitter which is always preceded by **. In some very large *musnads*, e.g. those of Anas b. Mālik and Abū Hurayra, in order to facilitate the search, one may want to trace also the name of the next transmitter preceded by ***. At this point, spotting the *ṭaraf* and tracing the *isnād* (bundle) is easy and hence the identification of its "common link", if there is one.

The *Tuḥfa*'s editor has, furthermore, obliged the users of this work by compiling a list (entitled *al-Kashshāf*, see *Bibl.*) of all the titles of the *bāb*s of all the different chapters of all the collections lying at the base of the *Tuḥfa*. Since Wensinck's at times idiosyncratic division of the canonical collections into *kitāb*s (and sometimes also *bāb*s), made before compiling his *Concordance*, never fails to bewilder users, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's *Kashshāf* constitutes a welcome additional tool for tracing traditions to their sources. In brief, the publication of the *Tuḥfa* from the 8th/14th century together with the *Kashshāf* from the 20th century have initiated a totally new and time-saving method of *ḥadīth* analysis.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, GII, 64, SII, 66 f.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 4th impr., Hyderabad 1970, 1498 ff.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, x, 395-430; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, v, 233-7; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 136 f.; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, Beirut 1980-(publication in progress; vol. i contains a comprehensive study of author and work with exhaustive bibliographical references); idem, *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn, Bombay 1965-82, 13 vols. (vol. i contains an extensive appraisal of al-Mizzī and his *Tuḥfa*); ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Kashshāf ʿan abwāb marādjiʿ tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, Bombay 1981; for more on "common links", see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.n. and 206-17.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MKWAJA, a settlement on the modern Tanzanian coast of East Africa. Traditions of Shīrāzī descent are found along the whole eastern African coast from Somalia southward as far as Kilwa and Lindi [see SHĪRĀZĪ]. Investigation carried out in 1922-3 by E.C. Baker brought to light the existence in former times of a federation of fifteen small chiefdoms in the then Tanga District whose rulers were known as *jumbe*, pl. *majumbe*; and five similar chiefdoms in the Pangani District, and twelve in the Bagamoyo District. By that date colonial rule had reduced the former powers of these chiefs to a virtual nullity. All of these chiefs claimed Shīrāzī descent.

At this period, chiefs were notably cautious when approached by strangers who asked to see their *shajara*, pl. *mashajara* (Swa. from Ar., genealogical tree), but Baker succeeded in obtaining permission to copy that of Mkwaja, the principal jumbeate in the Pangani group, some twenty miles south of the R. Pangani. In the face of the claim of Shīrāzī or Persian descent, it states that the first ancestor of the *jumbe*s of Mkwaja was an Arab from Baghdād, by name Aman. The *shajara* contains no dates of birth or death, but mentions fifteen generations, that is, at thirty years each, 450 years back from 1922 or 1472 for the birth of the first-named. This Aman left Baghdād and first resided in Zanzibar, before founding a settlement on the mainland at Uzimia, whence, at an unknown date, his descendants extended to Ushongo, Buyuni, Mkwaja, Kipumbwe, Bweni and Pangani. Later there was a further, northward extension. Of this, Kipumbwe was the principal seat, where the mosque is said to have been built in 1789. Shortly after, the *Diwan*, as the Jumbe of Mkwaja was also called, moved to Mkwaja, where in 1954 there were visible the remains of a ruined 18th century mosque adjacent to the modern mosque. In the region about Mkwaja there are cemeteries at Kisikimto and Bimbuli, and at Mafui an elaborately decorated small mosque of 18th century date, and one 19th century tomb. The occupants of the tombs are all said to be named in the *shajara*, so that from its information it would be possible to establish some rough sort of sequence for the tombs. The earlier ones have intricate carvings in coral limestone, the later, more crudely, in plaster. Most of them also have Chinese porcelain plates let into them as a decoration, as also does the *miḥrāb* of the mosque at Mafui.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MŌBADH "chief of the Madjūs", the Farsi form of MP *magupat* (OP **magupati*). This title occurs in Manichaean Parthian as *magbed*, in Armenian as *mogpet* or *movpet*, in Syriac as *mōpaṭā* and *mōhpaṭē*, in Greek as μαυῖπτάς, μαυπιτάς, μαύτης, μαύπησ and μάπτα, and in Arabic as *mawbadh* or *mūbadh* with the plural *mawābidha*. The reputation of this Zoroastrian priest for religious learning and legal responsibility led al-Yaʿḳūbī to explain this term as *ʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, while al-Masʿūdī explained it as *ḥāfiẓ al-dīn* and derived it from *mu* = "religion" and *badh* = "protector". The lexicographers add that it meant "learned" (*dānishmand*), someone who answered questions put to him, a judge (*ḳāḍī*), and a *faḳīh*.

The theory of Wikander that the *magupat* originally predominated in Media and Ādharbāydjān, while the *ērpat* (*hirbadh*) predominated in Fārs, and that the former was imposed over the latter at the beginning of the Sāsānid period, was based on Kartīr's description

of his career advancing from *ērpat* to *magupat*. This was refuted by de Menasce, based on the lack of evidence for a hierarchy among different kinds of priests in the 3rd century. Although the existence of *mōbadhs* is sometimes retrojected back to earlier times, as in the *Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag* (i, 9), where Alexander is said to have killed many *magupatān*, the earliest attested use of this title is in the inscriptions of Kartīr (Kirdēr) in the reign of Bahrām II (276-93). Although Kartīr claims to have been both *magupat* and *ērpat* under Shāpūr I (*ca.* 241-72) in his inscription at Naksh-i Rustam (l. 28), in those at Sar Mashhad (l. 4) and the Kaʿba of Zoroaster (l. 3), he says that he signed contracts which he sealed for the fires and for the Magians under Shāpūr I as Kirdēr, *ēhrpat*. Under Ohrmazd I (272-3) he was made Ohrmazd *magupat* (sc. of the god Ohrmazd), which position he held under Bahrām I (273-76) and Bahrām II. As such he was in charge of the divine ceremonies which he increased, founded Vahrān fires and sealed contracts for the fires and testaments, contracts and documents for the Magians at court and throughout the state. Bahrām II made him *magupat* and judge (*datōbar*) of the entire state.

Whether or not a hierarchy of priests was established under Kartīr, the title of *magupat* is hierarchic in nature, meaning that one magus (*magomart*) is in charge of others. Although Herzfeld ascribes a *magupat* of Mēshān engraved on a gem to the 3rd century, local *magupats*, mainly of Adiabene, begin to be attested in Christian martyrologies during the reign of Shāpūr II (309-79). Their role in apprehending and executing Christians is emphasised, but one of them is said to have entered the fire temple to perform the cult, while another, Ādur-Ohrmazd (d. 407), is said to have recited the Avesta, Yashts and Drōn night and day as *mōbadh* of Balāshfarr. By the 4th or 5th century a three-level hierarchy had developed of local *mōbadhs*, grand *mōbadhs* of provinces or regions and a supreme *mōbadh* over the entire state. Expressions such as *rēshā dᵉmagoshē* (head of the Magians) in Syriac corresponding to the Greek ἀρχίμαγος, ἄρχων τῶν μάγον and ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μάγων generally refer to local *mōbadhs*, while *mohpatā rabbā* would refer to a higher priest. The existence of a supreme *mōbadh* seems to be indicated in 358 when Ādur-Shābuh, the superior of the *mōbadh* of Adiabene, is called "head of the *mōbadhs*" (*rēshā dᵉ maupatē*) of the entire East. Under Yazdagird I (399-421), Ādur-Bōzīd, the *rēshā dᵉmagoshē* at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was probably the head of the priestly hierarchy, while Ādur-Frāzgird, the grand Magian (*magoshā rabbā*) in 408, made subordinate appointments.

According to Wikander, the earliest attestation of the title of *magupatān magupat* for the office of supreme *mōbadh* occurs during the reign of Bahrām V (421-39) for Mihr-Shāpūr in a Christian source. The NP form of this title, *mōbedhān mōbedh*, was used in Arabic. The earlier Armenian form, *movpetan movpet*, comes from MP, while the later Armenian form, *mubitan mubit*, comes from NP. According to Wiessner, this title first appears in Syriac in the time of Mār Abā (540-52). Later sources use this title from the time of Shāpūr II and imply that he appointed the supreme *mōbadh*. Al-Bīrūnī claims that Shāpūr II made the descendants of Āturpāt Mihraspandān *mōbadhān mōbadhs*. According to al-Masʿūdī, there was a *mōbadhān mōbadh* under Yazdagird II (439-57), and the 6th century *Mātakdān* names Martbūt as *magupatān magupat* under Fīrūz (457-83). In Mazdakī doctrine as reported by al-Shahrastānī, the *mōbadhān mōbadh* (understood as the chief judge) was one of the four highest officials in the royal court. Zarādusht b. Khurragān, the founder of the Mazdakī movement, is said to have been a *mōbadh* or chief *mōbadh* from Fasā in Fārs, but the claim that Mazdak himself was *mōbadh mōbadhān* (*sic*) has been denied by Klima. Vēh-Shapuhr, the *magupatān magupat* of Khusraw I (531-79), is mentionded in the *Mātakdān*, as is the *magupatān magupat* Āturpāt-i Zartushtān, who is said to have lived 150 years and been supreme *mōbadh*. There is a list of supreme *mōbadhs* of the Sāsānid period and of *mōbadhs* contemporary with the last editors of the book in ch. 33 of the *Bundahishn*, in which it is claimed that all surviving *mōbadhs* were descended from the same family.

As head of the priestly hierarchy, the *magupatān magupat* was a member of the royal court, where he presided over a supreme council of *mōbadhs* and *hirbadhs*. He was also counsellor to the king, a source of wisdom, and shared the king's meals in wartime. However, his role in deciding the royal succession is exaggerated in the *Letter of Tansar*, according to which he and two other officials should be given sealed letters by the king to be opened on the latter's death. If his choice agreed with the other's choice, it was to be announced. If not, nothing should be divulged, he should spend a day in worship and the choice should be resolved by "whatever God has put into the *mōbadh*'s mind". According to the *Testament* of Ardashīr, the king was to name his successor in four signed, sealed documents given to four high officials, who were to open them at his death and compare them to determine his successor. Neither procedure is confirmed by historical accounts of Sāsānid succession, but the *mōbadhān mōbadh* is frequently described in the *Shāh-nāma* as placing the crown on the ruler's head. Islamic sources also describe the bi-annual court of justice held on the festivals of Nawrūz and Mihrdjān when the king held public audiences for complaints brought by commoners. Any charges against the king were heard first by the supreme *mōbadh*, the chief secretary, and the director of the fire temples. The supreme *mōbadh* judged the charges against the king, who rose and knelt before him without wearing his crown.

As the supreme religious and judicial authority, the *magupatān magupat* was supposed to indict enemies of God, enemies of the king and heretics, according to the *Mātakdān*. In exceptional cases he judged lawsuits from which appeals had been made to him without seeing the plaintiff or defendant. His decisions were above review, being considered more trustworthy than the ordeal. Vēh-Shāpūr, whose archives contained wills, promulgated a memorandum dealing with legal procedure, specifically on keeping records of the interrogation in capital crimes. Copies, authenticated by his seal, were circulated to the provinces. It was natural for Muslim writers, such as al-Masʿūdī, to translate *mōbadhān mōbadh* as supreme judge (*ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*) and to say that his rank was almost equal to that of a prophet.

At the lower levels of the judicial hierarchy, *mōbadhs* were judges of first instance and of two degrees (*kas* lower, *mas* higher), above whom was the *mōbadh* of the district. The *Mātakdān* defines the function of the *magupat* as sealing documents in his district and says that Ḳubādh I (488-96, 499-531) introduced the use of an official seal for them. In the 6th century, the title of *magupat* was replaced by "advocate of the poor" on the seals of the *magupat* of Fārs, and this is attested on bullae. Although *mōbadhs* depended on secular officials to enforce their judgments, they were expected to act as a check in local tax collectors. The legal and administrative responsibilities of *mōbadhs* that are prominent in the sources were combined with ritual

responsibilities, such as reciting the liturgy and performing sacrifices, tending the fire temples and their endowments and religious education. They were repositories of sacred and secular learning. Their functions sometimes overlapped those of secular officials and other kinds of priests. It is not always clear whether *mōbadhs* included other forms of priestly dignity (such as *dastūr*), to what extent they were hereditary or what their position was relative to the *hirbadhs*. After Hurmizd IV (579-90) abolished the judgments and regulations of the *mōbadhān [mōbadh]*, *hirbadhs* appear to have been predominant at the end of the Sāsānid period, during the Muslim conquest and for a while afterwards.

In any case, *mōbadhs*, together with other priests, lost political support when the Sāsānids fell to the Muslims. The upper levels of the priestly hierarchy disappeared; there was no longer a unitary body of priests; and authority devolved on provincial and local priests, including *mōbadhs*. It is not always clear whether *mōbadh* is used as a generic term for any priest or is used in a specifically technical sense in sources referring to Islamic Iran, and this term is also used somewhat loosely in modern scholarship for Zoroastrian priests in early Islamic times. There was both a chief *hirbadh* and a *mōbadh mōbadhān* (*sic*) in Sīstān at the time of the conquest in 31/651-2. The latter is considered to be either the supreme *mōbadh* who had fled there (Sadighi) or a lower priest (Bosworth). There was also a *mōbadhān mōbadh* at the house of al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān in the late 2nd/early 9th century who explained Nawrūz and Mihrdjān to al-Maʾmūn's general, Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Rustamī. By the 3rd/9th century, a succession of priests exercised religious authority at least over Fārs and Kirmān, although Āturfarnbag son of Farrukhzāt, Zartōkhsht son of Āturfarnbag, and Āturpāt son of Ēmēt, are called *Hudinan peshobay* ("leader of those of the Good Religion") in Book 3 of the *Dēnkart* rather than *mōbadh*. They may, however, also have been *mōbadhs*. Manushčihr son of Goshn-Yam, a descendant of Āturfarnbag, who was chief of the Zoroastrians of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, was either a *mōbadh* (de Menasce) or the chief *hirbadh* (Sadighi). His nephew, Ēmēt son of Ashavahisht, who succeeded him in the first half of the 4th/10th century, and Ēmēt's son and successor, Āturpāt, who edited Book 3 of the *Dēnkart*, are regarded as *mōbadhs* by de Menasce. The 6th/12th century *Kitāb-i ʿUlamāʾi Islām* purports to contain the replies of a *mōbadhān mōbadh* from an earlier MP work and remarks that only a few *mōbadhs* were left.

There are scattered references to local *mōbadhs* in early Islamic Iran. A *mōbadh* at Marw is said to have advised the governor Māhūya not to kill Yazdagird III in 31/651-2. The local *mōbadhs* and *hirbadhs* at Nīshāpūr asked Abū Muslim to suppress the revolt of Bihāfarīd b. Māhfurūdīn in 131/748-9. A *mōbadh* participated in Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak's session on love, and another explained the Iranian calendar to the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). Al-Mutawakkil is also said to have sent a *mōbadh* to Fārs. Zātspram, the brother of Manushčihr, was *mōbadh* of Sīradjān in Kirmān in 267/880-1 and contested his brother's authority over the liturgy. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī quotes a list of Sāsānid kings compiled by the *mōbadh* Bahrām son of Mardanshāh. Marasfand, a *mōbadh* from Kāzarūn in Fārs, read the MP inscriptions at Persepolis for ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 344/955. Marasfand's son Ādurbad was a famous *mōbadh* of Fārs. Farnbag, who wrote the *Bundahishn* in 493/1098, was descended from the family of Manushčihr and Ēmēt son of Ashavahisht, and included a section in his work on the genealogy of major *mōbadh* families. *Mōbadhs* are also said to have preserved copies of the Sāsānid register of offices (*Gāh-nāma*) which was part of the *Āʾīn-nāma* (an *Āʾīn-nāma* was translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ with the title *Kitab al-Rusūm*).

As the Zoroastrian community contracted, *mōbadhs* as such decreased in number and in qualifications and shared their authority with other kinds of priests. *Dastūr* came to be used for higher priests. The priest of the small community at Rayy in the 7th/13th century was called *mōbadhān mōbadh*, but in the mid-7th/13th century, according to local tradition, the community at Kirmān invited to lead them a great *dastūr* from Khurāsān who claimed descent from the *mōbadhān mōbadh* of Khusraw II (591-628). In the late 7th/13th century or early 8th/14th century the leader of the community at Turkābād in northwestern Yazd was called *dastūrān dastūr*.

It is only in the Persian *Riwāyāts* of the Ṣafawid period that precise definitions of different kinds of priests are given, presumably in ascending order. The *herbed* is one who knows the Avesta and has been initiated as a priest. The *mōbed* is one who recites the *Zend-Avesta* continually and performs the Yasna service. The *dastūr* is one who knows the Avesta and the Zand, the MP literature, and has the authority to command Behdīns to do religious works. A *dahmōbed* is defined as a chief *mōbed* who is in charge of the ceremonies for the dead. In 1020/1611 there were *dastūrs* and *dahmōbeds* at Kīrman and a high priest, *dastūrs* and *dahmōbeds* at Yazd.

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(M. Guidi [—M. Morony])

MODES, Musical [see maḳām].

MODON, a town in the Morea [*q.v.*] on the south-west point of Messenia, about 20 miles northwest of Cape Akritas, opposite the island of Sapienza at the foot of Mount Tomeus. Modon is frequently mentioned in ancient times under the names Μεθώνη and Μοδώνη; from the latter comes the Italian name of the town, Modon, under which it has been

known since the Middle Ages in Europe. In the Middle Ages it was of much greater importance than in antiquity. The good harbour of the town, sheltered by cliffs of varying heights, has long been a haven of refuge and of supply for ships going from the West to the Levant. Hence pilgrims frequently mention the town and their accounts of their travels even contain maps.

Mentioned by al-Idrīsī as a fortified town with a citadel (*Opus geographicum*, Naples and Rome 1970 ff., 638: M.thūniya; cf. *Géographie*, tr. Jaubert, Paris 1846, 305), Modon fell to the Venetians after the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204 and remained in their possession for nearly three centuries; this was a golden age for the town, which became an important centre for trade with Egypt and Syria. During the second half of the 14th century, the population of Modon, already a mixture of Greeks, Jews, Albanians and Latins, increased considerably as many Christians and Jews of the Peloponnesus migrated thither to escape Turkish rule. The Ottomans raided the lands outside Modon, and in 1499-1500 launched naval attacks on Modon whilst Sultan Bāyezīd II advanced on the town by land. After a siege of 28 days, the outnumbered Venetians had to surrender (9 August 1500); the populace was now massacred or enslaved, and the Latin cathedral of St. John turned into a mosque.

In 1531 the Knights of St. John almost recaptured Modon, and carried off 1,600 Muslim prisoners. Ewliyā Čelebī visited the Morea 1667-8 and gives valuable information on Modon and its vicinity (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, Istanbul 1928, 334 ff.). During the War of the Holy League against Turkey, which broke out in 1684, the Venetian commander Francesco Morosini recaptured Modon with the help of Greek and German troops, and the treaty of Carlowitz [see ḲARLOFČA] confirmed the Venetians' possession. Venetian census records from this time show that Modon and its district had become very depopulated, and Modon itself, including the citadel, had only 236 inhabitants, of whom some must have been Muslims.

The town remained for some nineteen years under Venetian rule. In 1715 the grand vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Shehīd with the help of a number of Greeks took not only Modon but almost the whole of the Morea from the Venetians in a very short time [see MORA. 2]. The Venetian garrisons of Navarino and Coroni as well as the inhabitants abandoned them when the Turkish army approached in the summer of 1715, in order to take refuge in Modon, which was much more strongly fortified. Soon afterwards the Turkish fleet and army began the siege of the town. After a brief resistance Modon surrendered voluntarily. After the capture of the town, the grand vizier ordered a general slaughter of the Christians. Many in the district thereupon adopted Islam in order to save life and property in this way. The Turks who had formerly owned property in Modon or the neighbourhood were allowed by imperial edict to resume possession of it. The Peace of Passarowitz (1718) finally ceded Modon to Turkey. The town recovered from the catastrophe of 1715. From 1725 onwards a busy trade developed between Modon and the lands of North Africa, especially Algeria and Tunis. Modon played a certain part during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768-74. The Russian vice-general Dolgoraki in 1769 besieged Modon. The siege lasted a long time; the fighting was conducted mainly by the artillery on both sides. The Russians had also two warships co-operating on the sea. At the end of May 1769, Turks and Albanians from the interior of the Morea came to the help of the besieged. In the battle that now developed the Russians suffered heavily. They were forced to abandon most of their artillery and to escape to Navarino, from which they sailed with the rest of the Russian army and a few Greek notables. According to reliable sources, the Turkish population of Modon about 1820 was four to five hundred fighting men. About the same time, ʿAlī Agha was prominent among the Turks of the town for his wealth and in other respects also. The vicinity of Modon was almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks who cultivated the land, which mainly belonged to the Turks. During the Greek War of Independence of 1821-7, all the attempts of the Greeks to take the town failed. At the end of March 1821, a Peloponnesian force led by the Orthodox Patriarch of Methone and other notables, besieged Modon and the adjoining towns of Koroni and Neokastron. The besiegers were joined in the spring by Greeks from the Ionian islands and later by Philhellenes from Europe. On 18 May 1821, Greek ships blockaded Modon, and many fierce encounters took place between the Turks of Modon and their besiegers. In July 1821, Turkish ships re-provisioned Modon but they were not successful in their attempt to reprovision Neokastron, the garrison of which was in dire straits from want of food and even water. In August 1821, the Turks of Modon decided to attempt the relief of their compatriots in Neokastron, who had in the meanwhile been forced to capitulate to their Greek besiegers. On the road between Modon and Neokastron a battle was fought on 8 August 1821. On the same day, the Greeks took Neokastron; but they gradually abandoned the siege of Modon. The town was able to continue to hold out, only, however, with the frequent help of the Turkish fleet.

When the Egyptian Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] undertook to suppress the Greek rising for the sultan and to pacify the Morea, Modon and its neighbourhood formed his main base. There he landed troops on 24 February 1825 and dug entrenchments. Modon became an important base for Ibrāhīm Pasha's operations. On 8 October 1828 the town was taken from him by the French General Maison. The French left in 1833, and Modon has since then belonged to Greece. According to the 1981 census, the population of Methōne was 1,251; the population has been dwindling over recent decades.

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MOGADISCIO, MOGADISHU [see MAḲDISHŪ].

MOGADOR [see AL-ṢAWĪRA].

MOGHOLISTĀN "the land of the Mongols", the name used from the time of the Mongols (13th century) onwards to designate the steppe, plateau and mountain region of Inner Asia lying to the north of Transoxania or Mā warāʾ al-nahr [*q.v.*] and the Syr Darya, hence including *inter alia* the region of Semirečiye, Turkish Yeti-su "the land of seven rivers", which comprised the basins of the Ili and Ču rivers [*q.vv.*]; this part of Mogholistān corresponds in large measure with the modern Kazakh SSR. But the region also extended eastwards across the Tien Shan and Ala Tau ranges into the northern part of Eastern Turkestan and into Dzhungaria (the modern Uyghur Autonomous Region of Hsin-Chiang or Sin-Kiang in China). The term reflects the fact that under the Čaghatayids [see ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE] these lands were mostly taken over by the Turcol-Mongol nomadic hordes of the Khāns, the denasalised form Moghol being the usual one of the Islamic sources for the original Monggol.

The term became the standard one for the whole region up to modern times. It is used e.g. by Bābur [*q.v.*] in his memoirs (early 16th century) and by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat in his *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (mid-16th century). This latter author (whose original Mongol tribe of Dughlat nomadised across Mogholistān) defines it in detail as including the lakes Balkhash and Issïḳ Köl [*q.vv.*], with the upper basin of the Irtïsh river [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to its north and "Uzbekistan" to its south and the Tarim basin to its east (now often called "Uyghuristān" or Altï shahr "the land of the six towns", sc. Beshbalïḳ, Kuča, Ḳaraḳočo or Turfan, etc.). But the boundaries of Mogholistān were inevitably somewhat fluid, for its prime characteristic was that it was essentially a region for pastoral nomadism, with virtually no towns proper by that time unruined, and only semi-permanent nomadic encampments. The nomadic nature of its sparse population, composed of Turco-Mongols organiṣed into confederations but with many splinter-groups, explains also certain other names given to the tribal peoples of Mogholistān, such as Djete (apparently "lawless ones, brigands") and Ḳarawnas/Ḳaraʾunas , Marco Polo's Caraunes (probably "people of mixed origin, métis", cf. H. Yule, ed. and tr., *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 92-3, 94-6, P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, 184-96, and J. Aubin, *L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas*, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 65-94).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MOGHOLS, an ethnic and, until recently, a linguistic group originally concentrated in west-central Afghānistān, in the modern province of Ghōrāt, and carrying on there a semi-pastoral and semi-agricultural way of life; now however groups of them have become dispersed throughout northern and central Afghānistān. They number at most 10,000 souls. For other communities in Afghānistān of mixed Turkish-Mongol origin, see HAZĀRAS in Suppl. Unlike the Shīʿī Hazāras, the Moghols are Sunnī.

The origins of these Moghols probably lie in the appearance in Afghānistān of mixed Mongol-Turkish elements in the wake of the Čingizid invasions of Western Asia, in particular, of the military following of Hülegü's general Nīkūdār, the so-called Nīkūdārīs or Ḳarawnas. Subsequently allied with the Kart [*q.v.*] of Kurt rulers of Harāt, certain of the Mongol elements of these retreated into southern Ghūr around their stronghold of Ḳayṣar, and have apparently lived there since then as a distinct group, their Mongol language and their physical features preserved until recently by strict endogamy. The language first attracted the attention of British observers from India in the early 19th century (see R. Leech, *A vocabulary of the Moghal Aimaks*, in *JASB*, vii [1838], 785-7) but linguistic missions of the last three or so decades have found the language almost forgotten even by the elderly, although the Mongoloid physical appearance of the people still remains clearly discernible. Today, most of the Moghols are Darī (i.e. Persian) speakers, whilst some on the southern fringes of Ghūr have adopted Pashto. Within two or three generations, it is likely that the Moghols will have been totally assimilated to their Tādjīk and Pashtūn surrounding environment.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MOGHUL [see MUGHAL].

MOHÁCS (Ottoman Mihāč), a town in the county of Baranya, in southern Hungary. In its vicinity two important battles (a, b) took place, while the settlement itself gave name to an Ottoman *sandjaḳ* (c) in the 16th-17th centuries.

(a) The first battle of Mohács, the more decisive of the two, was fought on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 932/August 1526. With Süleymān I's accession to the throne in 926/1520, a new era started in the western politics of the Ottoman Empire. While Selīm I had had mainly eastern targets, his son turned towards

Europe. Hungary, which had formerly been a strong and centralised kingdom under Matthias Corvinus (1458-90), gradually lost her wealth and political power under the Jagellons, mainly due to the heavy burdens of continuous warfare with the Ottomans. Seeking a way out from this situation, Louis II did not sign a renewed peace-treaty with Süleymān and detained his envoy. This led to the siege and capture of Belgrade, the key-fortress of the southern marches. For the following five years, the king and his entourage were unable to secure the necessary international help. and the country had to confront the Ottomans almost wholly by her own means (a fairly considerable monetary aid was, however, given by the Pope and Venice).

In the battle, the sovereigns of the two countries headed their armies. The actual leadership was in the hand of Pál Tomori, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, chief commandant of Lower Hungary, a well-proven soldier, and of Ibrāhīm, the new Grand Vizier, on the Ottoman side.

Since no muster was made on either side, the number of participants can only be estimated. This can be done with more accuracy for the Turks, thanks to figures in the 931/1525 state budget (the date of the pertinent manuscript was rectified by G. Káldy-Nagy, *Suleimans Angriff auf Europa*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xxviii [1974], 170-1, n. 34). These suggest that an approximate total of 60,000 regular soldiers and timariots could be mobilised. To this, an equal amount of irregular and non-military elements can be added as a possible maximum. The lowest—but still generally accepted—value for the Hungarian contingents is 25,000 men, while others argue that 40,000 or even more troops are also conceivable. At any rate, the Ottoman army was superior in discipline and training. One important element was nevertheless absent from the Turkish forces, i.e. heavy cavalry, which they therefore feared.

The exact place of confrontation in unknown (only some thousand Hungarian skeletons have been found in one group, and almost none of the Ottomans). Tomori decided on a mounted attack against the Turks, who were descending a slope. This caused serious confusion for a short time, but the steadiness of the Janissaries and the unexpected side attack by Bali Beg's forces gave a new turn to the events. In one-and-a-half hours, the Hungarian army was completely defeated, losing its most prominent ecclesiastic and political leaders, including the king, who was drowned in the Csele stream.

Süleymān himself was surprised at his success. He was even able to enter the capital Buda without encountering resistance. Although he did not attach Hungary to his empire, he considered it his own possessions from that time onwards. This agrees with the general Ottoman ideology and method of conquest, and not even the fact that he accepted John I on the Hungarian throne as a vassal soon afterwards seems to contradict this concept (cf. Pál Fodor, *Magyarország és Bécs az oszmán hódító ideológiában* ["Hungary and Vienna in the Ottoman ideology of conquest"], in *Keletkutatás*, 1987 tavasz, 20-38).

The defeat was a turning-point in Hungarian history. The king's death gave rise to a long period of anarchy, while the loss of the Szerémség (Sirmium) made it impossible to defend the borders, and the country became the battlefield of two world powers. The splitting-up of her territory into three zones (i.e. Ottoman, Habsburg and Transylvanian [for this last, see ERDEL]) lasted for more than 150 years, hindering development in many spheres.

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(b) The place of the—less correctly—so-called "second battle of Mohács" was between the Harsány Mountain and Villány, a district 20 to 25 km. southwest of Mohács itself. It was fought between the forces of the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pas̲h̲a and Charles of Lotharingia, head of the Holy League's army, on 12 August 1687. With approximately 60,000 men on both sides, the fight ended with an Ottoman defeat, a result of the European superiority in warfare (mainly in fire-arms) by this time. Soon after this Christian success, their contingents easily took many smaller fortresses, so that the population of Slavonia pledged allegiance to Leopold I at the end of October. The Grand Vizier, on the other hand, was dismissed and later executed, while the Sultan, Meḥemmed IV, was replaced by Süleymān II [*q.v*].

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(c) The *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Mohács [Mihāč]—alternatively also called Pécs (Pečūy) and Szekcsö (Sekčōy), of which the former was more often considered as a separate unit—was rather large at the beginning. Later, it was partly divided (e.g. after 1552 most of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Koppány (Ḳōpān) was carved out from its territories), and partly diminished, losing villages to the *sand̲j̲aḳs* of Simontornya

(Shimōnṭōrna) and Szigetvár (Sigetvār). It belonged to the *wilāyet* of Budin (Buda) and consisted of 10 *nāḥiyes* in 1546 and 1552 (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, tahrir defteri 441, 443), but only 3 in 1580 and 1590 (Tahrir defteri 583, 632), and of one *ḳaḍā*ʾ. The first active *sandjaḳ-begi* here, Ḳāsîm, is known from 1543 onwards.

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MOHMAND, the name of a Paṭhān or Afghān tribe on the North-West Frontier of what was formerly British India, now forming the boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistān. The Mohmands in fact straddle the frontier, and their members, estimated at *ca*. 400,000, are divided between the two countries. The Mohmand territories extend from northwest of the Peshāwar district, with Mālākand and the Yūsufzay territories on the east, up to and beyond the Afghan frontier on the west, and northwards towards the princely state of Dīr [*q.v.*]. The Mohmand Agency, created by Pakistan (see below), has an area of 750 sq. miles, with a population estimated at *ca*. 250,000, and included in the extreme northwest the mountainous district of Badjawr [*q.v.*], home of the Tarkanrī Paṭhāns, ostensibly related to the Yūsufzays.

According to traditional genealogical lore, enshrined for instance in Niʿmat Allāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (early 17th century), the Mohmands are descendants of a legendary ancestor Kharshbūn and his son Kand through the Ghōriya Khēl, a parallel line to that of the Yūsufzays [see AFGHĀN. i. The people]. Local tribal tradition says that the Ghōriya Khēl and their kinsmen the Khakhay migrated from Afghānistān in the late 15th century, and by the early 16th century the Mohmands had reached the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR] region. They were for long a thorn in the flesh of successive rulers of India. Until 1552 they supported Kāmrān, brother and rival of Humāyūn [*q.v.*] in his attempt to re-establish his father Bābur's power in India, and they resisted Akbar in 1586 when he campaigned in the Frontier region. The Rōshāniyya religious movement [*q.v.*] of Bāyezīd, Pīr Rōshān, was influential amongst them also. In 1672, they helped to block the passage through the Khyber of Awrangzīb's general Uyghur Khān, and even the powerful Afghān leader Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] had in the 18th century to conciliate them and the Yūsufzay tribal chiefs with grants of *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*].

As noted above, like many other frontier tribes, such as the Mamands, Bangash, and the Darwēsh Khēl Wazīrīs, the Mohmands are to be found both in Afghānistān and in Pakistani territory. Those within the latter sphere on influence can be divided into the Kuz (plain) Mohmands, whose lands lie to the south of Peshāwar within the old British administrative border, and the Bar (hill) Mohmands of the semi-independent hills to the north-west. The Mohmands of the settled districts represent one of the many cases of fission, where a branch of section of the tribe has broken off from the parent stock and lost all connection with it. The Mohmands across the administrative border can be divided into three chief clans: the Tarakzay, Baezay, and the Khwaezay. In the thirty years following the annexation of the Pandjāb, no less than six punitive expeditions were required to punish them for raiding into British territory. By the Durand Agreement of 1893, certain Mohmand clans were definitely placed within the British sphere of influence, and by the year 1896 the Halīmzay, Kamali, Dawezay, Utmanzay and Tarakzay, afterwards known as the eastern or "assured" clans, had accepted the political control of the Government of India (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, Cd. 4,201, p. 123). But this did not prevent them from joining in the Paṭhān revolt of 1897, when under their leader, Nadjm al-Dīn, the Adda Mulla, they attacked the village of Shankargah and the neighbouring fort of Shabḳadar in the Peshāwar district.

The factors underlying Mohmand unrest were geographical, economic, and political. The barren nature of their stony hills and almost waterless holdings forced them to raid the settled districts in order to obtain the necessaries of life. Their position on the flank of the Khyber Pass was a standing invitation to plunder the caravans passing between Peshāwar and Kābul. There was considerable uncertainty as to the exact location of the Indo-Afghān boundary near Smatzay and Shinpokh. Afghān intrigues also played their part, and much of the unrest can be traced to anti-British propaganda emanating from Kābul.

At the close of the Zakka Khēl expedition of 1908, the Mohmands joined in the fighting but they were easily defeated, the eighteen-pounder quick-firing gun being used for the first time to disperse hostile *lashkars*. In April 1915, the Mohmands once more invaded British territory but were eventually dispersed and forced to pay a heavy fine. In August 1916, some Turkish emissaries arrived in the Mohmand country with money for the notorious Ḥādjdjī Ṣāḥib of Turangzay, one of whose counsellors was Muḥammad ʿAkī [*q.v.*], a graduate of Cambridge and a teacher in the Amīr's college at Kābul. In 1919, during the Third Afghān War, when the Amīr Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] proclaimed a *djihād* against the British, the Mohmands flocked to join his standards.

During the 1930s, the Mohmand country was in a state of chronic disaffection. In 1930, when the so-called "Frontier Gandhi" ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān [see KHĀN, ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR, in Suppl.], was arrested by the British authorities for fomenting unrest, the Mohmands, under his kinsman by marriage, the Ḥādjdjī of Turangzay, were in a disturbed state. Soon afterwards, there was an internecine warfare within the tribe, with the British supporting the Lower Mohmands against the Upper Mohmands, the latter led by the Ḥādjdjī and by the Faḳīr of ʿĀlamgīr. After the establishment of Pakistan, the new government set up a special Mohmand Political Agency, in addition to the five previously existing; the Mohmands had in British India come within the Khyber Agency. During the Pushtūnistān agitation, the Mohmands were especially susceptible to propaganda from Kābul, with their tribal *malik* Mīrza Djān, famed as a poet under the *takhalluṣ* of Siyāl, prominent in advocating the idea of a Pushtūnistān. The aridity and poverty of the Mohmand country has meant that in recent decades Mohmands have often migrated to work in the Peshāwar region, whence they send back remittances to their families, or else they practice a seasonal migration pattern, usually in winter.

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(C. Collin-Davies [-C.E. Bosworth])

MOHUR, an Indian gold coin. The name is the Persian *muhr*, which is a loanword from the Sanskrit *mudrā*, seal or die. The earliest occurence of the word on coins is on the forced currency of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ where it has the literal meaning of "sealed" or "stamped". By the 10th/16th century it had come to be used as a popular rather than precise name for gold coins in general.

Very little gold had been issued in India for two centuries before the reign of Akbar. One of his reforms was the issue of an extensive coinage in gold. In addition to many pieces which had only a brief circulation, he revived the old gold tanka of the sultans of Dihlī on a standard of 170 grains (11.02 gr.) to which he gave the name *muhr*. That the name at first could be applied to any gold coin is shown by D̲j̲ahāngīr's reference in his *Tuzuk* or *Memoirs* (tr. A. Rogers, Oriental Translation Fund, xix, 10) to *muhr*s of 100, 50, 20, 10, 5 and 1 *tola*. After the numismatic experiments of Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr, only one gold piece was struck, occasionally with subdivisions, so that the general name acquired a particular meaning, especially among the English merchants in India. *Muhurs* continued to be struck to the end of the Mug̲h̲al Empire and by the states into which it broke up in the 18th and 19th centuries. Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr issued square as well as round pieces and the former also struck a few *miḥrābī* pieces, so-called from their shape. Of the numerous large denominations recorded by Abu 'l-Faḍl and D̲j̲ahāngīr, only 5 *muhr* pieces of Akbar and of D̲j̲ahāngīr are known to exist.

As the silver rupee was the standard coin of India, the value of the *mohur* fluctuated with the price of gold. In the latter half of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the East India Company endeavoured to make gold the standard of India and issued *mohurs* (called gold rupees in Bombay) with the legends of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor. None of their attempts to keep gold and silver in a currency at a fixed rate was successful. When in 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for British India, a gold *mohur* or 15 rupee piece with English types was struck in name of William IV but never attained general circulation; this was the last attempt to restore the *mohur* to circulation. The *mohurs* occasionally seen of Victoria of 1861, 1862 and other dates are patterns.

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(J. Allan)

MOK̲H̲Ā [see mukhā].

MOLDAVIA [see bog̲h̲dān].

MOLLĀ, a title derived from the Arabic *mawlā* [*q.v.*] in its sense of "lord" or "master", employed currently with composite forms of *mawlā*, incorporating pronominal or adjectival suffixes, in use in various periods and regions of the Muslim world: *mawlāy* [*q.v.*]/*mūlāy*, "my lord" among the S̲h̲arīfī sovereigns of Morocco (Saᶜdids, ᶜAlawids), the Naṣrids and the Ḥafṣids [see also laḳab]; *mawlānā*/(Turkish) *mewlānā*, "our master", a title very widespread in the Turco-Iranian world, and still in use today, especially in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent where it denotes Muslims of high rank (*ᶜulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs) in parallel with the traditional form of *mawlwī*, a popular derivation of *mawlawī*, this last term signifying both "my master" (a familiar designation applied by the Persians to Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]) and that which pertains to the *mawlā* (hence the *ṭarīḳa* of the Mawlawī/Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]).

As a Persian derivation from the Arabic *mawlā* (*TA*, *apud* Dihk̲h̲udā, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*, s.v. *Mollā*), the term *mollā* exists in various forms and spellings. A derivation from the Turkish pronunciation of *mawlā* mutated into *mevlā* has also been suggested (cf. Popper). Turkish is also familiar with the pronunciation *munlā*/*monlā* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 608; *Burhān-i ḳāṭiᶜ*, ed. M. Muᶜīn, Tehran 1330 p., iv, 2030) or *menlā* (J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, 1074, 2014). *Mollā* and *monlā* could be (independently) derived from *mawlā*/*mawlānā* (Dihk̲h̲udā, *loc. cit.*). A derivation from the Arabic verb *malaʾa* "to fill", whereby the *mollā* is a sage "full" of knowledge (Muḥammad G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, *G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-lug̲h̲at*, Calcutta 1327/1909, 495), is a whimsical notion. The same applies to direct mutation from Arabic to Hindi (proposed by Yule, followed by P. Hardy, *Glossary*). The pronunciation *mollā* or *mawlā* has been noted in Bag̲h̲dād with its former sense of "slave", sometimes applied to freed white eunuchs (Kazimirsky, *Dict. arabe-français*, ii, 1609). In European languages, the term exists with various spellings: in French *mollah*/*molla*, in English *mullah*/*mulla*, formerly *moolah* (Yule, s.v.).

In its primary usage, *mollā* is simultaneously a title of function (*ᶜuhda*), of dignity or profession (*manṣab*) and of rank (*martaba*): cf. the classification of Garcin de Tassy revised by Gaborieau (1985), 14 ff. Although possessing various connotations in usage, this term indicates in the first instance any Muslim scholar who has acquired a certain degree of religious education and the aptitude to communicate it. In this sense, it is often confused with the term *ᶜālim*/*ᶜulamāʾ* which denotes the totality of Muslim religious persons who have been seen, especially in the Imāmī S̲h̲īᶜī context, as constituting a kind of "clergy", endowed with prerogatives on the spiritual and material planes. Distinguished by their clothing and physical appearance (in Iran: the turban (*ᶜimāma*, popularly *ᶜammāme*), black for the *sayyids*, white for others; a long and ample cloak, *ᶜabā*; sandals, *naᶜlayn*, easily removed for ablutions and prayers; a relatively long beard, a trimmed moustache), their prestige and their claims to knowledge, the *mollās* have succeeded in occupying a wide range of functions at many different levels. Later to appear (9th/15th century?), the title *mollā* is limited, with a few exceptions, to the Turco-Iranian and Indian World. Of circumscribed use in non-S̲h̲īᶜī Arab countries, it may designate religious dignitaries such as *Mollā* of Jerusalem, of Cairo, or of Medina (cf. Popper). But in current usage it is most often applied to the *ᶜulamāʾ* drawn from the lower and middle strata of soceity. Having completed their elementary classes (*maktab*), the students (*ṭullāb*), between the ages of eleven and fifteen years, are

admitted as novices to the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], where they pursue a traditional education. Few among them succeed in completing the full *cursus* of fifteen to eighteen years which will lead them to the superior rank (among the Shīʿīs) of *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*].

Whatever may be the level of education of its holder, the title of *mollā* confers certain privileges and "reserved" occupations which vary according to periods and regions. In the Ottoman Empire, the positions held by the *mollās* in civil and religious administration were known under the generic term of *mewlewiyyet* [*q.v.*] which embraces simultaneously the rank, the duties or jurisdiction and the tutorial functions of the *mollās* (see R. Repp in *Scholars*, 18; there is also the term *mollālīḳ*, cf. Redhouse, 2035). With the employment of the title of *khwādja* [*q.v.*], from the 10th/16th century onward denoting senior Ottoman dignitaries, *khwadjegān-i dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*], the term *mollā* loses some of its prestige. While continuing to be used, it tends to be supplanted by *khwādja*/*khodja*, modern Turkish *hoca*, which is applied, among others, to the totality of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The two titles can furthermore co-exist, prefixed and affixed to elements of the name. But the subject of amusing tales (*Mollā*) Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja (modern Turkish, Nasreddin Hoca) continues to be called Mollā Naṣr al-Dīn in the Iranian world.

In Mughal India and Ṣafawid Iran, religious Muslims are often designated under the generic term *ʿulamāʾ wa-mashāyikh*, including scholars, theologians and Ṣūfīs without any clear distinction between *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs (for the latter, see Gaborieau (1989) 1199 f.). But here the title *mollā* embraces different values. Influenced by the caste system, Indian Islam is more hierarchical. The need to assert social position renders Muslim onomastic very emphatic (Gaborieau (1985), 18) and the most prestigious titles tend to replace those that have fallen into disuse. Until the beginning of the 19th century, with the exception of the Ṣūfīs who often prefer to describe themselves otherwise (*shāh, khwādja, pīr*, less frequently *shaykh*) numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, bore the title of *mollā*, but also that of *mawlawī*/*mawlwī*. Besides its general sense of learned or scholarly, the title of *mollā* tends to be restricted to the occupations of an educator (of a *maktab*, occasionally of a *madrasa*; or of a teacher in the upper levels of society), of a jurist or a judge (sometimes as deputy of a *ḳāḍī*), of a preacher in mosques or at Shīʿī funeral gatherings. In the capacity of a schoolmaster, he was often responsible for the mosque of the village where he sometimes performed the profession of a butcher (Wilson, 354). The term *mollāgarī* or *mollāʾī* was used to denote the duties and the teaching of the *mollās*. *Mollānī*/*mollānnī* (Hindi derivation) denoted the wife of a *mollā* or a learned woman, a school-mistress (Platts, ii, 1063). Although causing no fundamental disruption to Muslim religious life, the arrival of the British led, in 1772, to the replacement of the *ḳāḍī* by a tribunal supervised by a *muftī*, a situation which continued until 1864 (Yule, 510 ff.; Gaborieau (1989), 1190). The *mollāyi ḳurʾānī* is charged with the duty of taking oaths sworn on the Ḳurʾān by Muslim witnesses (Wilson, *ibid.*; Platts, *ibid.*; Yule, 579). The magistrate entrusted with the interpretation of Islamic law is called *mawlā* (Garcin de Tassy, 86-7). While continuing to be employed in India during the 19th century, the term *mollā* is gradually supplanted by *mawlawī*/*mawlwī* which could also be applied to *mollās* of inferior rank (Popper). But it is most of all the prestigious title of *mawlānā* which replaces the "obsolete" *mollā* (Gaborieau (1989), 1195). Of relatively ancient usage in India (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 218), *mawlānā* has also come to denote a village school-teacher (Wilson, *ibid.*). A remarkable exception to the devaluation of the title *mollā* is supplied by the family of Ḥanafī theologians and *ṣūfīs* of the Farangī Maḥall, eminent members of which have borne this title from the 16th century to the end of the 19th century (F. Robinson, FARANGĪ MAḤALL, in Suppl.; idem, *The ʿulamāʾ of Farangī Maḥall and their adab*, in B. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral conduct and authority. The place of* adab *in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1984, 152-83); see also below.

Stripped of its prestige, *mollā* has reached the point where it is applied to religious agitators (those who proclaim themselves *mahdīs* in India and in the Sudan have been given the epithet "mad mullah" by the British), bigots, soothsayers (Platts, ii, 1962). The term becomes entirely pejorative and even vulgar in metaphors such as *mollā-zāda*/*ḳalandar-bač* (for *membrum virile*: cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Perso-Latinum*, 1864, ii, 1208). The equivalent Urdu expression *mollā kā beṭā* "son of a *mollā*" is now employed in the sense of ruffian, hooligan, in a rural context. *Mollās* are often regarded as hidebound theologians, clinging to the literal sense of the *sharīʿa*. The poet Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*q.v.*] denounced the baneful influence of the spiritual master (*pīr*) and of the *mollā*, the narrow-minded theologian who had forgotten the dynamic message of the Ḳurʾān (cf. A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian subcontinent*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden-Cologne 1980, 230). But, despite its devaluation, the title of *mollā* continued to enjoy a certain prestige among scholars and religious persons. Thus the *dāʿī* of the Ismāʿīlī community of the Bohoras [*q.v.*], known respectfully by the old title of *sayyidnā*, is also called more familiarly *Mullā-djī ṣāḥib*, (*ibid.*, 71). Some Parsees have borne the title of *mollā*, and the name of one of them has been given to a *madrasa*, the "Mulla Feroze Madressa", founded in Bombay in 1854 (E. Kulke, *The Parsis in India*, Delhi 1974, 95). The "Parsee Panchayat" charitable foundation has been directed since 1962 by Seth Nadirshah Rustomji Mulla (*ibid.*, 70). The attribution of the title may denote lowly origins. Thus Sir Dinshah F. Mulla (1868-1934) was the son of Fardoonji Kavasji Mulla, an impoverished Parsee priest who became a solicitor and founded his own firm in Bombay, still known by the name of "Mulla and Mulla" (Piloo Nanavutty, *The Parsis*, New Delhi 1980, 108 f.). Even Hindu scholars currently bear the title of *mollā*.

Widespread throughout the territories living under the Iranian cultural influence, the title of *mollā* has naturally been diffused to the greatest extent in Iran. In the Ṣafawid period (1501-1722), it denoted *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfīs of all ranks. Under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722), the office of *mollā-bāshīgarī*, held by the *mollā-bāshī* (chief of the *mollās*), was instituted. The first occupant of this office, Mollā Muḥammad Bāḳir Khātūnābādī, had been the Shāh's tutor. The prerogatives of the *mollā-bāshī* attained their most prestigious level under Nādir Shāh Afshār (1148-60/1736-47). Under the Ḳādjārs (1794-1925 [*q.v.*]), his role was limited to that of tutor to the royal household. In the provincial courts, since the Afshārid period, the princes had also appointed their own *mollā-bāshī*. The office remained a respectable sinecure until the middle of the 19th century, when it degenerated into frivolity, like other courtly functions (see Arjomand (1983) and (1988)).

In Ḳādjār Iran, the title of *mollā* referred both to theologians who had not attained the level of *mudjtahid* and to scholars irrespective of status. But certain *mudjtahids* retained their title of *mollā*, sometimes in

combination with others such as *āḳā* or *ākhūnd*. There were also female *mollās* and some non-Muslims bearing this title (see below).

Exercising the basic prerogatives in matters of education, ritual functions (prayers, marriages, funerals, etc.) and judicial functions, the *mollās* constitute the basis of what has been called, erroneously in the view of some, a veritable clergy. The *mollā* teaches at the primary school, *maktab*, also called *mollā-khāna/khāna-yi mollā* (house of the *mollā*), or as a tutor in the upper levels of society. Being of inferior knowledge, the Shīʿī *mollā* must be the emulator (*muḳallid*) of a *mudjtahid* who is *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]. Educating the faithful of his entourage, he occupies an intermediate position between the *mudjtahid* and the simple faithful whose material circumstances are similar to his. However, like the majority of Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, the *mollās* benefit from revenues which, though sometimes modest, guarantee them a degree of independence. They may receive gratuities by acting as representative (*nāʾib*) of a *mudjtahid* (certification of documents, collection of taxes), enjoy the benefits of pious foundations (*awḳāf*), receive free lodging, gifts or honoraria for their services as preachers (*wāʿiẓ, rawḍa-khwān*) at Shīʿī funeral gatherings, etc. They can also supplement their income by activity in commerce or in agriculture. The *mollās* can even render physical support to the power of the *mudjtahids*, who sometimes have armed bands at their disposal. Composed initially of brigands or urban ruffians (*lūṭīs* [*q.v.*]), enjoying the protection of sanctuaries or of the homes of *ʿulamāʾ*; towards the end of the 19th century, these militias, joined by true or false *sayyids*, were composed to an increasing extent of *ṭullāb*, whose agitation was a crucial factor in the events leading to the constitutional revolution of 1905-11 (see especially, Algar, 185 ff.; BAST, and J. Calmard, s.v. in *Encycl. Iranica*; DUSTŪR, iv., ĪRĀN).

Like Imāmī religious persons in general, the *mollās* are exempt from military service (see Richard (ed.) (1989), 45, 54-5). In the context of religious practice, it is their duty to enforce respect for the precepts of the *sharīʿa*. This often pedantic exercise of a censor's role and the privileges which they enjoy have had the effect of making them unpopular. The title of *mollā* becomes the subject of banter in numerous proverbs (cf. Dihkhudā, *Amthāl u ḥikam*, Tehran 1338 p., 4 vols.; proverbs, sayings, etc., quoted in *Lughat-nāma*, *loc. cit.*, with additions; see also MATHAL, ii, *Bibl.*). According to one popular belief, the *mollā* is somebody who is capable of reading but incapable of writing, in contrast to the *mīrzā* [*q.v.*] who possesses both literacy and knowledge (Djamālzāda, 405, who quotes the proverb *Mollā shudan če āsān, ādām shudan če mushkil*, "It is easy to become a *mollā*, difficult to become a man!"). During the 19th century, the term *mollā* tends to be supplanted by *ākhūnd* [*q.v.*], which in its turn takes on a pejorative connotation. But before being devalued, *ākhūnd* is frequently used in combination with *mollā*. The two terms are seen in parity in the expression *ākhūndbāzī/mollābāzī*, trickery or strategem of a *mollā*, i.e., recourse to means permitted by the letter of the *sharīʿa* but not by its spirit, associated with suspect practices or activities of the *mollās* (Algar, 21, quoting Dihkhudā; idem, *Āḳund*, in *Encycl. Iranica*). In response to the devaluation of this terminology as occasioned by the circumstances of the modern world, the generic term of *rūḥāniyyat* was created by Riḍā Shāh (1925-41) to designate the entire community of Iranian *ʿulamāʾ* in the capacity of a "clergy" (Richard, (1983), 11). Certain terms, however, have not been devalued as, for example, the title *āḳā*, formerly used sometimes in combination with *mollā* or *ākhūnd*, given by his associates to the Āyatallāh Khumaynī.

The status of the *mollās* in a Sunnī socio-religious context (Central Asia, Afghanistan, western India) in the early 19th century, reveals numerous points in common with their postion in Shīʿī Iran, especially as regards their means of subsistence (including lending money at interest), their role as censors (they organise armed bands, break musical instruments), their educational activities (in every village or nomad camp, a *mollā* school-teacher is given a portion of land and receives a contribution from his pupils; *mollās* also teach in wealthy circles): see Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubol*, London 1819, i, 299 ff., 340 ff.

Despite the conservative character of the Iranian *ʿulamāʾ*, "reformers of a non-secular type rather than social revolutionaries" (W. Floor in *Religion and politics*, 94), since the constitutional revolution, their influence among the mass of faithful Shīʿī has grown continuously, leading ultimately to the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979. Although they are divided into various tendencies (cf. Akhavi, 100 ff.), their prerogatives have been extended to all sectors of religious and social life, including economic and military matters. Their influence and its consequences have to a great extent overstepped the frontiers of Iran, emerging on the international scene in the context of recent events. Alongside the "Reign of the Ayatollahs" the expression "Iran of the Mullahs" is also used in a pejorative sense. This quasi-general disapproval takes little account of the courageous stance of some of them, for example Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, a brave and incorruptible man, compaigner for a genuine constitutional régime, opponent of Riḍā Shāh, and mysteriously assassinated in 1938 (Algar, in *Scholars*, 240; Mottahedeh, 224). In the confusion of the current political situation (end of 1989), a global evaluation of the role of the *mollās* in Iran and the neighbouring countries, Shīʿī and non-Shīʿī, is a subject to be approached with caution, being open to varieties of speculation. Thus, although the *mollās* have been vehemently opposed to the efforts in the direction of secularisation by the Literacy Corps, *sipāh-i dānish*, since 1963 (see V. Garoussian, *The ulema and secularization in contemporary Iran*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Southern Illinois University 1974, 130 f.), this has not everywhere contributed to their popularity. A detailed anthropological survey conducted in an Iranian village has revealed a negative image of the Shīʿī clergy in evidence during the 1970s. This was scarcely improved following the eviction and replacement of the *mollā*, imprisoned as a member of SAVAK by the authorities of the Islamic Republic (see R. Loeffler, *Islam in practice. Religious beliefs in a Persian village*, Albany 1988, 17 ff., 227). As for the figures put forward for the number of *mollās* in Iran (180,000 or 120,000 in 1979 for a population of 37 million) compared with a much smaller number in ʿIrāḳ, these are not easily verified (cf. H. Batatu, in *Shiʿism and social protest*, 193).

In the specific context of Shīʿī Iran, female Muslims educated in the theological disciplines have been entitled to gain the title of *mollā* and even the rank of *mudjtahid* (on a work concerning the Imām ʿAlī written by Ḥādjdjiyya Khānum Amīn, a *mudjtahid* of Iṣfahān, see *Abstracta Iranica* [1982], v, 547). Disagreement exists, however, among the *ʿulamāʾ* regarding the attribution of the title *mudjtahid* to female *mollās* (N. Yeganeh and N. R. Keddie, in *Shiʿism and social protest*, 119). Some of them have gained renown as

preachers in female gatherings of Shīʿī mourning [see AL-MARʾA, iii, a; on Mollā Kulthūm, an eminent *rawḍa khʷān* of the Ḳādjār period, see ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagānī-i man*, Tehran n.d., i, 526). *Mollā-bādjīs*, teachers in schools reserved for girls, are sometimes tutors in the upper levels of society (Muʿīn, *Farhang-i fārsī*, s.v.; Thaiss, 77 f., underline the negative connotation of *bādjī*, from the Turkish "sister" or "servant"). The term *Mollā-bādjī čundak* refers to a very sorrowful woman who laments incessantly over her misfortunes and those of others (Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*). In the Shīʿī communities of southern ʿIrāḳ, female *mollās* officiate in Shīʿī rituals. This vocation is often handed down within a family. Widows or girls who see no prospect of marrying choose to become a *mollā*—a respected and lucrative profession—follow a Ḳurʾānic education and learn to recite and sing the *ḳrāyāt* "recitations", equivalents of the *rawḍa-khʷānīs* which they interpret at female funeral gatherings in Muḥarram and Ramaḍān (R. and E. Fernea, in *Scholars*, 391 ff., 399; P. Chelkowski, *Popular Shiʿi mourning rituals*, in *Alserāt*, xii (London 1986), 209-26, esp. 221).

In the Iranian world, the term *mollā* has also been adopted by Jewish and Zoroastrian scholars (Dihkhudā, *loc. cit.*, following Nafīsī, *Nāẓim al-aṭibbā*). Since the Ṣafawid period, numerous Jewish scholars and theologians have borne this title. The situation of the Jews of Iran became critical under Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629 [*q.v.*]), when a Jewish butcher of Lār, Abū Ḥasan Lārī, a convert to Islam, organised the imposition of discriminatory measures against the Jews (see LĀR and LARISTĀN; L. Loeb, *The Jews of Southwest Iran: a study of cultural persistence*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia Univ. 1970, 315 ff., 423; Ḥabīb Liwī (Levy), *Tārīkh-i Yāhūd-i Īrān*, Tehran 1339 p., 224 ff.; V. B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry's hour of peril and heroism. A study of Bābāʾī Ibn Luṭf's chronicle (1617-1662)*, New York-Jerusalem 1987, 80 ff.). Some Jewish *mollās* who refused to convert to Islam were devoured by dogs before Shāh ʿAbbās I (Moreen, 162, tr., 173 ff.; the testimony of Babāʾī ibn Luṭf is corroborated by Pietro della Valle). Persecutions continued under Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) and beyond (Liwī, *ibid.*, 291 ff.; Loeb, 61 ff., 423 ff.). The status of these Jewish *mollās* in the social hierarchy of their communities varied according to regions and periods. Some of those made martyrs under Shāh ʿAbbās I must have been rabbis (Moreen, 150). In order to escape the forced conversions of the Ṣafawids, some Jews left to join their communities in Central Asia, the most important of these since the turn of the 11th/17th century being that of Bukhārā. On the eve of the Russian conquest of the khānate of Bukhārā (1285/1868), the Jewish community was governed by a *kalāntar*, chief administrator, and a *mollā-yi kalān* or Chief Rabbi (lit. "Grand *Mollā*"). The supreme authority in matters of religion, the latter presided over the court of religious justice, directed the theological academy, appointed rabbis and ritual butchers. A *khāmlā* (from the Persian *khāna-yi mollā*), a primary school for boys under thirteen years of age, was affiliated to each synanogue (see M. Zand, *Bukhara. vii. Bukharan Jews*, in *Encycl. Iranica*, iv, 530-45, esp. at 535-6). A study of the Jewish community of Shīrāz, carried out in 1967-8, shows the persistence of the title *mollā* in Jewish nomenclature. As in the case of the Muslim *mollā*, there exists a distinction between the honorary nature of the term (denoting a teacher of theology or a Jew educated in his own religion, irrespective of status) and its application to religious "officials". More specifically, the *mollā* is a synagogue official of humble rank, inferior to the *ḥazzān* (steward), superior to the *shamash* (beadle, attendant) and to the *morde shūr* (corpse washer (see Loeb, 339 ff.). One may wonder whether these *mollās* are so-called out of politeness or derision. They read Hebrew but barely understand it, earn a little money as payment for reading prayers at funerals, singing psalms for the sick, reading the penitential prayers for Israel (*ibid.*, 334). Through mockery or derision, the Persian expression *Mollā Pīnās* denotes a miserly individual, of slovenly and ragged appearance, probably by allusion to the Jewish *mollās* (Djamālzāda).

Bibliography and abbreviations (in view of its ambivalent nature, the term *mollā* touches numerous aspects of the religious, social and economic life of the Muslim world over a vast cultural area, according to a chronology to a large extent overlapping contemporary history. All that are supplied here are general references comprising significant bibliographies. For sources and edited works on the Iranian domain, see *Abstracta Iranica*, Suppl. to *Studia Iranica*, since 1978, with references to the Shīʿī communities of ʿIrāḳ, of Lebanon, of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, etc.): Sh. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran*, New York 1980; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1795-1906*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969; S.A. Arjomand, *The office of Mulla Bashi in Shiʿite Iran*, in *SI*, lvii (1983), 135-46; idem, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago-London 1984; idem, *The Mudjtahid of the Age and the Mullā-bāshī...* in Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and political culture in Shiʿism*, New York 1988, 80-97; Sh. Bakhash, *The reign of the Ayatollahs*, New York 1984; M.ʿA. Djamālzāda, *Farhang-i lughat-i ʿāmiyāna*, Tehran 1341 p.; E.W. Fernea, *Guests of the Sheikh*, New York 1965 (not seen); M. Fisher, *Iran. From religious dispute to revolution*, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1980; M. Gaborieau, *L'onomastique moderne chez les musulmans du sous-continent indien*, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe 1982-1984*, Paris 1985, 9-50; idem, *Les oulémas-soufis dans l'Inde moghole: anthropologie historique de religieux musulmans*, in *Annales ESC*, 1989/5, 1185-1204; J. Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans*², Paris 1878 (see also Gaborieau (1985)); P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972; L. Loeb, *Outcast: Jewish life in southern Iran*, New York etc. 1977 (not seen); Djalāl Matīnī, *Baḥthī dar bāra-i sābiḳa-i tārīkhī-yi alḳāb wa ʿanāwīn-i ʿulamāʾ dar madhhab-i shīʿa*, in *Iran Nameh*, i/4 (1983), 506-608; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussalmans of India*, London, etc. 1832, repr. 1917, 1978; M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985; R. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet. Religion and politics in Iran*, London 1986; J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi and English*, 2 vols., London 1884, repr. Moscow 1959; W. Popper, art. *Mullā*, in *ERE*, viii, 909-10; *Religion and Politics* = N.R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and politics in Iran. Shiʿism from quietism to revolution*, New Haven-London 1983; Y. Richard, *Le rôle du clergé. Tendances contradictoires du chiʿisme iranien contemporain*, in *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions*, lv/1 (1983), 5-27; idem (ed.), *Entre l'Iran et l'Occident*, Paris 1989; *Scholars* = N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints and Sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972; Djaʿfar Sharif, tr. G.A. Herklots, ed. W. Crooke, *Islam in India*, repr. New Delhi 1972; J.R.I. Cole and N.R. Keddie (eds.), *Shiʿism and social protest*, New Haven-London 1986; G.E.

Thaiss, *Religion, symbolism and social change: the drama of Husain*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Washington 1973; H.H. Wilson, *Glossary of judicial and revenue terms*..., London 1855, repr. New Delhi 1968; Yule = H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*. (J. CALMARD)

MOLLĀ BĀDJĪ, MOLLĀ BĀSHĪ, MOLLĀ BĀSHĪGARĪ [see MOLLĀ].

MOLLĀ ĶĀBID (?-934/1527), a member of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ* executed for heresy in Ṣafar 934/October-November 1527. Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], who was at this time Secretary to the *Dīwān* [*q.v.*] and private secretary to the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], gives the earliest account of the case. He states that "some zealous *ʿulamāʾ*" brought Ķābiḍ before the Imperial *Dīwān* for preaching in public that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. The *wazīrs* made the case over to the *ķāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia, Fenārīzāde Muḥyī al-Dīn Čelebī and the *ķāḍī ʿasker* of Anatolia, Ķādirī Čelebī. These two men were unable to refute Ķābiḍ's beliefs, which he supported with *ḥadīths* and Ķurʾānic verses, and, "with gestures full of rage", they condemned him to death by extra-canonical (*ʿörfī*) decree. The Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha was unable to accept this outcome, which was not in conformity with the *sharīʿa*, and dismissed Ķābiḍ, his case apparently vindicated. Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*] had had an enclosed balcony built to overlook the *Dīwān*-room, from which he had witnessed the trial unobserved. When the *wazīrs* entered his presence, he reproached them for allowing the heretic Ķābiḍ to go unpunished. Ibrāhīm Pasha replied that the *ķāḍī ʿaskers* had been unable to refute Ķābiḍ by the *sharīʿa* and had given their reply in anger. The Sultan ordered a retrial before the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*] Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] and the *ķāḍī* of Istanbul Mewlānā Saʿd al-Dīn. The *wazīrs* despatched *čāvūshs* to arrest Ķābiḍ. On the following day, when Kemāl Pasha-zāde and Mewlāna Saʿd al-Dīn appeared in the *Dīwān*, the *ķāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia fled, ostensibly because the *shaykh al-Islām* had precedence over him, but actually so as not to display his own ignorance. Kemāl Pasha-zāde sat on the Grand Vizier's left, with Mewlānā Saʿd al-Dīn in front. When Kemāl Pasha-zāde questioned Ķābiḍ, he repeated his beliefs, "adducing proofs which he took from ... the Ķurʾān and the *ḥadīth*", and refused to recant when his two interrogators told him "the true meaning of the verses ... and ... *ḥadīths*", and asked him, "Do you abandon your false creed? Do you accept the truth?" At this, Kemāl Pasha-zāde pronounced a *fatwā* authorising his execution and handed his case to the *ķāḍī*. He was executed when he again refused to renounce his beliefs.

It was in response to this case that Kemāl Pasha-zāde wrote his *Risāla fī taḥķīķ lafẓ al-zindīķ*, which defines a *zindīķ* as a heretic who, like Ķābiḍ, uses the "Truth"—that is, the Ķurʾān and *ḥadīth*—to vindicate heresy.

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(C.H. IMBER)

MOLLĀ KHUSREW [see KHUSREW MOLLĀ].

MOLLĀ KURĀNĪ [see GURĀNĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN].

MOLLĀ ṢADRĀ [see MULLĀ ṢADRĀ].

MOMBASA (in Arabic script *Manbasa*, Swa. Mvita), an island and town on the east coast of Africa, lying in lat. 4° S. and long. 39° E. The island is about 3 miles in length from north to south, and nearly the same from east to west. It is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the convergence of several creeks as to be almost wholly surrounded by mainland, only the southeastern angle being exposed to the Indian Ocean. This peculiarity of situation suggested to W.E. Taylor the derivation of the name Mvita "the curtained headland", from Swa. *n(ta)* "point". The more usual derivation from *vita* "war", seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds. A 19th century traditional *History of Pate* connects it with *fita* "hidden", either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate.

Mombasa town is at the eastern end of the island, and, being at the terminus of the Uganda railway and the only modern port in the Republic of Kenya, is of considerable commercial importance. The latest figure available for the population (1978) is 246,000. The permanent residents are chiefly Swahili and a floating population of labourers from inland tribes. No precise figures are available for the small number of Arabs, Indians and Europeans. The Arabs, Swahili and many Indians are Muslims, the two former being chiefly Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite. There are a number of mosques, very plain buildings, and without minarets; the *muʾadhdhin* stands on the flat roof to give the call to prayer.

The origin of Mombasa is obscure. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*ca.* A.D. 106) records Arab trading stations on the East African coast where the traders intermarried with local women. The race of the native people is unknown, for the Bantu ancestors of the present Swahili population do not appear to have reached the coast before the 5th century A.D. There is no recorded local tradition of the date of foundation of the town, but Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, 29) reports a Pate tradition which states that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705) sent out Syrians, who "built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". There is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, to support this view. The first documentary record is a somewhat confused report by al-Idrīsī, who speaks of it as a small place whose inhabitants work in iron mines and hunt tigers (sc. leopards, for there are no tigers in Africa). Nor are there any iron mines as such, but pig iron is recoverable from numerous nearby beaches. Here the King of the Zunūdj had his residence. Some recent excavations on the Coast General Hospital site (1976) produced some ceramic evidence that is dated to *ca.* 1180-1280, but nothing demonstrably earlier. Because the modern town overlies the ancient town site, little excavation has so far been possible. The town was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1331. Fruit, bananas, lemons and oranges were plentiful, but agriculture was not practised: grain was imported from the coast. The people were of the Shāfiʿī rite, "devout, chaste and pious", and their mosques were contructed of wood.

The Swahili of Mombasa, both traditionally and at the present day, are divided into the *Thenashara Taifa*, the Twelve Tribes. Some also identify themselves as Shīrāzī, claiming Persian descent, and most probably have a thin line of descent from traders from the Gulf. Five of the *mataifa* are named from localities near Mombasa, the remaining seven from towns and islands to the north, as far as southern Somalia. There is little evidence of migration from Pemba, Zanzibar or the Tanzanian coast. There seem, however, to have been some connections with Kilwa, for a report made in 1506 by Diogo de Alcaçova to the King of

Portugal states that the *sulṭān* of Kilwa collected customs dues at Mombasa from vessels that had sailed past Kilwa. Whatever their origin, the *Thenashara Taifa* speak a distinct dialect of Swahili, *Kimvita*, which is the dominant form of the language from Malindi in the north to Gazi in the south. Two of the *taifa*, the Jomvu and the Changamwe, speak slightly differentiated subdialects. It is with curious prescience, as it might seem, that in 1776 a Mwinyi (or Prince) Kombo of Mombasa wrote to the French Governor of Île de France of Swahili as "my national language". In structure, the *Thenashara Taifa* group divided themselves into *Thelatha Taifa* (Three Tribes) and *Tisa Taifa* (Nine Tribes). In the 19th century, the ʿUmānī sulṭāns recognised these political groupings by accepting a *tamim* (Swa. spokesman; pl. *matamim*), from each of the two. These offices still exist under the present republic, but are largely honorific. Their origins and antiquity are unknown.

There are several recognisable stages in the development of the town. The first is a tradition of a queen, Mwana Mkisi. Then followed a "Shīrāzī" dynasty founded by Shehe Mvita, who gave his name to the town. This dynasty died out in the late 16th century, when the Portuguese filled the vacancy by bringing from Malindi a *sulṭān* of a "Shīrāzī" dynasty. The last of these, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, after rebelling against the Portuguese in 1631, fled in the following year. The Portuguese then ruled directly until 1698, when the town was taken by the ʿUmānī Arabs, who ruled until 1890, when the British Protectorate (1890-1963) was proclaimed. This was ended when the Republic of Kenya was proclaimed on 12 December 1963.

Of the first stage we know nothing. Of the "Shīrāzī" dynasty, the *History of Mombasa*, a Swahili traditional history translated into Arabic in 1824, and which now exists only in English, French and German translations, records nothing but the name of the last ruler, Shahu Misham. It is equally taciturn about the Portuguese occupation. Vasco da Gama reached Mombasa on 7 April 1498, but did not land for fear of treachery. He then went on to Malindi, the traditional enemy of Mombasa, whose ruler hoped to find in him a useful ally against Mombasa. Mombasa town was taken and sacked by the Portuguese in 1505 by Francisco d'Almeida, in 1528 by Nuno da Cunha, and in 1588 by Tomé de Sousa Coutinho. The reason for the last of these sacks was that in 1585 the town had declared its allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan when the Turkish *amīr* ʿAlī Bey came down to the coast. He returned in 1588, at the same time as a land invasion of the Zimba, a warlike tribe that had made its way up from south of the River Zambezi, killing and pillaging as it went. From Mombasa the Zimba went on to Malindi, where the Portuguese were assisted by a war-party of the Segeju tribe. Together they annihilated the Zimba, who then disappear from history. But the two Turkish incursions, even if they were unsuccessful, determined the Portuguese to transfer the seat of their Captain from Malindi to Mombasa, and to erect the fortress there known by them as Fort Jesus, and by the Swahili as *ngome* ("fortified enclosure"). The architect was an Italian, Giovanni Batista Cairati, but the work-force was principally provided by the Swahili. It is constructed of cut coral, the most copiously available local building stone. The work began in 1592 and was largely complete by 1596, although additions and alterations were made long after. It was at this time that the "Shīrāzī" dynasty failed, and the *sulṭān* of Malindi was brought in to fill the vacancy in 1592. By a settlement made in 1594 the island was divided into two equal parts; it was grossly favourable to the Portuguese because the part to the *sulṭān* was in the interior of the island, without access to the sea. This was modified in 1596, the *sulṭān* being given land near the modern harbour of Kilindini and one-third of the customs revenue. The *sulṭān* then applied for permission to send trading voyages to China, to send a vessel annually to the Red Sea for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and to be made ruler of Pemba. He seized the latter without further ado. He died in 1609, being succeeded by a son, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad. He quarrelled with the Portuguese over Pemba; they retorted by demanding the deposit of his entire stock of grain in Fort Jesus. He refused, and was forced to flee to Kilifi [*q.v.*]; after a brief return to Mombasa, he fled again and was treacherously murdered.

His brother Muḥammad was then installed as regent, and his son, Yūsuf, was sent to Goa to be educated as a Christian by the Augustinian Order, who had started a mission in Mombasa in 1597. Yūsuf was baptised as Dom Jerónimo Chingulia. In 1626 (as recently discovered manuscripts have made clear) he returned to Mombasa. He had had a period of service in the Portuguese fleet, had married a Portuguese wife, and had been solemnly with her in Goa. A considerable body of evidence sustains his complaints of the gratuitous insults, affronts and injustices of the Portuguese Captains. In 1631, with the aid of pagan tribesmen known as Mozungulos, he murdered the Captain Leitāc de Gamboa, and fired on the Portuguese town, an area separate, as a map of 1635 shows, from that of the Swahili. Portuguese, both men and women, fled to the Augustinian monastery. At the same time, Dom Jerónimo returned to the Islamic faith as Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, and he gave the Augustinian clergy, and to the Christians in the monastery, Africans, Goans, Indians and Portuguese, men, women and children, all told some 250, the choice between Islam or death. The Augustinian Postulature Archives in Rome preserve the *processus* or ecclesiastical judicial inquiry into their deaths, with a view to their canonisation as saints: it contains the evidence of twenty-three witnesses. At the same time there were minor uprisings elsewhere on the coast, but there was nothing to suggest a systematically-organised revolt. In 1632, when the Portuguese fleet arrived from Goa to recover the town, some 1,000 men were said to be under arms, The Portuguese besieged the town until May 1633 and then withdrew. Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan had ostensibly succeeded. But then, quite abruptly, he withdrew to the Red Sea, taking to a life of piracy and pillage. Likewise, the inhabitants fled, and later the Portuguese returned to an empty town. What had started as an anti-colonial uprising with religious overtones ended like a damp squib.

In 1650 the ʿUmānīs succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Maskaṭ [*q.v.*]. A Mombasan delegation shortly sailed for Maskaṭ, asking for aid. During the next half-century the ʿUmānīs frequently raided the eastern African coast, even reaching as far as Mozambique. Their aim was by no means altruistic; it was to break the Portuguese monopoly of the ivory trade in which Arabs and the coastal folk had collaborated since before the time of the *Periplus*. These raids culminated in the ʿUmānī siege of Fort Jesus in March 1696. We possess two detailed accounts of the siege. The Portuguese were assisted by Swahili from Pate, jealous of Mombasa. When defeat was at last acknowledged in December 1698, there were only eleven survivors from what had been a force of some

3,000. The ʿUmānīs then extended along the coast as far as Tungi, just south of the River Ruvuma. Governors were placed at Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and other principal towns. When internal dissension rent Mombasa in 1728-9, the Portuguese made a brief comeback. They were expelled by a popular insurrection. The history of the next 140 years is of sporadic and disorganised resistance to the ʿUmānīs. In Mombasa the Mazrui (Swa., Ar. Mazraʿi) virtually became hereditary governors (Swa. *liwali*) after 1734, with Fort Jesus as their residence. In 1749, when Aḥmad b. Saʿīd seized ʿUmān from the Yaʿāriba, the Mazrui proclaimed themselves independent. This was soon stopped, but it did not prevent another attempt *ca.* 1815. An uneasy tension persisted until 1823, when, at their request, British protection was asked from Captain W.F.W. Owen. This he granted provisionally, in the belief that it would assist in putting down the slave trade. A British Protectorate was proclaimed (1824-6), but shortly afterwards disowned by Whitehall. The British Government by no means wished to quarrel with Sayyid Saʿīd of ʿUmān, whose state lay athwart communications with India. Saʿīd made his first visit to the coast in 1827, but it was ten years before he was able to gain control of Mombasa from the Mazrui. Soon afterwards he made Zanzibar his principal residence, and from there Mombasa and its coast was controlled until it was leased to the British East Africa Company in 1887. From then on it shared the history of what was to become Kenya after the First World War.

In the 19th century Mombasa was the centre of a circle of a number of distinguished Swahili poets. Amongst these were Mād̲j̲id b. D̲j̲ābir al-Rijeby (*ca.* 1800-8), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Mambassī (*fl.* 1865-90), Suʿūd b. Baʿīd al-Maʿāmirī (*ca.* 1810-78), and the well-known Muyaka b. Mwinyi Haji. The late S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrui, for many years *ḳāḍī* of Mombasa, was also the author of an Arabic history of his family, as yet unpublished. For an understanding of modern times, the work by Hyder Kindy, one of the *matamim, Life and politics in Mombasa* (1972), is valuable and illuminating.

In the sphere of archaeology, there is still much to be learnt in Mombasa. J.S. Kirkman's excavations and clearing of Fort Jesus during 1958-69 are important not only for the study of the fort but because it resulted in a study of imported ceramics, Islamic and Far Eastern, from the 17th to 19th centuries. This work was begun by him at Gedi in 1948, and a complete and reliable picture of East African imports is now available from the 12th to the 19th centuries. But this does not affect the historical archaeology of Mombasa before the 12th century, now begun by H. Sassoon. Outside Fort Jesus, it remains to recover the archaeological story of an Islamic town which in mediaeval eastern Africa was second only to Kilwa.

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(A. Werner-[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville])

MONARCHY [see mamlaka; mulk; salṭana].

MONASTERY [see dayr; k̲h̲ānḳāh].

MONASTIR (classical orthography, Munastīr, popular pronunciation Mnestīr, Mestīr; *nisba* Mestīrī), a town and port in the Sahel, the eastern coast of Tunisia, near the site of the ancient Ruspina at the end of a cape which runs out to the south-east of Sūsa.

Due to the proximity and special position of three little islands, the anchorage of Monastir is considered the best on the east coast of Tunisia (U.S. Hydrographic Office, *Sailing directions for the Mediterranean*, i, 9F-16; France, Service hydrographique de la marine, *Instructions nautiques*, série D (II), Paris 1958, 347). This circumstance contributed to the site's long history and special rôle which it on occasion played. Originally selected and named by the Phoenicians as Ruspina, it witnessed in 46 BC the anchoring of the Roman fleet and Caesar's encampment during the final stage of the consul's drive against his opponents in the civil war (*Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. *Ruspina*).

After the Arab conquest of the area in the second half of the 1st/7th century, increasing raids by Byzantine fleets as well as by those of the newly established maritime powers of the Central Mediterranean such as Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, prompted the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd to instruct the governor Hart̲h̲ama b. Aʿyan [*q.v.*] to fortify the coast; the *ribāṭ* of Monastir is usually mentioned as the first such fortification (founded 180/796; according to M. Talbi, *L'Émirat ag̲h̲labide*, Paris 1966, 394, the *ribāṭ* of Sūsa, founded during the governorship of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/772-88), would have been the earliest; Sūsa's routine later dating may be due to an inscription on its guard tower commemorating this portion's construction in 206/821-2. Monastir, in addition to its function as a maritime frontier fortification, formed a link in the chain of signal towers that stretched from Alexandria all the way to Tangiers (Talbi, *loc. cit.*).

The name may indicate the presence of an earlier, Christian monastery (Ch.-J. Tissot, *Exploration scientifique de la Tunisie*, Paris 1884-91, ii, 165-6), but equally plausible is the suggestion that the local population, still partly Christian or using older terminology, applied the Graeco-Roman term to the superficially similar Muslim institution (S.M. Zbiss, *al-Munastīr: maʿālimuhā al-āt̲h̲āriyya*, Tunis n.d., 3). In subsequent centuries the original *ribāṭ* was joined by two or more additional ones, hence the frequent way of referring to the site as *Ḳuṣūr al-Munastīr* (al-Muḳaddasī, 4-5; Yāḳūt, iv, 661, mentions five *ḳaṣrs* enclosed by a wall, and al-Bakrī, 36, asserts the existence of five *maḥāris* in the main *ribāṭ*'s vicinity). Subsequently, houses and land were given in *ḥubus* (*waḳf*) endowment to the *murābiṭūn*. Service in the *ribāṭ* of Monastir came to be considered especially meritorious and gave rise to such *ḥadīt̲h̲s* as "He who keeps watch in the frontier town of Monastir for three

days has the right to Paradise" (Abu 'l-ʿArab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya wa-Tūnus*, ed. and tr. Mohammed Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de l'Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1920, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15; ed. ʿAlī al-Shābbī and Nuʿaym Ḥasan al-Yafī, Tunis 1968, 47-8; Tidjanī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 30-2). Monastir's fame as the most venerated *ribāṭ* of the Maghrib was less due to its military or political assets, in which the neighbouring Sūsa and Mahdiyya gained primacy, than to this intrinsic religious reputation that made it the permanent home of holy anchorites as well as a temporary religious retreat of the people of Ifrīḳiya (Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 73) and a favourite burial ground; the last-named function is mentioned especially in connection with Mahdiyya (al-Idrīsī, 3rd climate, 2nd section, see *Opus geographicum*, 282), and more specifically with the last members of the Zīrid dynasty, who were upon their deaths and after the initial ceremonies in the capital transported by sea here to their final resting place (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892-3, ii, 241; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1966, x, 512-113). An especially revered sanctuary became the tomb of the Mālikī *imām* al-Māzarī [*q.v.*], a native of Sicily subsequently active in Mahdiyya and ultimately buried in Monastir (d. 536/1141; H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Imām al-Māzarī*, Tunis 1955; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 691-2). The integrity of the principal *ribāṭ*'s occupants in performing their avowed mission had declined by the time this *imām* was charged by the Zīrid sultan to inspect Monastir, and Māzarī described in his *fatwā* the situation: many of the *murābiṭūn* no longer lived inside the *ribāṭ* but nevertheless kept receiving the alms (*maʿrūf*); the countryside became more cultivated, and some of the *murābiṭūn* had become hereditary landowners; the people of Monastir engaged in certain practices, reminiscent of those of Christian monks, that were qualified by him as *bidʿa* (al-Wansharīshī, *al-Miʿyar, fatwās* of al-Māzarī: vii, 119-22, xii, 243-7, cited by Idris, *op. cit.*, 691). Al-Māzarī's strictures nevertheless reveal a certain prosperity; Monastir's fields and orchards, whose yield was in large part sent to Mahdiyya thus reflecting the intimate relationship of the two cities, indeed appear to have been spared by the Hilālī Arabs on religious grounds (al-Idrīsī, *loc. cit.*; M. Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-dhakiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-mālikiyya*, Cairo 1250/1834-5, ii, 193, cited by Idris, 447); moreover, the *imām*'s own tomb eventually contributed to the continuing religious role and reputation of Monastir.

The principal *ribāṭ* of Monastir, called al-Ribāṭ al-Kabīr (G. Marcais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, index s.v. *Monastir*; A. Lézine, *Le ribat de Sousse suivi de notes sur le ribat de Monastir*, Tunis 1956, 35-43 and pls. xxxi-xli; G. Marçais, review of this book, in *CT* [1956], 127-35), considerably modified and expanded in the course of time, still presents its imposing façade with crenellated walls rising above the site's shoreline. Al-Bakrī's 5th/11th century book describes, according to Lézine (*Architecture de l'Ifriqiya*, Paris 1966, 122-6), the same structure but, utilising two consecutive sources, captures both its initial and later, expanded, state. The earlier source reflects the original *ribāṭ*: a lofty and solid citadel (*ḥiṣn ʿālī 'l-bināʾ mutḳan al-ʿamal*), enclosing a rectangular courtyard lined by two storeys of cells; in the middle of the southern row's upper level was a mosque (in fact, a prayer hall of no great height with cradle vaulting) where an ever-present virtuous *shaykh* presided over the occupants: the latter were a community of holy men and anchorites (*djamāʿa min al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-murābiṭīn*) who had left the world and committed their lives [to service in this *ribāṭ*]. The whole represented a complex that included rooms and cells (*buyūt, ḥudjar*), Persian mills (*ṭawāḥīn al-fārisiyya*) and cisterns (*mawādjil*), and where a great fair (*mawsim ʿaẓīm*) took place on the day of *ʿĀshūrā*. Of this original *ribāṭ*, only the round guard-tower—the *nāḍōr*—in the south-eastern corner, a remnant of the ancient wall attached to this tower, and the above-mentioned southern row with the mosque on the upper floor (which now serves as a museum), are preserved. The actual state of the *ribāṭ*, with an expanded surface and a second generation of walls, would reflect the *ribāṭ* as it was described, according to Marçais, by al-Warrāḳ (d. 973), al-Bakrī's later source. Al-Bakrī's subsequent description would pertain to this expanded *ribāṭ*: a great citadel (*ḥiṣn*) with many dwellings (*buyūt*), mosques and fortifications (*ḳiṣāb*) in several storeys; al-Bakrī also mentions a *rabaḍ*, which should mean here the new space created between the two generations of walls. To the south of this *ribāṭ* and directly attached to it was another courtyard with lofty and solid pavilions (*ḳibāb ʿāliya mutḳana*), occupied by female anchorites (*al-nisāʾ al-murābiṭāt*); these pavilions were known as domes of the mosque (*ḳibāb djāmiʿ*), because of the proximity of the Friday mosque. This mosque, dated to about 1000 A.D., as well as the small mosque of Sayyida to the west of it, have conserved *miḥrāb*s of an unusual transitional type. As to the above-mentioned round guard-tower, the *nāḍōr*: of the same type as the *nāḍōr* of Sūsa, its form is characteristic of the fortifications of Ifrikiyya's coastline (G. Marçais, *Note sur les ribâṭs en Berbérie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, ii, 430; *nāḍōr*, dialectal for *nāẓūr*, would be the local synonym of *manār* [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī's later source also mentions numerous baths of the city and a feature showing that Monastir's religious importance spanned the full range of society: besides functioning as a burial ground of the dynasty ruling from Mahdiyya, it enjoyed the veneration of people from other places such as al-Ḳayrawān who regularly came there as an act of devotion with goods and fine offerings (*ṣadaḳāt djazīla*).

Monastir conserved its religious significance also in later centuries. Thus Pīrī Reʾīs mentions it as a town with a *zāwiya* inhabited by *murābiṭs* and students (*murābiṭlar olur we oghlandjiḳlar oḳurlar; Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, version of 926/1520, ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Bagdat 337, fol. 112a); Lanfreducci and Bosio in their report of 1587 state that Turkish corsairs kept visiting Monastir out of devotion for its *murābiṭs* (*Costa e discorsi di Barberia*, ed. and tr. Ch. Monchicourt and P. Grandchamp, in *R. Afr.* [1925], 450, 512). Equally characteristic are such legends as that narrated by Pīrī Reʾīs (*Kitāb-i baḥriyye*, version of 932/1526, facs. ed., Istanbul 1935, 656) and the Flemish traveller Adorne (R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits*, Paris 1936, 178) about a raiding Christian galley that was transformed into a rocky islet through the intercession of the *murābiṭs*. Also worthy of mention are architectural additions carried out in the *ribāṭ* and the town by the Ḥafṣids and Turks. Moreover, in the Turkish period Monastir's walls were modified so as to accommodate artillery.

Modern Monastir has the distinction of being the birthplace of Habib Bourguiba, first president of independent Tunisia. This circumstance is responsible for the construction of two remarkable monuments of contemporary Islamic architecture: the mosque of Bourguiba (*Djāmiʿ Burḳība*) and the mausoleum of the president's family (*Turbat Āl Burḳība*). The economy of

Monastir, whose traditional forms referred to in the article included a nearby saline whose salt was exported by sea (al-Bakrī, 36), also benefited from sardine and tunny fishing and the olive tree; the last-named became in recent centuries dominant to the point of being qualified as "monoculture" (X. Thyssen, *Des manières d'habiter dans le Sahel tunisien*, Paris 1983, 10), and made Monastir, together with Sūsa, a busy olive oil exporting port (L. Valensi, *Tunisian peasants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1985, 255-6). Since the 1960s, the town and the area have acquired an unprecedented but characteristic dimension with a growing tourist industry, exemplified by the development of beaches and construction of numerous hotels; in the 1970s Monastir also became a university town, the seat of such new establishments as a faculty of medicine (F. Stambouli, *Urbanisme et développement en Tunisie*, in *Revue tunisienne des sciences sociales* [March 1967], 98).

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(S. Soucek)

MONASTIR in Yugoslavia [see MANĀSTĪR].

MONDROS, the Turkish name of a harbour on the Aegean island of Limnī [*q.v.*] or Lemnos; it is alternatively known by its Greek name of MUDROS or Moudros.

Mondros's claim to fame is that it was the site of the armistice of 30 October 1918 which ended the Ottoman Empire's participation in the First World War. The decision of the Unionist cabinet of Meḥmed Ṭalʿat Pasha [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] to seek an armistice was prompted by the rapidly deteriorating military position of the Ottoman Empire and its German and Austro-Hungarian allies. By the end of September 1918, Ottoman armies on the Syrian and Mesopotamian fronts had effectively collapsed, while Bulgaria's acceptance of a separate armistice had exposed the Empire to the threat of Entente attack in Thrace; in Western Europe, the armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary were in full retreat. On 4 and 5 October 1918 the Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian governments addressed identically worded armistice appeals to President Wilson of the USA; this proved to be the last manifestation of their wartime alliance. Ṭalʿat's cabinet resigned on 13 October; his successor Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha established direct contact with Entente commanders, and on 27 October armistice negotiations opened at Mondros on board the British warship *Agamemnon*. The Ottoman delegation was led by the Navy Minister Ḥüseyin Raʾūf Bey; the Entente Powers were represented by Vice-Admiral Calthorpe, the commander of British forces in the Aegean. The negotiations were brief: Calthorpe was bound by terms previously agreed between Britain and her allies, and the Ottoman side obtained few modifications. The armistice was signed on 30 October, and came into effect on the following day. It was followed within a fortnight by the Austro-Hungarian and German armistices.

The Mondros armistice comprised twenty-five articles, whose chief provisions may be divided into three groups. The first provided for an immediate cessation of hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente Powers, the demobilisation of the Ottoman army and the surrender of the fleet, the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from Trans-Caucasia and north-west Persia, the surrender of garrisons in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia and North Africa, the cessation of all relations between the Ottoman Empire and its erstwhile allies and the expulsion of all German and Austro-Hungarian personnel from its territory (arts. 5, 6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23). The second group provided for the opening of the Dardanelles and Black Sea Straits, for the occupation by the Entente Powers of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus forts and the Taurus tunnel system, and for the future occupation of any other strategic points if the security of the Entente Powers were threatened (arts. 1, 7, 10). The third group gave the Entente Powers access to all Ottoman naval facilities and supplies of fuel and other *matériel*, together with control of all railway and cable and wireless stations (arts. 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21).

In theory, the armistice was a ceasefire only and did not prejudge the terms of an eventual peace settlement; in practice, this proved questionable. First, the armistice violated previous Anglo-French understandings in not insisting on a complete evacuation of Ottoman forces from Cilicia; this provoked a suspicion that Britain had taken the opportunity to strike a blow at French aspirations in Cilicia, a suspicion reinforced by the fact that the British government had instructed Calthorpe to exclude French representatives from the Mondros negotiations. Second, British forces in Mesopotamia occupied Mawṣil after the conclusion of the armistice, thus eventually causing a serious territorial dispute between the Turkish Republic and the British-mandated territory of ʿIrāḳ which was not resolved until 1925. Finally, the exigent fashion in which Britain and her Entente partners attempted to enforce the provisions for demobilisation and the surrender of strategic points in the months following the armistice gave rise to Turkish fears that the real aim was the dismemberment of what was left of the Ottoman Empire in Thrace and Anatolia, and these in turn played a large part in the rise of the Turkish nationalist movement from the spring of 1919 onwards. In the event, the nationalists successfully resisted the armistice's provisions for demobilisation and a withdrawal of Ottoman forces from territories conquered in eastern Anatolia.

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(F.A.K. Yasamee)

MÖNGKE, fourth Great Khān of the Mongol Empire. He was the son of Čingiz Khān's youngest son Toluy, the eldest of four by Toluy's chief wife Sorḳoḳtani Beki (the other being Ḳubilay [*q.v.*], Hülegü [*q.v.*] and Arigh-böke). He was born on 10 January 1209, according to the Chinese dynastic history of the Mongols, the *Yüan-shih* (W. Abramowski, *Die Chinesisichen Annalen des Möngke: Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des YUAN-SHIH*, in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, xiii [1979], 7-71, at p. 16). His principal significance in the history of the Muslim world lies in the fact that it was at his behest that Hülegü mounted the expedition that resulted in the establishment of the Īlkhānate.

His fortunes were linked with those of Batu [*q.v.*], under whose command he served in at least the early stages of the great invasion of Russia and eastern Europe in 1237-42. On the death of the Great Khān Ögedey in 1241, a long interregnum followed. Ögedey's son Güyük only gained recognition as his successor in 1246; he and Batu had been enemies since the Russian campaign. Open conflict between them was averted only by Güyük's sudden death in 1248. A further interregnum lasted until 1251, when it was brought to an end by a coup d'état on the part of Batu and Möngke. In this the senior (Djočid) and junior (Toluyid) branches of the Čingizid house prevailed over the other two branches, the Čaghatayids and the Ögedeyids, many of whom were killed in the aftermath of Möngke's "election" and enthronement, which occurred on 1 July 1251. Batu himself had declined election, preferring to remain in his own lands of the Golden Horde; but the price of his support was autonomy in those lands. The Mongol Empire became a Batu-Möngke condominium, though see, for a different view, T.A. Allsen, *Mongol imperialism: the policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic lands*, Berkeley, etc. 1987, 54-63.

After ascending the throne, Möngke despatched major military forces in two directions. His brother Ḳubilay was sent to begin the subjugation of the Sung Empire in South China, while Hülegü was commissioned to march west against the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Each of the expeditions, according to the Persian historian Djuwaynī, was granted two out of every ten soldiers available in the empire (Djuwaynī, iii, 90; Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 607). Both of these campaigns were still under way when Möngke died in China, according to the *Yüan-shih* in August 1259 (Abramowski, 33). His death precipitated a civil war over the succession to the Great Khānate between Ḳubilay and Arigh-böke, in which the former was victorious in 1264. It was possibly during Möngke's reign that the Islamic lands under Mongol control first had imposed on them the new "poll-tax" variety of *ḳübčür* [*q.v.*], though this may have begun earlier (Allsen, *op. cit.*, 147-9).

Möngke, though apparently remaining personally attached to his ancestral Shamanism, was notable for his interest in and tolerance of a wide range of religions. The Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck travelled to Mongolia in 1253-5 and visited Möngke's court at Ḳaraḳorum, at which he was a participant in a religious debate between Christians, Muslims and Buddhists. He also gives an account of the dramatic events of 1251 which is strikingly similar to Djuwaynī's and which like his own one doubtless reflects the version propagated by the victorious side in the dynastic conflict.

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(D.O. Morgan)

MONGOLIA. Muslims in the modern Mongolian People's Republic.

The sole Muslim communities of the Republic live today within the Turkish-speaking Kazakh [see ḲAZAḲ] (Mo. *Hasag*) and Choton (Mo. *Hoton*) groups.

According to the 1960 census, 36,700 Kazakhs lived in the westernmost *aimak* or administrative division of the Republic, that is in existence since 1940 as the Bayan Ölgiy *aimak*; the *aimak* is also called Hasag *aimak*, "that of the Kazakhs". These Kazakhs of Mongolia are linguistically, culturally and historically closely linked with the Kazakhs of the Kazakh SSR or the Soviet Union, but at present only partially acknowledge themselves as Sunnī Muslims. The mosque (Mo. *lalyn süm*) of the Kazakh Muslims (Mo. *lal*ʿ, Tibetan *kla-klo* "barbarians, Muslims") in the administrative centre of the *aimak*, Ölgiy, is now no longer used for religious purposes. The Muslim ethnic group of the Chotons (no census figures are available) are settled to the south of the Uvsnuur lake in the Uvs *aimak* in existence since 1931 in the northwestern part of the Republic. The ancestors of the Chotons probably belonged to the section of the Muslim Turkish population of Eastern Turkestan (modern Sinkiang or Xinjiang in western China) who were in the 18th century deported by the West Mongolian Oirat-Dörbet and who settled in Mongolia. To what extent the Chotons are practising Muslims today is unknown.

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(M. Weiers)

Finally, it may be noted that there are Muslims of Mongolian stock and speaking languages of the Mongolian family—presumably the remnants of ethnic migrations or deportations of earlier times—in the province of Kansu [*q.v.*] or Gansu in the Chinese People's Republic. These comprise the small group of Baoʾan (*ca.* 9,000) in north central Kansu, and the more numerous Dongxiang (*ca.* 300,000) in the autonomous country of that name in northwestern Kansu (see R. V. Weekes (ed.), *Muslim peoples, a world ethnographic survey*[2], London 1984, i, 167, 236).

(Ed.)

MONGOLS, the name of a tribe whose original home was in the eastern part of the present-day Mongolian Peoples' Republic. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, under Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] and his successors, they established by military conquest the most extensive continuous land empire known to history. At its greatest extent, it stretched from Korea to Hungary, including most of the mainland of Asia apart from India and the south-east of the continent. What is perhaps a form of the Mongol name has been found in Chinese sources of the Tʾang Dynasty (A.D.

618-907), but they became prominent only in the 6th/12th century, when north China was ruled by the Chin Dynasty, of Tungus origin. The Mongols' definitive formation as a people appears to date from the time of the Liao Dynasty (A.D. 907-1125), who ruled in Eastern Mongolia and north China. The Liao emperors were Khitans, related ethnically and linguistically to the Mongols (on the Liao, see K.A. Wittfogel and C. Fêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao 907-1125*, Philadelphia 1949, and on the Mongols in this period, O. Lattimore, *The geography of Chingis Khan*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, cxxix/1 [1963], 1-7). The sequence of political events in the history of the Mongol Empire is dealt with in other articles: see especially ČINGIZ-KHĀN; ČINGIZIDS; BATU; BATUʾIDS; ČAGHATAY KHĀN; ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE; HÜLĀGŪ; ĪLKHĀNS; GHĀZĀN. This article is concerned with more general themes: the effects of the conquests, particularly in the Islamic world; institutions; and organisation.

1. *Effects of the Mongol conquests.*

The testimony of contemporary writers is unanimous when it describes the horrors that accompanied the Mongol invasion of the Khʷārazm-Shāh's empire in 616-20/1219-23. The most important of these historians are Ibn al-Athīr (in vol. xii), Nasawī (*Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, 2 vols., Paris 1891-5) and Djūzdjānī (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Ḥabībī, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Kabul 1342-3/1964-5; tr. H.G. Raverty, 2 vols., London 1881). These are supplemented by local histories such as Sayfī's *Taʾrīkh-nāma-yi Harāt* (ed. M.Z. al-Ṣiddīḳī, Calcutta 1944). Staggeringly high figures are quoted for the numbers of people alleged to have been massacred by the Mongols when they sacked the great cities of Khurāsān: Harāt—1,600,000 (Sayfī, 60) or 2,400,000 (Djūzdjānī, text, ii, 121); Nīshāpūr—1,747,000 (Sayfī, 63). Such examples are typical. They should not, however, be interpreted literally. Considerable uncertainty exists over the possible size of the populations of such cities in the mediaeval period, but it seems unlikely that Khurāsān could have possessed cities that were so much larger than the capital of the Sung Empire in South China, Hangchou, which contained perhaps a million inhabitants in the mid-7th/13th century (see J. Gernet, *Daily life in China on the eve of the Mongol invasion*, London 1962). It is probable that the normal population of the cities of Khurāsān was considerably swollen at the last minute by influxes of refugees from the countryside. But even if the chroniclers' fingers ought not to be approached as though they were statistics arrived at scientifically, they are certainly evidence of the state of mind created by the character of the Mongol invasion. The shock induced by the scale of the catastrophe had no precedent; this must imply that the death and destruction which produced that shock had no precedent either. Immediate shock will not suffice as a total explanation, however. Later writers such as Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, recounting events of which they were not themselves contemporaries, do not attempt to minimise the extent of the disaster. Nor, despite the fact that they were all officials in the Mongol government of the Īlkhānate, do they suggest that their predecessors had exaggerated the degree of Mongol destructiveness.

The sources naturally concentrate their attention on the massacres in the cities. The effect of the Mongol invasions on agriculture, especially in Persia, is likely in the long run to have been more serious. Persian agriculture was, in the absence of great rivers on the plateau, heavily dependent on irrigation by means of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*]. Some of these underground water channels were destroyed during the invasions, but more significant is the fact that a *ḳanāt* quickly ceases to operate if it is not constantly maintained. Hence if peasants were killed in large numbers, or fled from their land and stayed away, that land could well suffer substantial damage simply through neglect of the *ḳanāts*. If the agricultural hinterland of the cities was markedly reduced in extent as a result of destruction, neglect or a permanent reduction in the labour force, it might prove difficult to support those cities adequately and therefore to rebuild them to anything approaching their size. The question of the impact of the later invasion by Hülegü on the agriculture of ʿIrāḳ is a rather different one, since ʿIrāḳī irrigation was river-based. The part played by the Mongols in the decline of the fertility of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates has been much discussed (see e.g. R.M. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, Chicago and London 1965, and the reservations on Adams's methodology expressed by A.M. Watson, *A medieval green revolution: new crops and farming techniques in the early Islamic world*, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: studies in economic and social history*, Princeton 1981, 53, n. 29). But whatever may be laid at the door of the Mongols' predecessors and successors as rulers of ʿIrāḳ, the Īlkhāns may well have contributed much to decay by allowing the irrigation canals to be neglected. In terms of actual loss of life, there seems no reason to doubt that Hülegü's invasion of the Islamic lands was a much less severe blow that Čingiz-Khān's had been. Again it is impossible to arrive at reliable figures. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's estimate of the death toll (800,000) at the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258 is often quoted (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿA. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1336-9/1958-61, 589); but this seems improbably high, and is perhaps refuted by Hülegü's own estimate, in a letter of 660/1262 to King Louis IX of France, of more than 200,000 (P. Meyvaert, *An unknown letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France*, in *Viator*, xi [1980], 256).

It seems likely, then, that the traditional view of the appalling immediate effects of the Mongol invasions should be accepted, at least as far as Transoxania and Khurāsān are concerned (for the contrary view, using 20th century parallels to suggest that the destructive impact of the Mongols has been much exaggerated, see B. Lewis, *The Mongols, the Turks and the Muslim polity*, in his *Islam in history*, London 1973, 179-98 and 324-5). The devastation was not, however, universal. South Persia, possibly unattractive to the Mongols because of its climate and, in terms of Mongol demand, the limited areas of pasture to be found there, escaped virtually unscathed. Similarly, it is now thought that the destruction resulting from the Mongol invasion of Russia in 635-9/1237-41, though serious, was patchy in its distribution, some areas sustaining little if any damage (see J.L.I. Fennell, *The crisis of medieval Russia 1200-1304*, London 1983, 86-9). It is clear that the havoc wrought by the Mongol campaigns in the lands of the Chin Empire of north China was not matched when, under the Great Khāns Möngke and Ḳubilay, they conquered the Sung Empire to the south. There they were concerned to acquire new territory as far as possible undamaged. Nevertheless, the following population figures for China, if they are accurate, remain to be explained: over 100 million in Sung and Chin times, declining to 70 million in the 1290s and 60 million a century later (J.D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol rule*, Princeton 1981, 20).

The more long-term effects of the period of Mongol

rule in the Islamic world are likely to have been, for the most part, deleterious. The 40 years of pagan Īl<u>kh</u>ānid government before the accession of <u>Gh</u>azan in 694/1295 seem to have been characterised by ruthless and short-sighted exploitation, if the testimony of Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, the principal authority, is to be accepted. There are perhaps some grounds for reserving judgment on this point, since Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn was chief minister to the reforming <u>Gh</u>azan, and hence may have had an interest in overstating the disorders of the preceding decades. Other contemporary writers such as Waṣṣāf do, however, confirm Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, at least in general terms. The administration appears to have lurched from one financial crisis to another, with some taxes being levied 20 or 30 times each year. According to Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn, the results of such maladministration were a general flight from the land on the part of the peasantry and the reduction of nine-tenths of the cultivable land to waste (*<u>Dj</u>āmiʿ al-tawārī<u>kh</u>*, iii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1957, 457, 558). A low point was reached during the reign of Gay<u>kh</u>atu (690-4/1291-5) with the attempt by his minister Ṣadr al-Dīn to solve the Īl<u>kh</u>ānate's economic problems by the introduction of paper money, *čāw*, on the Chinese model. The expedient was a disastrous failure (see K. Jahn, *Paper currency in Iran*, in *Jnal. of Asian History* iv/2 [1970], 101-35).

<u>Gh</u>azan on his accession declared his conversion to Islam, and the Mongols of Persia duly followed his example, at least in name. The shock which the Islamic world had suffered, in that the Mongol conquests had brought infidel rule over a large part of the *Dār al-Islām*, was thus alleviated. (Indeed, one ultimate result of the conquest, following the conversion of other Mongol rulers to Islam, was an extension of the boundaries of the *Dār al-Islām*, notably in the lands of the Golden Horde and in Central Asia.) <u>Gh</u>azan's conversion, coupled with the celebrated programme of administrative reforms which he promptly initiated, no doubt marked a considerable improvement in Persia's fortunes. The reforms dealt with such matters as the rates and methods of payment of taxes; the reorganisation of the *Yam*, the postal courier system; the reformation of the coinage and of weights and measures; the activities and payment of *ḳāḍīs*; the offer of incentives to encourage the recultivation of land that had fallen out of use; and the employment of a form of the *iḳṭāʿ* to provide a means of paying the army (on <u>Gh</u>azan's reforms see A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, ch. 4; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985, I.P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 494-500; and idem, *Zemledelie i agrarnie otno<u>sh</u>eniya v Irane XIII-XIVvv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 55-62). The texts of many of the reforming edicts (*yarli<u>gh</u>s*) are preserved by Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn. They are certainly convincing evidence that <u>Gh</u>azan was aware of which abuses required the attention of the government. What cannot be stated with any degree of certainly is the extent to which, and for how long, the reforms were actually implemented. It is probable that the reforms had at least some beneficial effect, and that that effect, albeit decreasingly, continued to be felt after <u>Gh</u>azan's early death. But throughout the Īl<u>kh</u>ānid period, increasingly substantial quantities of property were made into *awḳāf*, which may suggest both that there was a lack of real security of tenure (despite <u>Gh</u>azan's efforts) and that people had little confidence in the justness of Mongol government even after it had become Muslim.

2. *The Mongol army.*

The central and most essential institution of the Mongol Empire was its army. The nature of steppe nomadic society was such that normal life doubled as a process of military training: e.g. Mongol hunting practices were reflected in military tactics (see <u>Dj</u>uwaynī, i, 21). All adult male Mongols below the age of 60 were liable for military service; there were in principle no Mongol civilians. The Mongols were thus able to mobilise a force, composed exclusively of cavalry, which was highly trained and could consist of an extremely high proportion of the available Mongol manpower. This is part of the explanation for the very large numbers given by contemporary sources for the size of Mongol armies. Nevertheless, there are other relevant factors. The extreme manœuvrability of the Mongol forces may have caused observers to exaggerate the numbers involved, as may such expedients as the mounting of dummies on spare horses (each Mongol soldier went on campaign with a string of five or more horses). The *Secret history of the Mongols* estimates that in 1206 Čingiz-<u>Kh</u>ān had an army of around 105,000 men; and according to Ra<u>sh</u>īd al-Dīn (drawing on a now lost Mongolian source, the *Altan debter*), the army in Mongolia proper at the death of Čingiz included some 129,000 men (see D.O. Morgan, *The Mongol armies in Persia*, in *Isl.*, lvi/1 [1979], 83). These figures may bear some relation to reality, which is unlikely to be true of such estimates as those of <u>Dj</u>ūz<u>dj</u>ānī, who claims that the army that invaded the <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm-<u>Sh</u>āh's empire was 700,000 or 800,000 strong (ed. Ḥabībī, i, 311, ii, 104). On the other hand, the Mamlūk writer al-ʿUmarī's statement that in the 8th/14th century there were 2-300,000 men on the *dīwān* registers of the Īl<u>kh</u>ānate is not implausible if this is taken to mean that there were in the kingdom that number of Mongol and Turkish adult males who could be called on to act as troops (K. Lech (ed. and tr.), *Das mongolische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 1968, text, 79, tr., 145). The main objection to acceptance of very high estimates for the size of the Mongol army, aside from the difficulties of organising such huge forces in pre-modern conditions, lies in the question of how their animals could have been fed while on campaign; an army of 800,000 might have marched with 4 million or more horses, to say nothing of sheep and goats. Hülegü alleged that lack of adequate fodder and grazing forced his withdrawal from Syria in 658/1260 (Meyvaert, *op. cit.*, 258), and similar problems may help to explain the failure of the Īl<u>kh</u>āns in subsequent decades to incorporate Syria into the Mongol Empire (see Morgan, *The Mongols in Syria, 1260-1300*, in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement*, Cardiff 1985, 231-5). The Mongols, then, were effective militarily because of their competence rather than as a result of the sheer weight of numbers (for this view, see Morgan, *Mongol armies*). For the argument that the chroniclers' high figures should be taken seriously, and that the Mongol conquests were won by huge numbers rather than by military efficiency, see J.M. Smith Jr., *Mongol manpower and Persian population*, in *JESHO* xviii/3 [1975], 271-99; idem, *ʿAyn Jālūt: Mamlūk success or Mongol failure?*, in *HJAS*, xliv/2 [1984], 307-45).

Organisationally, the Mongol soldiers were grouped in multiples of 10, rising to the *tümen* (*tūmān*) of 10,000—a system that had long been conventional in Asian steppe armies. It is not probable that *tümens* usually had as many soldiers as the theoretical number would suggest (see e.g. C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass.

1978, 170-1, n. 27). Čingiz-Khān appears to have utilised the military decimal system to bring about a radical reorganisation of the Turco-Mongolian tribal structure; defeated tribes were broken up and their surviving manpower distributed among other units. Hence something like an artificial new tribal structure was created, thus manufacturing new foci of loyalty and possibly helping to avert any attempt on the part of another tribe to overthrow the supremacy of the Čingizids. The élite force was the imperial guard, 10,000 strong in 1206, which was recruited across tribal boundaries and, forming as it did Čingiz's household, provided the personnel through whom the empire was administered in its early stages.

The Mongol cavalryman relied chiefly on the standard horn and sinew compound bow of the steppes, which had impressive range and power of penetration. Conquest of the cities of the sedentary empires required also the enlistment of siege engineers from both China and the Islamic lands. Auxiliary troops of non-Mongol origin were used, especially in China. After the conquest of China, they provided infantry and garrison troops. In Persia, native soldiers were made use of for such duties as the provision of garrisons and the guarding of passes: Ghazan is said to have organised them decimally (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, ed. Alizade, 518).

Forces known as *tamma* or *tanma* were contingents selected from the total available Mongol power. Their purpose was to maintain and extend Mongol rule, and they were initially stationed on the steppe-sedentary borders. Some *tamma* units later formed the bases of the permanent armies of the subsidiary khānates into which the Mongol Empire was divided (P.D. Buell, *Kalmyk Tanggaci people: thoughts on the mechanics and impact of Mongol expansion*, in *Mongolian Studies*, vi [1980], 41-59). The puzzling Ḳarawnas or Negüderis (Nīkūdarīs) of the Indian borderlands have been shown to have originated in a *tamma* formation (J. Aubin, *L'ethnogénèse des Qaraunas*, in *Turcica* i [1969], 65-94).

3. *Law.*

One of the indispensable institutional foundations of the Mongol Empire is generally said to have been the "Great *Yasa* of Čingiz-Khān", allegedly a comprehensive legal code laid down, in all probability, in 1206, though perhaps supplemented later. The custody of this code was entrusted by Čingiz-Khān to his adopted brother Shigi-ḳutuḳu. The code has not survived, but it may be reconstructed, it has been believed, from fragments that are quoted in a variety of sources (see especially V.A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental principles of Mongol law*, The Hague 1965). Many difficulties are, however, involved in holding this view. The main primary source, the *Secret history of the Mongols*, appears in the relevant passage to be concerned with the keeping of a record of *ad hoc* judicial decisions and with the beginnings of a kind of case law rather than with the creation of a legal code; and it does not use the term *yasa* (*jasaq: Secret history*, §203, tr. F.W. Cleaves, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 143-4. Elsewhere in the *Secret history*, *jasaq* means an individual order or decree). So far as the supposed fragments are concerned, it has been shown that all those of significance derive ultimately from one source, Djuwaynī (see D. Ayalon, *The Great* Yāsa *of Chingiz Khān: a reexamination. A*, in *SI*, xxxiii [1971], 97-140). Examination of Djuwaynī's material (i, especially 17-18) shows that he was recording the writing down for consultation of Čingiz-Khān's precepts on such matters as military training, communications and taxation; there is no reference to a general legal code.

The belief—certainly to be found reflected in later sources—in the existence of the Great *Yasa* is probably to be explained as having been founded on a knowledge of the unwritten Mongol customary law, the evolution of which began long before the time of Čingiz-Khān and continued after his death. In addition, there may well have been some recollection of Čingiz's maxims (*billig, bīlīk*), which were preserved and respected; Rashīd al-Dīn records them at length, though he has nothing at all to offer on the contents of the "Great *Yasa*". One further possibility is that written records of certain legal cases (*yarghu-nāma*), which we know to have been made and preserved for future reference (see Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1976, 29-35) may have given rise to the notion that Mongol law was written down, despite the absence of convincing contemporary evidence that anything of the kind was in fact done. Mongol customary law was no doubt enforced, and in the Islamic world continued in uneasy co-existence with the *sharīʿa*, but precisely how this worked is difficult to recover from our sources (for the above view, see Morgan, The *"Great* Yāsā *of Chingiz Khān" and Mongol law in the Īlkhānate*, in *BSOAS*, xlix/1 [1986], 163-76; the more usual opinion is well represented by P. Ratchnevsky, *Die Yasa (Jasaq) Činggis-khans und ihre Problematik*, in *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients*. v. *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, Berlin 1974, 471-87; idem, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, Wiesbaden 1983, 164-72).

4. *Taxation.*

This may be dealt with briefly, see KHARĀDJ. II. In Persia, and ḲŪBČŪR. Many terms are used in the sources for taxation, but the principal taxes of Mongol origin seem to have been three in number. *Ḳūbčūr* [*q.v.*] was at first a 1% levy on the nomads' flocks and herds, but later the term is used to denote a poll-tax payable by the conquered sedentary population. It is possible that the Mongols may have derived this latter usage from the Uyghur Turks, who exercised a pervasive influence on the administration of the early Mongol Empire (see T.A. Allsen, *The Yüan Dynasty and the Uigurs of Turfan in the 13th century*, in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China among equals: the middle kingdom and its neighbors 10th-14th centuries*, Berkeley 1983, 263, 278 n. 141). The precise meaning of *ḳalan*, the other Mongol tax most commonly mentioned (and abused) in the Persian sources, remains unclear (for an attempt at definition, seeking to show that *ḳalan* was a general term used to cover pre-Mongol, Islamic taxation, see J.M. Smith Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *JHAS*, xxx [1970], 46-85). The most likely explanation would seem to be that it was in fact a general term for occasional exactions of a specifically Mongol rather than Islamic character, imposed on the sedentary population by the Mongols and including some kind of corvée. The third of the most important taxes was *tamgha*, a levy on commercial transactions whose prominence testifies to the importance in Mongol eyes of trade.

The purpose of such taxes was the maximum possible degree of exploitation of the conquered population. This exploitation was normally limited, if at all, only by the common-sense consideration that enough should be left to the peasants to permit their survival and thus a further year's payment of taxes. Mongol taxation was more a pragmatic series of exactions, as seemed appropriate and profitable, than a fixed

system, despite the willingness of some modern historians to discern the existence of such a system. The burden imposed by the specifically "Mongol" taxes was the greater in that the conquered people of the Islamic lands were also required to continue payment of the old pre-Mongol taxes. As in other fields, the burden may well have become for a time more supportable as a result of the reforms of Ghazan.

5. *Communications.*

The vast extent of the Mongol's empire made it necessary for them to establish an effective network of communications. Such a network, the *Yam*, was duly set up: according to the sources by the second Great Khān, Ögedey, rather than by Čingiz-Khān himself (*Secret history*, §279, tr. Cleaves, 225; Rashīd al-Dīn, ii/1, ed. Alizade, Moscow 1980, 121-2, 143-4). The *Yam* was designed to facilitate the travels of envoys going to and from the Mongol courts; for the transportation of goods (especially on the route between North China and Mongolia); for the speedy transmission of royal orders; and to provide a framework whereby the Mongol rulers could receive intelligence. It was also frequently, if illegitimately, used by officials and private individuals of influence, a practice that was forbidden so often as to suggest that such prohibitions were of limited and temporary effect.

Post stations were erected throughout the empire at stages equivalent to a day's journey: about every 25 or 30 miles, or more in desolate areas, according to Marco Polo (*Travels*, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, 153). Responsibility for the maintenance of the facilities fell to the local army units; horses and supplies were contributed by the population of the area, the incidence of exactions being determined on the basis of the census returns which also regulated the imposition of poll-tax, *ķūbčūr*. Urgent messages could travel very much faster than 25 miles a day: Marco Polo (tr. Ricci, 157) speaks of 2-300 miles, and Rashīd al-Dīn (iii, ed. Alizade, 484) of 60 *farsakhs*. The traveller's authorisation took the form of a wooden or metal tablet (*paiza*; Chinese *p'ai-tse*, Mongolian *gerege*). The efficiency of the system impressed European observers, and although Rashīd al-Dīn has much to say of the abuses to which it was subjected in the Īlkhānate, it seems on the whole to have worked well. The *barīd* of the Mamlūk state may have been influenced by its example (J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 13), as was the later *ulak* system of the Ottoman Empire. The search for influences on the Mongols themselves leads to China; the courier system of the Liao Dynasty had too many similarities to the Mongol *Yam* for them to have been entirely coincidental (see e.g. I. de Rachewiltz, *Personnel and personalities in north China in the early Mongol period*, in *JESHO*, ix [1966], 111-2. On the *Yam* in China, see P. Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13 und 14 Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1954. There is no detailed study for any other part of the empire).

6. *Administration.*

In general terms, the Mongols' approach towards the administration of their empire was a pragmatic one. They were prepared to learn from other peoples, especially those who had both a respectable steppe pedigree and experience in the techniques necessary for the government of an empire that included a large sedentary sector. The most marked influence in the empire's early decades was exercised by the Uyghurs and the Khitans. The Mongols speedily adopted both the Uyghur alphabet for the writing of Mongolian (previously an unwritten language) and elements of Uyghur chancery practice. The Khitans were probably even more influential. During the initial stages of the empire's administrative evolution, the most important all-purpose Mongol official was the *darughači*. Study of his role (see e.g. Buell, *Sino-Khitan administration in Mongol Bukhara*, in *Jnal. of Asian History* xiii/2 [1979]) has left little doubt about its Khitan origin. This is merely one example of such institutional borrowing (see further Morgan, *Who ran the Mongol Empire?*, in *JRAS* [1982], 124-36). The Khitans provided personnel as well as administrative machinery; the careers of a number of them who entered Mongol service have been traced (see de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*; Buell, *Sino-Khitan administration*).

After they had conquered Persia and China, the Mongols became the rulers of great sedentary societies that possessed complex administrative traditions of long standing. In Persia, the Mongols permitted a considerable degree of administrative continuity with the past to be maintained. Prior to the setting up of the Īlkhānate, non-Persians frequently held the highest governmental offices, and even after the time of Hülegü, members of minority groups, such as the Jew Saᶜd al-Dawla, were influential at times, their promotion causing resentment among the Muslim population. But throughout the period of the Īlkhānate, the administration of Persia seems to have rested largely in the hands of members of the established Muslim Persian bureaucracy. The most conspicuous example of this was the Djuwaynī family. When the *ṣāḥib-dīwān* Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī was executed in 683/1284 (his brother the historian having died of natural causes in the previous year), members of the family had held high governmental offices virtually without a break for around 80 years, serving Khʷārazm-Shāhs and Mongols in turn. Our sources leave us with the impression that, by and large, the administrative machine continued to work in the traditional fashion, and that the Mongols were reasonably content to leave the task of administration to their Persian officials, so long as they showed themselves capable of securing the requisite revenue from taxation. It should however be remembered that this impression is based largely on the works of Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ķazwīnī, all of whom were Persians and members of that same bureaucracy. The Mongols themselves left no written sources on the history of their rule in Persia.

The administration of China was not left in the hands of native officials to the same extent as was that of the Īlkhānate. Lower-ranking officials were retained in office, but there were no Chinese equivalents to Shams al-Din Djuwaynī or Rashīd al-Dīn. The Chinese were excluded from the highest positions, which were reserved for foreigners: Middle Eastern and Central Asian Muslims, Khitans, Uyghurs, Europeans. This policy may have been adopted (as Marco Polo, himself one of its beneficiaries, suggested) because the Great Khāns regarded foreigners as more trustworthy than the Chinese since they had no local loyalties (*Travels*, tr. Ricci, 127). The traditional civil service examinations, which tested candidates' knowledge of the Chinese classics, were not held until 715/1315; and they never, under the Mongols, recovered their former importance as a road to high office in the state.

Overall, it may be said that the Mongols were prepared to adopt almost any institutional arrangements and to employ any potential servant, as

long as this appeared likely to facilitate the maintenance of effective government. This effectiveness was measured chiefly by the revenue receipts. There is little that is identifiably "Mongol" in the governmental institutions of the Mongols' empire, except the way in which they made so extraordinary disparate an assemblage work. The principal constraint was always the consideration that nothing should be done that might endanger Mongol military supremacy, on which in the last analysis the perpetuation of Mongol rule depended.

Bibliography: The primary and secondary sources for the history of the Mongols are extant in great bulk and in numerous languages. It is possible here to list only a selection. Primary sources: (i) Mongolian. There are several editions of the text of the *Secret history of the Mongols*, and English translations by F.W. Cleaves (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) and I. de Rachewiltz (*Papers in Far Eastern History*, 1971-85), French translation by P. Pelliot, Paris 1949. (ii) Chinese. The principal source is the official dynastic history, the *Yüan-shih*. Only parts of this have been translated, e.g. on genealogies and appanages by L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan-che* and *Le chapitre CVIII du Yuan-che*, Leiden 1945, 1954; on the economy by H.F. Schurmann, *Economic structure of the Yüan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1956; on military organisation by C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978. For Chinese travellers, see the account of the journey of the Taoist Chʾang Chʾun, *The travels of an alchemist*, tr. A. Waley, London 1931, and of two Sung embassies to the Mongols, P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, Wiesbaden 1980. (iii) Persian. Djūzdjānī, ed. and tr. as in the article; Djuwaynī, and tr. Djuwaynī-Boyle; Waṣṣāf, ed. M.M. Iṣfahānī, Bombay 1269/1852-3; convenient modern Persian abridgement by ʿA. Āyatī, *Taḥrīr-i Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, Tehran 1346/1968; Rashīd al-Dīn: numerous editions and translations of sections of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, e.g. vol. i, part 1 (Tribes), ed. A.A. Romaskevič, L.A. Khetagurov and A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1965; vol. ii, ed. E. Blochet, GMS, Leiden and London 1911, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971; vol. ii, part 1, ed. Alizade, Moscow 1980; vol. iii (Īlkhāns), ed. Alizade, Baku 1957 (also contains a Russian translation); vol. iii is also covered by the following three publications: *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. E. Quatremère (reign of Hülegü; also includes the general introduction to the work, and valuable annotation), Paris 1836, Abaḳa-Gaykhatu, ed. K. Jahn, The Hague 1957, and reign of Ghazan, ed. Jahn, GMS, London 1940. Jahn has also edited and translated several sections of the "Universal History" part of the work. See also Rashīd al-Dīn's letters (possibly spurious), ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, new ed. by M.T. Dānishpazhūh as *Sawāniḥ al-afkār-i Rashīdī*, Tehran 1358/1980-1; Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ūldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1348/1969; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿA. Nawāʾī, Tehran 1336-9/1958-61. There is a wealth of Persian local histories; one of the most interesting (on Kirmān) is the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i shāhī*, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 2535 Sh/1976-7. (iv) Arabic. Especially on the first Mongol invasions: Ibn al-Athīr, xii; Nasawī, ed. and tr. as in the article, see also the early Persian translation, ed. M. Minovi, Tehran 1344/1965. On the later period, there is much valuable information in Mamlūk sources [see MAMLŪKS]. (v) Armenian. J.A. Boyle, *Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols*, in *CAJ*, viii (1963), and the references cited there; Grigor of Akner, *The history of the nation of the archers*, ed. and tr. R.P. Blake and R.N. Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954. (vi) Syriac. Bar Hebraeus, *The chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj... commonly known as Bar Hebraeus*, ed. and tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London 1932; also an Arabic version, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890; *Histoire de Mar Jab-alaha, patriarche, et de Rabban Sauma*, ed. P. Bedjān, 2nd ed., Paris 1895, tr. Wallis Budge, *The monks of Ḳūblāi Khān, emperor of China*, London 1928. (vii) European. The most important sources are travel narratives. Those of the Franciscan emissaries are collected in *Sinica Franciscana*, i, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, Quaracchi-Florence 1929. Most are translated in *The Mongol mission*, ed. C. Dawson, London and New York 1955; Marco Polo, tr. A. Ricci, London 1931, tr. A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols., London 1938. A large body of correspondence is extant: letters between Mongol rulers and the Popes are collected in K. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Vatican City 1981. Secondary sources: The best general account is J.J. Saunders, *The history of the Mongol conquests*, London 1971. See also D.O. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1986, for a more detailed justification of the views expressed in the article. J.F. Fletcher, *The Mongols: ecological and social perspectives*, in *HJAS*, xlvi/1 (1986), 11-50, is the best introduction to the Mongol phenomenon as a whole. Čingiz-Khān: P. Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-Khan, sein Leben und Wirken*, Wiesbaden 1983, supersedes earlier studies; but see also H.D. Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, Baltimore 1950. China: see J.D. Langlois Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol rule*, Princeton 1981. Islamic world: Barthold, *Turkestan*[4], London 1977, retains its importance; Spuler, *Mongolen*[4], Leiden 1985; Boyle (ed.), *Camb. hist of Iran. v. The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, Cambridge 1968; A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1987. Golden Horde: Spuler, *Horde*[2], Wiesbaden 1965; see also J.L.I. Fennell, *The crisis of medieval Russia 1200-1304*, London 1983, and C.J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*, Bloomington 1985. Many of the above works contain good bibliographies. Further secondary studies are cited in the article.

(D.O. MORGAN)

MONEY [see NAḲD; SIKKA].
MONK [see RĀHIB].
MONKEY [see ḲIRD].
MONOGAMY [see NIKĀḤ; ZAWĀDJ].
MONOPHYSITES [see NAṢĀRĀ].
MONOPOLY [see RÉGIE].
MONOTHEISM [see TAWḤĪD].
MONSOON [see MAWSIM].
MONTENEGRO [see ḲARA DAGH].
MONTH [see TAʾRĪKH].

MOORS, in Arabic *al-Mār*, a rather vague term, used until the 19th century in virtually all Western European languages, to indicate the ancient Muslims of Spain and the inhabitants of the Mediterranean ports of North Africa. The origin of the term is not yet clear. It derives either from Semitic *mahourím* "the people of the West", or from Berber (Rinn, in *RAfr.*, xxix, 244 ff.). The Greek word Μαύροίςτιος appears for the first time in

Polybius (iii, 33,15), in earlier times the term Λίβυες having been used to indicate all inhabitants of North Africa [see LĪBIYĀ. I.]. After the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., the Latin word *Mauri* indicates a group of relatively sedentary tribes who lived between the Atlantic and the rivers Moulouya and Chélif in the Roman provinces of *Mauretania Caesariensis* and *Mauretania Tingitana* [see ṬANDJA]. Later, the Latin word *Maurus* passed into Greek in the form of Μαυρος (Pauly-Wissowa, xiv [1930], cols. 2348-51), and both terms were then used to indicate, in a rather general way, the Berbers. In Spain, *Mauri* became *Moros*, and it was under this name that the inhabitants of the Peninsula designed the Muslim conquerors during the whole period of the Muslim domination (711-1492). The term *Moros*, which has been adopted into the various languages of Western Europe (Mauren, Maures, Mauri, Mohren, Moors, Moren, etc.), thus has a geographical meaning, i.e. indicating the people coming from the African coast, rather than an ethnographical one, for the conquerors were Arabs and Berbers, the latter both arabicised and non-arabicised. The arabisation of the latter took place in Spain, where the mixture of Roman and Arab elements led to a kind of symbiosis which expressed itself in a true bilingualism, which in its turn created an Arabo-Christian literature [see MOZARABS] on the one hand, and an Arabo-Islamo-Spanish literature, using the Arabic script and the Romanesque language [see ALJAMÍA] on the other. Yet the *Moros* were in general considered as conquerors, and the religious differences have contributed to a rather hostile attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. Consequently, the term Moors, in the various Western languages, was not dissociated from a certain depreciatory connotation, even when the Moor was represented as "noble", like Othello. In some translations of the Bible (e.g. Isa., xi, 12), the term "land of the Moors" indicates Ethiopia, and it was perhaps under such influences that in mediaeval Europe the term was also used for all those whose colour lay somewhere between light-brown and black. In heraldry, Moor indicated a black, and everyday life knew expressions like Moorish coffee, etc.

On the other hand, the adjective "Moorish" indicated also, in a vague but recognisable way, an artistic style which was thought to have originated from the Arabs, or even from the Muslims in general. In architecture, the Moorish art could indicate the Alhambra in Granada [see GHARNĀṬĀ], the Giralda in Sevilla [see ISHBĪLIYA], and the mosque in Marrakech [see MARRĀKUSH]. The earliest phase of Renaissance architecture in Spain, usually called the Plateresque (from *platero* "silversmith", because its rich ornamentation resembles silversmith's work) is said to have been influenced by Moorish art. In other fields, the term referred to miniatures in Arabic manuscripts, like those of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], to lustre faïence and, in general, to art objects fashioned in Muslim countries of European countries under Arabo-Muslim influence, like Sicily, the Balkans, and especially Spain. During the long Arab occupation, furniture in the so-called Mudéjar style evolved, in which the form was essentially European but the decoration oriental. A type of cabinet known as *vargueno* was often inlaid with ivory in a Moorish manner.

In modern times, the term Moors is also found outside of Mauretania [*q.v.*]. In Mali [*q.v.*] the word is used to indicate the Arabo-Berber group. In northern Senegal [*q.v.*] there are stock-raisers or traders known by this name. The Muslims of Sri Lanka (Ceylon [*q.v.*]), estimated at about 900,000 out of a total population of 13 million, are often named "the Ceylon Moors". They are partly descended from Arab seafarers who, some time during the 2nd/8th century, settled at a place near the site of the modern port of Colombo, called Calembon by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, the Arabs had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the foreign trade of Ceylon. In the Philippines [*q.v.*], more precisely on the island of Mindanao, the term "Moro Wars" (1901-13) is used for a series of scattered battles which took place between American troops and Muslim groups, who were fighting for religious rather than for political reasons. Finally, the Spanish word *Moros* designates the various Muslim populations of the Southern Philippines, especially in the Sulu archipelago and on Mindanao. By extension, the term is also used for any of the Austronesian languages of the Moro peoples.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.vv. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[E. VAN DONZEL])

MORA, Turkish for Morea, the usual name in mediaeval and modern times for the peninsula of the Peloponnesus (which itself appears in Arabic geographical sources in forms like the *B.L.būn.s* of Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 194, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 189), regarded in ancient times as the heartland of Greece. For the various forms of the name, see Bées, *EI*[1], s.v.

1. The pre-Ottoman period to 1460.

This may subdivided into (a) the Byzantine period to 1204 and the Frankish one to 1262 (or to the late early 16th century for certain areas); and (b) the Byzantine despotate of Morea to 1458/1460.

(a) The pre-1262 period. There may be a reference to Muslims from Ifrīḳiya (*Aphrikous Sarakenous*) aiding the Slav besiegers of Patras in 805-6 or 806-7 (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De admin. imp.*, ed. Moravcsik-Eng. tr. Jenkins, 288-9, cf. comm., 184); and it has been proposed that the *Kaphēroi* then settled by the Emperor Nicephorus I after the Patras victory over the Slavs were, conceivably, Anatolian frontier peoples of Muslim origin who had come over to Christianity (the name from *kāfir*, pl. *kafara*, "infidel"?). During the naval conflicts of the Byzantines and Arabs in the 9th and 10th centuries, there were frequent raids on the Morea by Arab corsairs from the amīrate of Crete [see IḲRĪTISH and ḲURṢĀN. i], especially on coastal regions like Corinthia, where Islamic coins from Crete and pottery fragments with Kūfic designs have been found (see Miles, in *DOP*, xviii [1964], 5-6 and fig. 93; Christides, *The conquest of Crete*, 119, 127, 162). At various dates in the later 9th century, defeats of the Arabs by the Byzantine navy are recorded in Greek sources. The Arab geographers were well-informed on the topography of the Morea, including Ibn Ḥawḳal (who *inter alia* mentions the *zanaḳa* "narrow place", i.e. the isthmus canal), al-Idrīsī, Ibn Saʿīd and Abu 'l-Fidā, with the name Morea appearing in the last three authors in forms like Lamariyā and al-Muriya (see N. Oikonomakes, *Athens and Peloponnesus in the 10th century according to temporary information provided by Arab authors* [in Greek], in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 123-4; Manuela Marín, *"Rūm" in the works of three Spanish Muslim geographers*, in *ibid.*, 115 ff.).

(b) the period of the Morean despotate and the Turkish conquest. The connections of the Morea with the Turks go back to the later 13th century, for the *Morea chronicle* records the arrival in

spring 1263 of 6,000 Turkish mercenary cavalrymen in the service of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus's step-brother, the *sebastocrator* Constantine (whose troops also included Christianised Muslim mercenaries, *tourkopoloi* [*q.v.*], used against the Frankish occupiers of the Morea (see A. Savvides, *Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies*, in *Festschrift for D.M. Nicol*; idem, *The origins and role of the Turcophone mercenaries in the Morea in the course of the Byzantine-Frankish war of 1263-4* [in Greek], in *Acts of the Fourth Internat. Pelop. Congr.*, Corinth 1990). Troops like these often returned to Anatolia, but over the years some of them settled down in Morea and became Christians. In the early 14th century there are mentions of combined Catalan-Turkish raids on the Morean coasts, and there can be little doubt that the Turks stemmed from the maritime principalities (*beyliks*) of western Anatolia [see AYDÎN; MENTESHE-OGHULLARÎ].

Ottoman incursions began from *ca.* 1358 onwards, but definite progress by the Ottomans began in 1387-8 and is associated with the *ghāzī* leader, possibly himself of Greek descent, Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*], during the reigns of sultans Murād I and Bāyezīd I [*q.vv.*]. At the outset, Ewrenos roamed the Morea with the consent of the despot of Mystras [see MEZISTRE in Suppl.] Theodore I Palaeologus, in the hope of dislodging the Frankish Navarese Military Company, but soon changed sides in the continually-changing pattern of Byzantine-Frankish relations there. By the end of the century, both Theodore and the Navarese had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty and pay tribute to Bāyezīd. However, in the years after the latter's defeat at the hands of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] at Ankara in 1402, the sultans Sülaymān I and Meḥemmed I Čelebi [*q.vv.*] maintained peaceful relations with Manuel II Palaeologus. But fresh devastations of the Morea began in 1423 under Turakhan Beg, sent by Murād II to invade it as a punishment for Manuel's support of the "false" (*Düzme*) Muṣṭafā Čelebi [*q.v.*]; the *Hexamilion*, Manuel's six-mile long rampart across the mouth of the isthmus, with the fortifications known to the Turks as the Česhme Ḥiṣārî, failed to keep back the invaders.

Over the following years, the Byzantines strengthened their position in the north of the Morea and the Venetians in the south at Navarino, Modon and Koron [*q.vv.*]. The crusade of Varna in 1444 emboldened the despot Constantine Palaeologus, the future last Byzantine Emperor, to refortify the *Hexamilion*, but in 1446 it was again breached by Murād's artillery and stormed by the Janissaries; it was never again repaired, and the despotate of Morea became an Ottoman vassal state. The Morea was again invaded by Turakhan in 1452, with the aim of preventing the despots from sending aid to the beleaguered Constantinople (for the conquest of which, see MEḤEMMED II), and in 1456, tribute owed to the Ottomans having fallen into arrears, Meḥemmed and his commander ʿÖmer Beg annexed the Florentine duchy of Athens. Two years later, in 1458, the sultan decided to send a massive army into the Morea, occupying one-third of the peninsula, now placed under the governorship of ʿÖmer, and imposing an even heavier tribute on the Palaeologi. Meḥemmed's final invasion of 1460 is recorded in great detail by the Greek and Turkish sources. In the spring, the Greek renegade Zaghanos Pasha [*q.v.*] was sent to raid Patras and Achaia, and gradually, the Byzantine towns all fell, the last stronghold to surrender being Salmenikon under Constantine Graetzas Palaeologus (July 1461), who then sought refuge in Naupactus (cf. Savvides, *Naupactus from the early Byzantine years to the Ottoman conquest of 1499* [in Greek], in *Acts First Aetolian-Akarnanian Congr.*, Agrinion 1988).

Through the mediation of the historian Critobulus, Meḥemmed acted with clemency towards the despot Demetrius, brother of the emperor Constantine XII, and assigned to him the revenues of the islands of Thasos [see TASHÖZ], Samothrace [see SEMENDIREK] and Lemnos [see LIMNI]. Only the fortress of Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE], which placed itself under the protection of the Pope and of Venice, was not Ottoman by the late 1460s, together with the Venetian acquisitions of Modon, Koron, Navarino, Argos and Nauplion, plus the interior parts of the Mainote peninsula where in *ca.* 1465 the local chieftain Corcodeilus Cladas began an insurrection against the Ottoman conquerors.

Bibliography: For older references, see N. Bees in *EI*[1]. Further detailed references in A. Savvides, *The Morea and Islam, 8th-15th century: a survey*, in *Jnal. of Oriental and African Studies* (Athens), ii (1990). On the period of the Arab raids (8th-11th cent.), see A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, 53, ii/1, 55, 158; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951, 76 ff.; J. Papadopoulos, *Crete under the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens 1948, 79 ff.; G.C. Miles, *Byzantium and the Arabs. Relations in Crete and the Aegean area*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 5 ff.; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)*, Berlin 1955, 55 ff., 204 f., 208 f.; V. Christides, *The raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea, piracy and conquest*, in *Byzantion*, li (1981), 82, 86, 87, 93, 96, n. 122, 107; idem, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs, c. 824...*, Athens 1984, 37, 61, 92 (map), 158, 162, 163, 166, 219; V. Kalaitzakes, *Crete and the Saracens* [in Greek], Athens 1984, 62 ff., 153, 157; G.L. Huxley, *Monemvasia and the Slavs*, Athens 1988, 9 f.; D. Tsougarakes, *Byzantine Crete...*, diss., Athens 1988, 55 ff.

On the Turcoman presence in 13th-14th century Morea, inclusive of the raids of the Emirates, see D. Zakythenos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*[2], rev. ed. Chryssa Maltezou, i, London 1975, 39 ff., 70 ff.; J. Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée*, Paris 1949, 232 f., P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*, Paris 1957, 89 f., 102 ff., 116 ff.; D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus...*, Cambridge, Mass. repr. 1973, 171 ff.; Setton, i, 187 f., 451, n. 67; Eliz. Zachariadou, in *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., xxi/2 (1980), 834 f.; eadem, *Trade and Crusade... (1300-1415)*, Venice 1983, 17, 31, 37, 42, 60, 66, 95, 101; H. Inalcık, in *Byzant. Forsch.*, ix (1985), 190 f., 201.

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1425)..., New Brunswick, N.J. 1969; D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*..., Leiden 1972 (with excellent maps); D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium (1261-1453)*, London 1972; A. Vakalopoulos, *The origins of the Greek nation. The Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick 1970; S. Shaw, *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, i, Cambridge 1976; K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, i-ii, Philadelphia 1976-8; I. Djurić, *Vrem Jovana VIII Palaeoga (1392-1448)*, Belgrade 1984; A. Savvides, *Byzantium's relations with the Ottomans and other Turcophone peoples according to the Kleinchroniken, A.D. c. 1300-1461*, Engl. tr. and comm. (forthcoming). (A. Savvides)

2. Turkish domination (1460-1821) and the Greek War of Independence (1821-33).

The plan which Meḥemmed had decided on when he entered Morea, was carried through. Except for a few places, the peninsula was now Turkish territory. Zag̲h̲anos Pas̲h̲a was installed as governor of the Morea by the sultan and entrusted with the reorganisation of the peninsula, which had become much depopulated and was a great deal poorer economically. In 1458 and again in 1460 the sultan temporarily combined the Morea with Thessaly for administrative purposes. The Morea now became a *sand̲j̲aḳ* by itself with 109 *ziʿāmets* and 342 *tīmārs*. Down to about 1570, the residence of the governor was by turns in Corinth, Londari (Leontari) or Mystra, then in Nauplion and in 1786-1821 in Tripolitza (cf. T. Gritsopoulos, *History of Tripolitsa* [in Greek], i-ii, Athens 1972-6; M. Lamprynides, *Nauplia*[3] [in Greek], Nauplion 1975; S. Runciman, *Mistra*, London 1980). The division of the country under Turkish rule, usual from the middle of the 17th century, into 22 or 25 provinces or *beyliks* is partly suggested by nature and partly a survival of the older Byzantine organisation.

The Turks introduced their own feudal system after their occupation of the Morea so that the Turkish-Muslim element in the country was thus able to expand. Even during the first period of Turkish rule (1458-1687), other factors contributed to this, like the immigration into the Morea of Muslims from other parts of the Ottoman empire, the conversion of Christian Moreots to Islam, etc. While in the north of the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia minor countless Christians adopted Islam either voluntarily or under compulsion, the Christian element in the Morea at the time of the Turkish conquest in the mass remained faithful to the Christian religion. Comparatively few Moreots became Muslims, and these were principally Albanians, who always adopted Islam more readily (cf. thereon: C. Jireček, *Studien zur Geschichte und Geographie Albaniens im Mittelalter*, Budapest 1916, and also M. Lamprynides, *The Albanians in mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, 1320-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1907, repr. 1987; on the Lalian "Turkish Albanians", cf. J. Vosdravelles, *Information on the Turkish-Albanian Laliots from the Turkish Archives of Macedonia* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, Athens 1981-2, 381 ff.; A. Photopoulos, *The Lalian Turkish Albanians* [in Greek], in *Epiteris Hetaureias Eleiakon Meleton*, [1983], 419 ff.). As in Asia Minor, Bosnia, Crete, etc., so in the Morea also, members of the nobility and middle classes, especially those of Frankish origin, adopted Islam in order to retain possession of their estates. There were also in the Morea crypto-Christians, as well as people whose Islam was very superficial. These were usually called *murdat* (impure) in the Morea. The Barduniots were also for the most part superficially Muslims (cf. G. Kapsales, *Bardounia and the Turkish Bardouniots* [in Greek], in *Peleponnesiaka*, ii [1957]). As to the survival of the Greek Moreot element, it has been said, e.g., that Meḥemmed II's ordinance regulating the relations of the Christian subjects to the Ottoman empire benefited also the Christian Moreots; yet it is wrong to credit him with any such ordinance (cf. Fr. Giese, in *Isl.*, xix [1931], 264 ff.). It is, however, a historical fact that the Greek Orthodox Church contributed a great deal to maintain the Christian element in the Morea, as in the East generally (see Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968). The Christian clergy of the Morea were frequently able to maintain a privileged attitude towards the Turkish officials and thus to further the interests of their co-religionists (on the privileges [Greek *pronomoia*] of Meḥemmed to the Patriarchate, cf. C. Amantos, *Islam's privileges in favour of Christianity* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, ix [1936], 140 ff.; Runciman, *op. cit.*, 165 ff.; refs. in A. Vakalopoulos, *History of Modern Hellenism*[2] [in Greek], Thessalonica 1976, 164 ff.). The Christian Moreots were also often able to avoid having their children taken by the Turks for the *devs̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*]. After the death of Süleymān the Magnificent (1566), the lot of the Christian Moreots gradually became worse. Ownerless lands were confiscated by the sultan and given to his soldiers or allotted to the mosques as *waḳfs* or given to private individuals as gifts. During the long period of Turkish rule in the Morea, the largest and best part of the land was in Turkish hands, and as a rule, Christians were not allowed to own large estates. The peasants had to pay over annually the fifth of the produce of the land and pay all kinds of annual taxes.

In the view of the abuses of the Turkish authorities, the Christian Moreots preferred to abandon the fertile regions and retire to barren lands and into the mountains, hence within the period 1460-1821 the mountains of the Morea were predominantly inhabited by Christians. Of the factors which contributed to the survival of Greek culture in the Morea during Turkish rule, special stress must be laid on the political concessions which were made to them by the Ottomans. These lay mainly in the freedom to govern their own communities, although, especially after 1715, the freedom of the Greek community was not infrequently limited by the Turkish authorities, who interfered indirectly in the appointment of local officials. Undoubtedly, those Moreots were better off who lived in towns or villages which were allotted to the Holy Shrines of Islam or to members of the Ottoman ruling family. The town of Dimitzana in Gortynia for example was originally a *waḳf* of Mecca under the protection of the sultan's mother (see P. Kontoes-A. Iliopoulos, *Album of Gortynia* [in Greek], Athens 1937; T. Gritsopoulos, *Gortynia Arachova and the popular song of Demos the Klepht* [in Greek], 1948; *The Archbishopric of Demetsana and Argyrokastron* [in Greek], in *Epeteris Hetaureias Byzantinon Spoudon*, xx, 1950; *Varia Arcadica* [in Greek], *Gortyniaka*, i, 1972; J. Gianniaropoulou, *Various notes on Gortynian Codices* [in Greek], in *ibid.*; G. Karvelas, *History of Demetsana* [in Greek], i-ii, Athens 1972-8; A. Petronotes, *Settlements and architectural monuments in mountainous Grotynia* [in Greek], 1975).

The peace between their Turkish rulers and Christians could only be an uneasy one. In the Morea also there were the so-called "Klephts" who would not submit to the existing government and took up arms against it. Against them the Turks used the Armatoli force, a gendarmerie of Christians organised on military lines (cf. T. Kandeloros, *Peloponnesian*

Armatolism, 1500-1821 [in Greek], Athens 1924; G. Vlachoyannes, *Moreot Klephts* [in Greek], 1935, P. Rodakes, *Klephts and Armatoloi*[2] [in Greek], i-ii, 1975). In the period 1715-1821 the Turks for the security of the country built watchhouses (*derbent*) in which a garrison was stationed to watch those who passed, especially at the passes. The Derbanekia (*küčük derbent*) between Corinth and Argos and the Derbenia of Lontari, the passes between Arcadia and Messenia (Makryplagi; cf. above) were all very important. The Mainots in their wild mountains felt little of the Turkish yoke, and were from 1460 to 1821 in constant rebellion against every foreign power (cf. D. Mexes, *Maina and the Mainots* [in Greek], Athens 1977). The Porte found itself forced to recognise officially the independence of Maina, in return for which the Mainots were supposed to pay tribute (cf. A. Daskalakes, *Maina and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1923; C. Passayannes, *Mainot dirges and songs* [in Greek], 1928; P. Lee Fermor, *Mani*, London 1959; S. Kougeas, *Historical sources for Mainot hegemony, 1774-1821* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, v [1962]; id. (ed.) *Niketas Nephakos, Mainot historical verses* [in Greek], 1964; E. Alexakes, *Clans and family in Maina's traditional society* [in Greek], Athens 1980; D. Vayakakos, *The Mainots of diaspora* [in Greek], i-ii, 1980; *War and family love in Maina* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, 302 ff.; C. Mertzios, *Maina in the Venetian Archives, 1611-74* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, i, [1972]; J. Kiskiras, *Dirges as a source of Mainot jurisprudence* [in Greek], in *ibid.*, ii [1975]; Th. Papadopoulos, *Mainot immigrants to Italy in the 17th century*, in *ibid.*, vi [1982]).

For a long period after 1460, when Meḥemmed II had made the greater part of the Morea a province of his empire, it became the scene of desperate fighting between Turks and Venetians (cf. A. Monferratos, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta. Venetian-Turkish war in Peloponnesos, 1463-6* [in Greek], Athens 1914; also the information in J. Alexandropoulos, *Two Ottoman registers of the Morea, 1460-3* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, suppl. v [1987], 339 ff.). The Albanian national hero Skanderbeg [see ISKENDER BEG], the leader of the Venetian mercenaries, died in 1468. Two years later, Turkish rule over Euboea was firmly established and they could record further successes in the Morea.

In the spring of 1499 a new war between Venice and Turkey broke out, and Lepanto had to surrender to the Turks (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Un registre de dépenses de Bayazid II durant la campagne de Lépante de 1499*, in *Turcica*, v [1975], 80 ff.; other refs. in A. Savvides, *Naupaktos... until the Ottoman conquest of 1499* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Aetolian-Akarnanian Congr.*, Agronion 1988-9). In 1500 Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] ordered Yaʿḳūb Pas̲h̲a to blockade Modon [*q.v.*] with his fleet, while he himself set out by land from Istanbul for the Morea. Modon fell after a long siege in the presence of the sultan. Bāyezīd II turned the cathedrals at Modon and Koron [*q.v.*] into mosques and offered up thanks in them, and gave these towns to Mecca as *wakfs*. In 1502-3 Venice concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey in which he surrendered her Messenian colonies and also Maina (cf. G. Ploumides, *Venetian-occupied Greek lands between the 2nd and 3rd Turkish-Venetian Wars, 1503-37* [in Greek], Ioannina 1974; Irène Mélikoff, *Bayezid II et Venise. Cinq lettres imperiales (Name-i Hümayun) provenant de l'Archivio di stato di Venezia*, in *Turcica*, i [1969], 123 ff.). In 1532 the Morea became the scene of notable battles, The Emperor Charles V decided to intervene in the Morea (cf. J. Chasiotes, *Peloponnesos in the framework of Charles V's Mediterranean policy* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, xv [1984], 187 ff.). A considerable fleet assembled in Messina in June 1532. The Pope and the Knights of St. John, the Genoese and the Sicilians also showed a readiness to join in the expedition, the leader of which was the Genoese Andrea Doria (Turkish: Andrevirius) (cf. details in K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, iii-iv, Philadelphia 1984, *passim.*). The allies succeeded in taking a considerable part of the lower town of Koron, the citadel, and also Patras (cf. A. Moustoxydes, *Fall, defence and abandonment of Korone by the forces of Emperor Charles V* [in Greek], in *Hellenomnemon*, i [1843-53], 142 ff.). He then returned with rich booty. Sultan Süleymān, who was now on the throne, gave the *sand̲j̲ak* of the Morea to Beg, a son of Yaḥyā Pas̲h̲a, and commissioned him in 1537 to reconquer the fortresses taken by Andrea Doria. Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a, the *sand̲j̲ak beg* of the Morea, was commissioned to conquer the Venetian colonies there. K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] had inflicted several defeats on Venice in her colonies, and in the summer of 1540 Venice made peace in order to save what was left of her possessions. The majority of the Venetian colonies in the East, including Nauplion and Monemvasia, was the price paid (for the historical background, cf. R. Cessi, *Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo*, in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xxx [1915]). The Turks endeavoured to populate once more their new possessions in the Morea (cf. T. Vrokines, *The emigration of Naupliotes and Monemvasiotes in Corfu, mid-16th century* [in Greek], Corfu 1905; M. Kolyva-Karaleka and E. Moatsou, *Settlement of Naupliote and Monemvasiote fugitives on Crete in 1548* [in Greek], in *Byzant.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, xxii [1985], 375 ff.). About 1550, there were about 42,000 Christian families in the whole Morea. We know nothing definite of the Muslim population at this time, but it may be assumed, however, that, then as later, Muslims were in a minority. On the other hand, rich references concerning the Ottoman Morea's economic conditions during Süleymān II's time are provided by several western travellers (cf. Constantina Philopoulou-Desylla, *Western Travellers as a source for the Ottoman Empire's economic life in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, 1520-66* [in Greek], Univ. of Athens 1984, 124 ff.). Two Turkish sources of the 17th century are of considerable importance for the history of the Morea. These are the *D̲j̲ihān-numā* of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa [*q.v.*] and the *Siyāḥet-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebī [*q.v.*] who visited the Morea in 1668 and 1670. The latter's narrative was based on personal observation and enquiry, and what he tells us about Muslim buildings and religious orders and of the Christians is of importance (cf. *Siyāḥet-nāme*, viii, Istandbul 1928; Fr. Babinger, *GOW*, 219 ff.; Fr. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xviii [1928], 299 ff.). When Ewliyā Čelebī visited the Morea, various Muslim orders and corporations had settled there, including Ṣūfī orders such as the Bektas̲h̲īs [*q.v.*] (cf. F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; also refs. in K. Simopoulos, *Foreign travellers in Greece* [in Greek], i-iii, Athens 1970-5).

At the end of 1683 another coalition against the Porte, the so-called "Holy League", was formed by Venice, Poland, Germany, Russia and the Pope. Francesco Morosini was given command of the allied naval forces, capturing Koron. During 1685-6 Old and New Navarino, Kalamata, Modon, Zarnata, Passava, Celefa and Vitilo as well as other fortified places in southern Morea were taken from the Turks. The *Serʿasker* Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a was defeated in several battles and had to retire to the interior of the Morea. Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, who was in Maina, negotiated with

Morosini and surrendered voluntarily. The Turkish garrisons of many towns, on the other hand, offered a desperate resistance. It cost the Venetians and their allies much time and heavy sacrifices to take Nauplion, but by the end of 1687 the Morea up to Monemvasia was Venetian. By the peace of Carlowitz or Karlovča [*q.v.*] (26 Jan. 1699), the Porte had to cede the Morea to Venice. For the last period of Venetian rule in the Morea (1699-1715 or 1718), see L. Ranke, *Die Venezianer in Morea (1685-1715)*, repr. in his *Zur venetianischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1878, 277-361 (cf. also Th. Krimpas, *Venetian rule in Peloponnesos, 1685-1715* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, i, 1956; C. Dokos, *Peloponnesian ecclesiastical property during the 2nd Venetian rule. Unedited documents from Venetian Archives* [in Greek], in *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.*, xxi [1971-27]; P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece, 1205-1715*, London 1977, Variorum Reprints, nos. IX: *Domenico Gritti's Relation on the organization of Venetian Morea, 1688-91* [1974], and X: *Premodern Peloponnesus: the land and the people under Venetian rule, 1685-1715* [1976]).

The Turkish empire, which had been able to profit a good deal by the warfare in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century, resolved at the end of 1714 to reconquer the Morea. Many Greeks felt that the Venetians had not respected their rights in religious and family matters, were hostile to their own government and even wanted the Turks back again (cf. De la Montray, *Voyage*, i, 462). Except for a few larger towns which offered a resistance, the land was easily taken by the Turks and so the Morea once again became Turkish (cf. M. Sakellariou, *The recapture of Peloponnesos by the Turks in 1715* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, vi [1936]; *Peloponnesos during the 2nd Turkish Domination, 1715-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1939, repr. 1978; also S. Deviazes, *Historical notes on Westerners in Peloponnesos during Turkish Domination* [in Greek], in *Harmonia*, iii [1902]; A. Photopoulos, *Contributions of Peloponnesian land tenure during the 2nd Turkish Domination* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelopon. Congr.*, iii, Athens 1981-2, 168 ff.).

The peace of Passarowitz (10 June 1718) ceded Morea finally to the Turks. We are most fully informed about their rule from 1718 to 1821 (see refs. above). The extant sources, especially in Greek, enable us to study the period down to the smallest detail. After 1715 many Christians again adopted Islam. A census taken in 1720 gave 60,000 male Christians of 11 years of age and over, whilst the Muslim inhabitants are said to have been in the minority at this time. On the other hand, the Turkish element increased in the period 1769-80, while the number of Christians diminished considerably, as did the total number of the population (cf. P. Topping, *The Population of the Morea, 1685-1715*, in *Acts 1st Pelop. Congr.*, i, 1976, 119 ff.; V. Panayotopoulos, *Population and settlements of Peloponnesos, 13th-18th century* [in Greek], Athens 1985; J. Wagstaff, *Settlement in the southcentral Peloponnesos, c. 1618*, in F. Carter (ed.), *Hist. geography of the Balkans*, London 1977, 1977 ff.; idem and Helen Frangaki, *Settlement pattern change in the Morea, c. 1700-1830*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, xi [1987], 163 ff.; cf. also Panayotopoulos, *The Venetian census of Peloponnesos in 1700* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st. Pelop. Congr.*, iii, 203 ff.; *Family extent and synthesis in Peloponnesos, c. 1700* [in Greek], in *Ta Historika*, i [1983]). From 1715 to *ca.* 1780 the Morea was governed by a Pas̲h̲a, the Morowalesi, who had three *ṭug̲h̲s* and the title of *wazīr*; his period of office was indefinite. He was usually assisted by two other Pas̲h̲as, who were under him and were granted two *ṭug̲h̲s*. A change was made in 1780. From this date to 1821, the government of the Morea was no longer given to a particular Pas̲h̲a but to a simple *muḥaṣṣil* of the Porte, who was, however, given the title of Pas̲h̲a. The higher offices were held by a *muḳābeled̲j̲i*, a *defterkahya* and a Christian dragoman (= "translator"), the senior Christian official in the Morea, whose main duty was participation to the Ottoman governor's (*pas̲h̲a*'s) council and the administration of local issues in collaboration with the Greek notables (*ḳod̲j̲abas̲h̲is*) (cf. A. Photopoulos, *The Dragomans of the Morea* [in Greek], in *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, i [Athens 1989], 49 ff.; also B. Slot, *Foreign diplomatic protection of locals in Turkish-dominated Morea. The Dragomans of the Low Countries of Mystras* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, iii [1977]). Under the official system of administrative divisions, the Morea was divided into 22 districts. The Moreots now came to look to Russia to liberate them from the Turkish yoke. From the time of Peter the Great, the bonds between Greeks and Russians had been growing stronger, and in the middle of the 18th century, Russian propaganda increased very much among the Orthodox of the Balkans. Under Catherine II, the Russians easily succeeded by 1767-8, with the help of Greek agents, in stirring up Greek notables and clergy in the Morea to rebel against the Turks. On 15 October 1768, Turkey declared war on Russia, and Russian fleets appeared in the Mediterranean, but those appearing at Vitylo in 1770 had neither sufficient men, gun or munitions (cf. S. Kougeas, *Contributions to the history of the Peloponnesian Revolution under the Orloffs, 1770* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, i [1956]; T. Gritsopoulos, *The Orloffika. The Peloponnesian Revolution of 1770 and its consequences* [in Greek], Athens 1967; B. Slot, *Orloffika out of Dutch Archives* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, ii [1975]). In 1774, a treaty of peace was concluded at Küčük Ḳaynard̲j̲ï [*q.v.*] between Russian and Turkey. Full religious liberty and other concessions were granted to the Christian subjects of the Turks. About three months later, the Porte granted a general amnesty to the Christians of the Morea and resolved to clear the land of Albanian bandits. After 1770 the Porte had confiscated a number of Christian estates in the Morea and granted them to mosques and *ʿimārets*. The Turks now promised to return these or to compensate their owners, but the promises were not kept. Nevertheless, the Moreot Christians benefited considerably by the treaties between Russia and Turkey; the right given the Christians of the Morea to trade under the Russian flag contributed to their economic expansion in the period 1775-1821 (cf. relevant pts. in S. Asdrachas, ed., *Economic structures of the Balkan countries, 15th-19th centuries* [in Greek], Athens 1979; *Mechanisms of rural economy during the Turkish Domination, 15th-16th century* [in Greek], 1978; also V. Kremmydas, *An attempt toward the setting-up of soap industries at Korone in the 18th century* [in Greek], 1968; *Peloponnesian trade in the 18th century, 1715-92* [in Greek], 1972; V. Panayotopoulos, *Au 18e s. en Péloponnèse: l'absorption des ressources économiques et humaines par le développement de l'agriculture*, in *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* [Nice 1975], 111 ff.). Intellectual relations between western Europe and the Greeks of the Morea became closer after 1790. Since the peace of Paris of 1815, the Moreots and other Greeks had become convinced that only their own efforts could relieve them of the Turkish yoke. In the spring of 1821 open rebellion broke out among the Greeks of the Morea, when the Turkish governor K̲h̲urs̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a was besieging the rebel ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] at Yanina (see C.M. Woodhouse, *The Greek war of independence*, London 1952; D. Dakin, *The Greek*

struggle for independence (1821-33), London 1973). Soon after the beginning of the rising, the Moreots were masters of the lowlands and even occupied several strongholds. At the end of 1824, however, the Porte commissioned Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt [*q.v.*] to put down the Greek rising. Ibrāhīm was able to restore Turkish rule over most of Morea, but he failed to put down the rebellion (cf. Durant-Viel, *Les campagnes navales de Mohammed Aly et d'Ibrahim*, Paris 1935; E. Prevelakes, *Ibrahim Pasha's campaign in Argolis* [in Greek], Athens 1950; D. Vayakos, *Ibrahim against Maina, 1826* [in Greek], 1961; C. Kotsonis, *Ibrahim's 1st campaign in Lakonia, Sept. 1825* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, iii [1977]). In the meanwhile, philhellenism had made progress in Europe and America, and it thus came about that the cabinets of Europe began to take an interest in the question of Greek freedom (see Woodhouse, *The Philhellenes*, London 1969, and the bibls. in L. Droulia, *Philhellénisme... Répertoire bibliographique*, Athens 1973). On 6 July 1827, England, France and Russia concluded a treaty in London by which the Morea and other parts of the Greek mainland were to form an independent principality but to pay tribute to the Porte. The Turks insisted on their point of view and declined the intercession of the great powers as regards the rebel Greeks. On 20 Oct. 1827, the combined fleets of the above-mentioned powers destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet at Navarino (see Woodhouse, *The Battle of Navarino*, London 1965). On 18 January 1828, Johannes Kapodistrias came to Nauplion, having been elected President of the Greek Free State by the National Assembly at Troezene (see Woodhouse, *Capodistria, the founder of Greek independence*, Oxford 1973; Helen Koukkou, *I. Kapodistrias, man and diplomat* [in Greek], Athens 1988). On 6 August 1828, England concluded a treaty with Mehmed ʿAlī of Egypt for the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian troops. French troops, led by General N.J. Maison, soon afterwards landed in Messina by order of Charles X to drive the Turco-Egyptian troops out of the Morea (cf. P. Perrotes, *The campaign of Maison in Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, ix [1936]). In the autumn of 1828 Ibrāhīm Pasha withdrew to Egypt. After long diplomatic negotiations, Prince Otto, the second son of the philhellene Ludwig of Bavaria, landed at Nauplion on 6 February 1833 as the first king of Greece. Henceforth the Morea formed a part of the kingdom of Greece (cf. Dakin, *The unification of Greece, 1770-1923*, London 1972). During the rising of 1821-7 and later, many Moreot Muslims adopted Christianity. To this day, many buildings and inscriptions, and especially place-names, recall the days when the Morea was under the Crescent.

Bibliography: Most of the refs. relating to Morea's connections with Islam (Turkish domination) are given in the article. For earlier bibl., see N. Bees, *EI*[1], s.v. On the post-Byzantine period (Tourkokratia) until 1821 and the era of the Greek Revolution until 1833, see the detailed accounts and bibls. in vols. ii-viii of A. Vakalopoulos' *History of modern Hellenism* [in Greek] and vols. x-xii of the collective *Hist. of the Greek nation* [in Gr.] by Ekdotike Athenon, 1974-5; cf. also the detailed bibliographical appendix compiled by S. Asdrachas in N. Svoronos, *Survey of modern Greek history* [in Greek], Athens 1976, repr. 1986, esp. 197 f. Of particular importance to Moreot history (1460-1833) are also the following (selective): J. Alexandropoulos, *Toward a history of post-Byzantine Greece: the Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek lands, c. 1500-c. 1600*, Athens 1985; Sophia Antoniadou, *A contribution to the 17th-century Peloponnesian history. The Grimani Archives* [in Greek], *In honour of A. Orlandos*, iii, 1966, 153 ff.; N. Beldiceanu-Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la Morée*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, xxxix (1980); A. Carile, *Una lista toponomastica di Morea de 1469*, in *Studi Veneziani*, xii (1970); G. Chryssanthakopoulos, *Elia during the Tourkokratia* [in Greek], Athens 1950; A. Daskalakes, *The beginnings of the Revolution and the initial events in Lakonia* [in Greek], in *Lakonikai Spoudai*, ii (1975); T. Gritsopoulos, *The Venetian Grimani Archives regarding the Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Peloponnesiaka*, vii (1969-70); idem, *Statistical information regarding Peloponnesos* [in Greek], *ibid.*, viii, 1971; idem, *History of Geraki* [in Greek], Athens 1982; idem, *The Church of the Peloponnesus after the fall (of Constantinople)*, in *Pelopon.*, xvii (1987-8); A. Karatanasses, *Revolutionary movements in Peloponnesos in 1659* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, vii (1971); *Revolutionary movements by Peloponnesians in 1659. The participation of the Kalmatan Logothetes family* [in Greek], in *Acts 1st Pelop. Congr.*, iii (1976-8), 196 ff.; M. Loskares, *The Maina bishop Neophytus' pleas to the Spaniards (1612-13) for the liberation of Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Hellenika*, xx (1957); W. McLeod, *Castles of the Morea in 1467*, in *BZ*, lxv (1972); G. Metallenos, *The Tourkokratia. The Greeks in the Ottoman Empire* [in Greek], Athens 1988; P. Papadopoulos, *Franks, Venetians and Turks in Peloponnesos, 1204-1821* [in Greek], Athens 1969; D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire... to the 16th century*, Leiden 1972 (with detailed maps); J. Sengones, *Argos through the centuries*[2] [in Greek], Univ. of Athens 1975; C. Thomopoulos, *Hist. of the city of Patras*[2], ed. C. Triantaphyllou, Patras 1950; N. Tomadakes, *The Ecumenical Patriarch Joannikios II... during the Cretan War (1657-9). His participation in the Maina campaign* [in Greek], in *Lak. Spoud.*, ii (1975); C. Triantaphyllou, *A historical lexicon of Patras*[2], Patras 1980; A. Vakalopoulos, *Modern Greek tradition: on the privileges of the Dervenochoritans of Corinth during the Tourkokratia* [in Greek], Thessalonica 1941; D. Vayakakos, *Maina and Zakynthos* [in Greek], in *Acts 3rd Panionian Congr.*, i, 1969, 16 ff.; *Elias Petrombeis Mavromichales* [in Greek], in *Lak. Spoud.*, ii (1975); idem, *Common linguistic phenomena of the Maina dialect with those of Zakynthos and Kythera* [in Greek], in *ibid.*, ix, 1988; idem, *Emigration of Mainots to Genoa in the 17th century* [in Greek], in *ibid.* D. Zakythenos, *The Tourkokratia. An introduction to the modern history of Hellenism* [in Greek], Athens 1957. idem, *The making of modern Greece. From Byzantium to independence*, Oxford 1976; P. Zepos, *Two pre-revolutionary plans for the liberation of Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, vii (1969-70). And finally, among recent contributions in *Lak. Spoud.*, ix (1988), see C. Komes, *The Stephanopouloi of E. Maina. New sources and approaches* [in Greek]; G. Kotsones, *Nikolaas Pierrakes Mavromichales. Revolution and Capodistrian period* [in Greek]; Sp. Loukatos, *George Mavromichales and Ibrahim Pasha* [in Greek]; C. Mertzios-Th. Papadopoulos, *Mystras and its vicinity in the Venetian Archives during Venetian rule, 1687-1715* [in Greek]; A. Stavropoulos, *The journey of the English missionary John Hartley in Lakonia* [in Greek].

(N.A. Bées-[A. Savvides])

MORA [see mukhāradja].

MORĀDĀBĀD [see murādābād].

MORALS [see akhlāk].

MORDVINS [see burtās].

MORISCOS, in modern historical terminology is

used to refer (a) to those Spanish Muslims who under various degrees of duress, were, between 1499 and 1526, converted to Christianity and (b) to their descendants who continued to live in Spain until the Expulsion of 1609-14. Spanish authors at first referred to them as *nuevos cristianos/convertidos de moros*, etc., New Christians or converts of Moorish origin, and it is not until the second half of the century that the term Morisco became current in this specific historical sense (it always continued to have its general sense of Moorish, as in *traje morisco* "Moorish dress"). Sometimes the term Morisco is also applied to refugees after their arrival in North Africa and other Islamic lands, where they resumed their Islamic religion, although to a certain extent they retained for some generations a distinct identity. In Arabic such people were described as *Andalus* (*sic*); the term *Muriskiyyūn* is a 20th-century loan word.

History. The first conversions occurred some years after the fall of Granada in 897/1492. The capitulation (publ. by M.A. Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid 1969, doc. 50) seemed to guarantee the coming into being of a stable Mudéjar [*q.v.*] minority, such as had existed for centuries elsewhere in Spain. This, however, was not to be. At first, under the first Archbishop of Granada Hernando de Talavera, the settlement was in general respected (although some capitulations were violated, e.g. prohibition on the bearing of arms, fiscal policy). A rapid and massive emigration of the upper classes to North Africa (perhaps under the influence of *fatwās*, e.g. by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wans̲h̲arīsī [*q.v.*] (*al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib wa 'l-d̲j̲āmiʿ al-mug̲h̲rib ʿan fatāwā ahl Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Mag̲h̲rib* (Rabat 1401/1981), ii, 119-41) started. The arrival of the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, in 1498 marked the abandonment of the initial policy (change of laws of heritage in 1499), and an energetic drive to achieve conversions. Converts to Islam from Christianity and their descendants (*elches*, A. *ʿild̲j̲*) had had their rights guaranteed in the capitulation, but it seems that Cisneros' methods to secure their return to Christianity led in December 1499 to a revolt in the Albaicín (a quarter in Granada [see G̲H̲ARNĀṬA]) (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 812-15) which spread to the Alpujarras and had to be put down by military force (1501). Massive conversions followed, while many continued to emigrate. In February 1502 the Mudéjares of Castile (which included Granada) were offered the choice between conversion, emigration or death (Ladero Quesada, *op. cit.*, doc. 148). We may conclude, from the difficulties placed in the way of those who opted for emigration (they could only leave via the harbours in the Bay of Biscay and had to abandon most of their possessions) that conversion was what the Castilian authorities sought to achieve. In 1515 the new Castilian legislation was made applicable to Navarre when that was incorporated into the Spanish crown. Many Navarrese Mudéjar communities took refuge in Aragonese territory, but the lands of the crown of Aragon (Aragon, Valencia) were not to remain long as a refuge. In 1521-2 during the disorders of the *Germanía*, the mob turned against Mudéjar vassals who had remained steadfastly loyal to their Christian lords and subjected them to forcible baptism. The validity of such baptism was contested, but a *Junta* of theologians confirmed it in 1525. In 1526 the general conversion order of all Muslims in Aragon and Valencia was decreed. Risings in the Sierra de Espadán and Benaguacil were suppressed. Circumstances in the lands of the crown of Aragon differed from Castile, where Muslims were only a small, highly assimilated and mainly urban minority, estimated as 20,000 persons at the end of the 15th century. In Valencia they numbered approximately 30% of the population. They were mainly concentrated on secano (non-irrigated) estates belonging to the nobility, although they also occupied some irrigated land (*regadío*, esp. the *huertas*). The majority lived in rural areas, often isolated from the Christian population. In Aragon they numbered about 21%. Here too many worked in agriculture, often on *regadío* along the Ebro. In the towns many worked as craftsmen. In Catalonia numbers were small. The Moriscos in general belonged to the lower strata of society, although some, such as physicians, merchants and master builders, were able (despite the *limpieza de sangre* policy) to attain a certain well-being. Christianisation was pursued by means of evangelisation, legislation and ecclesiastical organisation. Until 1568 efforts were concentrated on the kingdom of Granada, where they numbered about 40% of the population. The possession of Islamic books was prohibited, followed by prohibitions of customs which were supposed to be connected with Islam, such as bathing, etc. The Moriscos of Granada (and Valencia) were able to negotiate postponement of interference from the Inquisition for several decades. It is not clear how far either State or Church backed the policy of assimilation and acculturation which apparently prevailed at this stage; at all events, the implementation of the policy was, for a variety of reasons, much circumscribed. Moreover, many Moriscos, especially those in the service of lords, remained subjected to taxes which they had paid as Mudéjares, to which now were added the taxes which corresponded to their new status. In Granada a new tax, the *farda*, which was to be paid by the new Christians only, was introduced before 1510. This fiscal inequality turned these lords eventually into protectors of Morisco Islam and the Moriscos into their dependants. At the beginning of the second half of the 16th century Christianisation had made little progress. In 1567 new legislation in Granada was directed not only against religion but against all manifestations of traditional culture, such as all oral and written use of Arabic, traditional dances (*zambras*), etc. At the same time, a crisis in the silk industry (aggravated by the Crown's fiscal policy) affected many Granadan Moriscos adversely. The Morisco Francisco Nuñez Muley officially put the fierce protests into words. At the end of 1568 a revolt broke out in the Alpujarras and spread throughout the kingdom of Granada. After its suppression in 1570, about 84,000 Moriscos were deported and scattered throughout Castile (some subsequently returned clandestinely). As a consequence, phenomena such as banditry, e.g. of the *monfíes* (A. *munfī*) and other manifestations of tension between the two communities, hitherto virtually unknown in Castile, became a cause of concern. Fear of contacts between Moriscos and foreign powers such as Morocco, France, the Ottoman Empire and the North African pirates, led to a ban on Moriscos residing near to the coasts. After 1570, we have to distinguish in Castile Moriscos Antiguos and Granadinos. These latter did not easily integrate into Castilian society. From 1570 onwards several radical repressive solutions were advanced, and there was in government circles already by 1582 a preference for expulsion, but the economic consequences were feared. Some individual members of the clergy, such as the Valencian Archbishop Ribera, also favoured (partial) expulsion. However, other important elements among the ecclesiastical leadership, such as

the Valencian bishops in their meeting of 1608-9, refused to declare the Moriscos collectively apostates and opted for a renewed effort to convert them. It seems that the Vatican did not approve of drastic measures. When the final decision to expel all Moriscos was taken in 1609 (doc. publ. in M. García Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Madrid 1975, 251-5) by the Spanish authorities, it was mainly justified on grounds of national security (an alleged Morisco conspiracy with foreign powers). Moriscos at that time numbered about 320,000, probably 3% of the population. Christian lords were indemnified for the losses caused by the departure of their workforce. Between 1609 and 1614 the Moriscos were expelled in phases. Some communities were directly transported via the harbours in the south to North Africa, others crossed to France, and went — sometimes via Italy — to the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Algeria, but above all to Morocco and Tunisia. (It is known that some Moriscos escaped expulsion and remained in Spain.) Moriscos from Hornachos founded a pirate republic in Salé which was for some time independent. Tunisia was the prefered place of exile. Important here was the favourable policy of the dey [*q.v.*] ʿUthmān. In Portugal, from which the Mudéjares had been expelled (to Castile!) in 1497, no native crypto-Muslim population has been attested.

Religious life. In Radjab 910/December 1504, ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥmad b. Bū Djumʿa al-Maghrāwī *thumma* al-Wahrānī allowed the Moriscos in a *fatwā* to practise *taḳiyya [q.v.]* (see L.P. Harvey, *Crypto-Islam in sixteenth-century Spain*, in *Actas primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 163-78). This *fatwā* was later translated into Spanish and copied out in *aljamía [q.v.]*, which implies that it also circulated among the Hispanophone Moriscos of Castile and Aragon. Among the Arabic literature available to Moriscos one finds mainly simple, older works on the religious sciences and Arabic grammar (see P.S. van Koningsveld, *Andalusian-Arabic manuscripts from Christian Spain*, in *IOS* [1990]). Most works in *aljamía* are anonymous (see A. Galmés de Fuentes, *La literatura española aljamiado-morisca*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ix/1, fasc. 4, Heidelberg 1985, 117-32). Aljamiado literature almost certainly flourished exclusively among the Hispanophone Moriscos (A. Labarta pointed out that an allegedly Granadan Aljamiado document should be localised in Aragon or Toledo, see *Al-Qanṭara*, ix [1988], 137-49). Some religious sciences, such as *fiḳh* and *tafsīr*, were continued in Romance, though on a basic level (see C. López Morillas, *The Qurʾān in sixteenth-century Spain*, London 1982). A number of important religious works in Romance show the influence of a *faḳīh* from Segovia, ʿĪsā b. Djābir (*ca.* 1460). Among these are the works of the Mancebo de Arévalo Harvey, *El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada*, in *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*, Madrid 1978, 21-42). This author adapted for Islamic devotional purposes extensive passages from Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi* (in his *Sumario de la relacion y ejercicio espiritual*, see G. Fonseca Antuña, unpubl. thesis, Univ. of Oviedo 1987). Some acculturation seems to appear from the fact that at the end of the 16th century works in Arabic script were transcribed in Latin script (e.g. Toledo, *Biblioteca Pública*, ms. 235, cf. Harvey, *La leyenda morisca de Ibrahim*, in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispànica*, xxx [1981], 1-20). The pressure of Christian society on religious life is reflected in the Inquisition documents (e.g. J. Vidal, *Quand on brûlait les Morisques (1514-1621)*, Nîmes 1986). Also connected with Christian influence are the syncretistic ideas of the Lead Books, which were from 1595 onwards discovered in the Sacramonte in Granada. It is assumed that the Moriscos Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, interpreters in the service of Philip II, were involved in the fabrication of these lead tablets written in Arabic, which claimed to be early Christian documents (D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Intento de supervivencia en el ocaso de une cultura*, in *NRFH*, xxx [1981], 334-58). After the expulsion, the use of Spanish and Arabic continued, although from then onwards Spanish was almost exclusively written in Latin characters (an exception is Florence, *B.N. Centrale*, ms. II, IV, 701-1, probably copied in Salonica in 1021/1612). The majority of religious works written after the expulsion have an anti-Christian character (see on religious polemic, L. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*, Paris 1977). Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim al-Ḥadjarī al-Andalusī became after his flight from Spain in *ca.* 1599 interpreter at the Moroccan court. He also was a scholar and a diplomat who visited Northern Europe and wrote a *riḥla*, of which a summary, entitled *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā 'l-ḳawm al-kāfirīn*, is extant.

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MORÓN [see MAWRŪR].

MORRA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

MOSAIC [see FUSAYFISĀ'].

MOSQUE [see MASDJID].

MOSTAGANEM [see MUSTAGHĀNIM].

MOSTAR, town and centre of a district in Herzegovina, the southern part of the Yugoslav republic of Bosna i Hercegovina (population 1895: 17,010; 1921: 18,176; 1961: 35,242; 1971: 47,600). With a yearly precipitation of 14.14 cm and an average temperature in July of 26.9 °C, Mostar is the most arid place in Yugoslavia. As a town, it is one of the relatively few clearly Ottoman foundations.

During the last decades preceding the first occupation of the Dukedom of St. Java (In Turkish, Hersek Ili) by the forces of the *sandjaḳ begi* of Bosnia, ʿĪsā Beg b. Isḥāḳ, in 871/1467 or, at the latest, early in the following year, Mostar had been a small settlement by a wooden bridge guarded by two fortification towers which spanned the river Neretva (Narenta). As a stronghold, Mostar is first mentioned in a letter dated April 1452 which, it is true, does not reveal its toponym ("do castelli al ponte de Neretua"). The earliest reference to the settlement itself and its name is an abridged *(idjmāl) taḥrīr defteri* of the *wilāyet-i Bosna* (Atatürk Kitaplığı, former Belediye Kütüphanesi, Cevdet Yazmaları, 0-76) which is dated, according to Šabanović, to the period from 26 January 1468 to 12 May 1469. In the *defter* Mostar is listed as a market (*bāzār*) with the alternative names of "Mosdar" and "Köprülü Ḥiṣār", and with a total of 16 (non-Muslim) households. Mostar's territory (*wilāyet*) at that time numbered 30 villages. Unlike nearby Blagaj, which had been the administrative centre of the dukedom in the pre-Ottoman period and which, together with Drin and Foča, had become a major Herzegovinian *ḳāḍīlīk* by the early 1470s, Mostar was only the seat of a *nā'ib* under the authority of the *ḳāḍī* of Foča (from 877/1473). It became an independent *ḳaḍā'* only after 911/1505-6, but before 925/1519 (Šabanović). From 1522 until 1522 Mostar was the seat of the *sandjaḳ begi* of Hersek Ili, who earlier had resided in Foča. By this time, the formerly small market had developed into a major commercial and administrative centre in the *sandjaḳ* of Herzegovina.

Originally, Mostar was confined to a central area on the left bank of the Neretva (around the present-day Stari grad). The oldest *maḥalle*, the nucleus of Ottoman Mostar, appears to be that of Sinān Pasha, with its Friday mosque and probably also its *ḥammām* built in 878/1474 (both buildings have not been preserved; the oldest surviving mosque being the *mesdjid* of Sultan Selīm I). The first *maḥkeme* was situated here too. By 925/1519, according to Šabanović, Mostar had 75 Christian and 19 Muslim households. The town's urban growth accelerated dramatically from about the middle of the 10th/16th century: the *djāmiʿ* around which the *maḥalle* of Geyvān Ketkhudā developed was erected in 960/1552 (to which was added a *mekteb* in 1554, a *khān* before 1558 and a *medrese* after 1558); that of Karagöz Meḥmed Beg dates from 965/1557-8 (the *maḥalle* was given a *medrese* and a *khān* before 1570, and a library in that year). Only now did Mostar begin to extend across the river to the right bank of the Neretva (*djāmiʿ* of Dizdār Naṣūḥ, middle of the 16th century), which was accompanied by the construction of two stone bridges ("Kriva ćuprija" and "Stari most"). Despite its modern name, the famous Stari most appears to be the later of the two, erected in 974/1566-7 (dated by chronograms and an inscription) as a replacement for its wooden predecessor. By 993/1585, Mostar had 14 Muslim and two Christian *maḥallāt*, one of which (Zahum) possessed a Catholic church. The earliest extant *sidjill* from Mostar contains a list of 22 Muslim and two Christian quarters (1041/1631-2). After more than a century of intense development, little was added after *ca.* 1060/1650. However, the fortified town walls were extended to include the *maḥallāt* on the right bank of the Neretva (after 1699). In the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries, the judicial and fiscal district of Mostar, excluding the *nāḥiye* of Libuška, comprised *ca.* 60 villages. During this period, Mostar developed into an important *ḳapudanlīḳ* (by 1829 there were twelve towns in the *sandjaḳ* of Herzegovina headed by a *ḳapudan* [from Italian *capitano*]). From 1248/1833 Mostar was the centre of the *mutaṣarrīflīḳ* of Hersek under its *wālī* ʿAlī Pasha Rizvanbegović (until 1851). A new complex of governmental and residential buildings (Pasha Sarāyī, erected from 1833) as well as a summer residence (completed after 1844) are the architectural expression of ʿAlī Pasha's high-flying political ambitions. Significantly, he also built a *mesdjid* (1847), founded a (Nakshbandī) dervish convent and erected a *türbe* (Šejh-Jujino turbe) over the supposed grave of a *sheykh* who had died more than a century before. With the establishment of a municipal administration (*baladiyya* [*q.v.*]), new street names (1867) and, for the first time, house numbers were introduced. Mostar became the centre of the newly-created *Hersek wilāyeti* in 1292/1875, and during the year 1293/1876 an official provincial newspaper ("Neretva") was published in Mostar. It ceased to appear when the *wilāyet* of Hersek was abolished by the end of the same year. Herzegovina again became part of the *wilāyet* of Bosna. On 5 August 1878, Austro-Hungarian troops occupied the town without firing a shot. Mostar

regained its central function when it became the administrative centre of the "Kreis" Herzegovina ("Occupationsgebiet"). In 1884, the railway line from Metkocić (Dalmatia) reached the town. Mostar's last two traditional *medreses* closed their gates in 1924, and its *rüshdiyye* school ceased operation in 1925.

Mostar houses three institutions where documents and manuscripts in oriental languages are kept (Arhiv Herzegovine [see H. Hasandedić, *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih rukopisa Arhiva Hercegovine*, Mostar 1977]; Zavičajni muzej hercegovine; and Provincijalat hercegovačkig franjevaca). A small collection of *sidjills* from Mostar is preserved in the Orijentalni Institut (Sarajevo).

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(M.O.H. URSINUS)

MOSUL [see AL-MAWṢIL].

MOULAY [see MAWLĀY].

MOUNTAIN [see DJABAL].

MOVEMENT [see ḤARAKA].

MOZAMBIQUE, in origin the name of a town, is the legal name of the People's Republic of Moçambique in south-east Africa. It lies south of Tanzania, and borders on Malawi, Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa and Swaziland. The state became independent from Portugal in 1975, and is formally Marxist and atheist, but the constitution "guarantees the freedom of citizens to practise or not to practise a religion". In 1980 the population was *ca.* 12.5 m., of whom 13.5%, or 1,685,000, were Muslims, 15 to 20% Roman Catholics, 5% Protestants, and the rest pagan. The Muslims are found chiefly among the coast from the R. Ruvuma to *ca.* 25°S, and are Swahili-speakers, and inland in the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula, being mostly members of the Makua and Yao tribes, each of which has its own language. Disregarding Portuguese orthography, the form of Swahili is close to the Standard Swahili of Zanzibar.

The name Mozambique does not occur in Arabic literature before Aḥmad b. Mādjid (end of 9th/15th century) who writes it as *Musanbīdj*; we find it next in the *History of Kilwa* as *Musanbīh*, a work now ascribed to *ca.* 1550. In Swahili, it is *Musambiki* or *Msambiki*. In Arabic literature, and in the 16th and 17th century Portuguese writers, it is simply the name of one town among others, and never the name of the country. The practice of ascribing the name first to the coast and then to the whole area grew only slowly after Mozambique Island became the principal Portuguese settlement in 1568. The earlier name was *Bilād al-Sufāla*, as explained below.

The statement in the *Area handbook for Mozambique*, 1977 edn., that Roman coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries have been found on the coast is without foundation, and has been omitted from the 1985 edition. There is no literary or archaeological evidence for Greek, Roman or Arab visitors or of imported artefacts antedating al-Masʿūdī's voyage of 304/916, when he visited Ḳanbalū in the Bilād al-Zandj, that is to say, Pemba [*q.v.*]. He uses the term *sufāla* in a general manner, speaking of the Sufālas of the *Zandj* as the limit of the Bilād al-Sūdān; and, elsewhere, that "the sailors of ʿUmān ... travel on the Sea of the Zandj as far as the island of Ḳanbalū and Sufāla and the Waḳwaḳ." In these contexts, *sufāla* may be interpreted as "low-land" or "shoal". Al-Masʿūdī's contemporary Buzurg b. Shahriyār appears also to think of it as an area rather than what later was the settlement of Sofala, south of the present city of Beira, which at the turn of the 9th/15th century was ruled by a *shaykh* appointed by the Sultan of Kilwa [*q.v.*]. The distinctions become yet clearer in al-Idrīsī, who divides the eastern African coast into four sectors: Bilād al-Barbarā (or Barābara), the present Somali coast [see SOMALIA]; Bilād al-Zandj [see ZANDJ], the present coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, and the islands opposite them, with a capital at Mombasa. Bilād al-Sufāla, also known as Sufāla of the Zandj, Arḍ al-Tibr or Arḍ al-Dhahab, the "Land of Gold" par excellence; and finally Arḍ al-Waḳwaḳ, presumably an onomatopoeic word to describe a land of click-speakers such as the Bushmen (Khoisan). He lists a number of towns on the Mozambique coast, but the names are very distorted. The only one which has survived the mangling of the copyists is Ṣayūna/Ṣafūna, which is presumably the Sena of the Portuguese. This, he says, is the capital of the Sufāliyyūn, who are pagan Zandj.

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, *ca.* 372/982-3, did not separate the Zandj from the Waḳwaḳ, but combines them as *Zangiyān-i Waḳwaḳī*. It relates that Chinese merchants go there in great numbers to barter for gold, using sign language. Reciprocally, the Sung Annals speak of the reception of envoys from the area in 1071 and again in 1083, apparently with Persian interpreters, and describe their animals, domestic products and coinage. The description of their dress is very similar to that given by the Portuguese 400 years later, as mentioned below. We do not know in detail how the gold trade developed from the hinterland of the Mozambique coast, the present Zimbabwe. The *History of Kilwa* claims that it was first controlled from Mogadishu [see MAḲDISHŪ], but that Kilwa obtained the monopoly in the 12th eentury A.D. It is not until the 16th century that Duarte Barbosa's *Book* (*ca.* 1517-18) provides us with a description of the coastal trade place by place. The southernmost settlement of "Moors"—presumably Swahili—was on the Bazaruta Islands. It traded with the mainland, collecting ambergris, pearls and seed pearls for export. Farther north at Sofala, the "Moors" spoke Arabic and had been settled for a long time. Coasting vessels from Kilwa, Mombasa [*q.v.*] and Malindi [*q.v.*] brought them cotton and silk cloths and beads; they exchanged them for gold "at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased", and for ivory and ambergris. The local people wore silk or cotton loin-cloths, with cloths over their shoulders like capes, and turbans or caps. This Sofala has long since been eroded and swept away by the sea. Inland lay the great Kingdom of the Mwene Mutapa, and his great town of Zimbaoche (Zimbabwe), the source of the gold. There were further trading centres on the River Cuama and the town of Mangaló, to which much gold came, and the great town of Angoya, now Angoche. Here there were many merchants, who traded in the same way as at Sofala. The natives spoke their own language,

"that of the heathen", "but some speak Arabic". Still farther along was Mozambique, a city on three islands and with a very good harbour, with a *sharīf* as governor, presumably an appointee of Kilwa.

In 1505 Dom Manuel I had forts built at Sofala and Kilwa, to control the coastal trade and to provide refreshment stations on the way to India. Sofala had an undue reputation for wealth: Camões speaks of *a rica Sofala*, and Milton of "Sofala, thought Ophir", a false stress as well as a misleading statement. In 1554 Portuguese establishments were set up at Sena, Tete and Quelimane, where Muslims had long been settled as traders, but outside these settlements and the Fortress of São Sebastião, which the Portuguese had built on Mozambique Island in 1568, the Portuguese writ never ran more than feebly. An attempt to conquer the Mwene Mutapa in 1570 was a disaster. In the 16th century, he was paramount in the interior, which in the 17th and 18th centuries came to be dominated by the Maravi. On the coast, hereditary chiefs, almost all Muslims, ruled a number of chiefdoms; the most important were at Quitangonha, Sancul, Sangage and Angoche. The Portuguese paid the chiefs salaries as vassals, while the chiefs regarded their salaries as tribute paid by the King of Portugal. The Portuguese were never more than few in number, as the accounts of the forts at Sofala and Mozambique, published by A. da Silva Rego up to 1588, show. When the Makua tribesmen came down and attacked Mozambique in 1750, the Portuguese could muster only thirty defenders, and in reality, the Portuguese were dependent upon the chiefs for armed support in times of friction or minor war. It was not until 1895, under international pressure, that the Portuguese instituted an effective occupation of what became known as Portuguese East Africa, until 1975 the official name for Mozambique.

Lack of materials, none known in Arabic or Swahili, and exiguous in Portuguese, makes it difficult to gauge the religious situation. There is no evidence for when Islam percolated down the coast beyond a statement in João de Barros that it came "like a slow plague". In the absence of literary evidence, a thorough archaeological survey could offer the only prospect of a solution. Francisco Raymundo Moraes Pereira, who conducted an administrative survey along the coast in 1752, and has left a unique thumb-nail sketch of coastal life at that time, missed the sailing season, and so made the journey from Quibungo to Mozambique town on foot. He found the small settlements of Portuguese and "Kafirs" to be "more Moorish than pagan". There was not much evidence of religion, and cultivation included the preparation of *nipa* brandy from wild palms. The Chief of Inhamarungo "follows the Mohammedan religion, of which he gives no indication beyond not eating pork". Only at Angoche did he find an Islam worthy of the name. A powerful chief received him, dressed in silken robes and with a gold-fringed head-dress. He spoke passable Portuguese and excellent Arabic. Throughout his chiefdom, there were public schools where the Ḳurʾān was taught and the mosques used daily.

Inland, the first conversions to Islam amongst the Makua were noted in 1771, with an increase after 1839. After 1880, two Muslim fraternities, based on the Comoro Islands [see ḲUMR], made progress in eastern Africa, the Shādhiliyya and the Ḳādiriyya. A Comorian author records the migration of "learned men" to Angoche to teach Arabic and Islamic law. In 1905 a Portuguese account records *côteries* of devout Muslims in the extreme north of Mozambique, who practised Islam strictly and were assiduous in attending the mosques. By 1906 Islam had reached the northern shores of Lake Malawi, within Mozambique. The conversion of the Yao seems to have taken place between 1870 and 1910. It is not known which Ṣūfī fraternity was responsible, nor do we know of the motives, general or individual, for the conversions. An account survives of the installation of a chief at Quitangonha in 1874 which suggest a high degree of syncretism. The ceremony combined Islamic, Makua, Portuguese and Swahili rituals. The Portuguese official dignitaries arrived by boat. Two lines of women, singing and dancing, and playing *cuche-cuches* (wooden spoons), walked into the water to greet them. A procession formed, and the Portuguese Army played the National Anthem, Catholic hymns and patriotic marches. There followed a service of prayers in the mosque. Flour was then placed on the new chief's head. Seven months later the Makua shot him in the back.

At the present time (1990) the disturbed state of the country and the fact that the nominal government is not in full control makes any research or accurate assessment of the situation impossible.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

MOZARAB, Spanish *mozarabe*, Portuguese *moçarabe*, Catalan *mossarab*, a word of uncertain origin for which two etymologies have been propounded. In the 13th century, the Archbishop Rodrigo Ximenez (*De rebus Hispaniae*, iii, 22) declared

that the Christians living under Muslim rule after the conquest of 92/711 "Dicti sunt *mixti arabes*, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant". This Latin-based interpretation is the earliest known etymology of the word Mozarab. However, Arabist scholars of the 19th century (following F.J. Simonet) considered it an arabism, derived from *musta^crab*, *musta^crib* with the sense of "arabised, one who becomes arabised", an opinion generally accepted.

It is however disturbing to note that Hispano-Arabic texts are quite unaware of this term and never use it to describe the indigenous Christians, who are designated by the names *^cadjam*, *naṣrānī*, *dhimmī*, *mu^cāhid*, *mushrik* or *rūmī*. The first known reference is in a document from Léon *ca.* 1024, which mentions "muzaraves de rex tiraceros". It would seem appropriate to deduce from this that the name in question is not an original nomenclature, conveyed by emigrants themselves, but a sobriquet. It would thus be an insult, cast by the Christian conquerors against those who preferred to stay rather than flee from the invader and were thus open to the charge of "collaborating" with the occupying power. The Mozarab was thereby considered a dubious element, having suffered the contagion of the Arabo-Muslim enemy; in other words, he was "arabised", "impure", a type of hybrid, of mixed blood hence *mixti arabes*. This interpretation has the advantage of clarifying the "severe" policy of Alfonso VI towards this group, after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, according in this respect with the directives of the monks of Cluny and the position of Pope Gregory VII who had decided to extirpate the "superstitio Toletanae".

The term Mozarab (variants: *muzaraves*, *muztarabes*, *moçarabes* and *mozarabos*) would therefore have originated in Christian territory and not in the Arab-Islamic zone. It is thus perfectly legitimate to apply it to their artistic manifestations outside the frontiers of al-Andalus (illumination of the manuscripts of the *Beatus*, chapels constructed in the kingdom of Léon during the 9-10th centuries, etc.) and to their liturgy, which is preserved at Toledo. On the other hand, to insist (as with Simonet, Cagigas, Lévi-Provençal and others) on accepting as authentic Mozarabs only the Christians of al-Andalus, is paradoxical. This approach, running counter to the attitude of historians of art, music and literature, has the effect of limiting the study of Mozarabism to the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* alone, hindering the understanding and appreciation of the breadth of the historical phenomenon.

The existence and continuing presence of Christians in al-Andalus were among the consequences of the Arabo-Muslim occupation of 92/711 and the manner in which the latter was administered. It is now generally accepted that it is not appropriate to talk of conquest, but rather of the political submission of the inhabitants, there being virtually no resistance, with the exception of the battle of the Wādī Lakko [*q.v.*]. The absence of resistance and the fact of capitulation imply the preservation of former structures (capped by an Islamic political superstructure) in the sense of *mu^cāhidūn* and *dhimmiyyūn* [see MU^cĀHADA and DHIMMA]. We are fortunate in knowing the text of the "treaty of Tudmīr", dated 94/713, which guaranteed the maintenance of the previous order (non-intervention in internal affairs, protection of property, freedom of worship and freedom from enslavement). Those who were covered by the *dhimmat Allāh* were bound not to give sanctuary to fugitive slaves or to enemies, not to conceal information concerning adversaries and to pay annually a *djizya* [*q.v.*], a sum calculated partly in gold and partly in kind. The maintenance of property in the ownership of those who capitulated is a fact known and confirmed by the case of the possessions of Tudmīr, the Bānū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] of Aragon, the descendants of Witiza, etc.

The indigenous Christians also retained their administrative, judicial and religious structures. It is thus that we find a *comes/ḳūmis* [*q.v.*] acting as chief representative of his community in dealing with the Islamic state. In view of the fact that the state did not deal directly with individuals as such, but with their community, considered responsible for the economic status of each of its members, the *comes* found himself invested with fiscal functions (*exceptor/mustakhridj*) and judicial functions (*censor/ḳāḍī 'l-naṣārā, ḳāḍī 'l-^cadjam*) which he could either exercise personally or delegate. The preservation of religious structures is evident from our knowledge of the existence of numerous churches and convents, the maintenance of the episcopal sees of Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Cordova, Mérida, Malaga, Ecija, Péchina and Elvira, the "voluntary martyrdom" movement, the expedition of Alphonso I of Aragon in 1125-6 against Granada, from which he withdrew followed by 10,000 Mozarabs and the *fatwā* [*q.v.*] of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd justifying the deportation to the Maghrib ordered by the Almoravid ^cAlī b. Yūsuf, as well as the conversion decreed by the Almohad ^cAbd al-Mu^ɔmin.

It is indisputable that in the 2nd/8th century the overwhelming majority of the population of al-Andalus was composed of indigenous Christians. But the Muslim community very quickly added to its strength through a combined programme of immigration, mixed marriages (Muslim and *dhimmiyya*), and, especially, through the conversion of numerous native *musālima* [*q.v.*] and through the *muwallad* [*q.v.*] descendants of mixed marriages. Conversions were conducted, after renunciation of the former faith, according to precise legal formulae, of which we possess examples from the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries for Christians, Jews and Madjūs [*q.v.*] (*Le passage à l'Islam dans al-Andalus*, in *Actes UEAI* [1986], 161-83). This explains the numerical diminution of the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn*, coinciding with a significant cultural erosion (absence of creativity, isolation, simple repetition of meagre Visigothic patterns of learning which had fallen into disuse, etc.) as the Christians found themselves in a position of inferiority, confronted with a brilliant world-wide civilisation which was, furthermore, occupying a status of political and socio-economic dominion. To this may be added the weight of oppressive taxation, which was applied in particular to the Christian subjects of the state. In the 3rd/9th century, during the emirate of Muḥammad I, it is known that the latter paid three-and-a-half times more than the Muslims (M. Barcelo, *Estudio sobre la estructura fiscal...*, in *Acta Mediaevalia*, vi [1985], 45-72). This oppressive taxation did not fail to accelerate the process of conversion to Islam.

It was thus in a climate of economic crisis, demographic recession and cultural erosion that there came into being the extremist movement of "provocative martyrdom", which Simonet and his followers regard as the symbol of Mozarabism. In fact, in sociological terms, we are confronted with a violent reaction in face of a loss of cultural identity. It is a case of forward-looking defiance, seeking, by the use of "suicide martyrs" to provoke an irreversible rupture of Islamo-Christian coexistence in al-Andalus, a coexistence which implied, within a relatively short period—according to the analysis of the agitators themselves—the disappearance of the

Romano-Christian personality and its assimilation into Arabo-Muslim society. In this sense, there has been misunderstanding of the testimony provided in 854 by the *Indiculus luminosus* (constantly repeated) regarding the increasing ignorance of Latin. The emphasis and the anguish of Alvarus were not concentrated on this point but, judging by the length and the violence of the paragraph, on Islamisation, and, in a subsidiary fashion, on its historical corollary, arabisation. The real danger felt was cultural: the adoption of clothing, hair-styles, fashions, circumcision, polygamy, dietary restrictions, music, literature, etc.

The technique followed by the "suicide martyrs" was simple. In the majority of cases there was first a "provocation", consisting in insulting in a manifest and public manner either the person of the Prophet, or the Islamic religion, or both. These actions took place preferably during the communal Friday prayers, or even before the bench of the *ḳāḍī*. This constituted the legal crime of blasphemy (*istikhfāf*) requiring the execution of the culprit. Four-fifths of the 51 cases recorded belong expressly to this genre. The eight other cases are technically apostasies, the consequences of "conversion by consanguinity", the *sharīʿa* stipulating that minors become Muslims *ipso facto* with the conversion of the father. It was among these former minors who, on attaining their majority, sought to reclaim their Christianity, that there were recruited the majority of lay persons executed for the crime of apostasy (*irtidād* [see MURTADD]). It may be noted that at least 75% of those condemned were priests or monks and that cases of *istikhfāf* were an almost exclusively male phenomenon. With three exceptions, all the known cases took place at Cordova. This is explained by the nature of the available sources (all emanating from Cordova) and, especially, by the fact that the centre of agitation was located in the capital.

It is clear that the ideologue was the priest Spera in Deo (the principal actors were all his disciples or had been in contact with them). The focus of the movement was located in the monastery of Tabanos (the activity ended of its own accord following the destruction of the monastery by Muḥammad I). The agitator and propagandist was, indisputably, Eulogius, who composed the *Memoriale sanctorum* (during the latter's absence from Cordova, agitation eased, fading away definitively after his execution). Finally, there is the apologist and historian of the movement, Alvarus, author of the *Vita Eulogii* and *Indiculus luminosus*. Naturally, such an extremist attitude could not fail to polarise opinions. On the one hand, there was the small activist group of potential "suicide martyrs", and on the other, the overwhelming majority of Christians, supporters of the *status quo*, wanting only to live their lives, if possible without drawing attention to themselves and thus causing problems.

The latter position was also that of the Umayyad amīrate, seeking, politically, to maintain public order (at the least expense) and, fiscally, to retain the value of its tax levies undiminished. It was in this spirit of continuity that the Council of Cordova was convened in 852, presided over by Recafred, Bishop of Seville, and the *exceptor* Gomez, representing the Islamic administration. The Council (with the single exception of Saul, bishop of Cordova) condemned voluntary sacrifice as a form of disguised suicide. The dissidents were imprisoned by the ecclesiastical authorities. The execution in 858 of Eulogius marks the end of the "martyrdom" movement.

During the amīrate of Muḥammad I, the pressure of taxation was intensified considerably. As a result of the new census carried out by the Bishop Hostegesis, it extended to all parishes, even the most remote. There was thus a new reaction against Muslim society but, this time, discontent was to be expressed differently. The movement benefited from the instability caused by the crisis of adaptation of the structures of the primitive Arabo-Muslim conquering society to the conditions of a new situation, the situation created by the growing number of neo-Muslims (*muwallad, muladi*) and their need for integration. There was a series of widespread rebellions, and the Christians seized the opportunity to express their separatist tendencies. It may be noted that the "martyrs" had constituted an urban and religious reaction; now it was the rural areas which were affected, and the manifestations of revolt of a political nature (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muktabas*, iii; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*). In this sense it is symptomatic that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, during his first campaigns to recapture rebel-held fortresses (e.g. Juviles), executed only their Christian defenders, no doubt considered "incorrigible". But the fact should not be ignored that there was, within Bobastro itself, a significant group of supporters of the *pax islamica*, led by the bishop Ibn Maḳsim and other Christian dignitaries (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, 74, 92, 92, 119, 135) and clearly opposed to the rebellious Ḥafṣūnid policy since 300/912 at least.

Simonet sought to make of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] the "symbol and champion of Christian nationalism", whereas in fact this was a simple political revolt. The conversion of ʿUmar is far from being historically proved (*Precisiones acerca de ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn*, in *Actas Jornadas Cultura Arabe* [1985], 163-75); in addition, he never sought to ally himself with the Christian kingdoms of Spain and remained under Islamic (ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid) sovereignty. His capitulation to the Umayyad caliphate in 303/915 and the surrender of the last Ḥafṣūnids in 315/927 marked the end of Christian political movements.

Henceforward, there was room for only two tendencies: integration of the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* into Muslim society or emigration towards the Christian zones. Very soon, the *naṣārā* are seen acting as aides to the policies of the the caliphate. Thus in 329/941, the bishops of Seville, Péchina and Elvira were sent to the court of Ramiro II with the object of obtaining the release of Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Tudjībī. Thus in 955 Bishop Recemundus (alias Rabīʿ b. Zayd) was *inter palatina offitia*, ambassador to the court of Emperor Otto I; a little later he was sent on a similar mission to Constantinople. The same Recemundus served as interpreter to John of Gorza and Walīd b. Khayzurān for Ordoño IV; and it was Aṣbagh b. Nabīl who, in 394/1004, arbitrated in the dispute between Menendo Gonzales and the Castilian Count Sancho Garcia. These Mozarabs also participated in the cultural movement; Rabīʿ b. Zayd composed in 350/961 the *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ/Calendar of Cordova*, and other indigenous Christians collaborated in the translation of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides. There is much discussion regarding a supposed Mozarabic Romance lyric which allegedly led, by means of the *khardja* [*q.v.*], to the appearance of strophic forms such as the *zadjal* and the *muwashshaḥ* [*q.vv.*]. Later, the *dhimmīs* are found acting (for political and fiscal reasons) as the indispensable administrative assistants of the petty monarchs of the *ṭāʾifas* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2. In Spain].

The other alternative was emigration from Andalusian territory. Evidently, for ideological reasons, the *naṣārā dhimmiyyūn* were drawn towards their co-religionists of the north, but there were other motives

too. The Christian kingdoms could only continue to expand by successfully colonising the territories that they had occupied to the north of the Douro. These territories were virtually uninhabited, and it was therefore necessary to repopulate them. One method used was to induce the Asturian mountain-dwellers to leave their traditional homes and settle the land (guaranteeing to them their own law, tax exemptions, rights of tenure and agriculture); the other was to attract immigrants from al-Andalus. Such was the policy which enabled Alfonso III to colonise the conquered territories and to rebuild fortresses (Zamora 893), designed to protect the new "frontier". Naturally, the Christian appeal worked most strongly on monks and those with religious vocations, and among the emigrants one was to become Bishop of Orense and others were to found monasteries (San Miguel de Escalada in 913, San Cebrian de Mazote in 916, San Martín de Castañeda in 921, San Facundus/Sahagún in 935) which consituted typical examples of Mozarabic architecture. These emigrants brought with them their knowledge of the language (writing Arabic glosses on Latin manuscripts, disseminating Arabo-Islamic works and composing the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* of Leiden), constituted the base of the intellectual movement of the "School of Translators of Toledo", introduced Arabo-Islamic tastes, usages, crafts and official posts (for example the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ/çavaçougue* who appears from 1020 onward in the *fuero* of Léon). In this sense, it is undeniable that they contributed powerfully to the intellectual and cultural arabisation of the Christian kingdoms.

These emigrants were well aware of the internal political situation of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. They thus had an innate vocation as "experts on Islamic affairs" and as such, were bound to exert a certain influence over Christian policy in the 11th century. It is thus that we see Sisnando Dividiz (Amīr ʿAbd Allāh, *Tibyān*; García Gómez and Menéndez Pidal, *El conde Sisnando Davidiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los Taifas*, in *al-Andalus*, xii [1947], 24-41), a native of Tentugal, in the service of al-Muʿtadid [*q.v.*], and later in that of Ferdinand I, to whom in 1064 he recommended the conquest of Coimbra, of which he was the first governor: "Ego Sesnandu gratia Dei *consul* conimbriensis... et *alvacilem* dominum Sisnandum Colimbricensem." He subsequently became assistant and adviser on Islamic affairs to Alfonso VI, and the one responsible for his policy of economic harassment against the Andalusian petty monarchs (the *parias*). It is evidently he who was behind the surrender of Toledo and the conditions stipulated for nascent Mudéjarism. This is clearly the case, since the firm and intransigent line taken by the monks of Cluny and Queen Constance were to lead to his replacement as governor of Toledo by Pedro Ansurez.

The Mozarabs were by this time no longer indispensable, being replaced demographically by the influx of European emigrants, and the land being no longer neglected but cultivated by the Mudéjars [*q.v.*]. Culturally, they were to be replaced in the future by Cluny and the French influence. It was during this period that Pope Gregory VII decided to extirpate what he called the "superstitio Toletanae" (which was nothing other than the ancient Visigothic liturgy and chant). In order to do this, in 1077, Alfonso VI resorted to a double ordeal (by fire and judicial combat), of which he did not accept the result, suppressing the ancient Hispanic rite in his dominions in 1080 "for all those who were not Mozarabs or their descendants". (The Mozarabic rite was to be revived in Toledo in 1500 by Cardinal Cisneros.) Paradoxically, following the seizure of Toledo, it was no longer the kingdom of Castile-Léon which was the centre of the Mozarab movement, the latter migrating towards the Levant (where the Cid exercised a rather more tolerant policy) and Aragon, where Alfonso I was to concede to them the *fuero* of 1126 (imitated in 1156 by Alfonso VII of Castile).

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(P. Chalmeta)

MSHATTA [see al-mus̲h̲attā].

MSĪD [see kuttāb].

MSĪLA [see masīla].

MTAMBWE MKUU, an islet off Weti, Pemba Island, Tanzania, is in all probability mentioned twice by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, and is given as one of the two independent cities mentioned on the island by Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-D̲j̲azīra al-K̲h̲aḍrāʾ*, the ordinary name for Pemba in Arabic. He records the name as متنبي *M.T.N.BY*, and the second city as مكنبلوا *M.K.NB.LŪ*, the Ḳanbalū mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, al-Masʿūdī and numerous others. Yāḳūt reports that the sultan was an Arab from al-Kūfa who had emigrated in order to settle there, which might suggest that the settlement was of no great antiquity; but al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ's reference would suggest that it was already in existence in the 9th century, and that perhaps in Yāḳūt's time it had undergone a change of government. The toponym *M.T.N.BY* does not occur earlier than al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ. The site was investigated in 1984-6 by Dr M.C. Horton, and covers 800 × 400 yards. There are the remains of stone buildings and fortifications. Ceramic finds so far have not antedated *ca.* 1050, and continue to the 19th century. On the surface, however, an ʿAbbāsid *dīnār* and a Fāṭimid *dīnār*, together with a fragment of an Axumite gold piece, possibly of the 6th century ruler Joal, have been found, and, some 40 yards away, some 2,000 silver pieces loose in sand. With them were seven Fāṭimid gold pieces, ranging from 969 to 1065, and three imitations, together with a cloth pouch in which the whole hoard had evidently been contained before it was disturbed by agricultural operations. This remarkable find, the first such of silver south of the Equator, disclosed the

names of nine Muslim rulers hitherto unknown. They are clearly local, and in the style described by J. Walker as Kilwa type. The obverses have a pious expression with one of the Beautiful Names of God (or a similar epithet), chosen to rhyme with the name of the ruler on the reverse. The script, in floriated Kūfic of great delicacy and refinement, resembles certain of the issues of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan of Kilwa and of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī of Zanzibar, as hitherto described. Together with copper pieces of other rulers, it is possible to reconstruct a genealogy that covers four or five generations. The other finds, which vary in quantity from place to place all the way from Shanga in the Lamu archipelago to Kilwa in Tanzania, and including Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia, suggest a local dynasty somewhat resembling the Ayyūbids, who ruled contemporaneously with different members of the family in different capitals. The close resemblance of the coins, scarcely distinguishable in style from one another without close inspection, suggests a single workshop and a short-lived dynasty. Their high standard of craftsmanship may be taken as a reflection of the local standard of civilisation. That the ceramic does not antedate *ca.* 1050 provides a certain difficulty, that can be overcome if it is accepted that the capital may then have recently moved.

The name Mtambwe is of special interest, because the Bantu root—*tamb*—is recorded otherwise only in connection with a secret witchcraft cult and with sacrifices for the dead. For such a cult, or cults, Pemba is celebrated (or notorious) throughout eastern Africa, and as far away as Zaïre.

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(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

MUʾADHDHIN [see ADHĀN; MASDJID. I. G. 4].

MUʾADHDHIN [see ADHĀN; MASDJID. I.C.3, D.2.b,e].

MUʿĀHADA (A.) treaty, agreement: 1. In earlier times: See for this, ʿAHD; BAKṬ; IMTIYĀZĀT.

2. In modern times. We find *muʿāhede* or *muʿāhedet* in Ottoman Turkish: *moʿāhede, moʿāhedat*, in Persian and Urdu.

The Ottoman official term for "treaty" was either *muʿāhede*, borrowed from the Arabic, or *ʿahd-nāme*, borrowed from the Persian. At the height of Ottoman power, most treaties constituted one-sided proclamations, phrased as expressions of the Sultan's own will to grant privileges to foreign states or their subjects. These were generally called *ʿahd-nāme* [see IMTIYĀZĀT, esp. at iii, 1189 ff.], such as the 1604 agreement of Aḥmed I with Henry IV of France; and the treaty with Spain (reprinted in Ferīdūn's collection, ii, 389). More rarely, treaties were known as *muʿāhede*, e.g. Süleymān's agreement with Austria in 970/1563. Treaties (both bilateral and multilateral) were often imposed on the Ottoman Empire, as its political and military power declined, particularly since the end of the 11th/17th century. Their style changed, accordingly, from proclamations to negotiated documents, of which the first was probably the agreement drawn up at the Peace of Carlowitz [see KARLOFČA] in 1699. This and subsequent treaties were contracted in the spirit of Hugo Grotius's *Law of Nations*, which was considered neutral by both Islam and Christendom. After that, the term *muʿāhede* was increasingly employed, although *ʿahd-nāme* was still used at times. The general structure of these treaties, however, remained constant (as did other Ottoman documents; see DIPLOMATIC, esp. at ii, 314-15); (a) Praise to Allāh; (b) Blessing of the Prophet Muḥammad; (c) The scope and importance of the treaty; (d) Declaration of intent to refrain from any action contrary to the treaty; (e) A detailed explanation of the nature of the treaty; (f) Why the treaty must be observed; (g) Beseeching Allāh to aid the contracting parties in remaining loyal to one another; and (h) Date.

These changes in substance and style were reflected in dictionaries of the Ottoman and Turkish Republican eras. Those of Meninski (1680 and 1780) and even Bianchi (1837) merely mentioned that *muʿāhede* meant "treaty", whereas later dictionaries, such as those of Redhouse (1890), the *Ḳāmūs-u Türkī* of Sāmī and the *Lughat-i Nādjī* (both 1318/1900-1) emphasised bilateral features. Official and private usage continued to employ the term *muʿāhede* during the 1920s and early 1930s (see examples in the *Bibl.*, below). In 1935, the Türk Dil Kurumu's *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye cep kılavuzu* translated *muʿāhede* as *antlaşma*; the latter term (sometimes written *andlaşma*) generally superseded the former. Still, in 1944, the Türk Hukuk Kurumu's *Türk hukuk lûgatı* listed the following uses: *muahede*—treaty; *hakem muahedesi*—bond of arbitration; *ittifak muahedesi*—alliance agreement; *ticaret muahedesi*—commercial convention; *ikamet muahedesi*—convention respecting conditions of residence and business; *sulh muahedesi*—treaty of peace; and *dostluk muahedesi*—treaty of friendship. According to V. Heyd (*Language reform in modern Turkey*, Jerusalem 1954, 99), on the same day in 1953, three different newspapers in Istanbul used, respectively, *muahede*, *andlaşma* and *pakt* for the same agreement. While Ottoman treaties were always in Turkish, they were usually accompanied by versions in European languages, generally French, although English, Italian and other languages were also used at times. Those of the Turkish Republic were in Turkish, frequently accompanied by a translation: into French in the early years, subsequently into the languages relevant to the signatories.

In Arabic, *muʿāhada* or *ʿahd* has sometimes been used interchangeably with *ittifāḳ* or *ittifāḳiyya* (the former may also mean "contract", while the latter means, more strictly, "agreement"). Its employment in the sense of "treaty" appears to have been borrowed from 19th century Ottoman usage by officials, scholars and journals concerned with international relations. Al-Ṭahṭāwī, *al-Taʿrībāt al-ṣāfiya*, Cairo 1834, i, 77, and Ḥasan Ḳāsim, *Taʾrīkh mulūk fransā*, Cairo 1264, 305, use *muʿāhada* to describe the Swiss confederation; but *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya* (Cairo), no. 92 (1847), 2, employs the term for a commercial agreement, and no. 126 (1848), 3, uses *muʿāhadat al-ṣulḥ* for peace treaty. In 1870, Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (ii, 1491) defined *muʿāhada* as follows: "The *muʿāhada*, as used by politicians, is a contract (*ittifāḳ*) undertaken by two states, generally referring to defined aspects of commerce, politics (*siyāsa*), or other matters; also known as *ʿahidnāme*." A collection of documents, chiefly from the Arabic-language periodical *al-Djawāʾib*, published in Istanbul in seven volumes and entitled *Kanz al-raghāʾib fī muntakhabāt al-Djawāʾib*, included (v, 1294/1877, 6-15) the text of the

1856 Paris Peace Treaty, rendered as *Muʿāhadat sanat 1856*. The term *muʿāhada*, as employed by officials and journalists in the late 19th century, apparently first achieved widespread usage in a collection of official documents, not coincidentally comprising Ottoman treaties since 1740, in an Arabic translation, entitled *al-Muʿāhadāt al-dawliyya 'llatī ʿaḳadathā 'l-dawla al-ʿaliyya* (Cairo 1896).

Later, the term was increasingly employed by Arab states achieving independence or a semi-independent status, as in the 1915 agreements between Great Britain, al-Idrīsī, and Ibn Saʿūd (texts in ʿAlam al-Dīn's *ʿUhūd*, 62-3 and 64-6). Since the end of the First World War, the term was employed both for bilateral treaties between Arab states themselves (e.g. the 1931 treaty for the extradition of offenders between ʿIrāḳ and Egypt) and with the Powers (as in the 1930 Treaty of Alliance between ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain, or between Egypt and Great Britain in 1936), as well as for mutilateral treaties (e.g. the Convention and Statute of Freedom of Transit, Barcelona 1921, or the Convention and Statute on the International Régime of Maritime Ports, Geneva 1923). The same applied to Arabic collections of treaties (e.g. by Djānā, 1355/1937) or studies in international law (e.g. by Ghānim, 1961). The term was also referred to by *ʿulamāʾ*, particularly in connection with secular politics: the authorities of al-Azhar, after due consideration, published a lengthy statement supporting the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty (*al-Muʿāhada taḳūm fī ḥudūd al-ḥukm al-Islāmī*, in *al-Ahrām*, 10 May 1979, 1, 10). Arabic treaties are frequently accompanied by translations, generally in French or English.

In Persian, *moʿāhedeh* or *ʿahd-nāmeh* has been sometimes used interchangeably with *ḳarārdād* (which also means "contract"), *paymān* (often employed in the sense of "pact" as well) and recently *muwāfaḳat-nāmeh* (which also means "agreement"). The term appears in sources of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in the sense of "alliance" or "agreement" (Nīshābūrī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, etc.) and was later adopted to mean "treaty". By the 19th century, these terms were used in common; the dictionaries of Charles Wilkins (1806) and Francis Johnson (1852) render *moʿāhedeh* as "agreement" and *ʿahd-nāmeh* as "letters of agreement".

As a long-standing independent state, Persia has contracted numerous treaties over the years. In 969/1561-2, a mission from the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān came to the Ṣafavid court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and contracted a treaty (*ʿahd-nāmeh*) of friendship and an agreement for extradition of political criminals, as a result of which Bāyezīd, son of Süleymān, who had found refuge in Persia, was handed over to the Sultan's representatives. In April 1617, a commercial treaty was signed between Shāh ʿAbbās I and King James I of England. The first treaty with France was signed at Versailles in 1664, followed by a second in 1708. In 1148/1735-6, Nādir Shāh contracted a peace treaty with the Russian Government, according to which the cities of Derbend and Baku were returned to Persia. In the 19th century, several treaties were contracted with Great Britain (political and commercial agreements in 1801, a definitive treaty of friendship and alliance in 1812 and many others) and with Russia (Treaty of Gulistān, 1813; of Türkmančāy, 1828; Peace and Friendship, 1828; and numerous others)—these being the two Powers most actively interested in Persia at the time. However, while most earlier treaties were freely negotiated, the treaty of Türkmančāy with Russia was signed under duress and granted to Russia extraterritorial rights, similar to the capitulations in the Ottoman Empire [see IMTIYĀZĀT, esp. at iii, 1191-2). As Persia commenced modernisation, numerous other treaties were drawn up; in 1857 alone, treaties were contracted with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden, to which treaties of friendship and commerce with other states were added subsequently. Such treaties were usually written in Persian and French and later—since the end of the Second World War—in Persian and English. Traditionally, treaties contracted by Persia had the following general structure: (a) Praise to Allāh; (b) A preamble, presenting the signatories and noting the intent of the treaty; (c) The treaty itself; (d) Ratification and validity; and (e) Place and date.

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(J.M. Landau)

MUʾĀKHĀT (a.) "brothering", is a practice found in the early days of Islam by which two men became "brothers".

The best-known example is the "brothering" by Muḥammad of Emigrants from Mecca with Muslims from Medina. This may have happened soon after he reached Medina, but is placed by Ibn Isḥāḳ just before the battle of Badr, accompanied by a list of thirteen such pairs (Ibn Hishām, 344-6). It is clear, however, from Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 70 f.) that there had previously been some "brothering" at Mecca, and he gives a list of nine pairs. This is confirmed partly by Ibn Isḥāḳ's statement that Muḥammad himself was "brothered" with ʿAlī and his uncle Ḥamza with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and also by a number of statements in the notices of individual Meccan

Muslims in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, even though there are some discrepancies. Ibn Ḥabīb goes on to speak of "brotherings" at Medina between an Emigrant and an Anṣārī, and has a list of over fifty pairs. He says this "brothering" was made on the basis "of right (?) and of sharing" (*ʿalā 'l-ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-muʾāsāt*), and implied that, if a man died, his "brother" was to inherit from him in preference to his kinsmen. This arrangement may be referred to in the first part of Ḳurʾān, VIII, 72, though it only speaks of the Emigrants and Anṣār as *awliyāʾ*, presumably in the sense of giving mutual protection. The right of inheritance by a "brother" is said to have been abrogated by VIII, 75 (or IV, 33 or XXXIII, 6); and Ibn Ḥabīb says VIII, 75, was revealed before any one had inherited in this way. There are several accounts of how the wealthy Anṣārī Saʿd b. Rabīʿ gave his "brother" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf not only half of his property but also one of his two wives. The statement of Ibn Hishām (933) that Muḥammad "brothered" the later caliph Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] with a man of Tamīm (which must have been about the year 10/631) remains mysterious, though when the man died during Muʿāwiya's caliphate the latter claimed his inheritance. Al-Wāḳidī (724, 778) mentions leaders of expeditions pairing men and telling them not to separate from one another in battle, but the word he uses is *allafa*.

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AL-**MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM** (A.), lit. "those whose hearts are won over", the term applied to those former opponents of the Prophet Muḥammad who are said to have been reconciled to the cause of Islam by presents of 100 or 50 camels from Muḥammad's share (the fifth or *khums* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the spoils of the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], after Muḥammad's forces had defeated the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] confederation, and divided out at al-Djiʿrāna. The list (given in Ibn Hishām, 880-1, tr. Guillaume, 594-5; al-Wāḳidī, ed. J.M.B. Jones, 939 ff., tr. Wellhausen, 373 ff.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1679-80) included the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] and his sons Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] and Yazīd and various Bedouin chiefs from the tribes of western Arabia. The actual phrase is connected with Ḳurʾān, IX, 60, which W.M. Watt has, however, shown to refer to gifts from the *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] to two Bedouin chiefs on a previous occasion, the two incidents having been subsequently conflated by tendentious opponents of the Umayyads (see his *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 73-5, 348-53; cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 182-4).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also all the *fiḳh* books, in the sections on *zakāt*. (ED.)

AL-**MUʿALLAḲĀT** (A.) a collection of pre-Islamic Arabic poems, generally numbered at seven. The tradition of poetical anthologies is old, and has left traces in every aspect of later poetic criticism. The *Muʿallaḳāt* form the most celebrated of these, and the place assigned to them by Arab literary men has not been without a certain overshadowing effect on western criticism in its turn.

It seems that the anthology was, like several others, put together towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century by the transmitter Ḥammād [*q.v.*], called "al-Rāwiya"; it seems to have been already known to Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] in the next century not under that title but as "the Seven" (*Shiʿr*, ed. Shākir, i, 188). The qualification of *muʿallaḳāt*, of uncertain origin, probably appears around this time. Among the proposed etymologies, the oldest, and probably the one most to be regarded with caution, claims that the universal admiration for these poems led the ancients to write them on cloth in letters of gold (whence the other appellation of *mudhahhabāt*, applied to collections which contain all or a part of these same poems) and to suspend them (*ʿallaḳa*) on the walls of the Kaʿba. Among those giving this explanation, one might mention Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 329/940), Ibn Rashīḳ (mid-5th/11th century), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) and some modern critics who are little affected by knowledge of criticism. Others, such as Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), reject this without being able to substitute for it any more satisfactory etymology. Modern Arabists, since the time of Lyall (*Ancient Arabian poetry*, London 1885), hold the more feasible view that the connection with the use of *ʿilḳ*, pl. *aʿlāḳ* in the sense of "necklace, ornament" often found in the titles of old works of the anthology or collection type, makes a rendering with the meaning of "collars" or "hanging jewels" more likely.

Since the time of the origins of the poems, the number and identity of the authors of the *Muʿallaḳāt* have themselves varied. The present-day observer, whose own subjective choice naturally has no validity here, can only take cognisance of the lists successively put forward through the ages. Al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) seems already to have gathered together six poems under the title of *K. al-Ḳaṣāʾid al-sitt*, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, Cairo n.d., 88). Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824) and then Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) knew of a collection of seven poems, a tradition which seems to take fixed shape with the *Djamhara* of Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī (end of the 3rd/9th century), which contains the names of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, al-Aʿshā Maymūn b. Ḳays, Labīd b. Rabīʿa, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd. Ibn al-Naḥḥās for his part lists Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, Labīd, ʿAmr, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and ʿAntara b. Shaddād. These fairly varying lists are perhaps to be explained in certain cases by the evolution of cricitism, but more likely from combinations of circumstances involving tribal rivalries. All these persons lived substantially before the coming of Islam, in highly diverse and often antagonistic changes of circumstance: Christian, Jewish, Ghassānid environments, tribal confederations, etc., whose tensions must only have become gradually relaxed, leaving their traces in the literary judgments of the earliest, and often in much later, times.

Moreover, around the same time there appeared the collection of nine poems, adding to Ibn al-Naḥḥās's selection the names of al-Nābigha and al-Aʿshā (e.g. in al-Zawzanī, 5th/11th century).

Finally, another critic of the opening years of the 6th/12th century, al-Tibrīzī, enumerates ten *Muʿallaḳāt* by adding to the previous names that of ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ. Clearly, the only names common to all the lists are those of Imruʾ al-Ḳays. Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, Labīd and ʿAmr.

The personality of each of all these authors is delineated, as far as the evidence allows, and their work analysed in the individual *EI* articles on them. In general, other poems are attributed to them as well as their *Muʿallaḳa*, sometimes collected together into a *dīwān*.

Here we will note only the problems raised by these famous poems, beginning with that regarding their authenticity. The personality of the "transmitters"

such as Ḥammād, the presumed "originator" of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, and the uncertainties which surround their actions lead one to think that the attribution of these poems to persons duly classified and identified should be strongly regarded with caution. The faculties of adaptation, even of imagination, by these intermediaries—themselves poets—do not authorise us to see in the "official" anthologies anything more than the reflection of an ancient poetical situation, expressing itself by poems more or less arbitrarily taken from a much greater and more varied production, at least as representative in any case of the ancient poetic genius.

Out of the lively debate raised up by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in the nineteen-twenties when, as the first person in the Arabic-speaking environment, he cast doubt on the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, a middle position has emerged which is also that of the orientalists: in their form and content, and given that they comprise in part elements almost certainly apocryphal, the *Muʿallaḳāt* must be considered as fixed, if not stereotyped, specimens of a poetic tradition—already very old—vigorously flourishing in different parts of the Arabian peninsula. This tradition was made up of the *ḳaṣīda*, comparatively lengthy, with a monorhyme, in the long metres which became classical, and dealing with the limited themes, in various proportions, which are described in the article ḲAṢĪDA.

Bibliography: This is considerable. See Sarkīs, 1127; Brockelmann, I², 13 ff., S I, 44 ff.; Blachère, *HLA*, esp. i, 147-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 46 ff. — T. Arnold, *Septem muʿallaqât, carmina antiquissima Arabum*, Leipzig 1850, ed. of text and comm.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1369/1950, i, notices on most of the authors of the *Muʿallaḳāt*; Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ashʿar al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1963; Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaḳāt*, Cairo, several edns.; Naʿsānī, *Sharḥ Muʿallaḳāt al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1324; Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaḳāt al-ʿashr*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Calcutta 1894, repr. Ridgewood N.J. 1965 — W. Ahlwardt, *The diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870; W. Muir, *Ancient Arabic poetry: its genuineness and authenticity*, in *JRAS* (1875), 75-92; L. Cheikho, *Poètes arabes chrétiens avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1890; D.S. Margoliouth, *The origins of the Arabic poetry*, in *JRAS* (1925), 417-49; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1345/1927; G. Richter, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣîde*, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 552-69; Abdulla El Tayib and A.F.L. Beeston, in *Camb. hist. of Arabic lit.*, i, Cambridge 1983, 27-113.

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(G. LECOMTE)

MUʿALLIM NĀDJĪ, Ottoman Turkish poet, born in Istanbul in 1850 and died there in 1893. He had a career as a school teacher, state employee and journalist, and later in his life was appointed official historian by the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*].

Nādjī's father died when he was very young, hence he was brought up by relatives and had to earn his living at a very early age. The little education which he received was a highly traditional one. Then he came into contact with the modern writers of his time, Aḥmed Midḥat, Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem and Nāmīḳ Kemāl [*q.vv.*]. Aḥmed Midḥat, Nādjī's father-in-law, put him in charge of the literary section of the newspaper which he owned, *Terdjümān-ĭ Ḥaḳīḳat*. There, Nādjī seemed to support the poets following the old tradition and clashed with those upholding modern poetry, and after some clashes between him and the modernists, Aḥmed Midḥat released him from his duties on the newspaper.

At the beginning of his career as a poet, Nādjī wrote modern poetry in a simple language, but then he turned to classical *Dīwān* poetry and excelled in its techniques, especially in the use of the *ʿarūḍ* metre. Although he seemed to be siding with the old, he was actually caught up between the old and the new trends in Turkish literature, himself writing both modern and classical poetry. He believed that there was no difference between what was good in the East and the West, except that for him, the Turkish national spirit entailed upholding the traditions which included classical poetry.

Some of the themes in his poems are very modern in that they are about common people within everyday surroundings, and in such poems he uses everyday language. Most of his poems reflect his own feelings, with such themes as loneliness, alienation and escape. Although his poems are usually good in structure, with perfect metre, rhyme and harmony, the content is trivial; he lacked imagination and was very simplistic in his views, being only concerned with poetic style. As a reaction to *Tanẓīmāt* poetry that stressed content, Nādjī stressed structure, foreshadowing the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] school of writers.

He was highly concerned about the Ottoman Turkish language, and regretted the deterioration of the language in the name of simplification and modernisation. He was likewise concerned about the relations between *ʿarūḍ* metre and the Turkish language, and worked on harmonising them.

His works include collections of his poems *Āteshpāre* (1883), *Sherāre* (1884) and *Fürūzan* (1885); essays, *Muʿallim* (1886) and *Demdeme* (1887); memoirs; *ʿÖmer'in čodjuḳlughu* (1889); a play, *Heder* (1920); a book on literary terms, *Iṣlāḥat-ĭ edebiyye* (1889); and an unfinished dictionary, *Lughat-ĭ Nādjī* (1890).

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MUʿĀMALĀT (A.), a term which designates in works of *fiḳh* the bilateral contracts as opposed to the *ʿibādāt* [*q.v.*] which constitute the "ritual of Islamic law". Also, in its strict and first sense *muʿāmalāt* are supposed to mean transactions concerning credit granted by a donor to a beneficiary (al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, iii, 239 f.).

More generally, within *fiḳh* understood as the deontology forced upon the Muslim, the *muʿāmalāt* "preside over the relations of men among themselves" (H. Laoust). In other words, they define juridico-human relations and ensure that the Muslim's behaviour conforms to juridico-moral theories (R. Brunschvig). Here we are in the field of *kalām fiḳhī* and, more precisely, *ʿamalī*, dealing with problems of conduct, as opposed to *kalām naẓarī* which is the branch that treats of dogmatic theology dealt with in *ʿilm* of *mukāshafa* (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*). But it is still actually *kalām*, in the sense that the *muʿāmalāt* were established by a process of reflection which aims to regulate the conduct of Muslims in their communal

relations. Also, we can read in the *Lumaᶜ*, 68, of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, the Shāfiᶜī and Ashᶜarī author (d. 476/1083), that the *muᶜāmalāt* in their detailed prescriptions (*furūᶜ al-muᶜāmalāt*) are dependent on rational examination (*naẓar*) and argumentation (*istidlāl*). However, the decisions with regard to this regulation are dependent on *idjmāᶜ*.

The concept of *ᶜamal* is often attested in the Ḳurʾān, but that of *muᶜāmala* is absent. If we have recourse to the *LA*, xi, 476, we read there that *muᶜāmala* in the language of the people of ᶜIrāḳ is *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*] in the language of the people of the Ḥidjāz. The *Lisān* thus retains the meaning relating to transactional relations in agriculture as being specific to the term *muᶜāmala*. In other words, a practice concerning lands acquired as shared allotments and kept up by the community is seen as originating in an Islamic ethic governing the behaviour of the members of the *umma* and as having its basis in a certain way of conceiving relations between farming partners (*muzāraᶜa* [*q.v.*]). In its original meaning, the term *muᶜāmala* thus reflects the community's way of life at the beginning of Islam. We will see that with the development of Islamic civilisation, the concept was to become diversified and to develop its areas of application.

According to Mālik (d. 179/795), according to al-Shāfiᶜī, and in general according to the *fuḳahāʾ*, the original and technical meaning of *muᶜāmala* is constantly attested (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*; *K. al-Umm*; al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*). In their works of *fiḳh*, these authors use this term to express their dominant preoccupation, i.e. the arithmetical determination of transactions and credit operations concerning the cultivations of the Arabic regions inhabited by the *umma*. In relation to this problem, Schacht demonstrated that *muᶜāmala*, understood in the strict sense of transaction, is a subterfuge (*ḥīla*) allowing them to bypass the prohibition on taking interest (*ribā* [*q.v.*]). It is a euphemistic name adopted as a modest word for *mukhāṭara*, more commonly called *ināʾ*. In this sense *muᶜāmala* appears to be a credit agreed by a lender called *tādjir* or merchant (note that *muᶜāmala* in this sense of the term is retained in the modern language). In fact, the merchant operates as a lender. This custom, Schacht states, was practised in Medina and goes back to the time of Mālik b. Anas (*Introduction*, 79, 151-3). To sum up, already in this period, at least in the Ḥidjāz, the term *muᶜāmala* extended beyond contracts of cultivation (*muzāraᶜa*) and designated a whole body of rental transactions governing employer-employee relations.

With the humanist al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), the concept took on a psycho-social significance and took on a cultural colouring in the broad sense of the term. The word *muᶜāmala* designates in this author's writing the behaviour dictated by a body of moral rules (*ādāb*; cf. *Risāla fī 'l-maᶜāsh wa 'l-maᶜād*). According to these ethics, spiritual behaviour and material behaviour are governed by rules "established in terms of basic material elements" which are the same for both types of behaviour (Fr. tr. Ch. Vial).

In the classical period, the *muᶜāmalāt* were supposed to be contained in a body of knowledge which had as its subject juridical human relations and the deontological rules of a disciplinary ethic. Keeping the quantitative aspect of this discipline, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ were to categorise the *muᶜāmalāt* into disciplinary (*riyāḍiyya*) sciences and moralising sciences (*ᶜilm al-ādāb*). This category of knowledge is treated with that of arithmetic (*ᶜilm al-ḥisāb wa 'l-muᶜāmalāt*; Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 266). According to the Ikhwān, the science of *muᶜāmalāt* depends on the knowledge of others; it implies a pragmatic psychology.

In the Iḥyāʾ of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the study of *muᶜāmalāt* is contained in that of *fiḳh*. God's right forms the basis for the ritual obligations (*al-ᶜibādāt*), such as purification, prayer, legal alms, etc. The right of created beings forms the basis for the "customs (*al-ᶜādāt*) that can be looked at from two viewpoints: (a) exchanges (*al-muᶜāmalāt*), such as buying, selling, association, giving, lending, debt, etc. (b) contracts (*al-muᶜāḳada*), such as marriage, divorce, emancipation, slavery, rights of succession, etc." (Gardet-Anawati, 119). Here *fiḳh* forms part of the *ᶜādāt* or community customs which themselves are nothing but the translation into concrete form of the concept of *ādāb*. In this context, the *muᶜāmalāt* are the manifestations of a certain etiquette regulated by a deontology in response to juridico-moral considerations. This deontology supplies solutions to the problems of conduct posed by socio-economic situations. There is, according to al-Ghazālī, continuity between the cultural concept of *ādāb* and the juridico-religious (*fiḳhī*) concept of *muᶜāmalāt*. It is the subject of the second *rubᶜ* of the *Iḥyāʾ*, the first dealing with the *ᶜibādāt*, the third with the *muhlikāt* and the fourth with the *mundjiyāt*. Also, the *muᶜāmalāt* are integrated into a rigorously structured body of ethics. Finally, the constitution of this code of conduct of the Muslim calls for knowledge of the states of the soul (*ḥāl*) which condition actions and the qualification (*Iḥyāʾ*, iv, 306; Laoust, *Politique*).

Ibn Khaldūn himself was to stress the sociological aspect of the question, insisting on the fact that this problematic situation is dependent on reasoning. According to this author, the science of *muᶜāmalāt* represents a branch (*farᶜ*) of *ᶜilm al-ḥisāb* which forms part of rational, positive (*ᶜaḳliyya, ṭabīᶜiyya*) knowledge as opposed to traditional, scriptural (*ᶜaḳliyya waḍᶜiyya*) knowledge, in which Ibn Khaldūn ranks *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *kalām* (*Muḳaddima*, 129 f. and especially 484). These two types of knowledge are diversified and refined in proportion to the development of civilisations. In this sense, Ibn Khaldūn is a forerunner of the modern theories on the matter.

According to the former Muḥammad ᶜAbduh (d. 1905 [*q.v.*]), followed in this by his disciple Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [*q.v.*]), only the general principles of *muᶜāmalāt* were revealed. Also in Ḳurʾān, II, 188, and IV, 29, God forbids men from mutually robbing one another. The jurists derived detailed consequences from it (Arnaldez, 27). This way of looking at things is adopted by the moderns, both Sunnī and Shīᶜī. The latter also have their reformers, represented by al-Wāḥid al-Bihbahānī, who are reacting against the Akhbārī school. This viewpoint is taken up by contemporary authors such as the Pakistanis Muḥammad Iqbal and K. Faruki and only recently by the Egyptian judge M. al-ᶜAshmawī. Reviving the tradition of Shaykh ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Rāziḳ (d. 1965), al-ᶜAshmawī published a short work entitled *al-Islām al-siyāsī*. The fundamental idea of this work is to distinguish clearly between the perennial value of cultic prescriptions (*ᶜibādāt*) established by revelation and the relative character of juridical relations betwen men (*muᶜāmalāt*) subject to the requirements of history (cf. Anawati, unpubl. communication to the UEAI Congress, Budapest 1988). Despite the attempts of certain contemporary jurists to return to an obscurantist literalism, we may say that in all the Islamic countries there is a clear tendency to revive religious jurisdiction with regard to *muᶜāmalāt* (*Colloques*, 118-19).

As for that which related to the manner in which this discipline is conceived by the different juridical schools, we can say that, if the divergences regarding

the *ʿibādāt* are very few between Sunnī and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs, they are well-known as regards the *muʿāmalāt*. This is especially true for the transactions dealing with marriage, divorce and inheritance. It will be noted in this regard that the Ismāʿīlī practice differs as much from the Sunnī as from the Twelver Shīʿī ones (*Iḳtiṣār*, xxxviii).

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(M. BERNAND)

MUʿAMMĀ (A.), literally, "something made obscure, hidden".

1. In the sense of word puzzle, riddle [see LUGHZ].

2. In the sense of secret writing, code. Codes were regularly used in classical Antiquity. Thus the *skytalē* of the Spartans, mentioned by Plutarch, in which a message was written on a parchment or leather ribbon which was wrapped round a tapered wooden baton for purposes of writing and then could only be read by a recipient possessing a baton of the same shape and size, is an early example of a typical transposition cipher. But the Greeks also used more scientific, numerical ciphers based on the substitution principle, and it was a Greek author, Aeneas Tacticus (4th century BC) who wrote the earliest discussion of cryptography so far known in a larger work of his on military techniques. Within the Near East, the ancient Egyptians certainly used cryptography, and Talmudic scholars were interested in secret writing and used certain techniques of a cryptographic nature in their cabbalistic writings.

Mediaeval Islamic society was heir to much of the heritage of previous cultures like these, seen in a marked interest of antiquarian scholars in secret writings, unknown scripts and numerology. This is exemplified at an early date in the *K. Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya (*flor.* 3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]); some of the alphabets which he describes may have been used as ciphers, according to T. Fahd (*loc. cit.*). But the genius of Islamic civilisation itself and its strong literary bias, brought a concern with word games, literary conceits, paronomasia, riddles, acrostics, etc. [see LUGHZ]. Out of all these strands arose an interest in and an employment of codes for secret communication within the caliphate, at a period when distances were great, roads were dangerous and messages could not safely be left *en clair*. Handling secret messages and codes, the use of invisible inks and other methods of concealment, must have been part of the training of the secretary or *kātib* [*q.v.*], and we know, for instance, that the Ghaznawid chancery under Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd sent letters (*muʿammā-nāma*) in code (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 318). It was not, however, apparently until Mamlūk times that we have a work specifically devoted to such topics, a work mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flugel, vi, 30, no. 12603) as the *Miftāḥ al-rumūz fī īḍāḥ al-marmūz* of Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (712-62/1312-61, known also as the author of a theological work, see Brockelmann, II², 214, S II, 213). This is lost, but seems to be the basis of what the slightly later writer al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] has to say in his monumental manual for secretaries, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (ix, 229-48). This last author writes in detail about the chemical processes involved in recording and revealing secret messages; about cryptography proper (*taʿmiya*), including methods for enciphering a message, either by using an ancient and obscure script or by using a transposition cipher; and about cryptanalysis (*ḥall al-mutardjam*), dealing in practice only with codes in Arabic and enunciating such basic principles as counting letter frequencies and taking into account the characteristic combinations of letters in Arabic words, according to the phonetic structure of the language (see C.E. Bosworth, *The section on codes and their decipherment in Qalqashandī's* Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā, in *JSS*, viii [1963], 17-33, also in idem, *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, xiii).

What might be termed modern cryptography begins in late mediaeval and Renaissance Italy, and soon becomes part of the common stock of diplomacy and intelligence-gathering. The Ottomans used codes and secret writing, as did the rulers of Persia. Thus a work on codes and secret writing, called *al-Durar al-muntakhaba*, was published at Istanbul in 1221/1806-7 by one Meḥmed Ḥafīd; whilst three works on cryptography, cryptanalysis and the use of codes for private and state correspondence respectively, were composed in the late 19th and early 20th century Persia by Mīrzā Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf (the *Miftāḥ al-rumūz*, the *Kashf al-asrār-i Nāṣirī* and the *K. Nāsikh al-rumūz wa-ramz-i Maḥmūdī*, Tehran 1313, 1319, 1320 AH), who was awarded the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Miftāḥ al-Mulk by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Ḳādjār for his services to the government as an encoder and decipherer (see Cl. Huart, review in *JA*, Ser. 10, vol. ix [March-April 1907], 360-2).

Bibliography: Given in the article. For an excellent general work on codes and the history of

their use, see D. Kahn, *The codebreakers*, New York and London 1967. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUʿAMMAR (A.), appellative of legendary as well as historical people who are alleged to have lived to an exceptionally great age.

Like Judaism and other ancient religions, Islam knows a category of people, almost always men, who are characterised by extreme longevity granted by God. These persons walked the earth immediately following the Creation and are believed to have done so intermittently until today (for a 20th century example, see H. St. John B. Philby, *Arabian days*, London 1948, the 23rd photograph between pp. 224 and 225). Whereas for Jews Methuselah is the longest living patriarch, for Muslims this is Noah. Definitions of how old a person must be to deserve the appellative differ widely. Since the Prophet Muḥammad is credited with the statement that people who reach the age of seventy are especially blessed, this age is sometimes taken as starting point for the appellative to be applicable (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, pp. xxix f.), although the lower limit of eighty years is also given. Usually the lower limits fluctuate between one hundred and one hundred and twenty, while there is not really an upper limit. Various *muʿammarūn* are believed to have reached ages of three to six hundred years, but reports about still longer living persons have emerged through the centuries in all the regions of the Islamic world.

Still the most complete survey of *muʿammarūn* today is I. Goldziher's study with which he introduced his edition of one of the oldest collections of poetry attributed to various long-lived poets, sc. Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, d. 255/869 [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, Leiden 1889. (Abū Ḥātim's is not the oldest work on this subject; al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, d. 206/821 [*q.v.*], is also credited with a book on *muʿammarūn*.) The poems preserved in this anthology deal with descriptions of the hardships of old age—often heralded by the greying of hair and beard—mixed with outbursts of nostalgia about lost youth and vigour. Verses of this sort constitute a separate genre in Arabic poetry practised by many poets of all times, also by those who do not (yet) deserve the appellative of *muʿammarūn*.

Apart from the richly annotated edition of this poetry and the accompanying *akhbār*, Goldziher gives a general introduction to the phenomenon which can be summarised under the following headings: a survey of the oldest *muʿammarūn* from pre-Islamic history: tribal patriarchs, princes, heroes and sages; the different ways in which old age is said to debilitate; a list of works written and compiled after Abū Ḥātim in which there are occasional references to, as well as special chapters about, *muʿammarūn* and their poetry; and the alleged role played by *muʿammarūn* in the evolution of guilds (*futuwwa* [*q.v.*]) in Islam, which by means of long-lived patrons seek to project their origins back to a time long before the advent of Islam.

Goldziher also devotes space to the position of alleged *muʿammarūn* in the religious theorising of Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars. For the Shīʿa, this boils down to the spreading of the belief in a hidden place from where he will emerge one day as the expected *mahdī* [*q.v.*] to rule the world once more with justice. The *muʿammar* phenomenon is adduced here to bolster the doctrine and to lend the alleged re-emergence plausibility (cf. *Abhandlungen*, ii, pp. lxii ff.). In this way Shīʿa doctrine benefitted from the ancient lore of the *muʿammarūn*, doctrine and folklore mutually strengthening each other.

Sunnī Muslims have also made considerable use of the belief in the existence of the long-lived. *Muʿammarūn*, legendary as well as historical persons—the latter not necessarily themselves responsible for the advanced ages they are alleged to have attained—are depicted as having played an important role as transmitters of Prophetic traditions. This is especially attested in the earliest development of Kūfan *isnāds*, but on a lesser scale also in that of Baṣran *isnāds*. From the canonical collections it appears that *ḥadīth* transmission in Kūfa is connected in particular with Companions whose names are closely linked to Kūfa, among whom Ibn Masʿūd [*q.v.*] is the most famous and prolific. Well, in the *isnād* strands from the Prophet, whose words are transmitted by a Companion via one or two other authorities, to the "common link" (for this term, see *Bibl.*), Ibn Masʿūd's traditions required the names of two or three of Kūfa's distinguished jurisconsults, e.g. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/714 [*q.v.*]) before the time gap between Prophet and "common link" was properly bridged. Ibrāhīm was born too late (*ca.* 50/670) to assume—or be placed in—the position of direct pupil of Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32-3/652-3), so one more transmitter had to be inserted between them to create an uninterrupted *isnād*: this position was mostly filled by a member of Ibn Masʿūd's so-called "circle", e.g. ʿAlḳama, Masrūḳ, al-Aswad b. Yazīd and several others. It is here that *muʿammarūn* make their entrance: the strands: Prophet > Ibn Masʿūd > one of his circle > Ibrāhīm > "common link" acquired eventually large numbers of alternative strands supporting more or less the same *matns*, parading instead of five names only four: Prophet > Ibn Masʿūd > a *muʿammar* > "common link". Sometimes this *muʿammar* was a historical person who claimed to have reached an advanced age, this claim being eagerly emphasised after his death by his pupil, the "common link", who profited from this age. At other times the *muʿammar* was a fictitious person, wholly invented, complete with his allegedly advanced age at death, by the "common link" who pretended to have heard his traditions. The early sources yield in all a dozen or so names of persons populating Kūfan *isnāds* whose ages at death mark them as *muʿammarūn*, two of whom may have been historical personalities, the rest fictitious. In Baṣran *isnāds* there are only two such *muʿammarūn*, but both were probably historical while one of these was even a "common link" in his own right. For their names and dates, see al-Dhahabī's *Ahl al-miʾa fa-ṣāʿidan*, and *WZKM* (1991).

In the course of the 2nd/8th century the *muʿammar* phenomenon lost its usefulness and popularity, but it never died out completely. There is even one legend about a *muʿammar* who was some 700 years old when he died, Bābā Ratan [*q.v.*] (cf. J. Horovitz, *Bābā Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda*, in *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, ii [1913-14], 97-117, an Indian saint revered by adherents of several local religions. The Muslims of the region maintain that he was already alive at the time of Muḥammad and once did him a good turn. Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. Badjāwī, ii, 523-39) duly included him among the Companions.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Fundamental is Goldziher's work. Virtually all centenarians from ancient times until his own day are mentioned by Dhahabī, *Ahl al-miʾa fa-ṣāʿidan*, ed. J. Sublet, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, i (1979), 99-159; G.H.A. Juynboll, *The role of* muʿammarūn *in the earthly development of the* isnād, in *WZKM* (1991); for the technical *ḥadīth* term "common link", see idem, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and*

authorship of early ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 206-17; idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-83; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīth *and* akhbār *literature*, in Lawrence I. Conrad (ed.), *Early Arabic historiography. New perspectives and methodologies*, Princeton 1991; idem, *Muslim's introduction to his* Ṣaḥīḥ, *translated and annotated with an excursus on the chronology of* fitna *and* bidᶜa, in *JSAI*, v (1984), 303-8, especially for a chronology of the origins of the *isnād*. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUᶜAMMAR B. ᶜABBĀD AL-SULAMĪ, Abū ᶜAmr or Abu ʾl-Muᶜtamir, a leading Muᶜtazilī theologian from Baṣra who lived during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 170-93/786-809) and died in 215/830.

According to Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Fiṣal*, iv, 194, 1 f.) he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Sulaymān and seems to have earned his livelihood as a druggist (*ᶜaṭṭār*). Apparently for his doctrine of endless *maᶜānī*, he was accused by his Muᶜtazilī colleagues before the governor of Baṣra and fled to Baghdād. There he appears to have hidden in the house of Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī [*q.v.*], the son of the Police Chief al-Sindī b. Shāhik. Not reliable is the report that Muᶜammar was sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to the Indian king for discussions of theological questions and was poisoned on the way. Among his pupils are mentioned Hishām b. ᶜAmr al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*] and above all Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir [*q.v.*], the founder of the Muᶜtazilī school in Baghdād. One of his famous disputants was al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, he wrote four treatises on central themes of his philosophy (*Kitāb al-Maᶜānī; Kitāb al-Istiṭāᶜa; Kitāb al-djuzʾ alladhī lā yatadjazzaʾ; al-Ḳawl bi ʾl-aᶜrāḍ wa ʾl-djawāhir*), but also on natural sciences (*Kitāb ᶜIllat al-ḳarasṭūn wa ʾl-mirʾāt*, "On the principle of the steelyard and the mirror"; *Kitāb al-Layl wa ʾl-nahār wa ʾl-amwāl*, "On night and day and their end (?)").

The only sources on Muᶜammar's philosophy are preserved in later sources which give us a fragmentary idea of his doctrine, which is not yet clear in all details. They reflect the continuing discussions of his time, especially of Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Naẓẓām, on God, His creation and man. Like Ḍirār and other Muᶜtazilīs, he presupposes the concept of God's transcendence; however, he refrained from the systematic development of a negative theology as we find it in Ḍirār. God's willing and knowing is endlessly effective and not determinable or definable as something effected by God. Against Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ᶜAllāf [*q.v.*], they cannot even be identified with God himself. Muᶜammar's doctrine of God as endless active power which is not reflected in His creation is taken over by his pupil Hishām b. ᶜAmr al-Fuwaṭī. It was the starting-point of his theories on substance (*djawhar, djism*), accidents (*aᶜrāḍ*), nature (*ṭabᶜ, ṭabīᶜa*) and *maᶜānī*. As God's endless power is not reflected in the visible world, he has not created the accidents, the phenomena, but the substrates, the substances in which by nature inhere the accidents. Contrary to Ḍirār and similar to al-Naẓẓām, who here replaces the doctrine of the God-created "cause" (*sabab*) as taught by the Shīᶜī Hishām al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], nature appears to be a causal principle which causes "accidents", the "generations" (*mutawallidāt*) and "forms" (*hayʾāt*) of substances. Different from al-Naẓẓām, who interprets nature as something imposed on the substances by God, Muᶜammar considers nature as an independent factor, as a determinating element which makes superfluous any involvement of the transcendent deity in the world of phenomena.

This idea of God's unconcernedness with the visible world is further developed in a unique manner in Muᶜammar's theory of the *maᶜānī*, determinant factors which themselves are determined by other determinant factors *ad infinitum*. If we implicate in this endless series of *maᶜānī* the notion of God as first determinant Who Himself is not determined by another determinant, we may detect here parallels with Aristotle's doctrine of the πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον and of the ἄνθρωπος-ἄνθρωπον-γεννᾷ argument. However, the emphasis of Muᶜammar is different: *maᶜānī* are determinating causes of similarity and dissimilarity between two things and guarantee the undeterminedness of God's endless dynamis. Muᶜammar does not give a solution of the problem of how determinating *maᶜānī* at the same time can be determined entities (and in this are similar to the accidents). His doctrine appears to be a strange mixture of "Platonising" ideas, preformations and "Aristotelian" conceptions of matter, of substance void of εἶδος.

This becomes evident in Muᶜammar's definition of the primary substance, the atom: it already contains eidetically three dimensions, length, breadth and depth, which become visible in the combination of eight to each other identical atoms to a cube. This is a further development of Ḍirār's explanation of substances as a conglomeration of "accidents", of "parts"; apparently it was not taken up by later Muᶜtazilīs (cf. Daiber, *Muᶜammar*, 333 ff.).

The theory here described of determinating *maᶜānī* as constituents of God-created substances and their accidents which inhere in them by "nature" becomes the basis for Muᶜammar's theodicy and his doctrine of free will. The evil in the world is a causal effect of nature and not based on God's predestination. Consequently, man is gifted with free will: he can decide about his actions which, however, are determined by the causality of nature. Man's actions appear to be accidents of his God-created substance. Here, too, Muᶜammar differs from the more "materialistic" explanation by Ḍirār and his "school" of man as a conglomerate of perceivable accidents. We find some similarities to al-Naẓẓām and his pupils (cf. Daiber, *op. cit.*, 342 ff.). Muᶜammar's theory of free will appears to be more expanded in the teaching of his pupil Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir (cf. Daiber, *op. cit.*, 399 ff.); it is already a serious attempt to develop the theory of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and his contemporary Ḍirār concerning man's actions as created by God and "acquired" by man who has freedom of choice, to a more complex doctrine which differentiates between man's free will, the causality of nature and the createdness of substances in which accidents inhere by the necessity of nature. Al-Naẓẓām considered nature as something created by God; Muᶜammar, however, could classify nature as an independent factor, as a principle which regulates the causality between the "forms" (*hayʾāt*) of substances, their accidents on the one hand and the determining-determined endless chain of *maᶜānī* on the other hand.

Muᶜammar's doctrine is a lively mirror-picture of continuing discussions on the relation between God, man and world; it influenced the Muᶜtazilī school of Baghdād in a decisive manner and contributed to the development of the Muᶜtazilī theory of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān which during the reign of al-Maʾmūn was propagated as official dogma of the state [see MIḤNA]. God's word as every attribute cannot be defined and appears as endless power of acting which is not reflectable in actions, accidental realisations; it is not identical with the spoken or written

word, the Ḳurʾān, which can only be classified as an accident, as accidental action of that substance in which it inheres as heard or written word.

In his theory of the Imāmate, Muᶜammar follows the neutral attitude of his contemporaries Ḍirār b. ᶜAmr and Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ᶜAllāf; ultimately it can be traced back to Wāṣil b. ᶜAṭāʾ (on whom cf. now Daiber, *Wāṣil Ibn ᶜAṭāʾ als Prediger und Theologe*, Leiden 1988, 8, 14 ff.). Muᶜammar refrains from any judgment on the question which party of the participants in the Battle of the Camel was right; at the same time he follows the pro-ᶜAlid tendencies of the ᶜAbbāsids.

Bibliography: For the sources, more details and older studies, see H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muᶜammar Ibn ᶜAbbad as-Sulami (gest. 830 n. Chr.)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1975 (= Beiruter Texte und Studien 19); J. van Ess, in *Isl.*, lviii (1981), 293-309; Daiber, *ibid.*, 310-20; R.M. Frank in *BiOr*, xxxviii (1981), cols. 737-58; Daiber, *Gott, Natur und menschlicher Wille im frühen islamischen Denken* (Inaugural lecture, Free University Amsterdam 1978); idem, in *Saeculum*, xxix (1978), 361-3; W. Montgomery Watt, *Der Islam*, ii, Stuttgart, etc. 1985 (= Die Religionen der Menschheit 25,2), index s.n.; and idem, *Islamic philosophy and theology, an extended survey*, Edinburgh 1985, 47, 52-3. (H. Daiber)

MUᶜAMMIR [see muᶜammar].

al-**MUᶜAMMARIYYA** [see al-khaṭṭābiyya].

MUᶜANᶜAN (a.), a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]. It is used to indicate that established transmission methods, e.g. as indicated by terms such as *ḥaddathanī*, *akhbaranī* or *samiᶜtu*, are not known to have occurred, or have not been observed, between the transmitters of one or more links in an *isnād* [*q.v.*]. The method described by the term *muᶜanᶜan* solely consists of the preposition *ᶜan* "on the authority of". *Isnāds* with one or more times the preposition *ᶜan* between two transmitters are called *muᶜanᶜan isnāds*. Closely connected with this sort of *isnād* and often dealt with in the same breath is the so-called *muʾannan isnād*, which introduces the information transmitted by an older to a younger authority simply by means of the conjunction *anna*, "that", similarly without indications such as *ḥaddathanī* etc. In al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ᶜilm al-riwāya*, 407, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) is mentioned as probably the first to equate both *isnāds* (see also Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ᶜUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuh*, 236).

The term *muᶜanᶜan*, or at least discussions about the phenomenon, can be traced to relatively early times. Allegedly the first great *ridjāl* expert, Shuᶜba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/777 [*q.v.*]) from Baṣra, is reported to have said *Fulān ᶜan fulān laysa bi-ḥadīth* ("Someone *on the authority of* someone [else] does not constitute a [proper] *ḥadīth*", see Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ᶜilal al-Tirmidhī*, 269). It is also alluded to in the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiᶜī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) (ed. A. M. Shākir, 378-80).

The *ᶜanᶜana* issue first receives a good deal of attention in discussions among *ḥadīth* experts referred to in the introductory chapter with which Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]) begins his tradition collection, the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The third and final part of this introduction (ed. M.F. ᶜAbd al-Bāḳī, i, 29-35, translated in *JSAI*, v [1984], 293-302) is devoted to a discussion on the admissibility of *isnāds* with one or more links being described merely by *ᶜan*. Muslim mentions one self-styled *ḥadīth* expert (*baᶜḍ muntaḥilī al-ḥadīth*), whom he does not identify, as having stipulated that the mere use of *ᶜan* is not sufficient to assert the reliability of the transmission procedure between each pair of transmitters in an *isnād*. Rather, this expert insists that *samāᶜ*, "hearing", should be established between pairs of transmitters in the case of every single *isnād* in which *ᶜan* occurs. Muslim, on the other hand, declares himself to be content with *ᶜan*, as long as contemporaneity (*muᶜāṣara*), and hence even encounter (*liḳāʾ*), may be deemed likely on the basis of the fact that both transmitters are known to have been reliable (*thiḳa*) and as long as no-one is suspected of having committed *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], a rather vague term indicating a wide range of different ways of deceit in tradition transmission. Muslim's argument in favour of his lenient stance vis-à-vis *muᶜanᶜan isnāds* is simple and direct: none of the recognised *ḥadīth* experts of old has ever stipulated the discarding of such *isnāds*, as can be proven by the occurrence of dozens and dozens of traditions supported by such *isnāds* in all the prestigious collections known at the time he makes the statement, traditions which have never caused anyone to doubt their historicity. He has this argument followed by an extensive list of such traditions.

The "pseudo-traditionist", as Muslims calls his anonymous opponent, was tentatively identified by mediaeval Muslim scholars as Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 239/853 [*q.v.*]) and/or al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) (see for instance Ibn Radjab, *op. cit.*, 272; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 158; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 248, Eng. tr., ii, 228-9), but this seems unlikely for three reasons: *firstly*, because the text in Muslim's introduction speaks consistently of only one man who propagated these ideas and not more than one; *secondly*, because all the tradition collections preceding that of al-Bukhārī, as well as al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* itself, in addition to those collections compiled later, are riddled with *muᶜanᶜan isnāds*; and *thirdly*, because it is hard to accept that rivalry such as there may have been among collectors like Muslim and al-Bukhārī would have been of the magnitude that the former called the latter a "pseudo-expert". There are reports which claim that Muslim felt respect for his older colleague (see al-Samᶜānī, *Kitāb al-Imlāʾ wa 'l-istimlāʾ*, 136). Besides, there are good grounds for assuming that the "pseudo-expert" taken to task by Muslim in his introduction was somebody else. A case could be made for al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 [*q.v.*]) (for arguments supporting this surmise, see Juynboll in *JSAI*, v, 293 f.).

The matter of admissibility of *muᶜanᶜan isnāds* never seems to have been settled definitively, but the overall majority of *ḥadīth* scholars bracketed them with *muttaṣil* (uninterrupted) *isnāds*. On the other hand, the phenomenon has never again given rise to wide-ranging discussions violent enough to upset the applecart. Until the present day, these *isnāds* are dealt with in books dealing with technical terms in the science of tradition and are invariably marked as acceptable, as long as the conditions, also formulated by Muslim, are met: *thiḳas* who are each other's contemporaries, on whom there rests no suspicion of *tadlīs*, can be considered to be honest when they claim that they have something "on the authority of" someone else; *muᶜāṣara* is then almost a guarantee for *liḳāʾ*, It must be realised that if those rejecting the admissibility of *muᶜanᶜan isnāds* had had their way, Islam's canonical tradition literature would have attained a mere fraction of the bulk it actually did attain. Reading between the lines of Muslim's chapter of his introduction on this issue leaves the reader with the impression that Muslim himself was aware that that might have happened.

Bibliography: Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M. F. ᶜAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1955-6, i, 29-35; *Muslim's introduction to his* Ṣaḥīḥ. *Translated and*

annotated with an excursus on the chronology of fitna *and* bidᶜa, by G. H. A. Juynboll in *JSAI*, v (1984) esp. 293-302; al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī, *Maᶜrifat ᶜulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muᶜaẓẓam Ḥusayn, Cairo-Hyderabad 1937, 34-5; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ᶜilm al-riwāya*, Hyderabad 1357, 291; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ed. ᶜĀʾisha ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 152 ff.; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais, in *JA*, 9th series, xvi (1900), 522 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 214-7. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

MUʾANNATH [see MUDHAKKAR].

MUᶜĀRAḌA (A.) "opposition". This term indicates in Arabic literature imitation or emulation; the poet composes his work in the same rhyme and metre, and in doing so, often tries to surpass the original. The imitating of someone's work was also used sometimes as a deliberate act of hommage. The concept of *naḳāʾiḍ* ("polemic or contest or repartee poems" by, among others, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]), however, is not regarded as an emulation or imitation, although poems which are based on this idea are often composed in the same rhyme and metre. In his book concerning the history of *naḳāʾiḍ* in Arabic literature, Aḥmad al-Shāyib (6 ff.) attempts to delineate the various, related concepts of *muᶜāraḍa*, *naḳīḍa* [*q.v.*], *mufākhara* [*q.v.*] and *munāfara*. A synonymous term is perhaps *muḥādhā* (see al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Baghdād 1979, ii, 28 ff.). The concept of *muᶜāraḍa* was in use as early as the period of the *Djāhiliyya*, when the two poets Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd [*q.vv.*] competed with each other in their description of a horse (two poems in the rhyme *b*). One Umm Djundad acted as their arbiter (*Aghānī*[1], vii, 128, and [3], viii, 194).

A separate place is occupied by the *muᶜāraḍa* of the Ḳurʾān. It is likely that the imitating of the Ḳurʾān in this manner was regarded by most Arabs as a blasphemy. One such imitation of the Ḳurʾān, by al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], relates to his supposed pretentions to being a prophet. The seventeen-year old poet composed, in the year 332/943, a large number of *ᶜibar* ("admonitions"), which imitated Ḳurʾānic verses from the Meccan period. One verse appears to have been preserved (F. Gabrieli, *Studi su al-Mutanabbi*, Rome 1972, 5-6; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IVième siècle: Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbi*, Paris 1935, 67; al-Badīᶜī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munabbī ᶜan ḥaythiyyat al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo 1963, 55 ff.). Another poet, al-Maᶜarrī [*q.v.*], is rebuked for imitating the Ḳurʾān. His *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt*, which relates cryptic verses and allegories, caused his contemporaries to accuse the poet of attempting to criticise the Ḳurʾān. (Moustapha Saleh, in *BÉt. Or.*, xxii [1969], 142, 146; P. Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the palace of Aleppo*, Manchester 1985, 215-16). On the other hand, many poets are said to have imitated another work by al-Maᶜarrī, called the *Mulḳā al-sabīl*, and written in rhymed prose. In this context, we may point to the *Aḥkām ṣanᶜat al-kalām* by Ibn al-Ghafūr al-Kalāᶜī (see Saleh, *op. cit.*, 150-1; Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-Naḳd al-adabī ᶜind al-ᶜArab*, Beirut 1978[2], 509 ff.). This author realised that he could not surpass his example.

In the field of literary theory, ᶜAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his *Dalāʾil al-iᶜdjāz* is generally regarded as the first to have developed original ideas about the *muᶜāraḍa*. Von Grünebaum (*Kritik und Dichtkunst*, 112, see also 120) says that Djurdjānī interprets the concept of *muᶜāraḍa* as a stylistic imitation of a certain passage with the purpose of surpassing the predecessor. According to Djurdjānī, the explanation which says that *muᶜāraḍa* intends the substitution of every word by a synonym is to be rejected. At present, however, the originality of Djurdjānī's remarks is given a more limited value, since his thoughts are to be placed within the context of his time (see Lidia Bettini, *Lingua e retorica nel V secolo*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, vi [1988] (*Atti del XIII Congresso dell 'U.E.A.I.*)).

E. Wagner (*Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 246 and 333) gives examples of *muᶜāraḍa* by the ᶜAbbāsid poet Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] and of those taken from him.

The concept of *muᶜāraḍa* is also frequently found in Andalusian poetry, e.g. in the work of Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*]; apart from quotations of complete hemistichs (*muḍammanāt*), especially from the Eastern poets, he also uses real *muᶜāraḍāt* in which he imitates Andalusian poets such as Ibn Ṣāra (*Dīwān*, ed. Ghāzī, 366, no. 306). The Hebrew Andalusian poets also imitated Eastern Arabic poetry. In this respect we can draw attention to the "fever poem" of Moses ben Ezra, which is composed in the same rhyme and metre as the "fever poem" by al-Mutanabbī (see D. Ṣemaḥ, in *Tarbīṣ*, xxviii [1959], 397 ff.). There are also Hebrew imitations of Arabic *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*].

In his book *Das Muwaššaḥ* (Weimar 1897, 227-8), M. Hartmann showed that in the 7th/13th century especially, the *muᶜāraḍa* was a popular form of art among the Arabic *muwashshaḥ* poets.

Bibliography: Bāḳillānī, *Iᶜdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1349, 130, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1977[4], 159 [243]; ᶜAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iᶜdjāz*, Cairo 1331, 199-200, Cairo 1977, 269, and 12-44; G.E. von Grünebaum, *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 112-20; idem, in *JNES*, iii (1944), 242; idem, *A tenth century document of Arabic literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950, 59; K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, Warminster 1979, 275; Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Taʾrīkh al-Naḳāʾiḍ fī 'l-shiᶜr al-ᶜArabī*, Cairo 1954, 6-8: S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974, 45-9 *et passim.*; Ibn Khafādja, *Dīwān*, ed. Ghāzī, Alexandria 1960, 402; G. Schoeler, *Ibn Quzmān's Metrik*, in *BO*, xl (1983), 311-32; M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo, un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ contro il Corano confutato da al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Rome 1927; J. van Ess, *Some fragments of the muᶜāraḍat al-Qurʾān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ*, in *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Iḥsān ᶜAbbās on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1981, 151-63; L. Bettini, *Studi sulla teoria letteraria araba*, Florence 1981, 14 n. 31; U. Haxen, *The Muᶜāraḍa concept and its musico-rhythmical implications*, in *Al-Andalus*, xliii (1978), 113-24. (A. Schippers)

MUᶜĀRAḌA (A.) "collation" [see MUḲĀBALA].

MUᶜARRAB (A.) denotes an arabicised loan or foreign word. During their intensive study of the Arabic language, the Arab philologists did not fail to notice that numerous lexemes in Arabic are of foreign origin. They were called *muᶜarrab* (from *ᶜarraba* "to arabicise"; *aᶜraba*, with the same meaning, occurs also), and often also *dakhīl* "intruded, penetrated". A difference between the two terms cannot be determined. In its literal meaning, *muᶜarrab* comprises only the loan words which were integrated into the Arabic of pre- and early Islamic times (*kalām al-ᶜarab al-fuṣaḥāʾ*), while those of the post-classical period are called *muwallad*. However, the term *muwallad* does not only refer to loan words, but to all kinds of linguistic neologisms which came up in post-classical Arabic. The difference between *muᶜarrab* and *muwallad* is not taken into consideration by all philologists, and so *muᶜarrab* often is the general term for "loan word, foreign word". Al-Suyūṭī, in his *Muzhir*, consistently

classifies the Arabic lexicon, with the exception of the truly Arabic lexemes which were passed down, into three periods: *al-muʿarrab*, i.e. loan words which have penetrated into Arabic during pre- and early Islamic times (*Muzhir, al nawʿ* 19); *al-alfāẓ al-islamiyya*, i.e. neologisms and loan words originating from Islam (*al-nawʿ* 20), and *al-muwallad*, i.e. neologisms and loan words of the post-classical period (*al-nawʿ* 21).

Even the oldest Ḳurʾān interpreters, Ibn ʿAbbās and his pupils, are said to have recognised the foreign origin of words which occur in the Ḳurʾān, like *sidjdjīl, mishkāt, yamm, ṭūr, abārīḳ, istabraḳ* (al-Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 5,1). More or less elaborate statements about the *muʿarrab* are given by almost all philological authorities, in the first place al-Khalīl, who already expounds criteria to identify foreign words. In his *Kitāb* (Būlāḳ 1316/17, ii, 342 f.: *mā uʿriba min al-aʿdjamiyya,* and *iṭṭirād al-ibdāl fī 'l-fārisiyya*), Sībawayh devotes two chapters to the loan words from Persian. Authors who deal in greater detail with the *muʿarrab* problem, include Abū ʿUbayd (*al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, cf. Ramadan Abdel-Tawab, 169 ff.), Ibn Durayd (*Djamhara*, iii, 499-503), al-Thaʿālibī (*Fiḳh al-lugha*, Cairo 1954, 285-6), and in particular, al-Djawālīḳī, who summarises the knowledge of his predecessors in his *Kitāb al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī*. Of the later philologists may be mentioned Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī and al-Suyūṭī, who deal with the theme in several of their works, as well as the Ottoman scholar Aḥmad Kamāl Bāshāzāda and the Egyptian Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī, each of whom composed a work on loan words in Arabic. The loan words which have penetrated into post-classical Arabic (*muwallad*) are occasionally treated in the works that deal with the "language errors of the common people" (*laḥn al-ʿawāmm*). Here, too, al-Djawālīḳī must be brought into prominence with his work *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā taghlaṭu fī 'l-ʿāmma*, but Ibn Ḳutayba too devotes a chapter of his *Adab al-kātib* (526 ff.) to this theme.

The Arab scholars deal with the question from which languages the loan words originate—especially mentioned are Persian, Syriac, Greek (*rūmiyya*), Ethiopic, Hebrew, Coptic and Nabataean (?)—and with the degree and way in which they were integrated. They distinguish phonemic and morphemic aspects. Sībawayh states that Persian *g* is represented in Arabic by *dj* or *ḳ*, Persian *p* by *b* or *f*, and Persian *sh* by *s*. He notes that the ending *-ah*, which goes back to Middle Persian *-ak*, occurs in Arabic as *-adj* or *-aḳ*. He also distinguishes between loan words which were borrowed unchanged (like *ibrīsam, ādjurr*) and others which were adapted to the noun system (like *dirham, djawrab*). From the methodological viewpoint, later scholars hardly surpassed Sībawayh since they, because of their one-sided orientation towards Arabic, did not lend enough weight to the knowledge of the languages of origin. Most of them were familiar with Persian only, and consequently wrong judgments are often found. The Arabic philologists mention three criteria to determine the foreign origin of a lexeme: it has not been integrated into the noun system; it shows certain phonematic combinations which are excluded in authentic Arabic roots, a viewpoint which had already been discovered by al-Khalīl (cf. *Muzhir*, i, 270, 6 ff.); and finally, can it be derived from a verbal root? In the latter case, some philologists consider the integration of a loan word as completed, so that it has become part of the *ʿarabiyya* (cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 357: *mā ḳīsa ʿalā kalām al-ʿarab fa-huwa min kalām al-ʿarab*). The Baṣran scholar Abū ʿUbayda is said to have upheld the opinion that the Ḳurʾān cannot contain any foreign element, because, according to sūra XXVI, 195, it was composed "in pure Arabic" (*bi-lisānⁱⁿ ʿarabiyyⁱⁿ mubīn*). The other scholars do not take over this view and point out that foreign words, through arabicisation, have become an integral element of the *ʿarabiyya* (cf. Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, 59; al-Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 5, 7).

The numerous loan words existing in Arabic already in pre-Islamic times originate mainly from Aramaic or Persian. It is occasionally difficult to determine whether loan words come from Semitic languages which are older than Arabic, because formally they cannot be distinguished from lexemes which are genuinely Arabic, cf. *kataba* "to write", which, as a cultural term, is of Northwestern Semitic origin, while *kataba* in the meaning of "to sew together" may belong to the authentic Arabic lexicon. Borrowings from Greek or Latin have usually come into Arabic through Aramaic, cf. *zawdj*<Aram. *zawgā*<Greek ζεῦγος; *Ḳaṣr*<Aram. *ḳaṣṭrā*<Lat. *castra*. Iranian words too have often reached Arabic via Aramaic. With Islam, there came a series of Judaeo-Christian religious terms, originating from Hebrew, cf. *ṣalāt, zakāt* and *ṣadaka*. Christian religious notions were taken from Ethiopic, too, from which derive however also many a word of everyday language, e.g. *khubz* and *baghl*. A new epoch began when Arabic developed into the cultural language of the Islamic world. The classical cultural heritage, appropriated through the translation of Greek words into Arabic, brought a great number of loan words, like *djughrāfiyā, mūsīḳī, hayūlā* and *athīr*, used until today. The rise of Turkish dynasties has left relatively few traces in Arabic, with the exception of the Ottoman domination whose influence is shown by a greater number of borrowings. The basic truth for all loan words is that those which do not fit into the morphemic system of the Arabic language show in the long run the tendency of being replaced by Arabic neologisms. Thus *arithmāṭīḳī*, "arithmetic", was replaced at an early stage by *ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, in the same way as *utumūbīl*, "automobile", is in our days replaced by *sayyāra*, whereas *falsafa*, "philosophy", (with *faylasūf*<Greek φιλόσοφος) or *talfan*, "to phone", (with *tilīfūn*) have become integral elements of the lexicon.

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1361/1942; Suyūṭī, *al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waḳaʿ fī 'l-Ḳurʾān min al-muʿarrab*; idem, *al-Mutawakkilī* (excerpt from *al-Muhadhdhab*), Cairo 1926; Khafādjī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fīmā waḳaʿ fī kalām al-ʿArab min al-dakhīl*, Cairo 1325/1907; Ṣ. Munadjdjid, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī 'l-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1398/1978; Aḥmad Kamāl Bāshāzāda, *Fī 'l-taʿrīb*, Djāmiʿat al-Mawṣil, Kulliyyat al-Ādāb 1403/1983; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im Klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919; L. Kopf, *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology* in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1960) 191-205; Ramadan Abdel-Tawab, *Das Kitāb al-Garīb al-Muṣannaf und seine Bedeutung für die nationalarabische Lexikographie*, diss. Munich 1962; A. Schall, *Geschichte des Arabischen Wortschatzes—Lehn- und Fremdwörter im Klassischen Arabisch*, in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*. Bd. I. *Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1982, 142-53.

(W. FISCHER)

AL-MUʿASKAR (Mʿaskar in the local pronunciation; in French, MASCARA), Arabic "military encampment", a town of Algeria, situated in lat.

35°26′ N. and long. 4°32′ W. at a distance of 60 miles/96 km. to the south-east of Oran (Wahrān).

It lies on the southern slope of the Beni Chougran (Banū Shuḳrān) range (which rise to 3,054 feet/900 m.), called by the local people *Shāreb errīḥ* "drinker of the wind", and is built on the edge of a ravine at the bottom of which flows the Wādī Sīdī Tūdjimān and on the other side of which there stretches towards the north-west the suburb of Bāb ʿAlī. Mascara dominates one of the most fertile plains of Algeria, one which measures 25 to 30 miles/40 to 50 km. from west to east and 10 to 12 miles/15 to 20 km. from north to south. Here, the people have from earliest times grown cereals, whilst the Europeans introduced here the cultivation of tobacco and created vineyards whose product is renowned. As the market centre for a prosperous region, Mascara had in 1926 30,660 inhabitants, including 13,237 Europeans and 4,481 Jews; since then, the population has considerably increased, whilst the extraneous elements have been reduced to a negligible number.

Mascara is a small Berber town of considerable antiquity. According to al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, tr. de Slane, rev. Fagnan, 160), it included among its inhabitants people who came from Tahert (Tiaret), some of whom went and settled at Ifgan, a day's journey to the south-east when this town was founded by Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ifrānī, in 338/949-50. Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 87) and al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, 251) mention Mascara as a large, well-watered village rich in fruits. The Almohads seem to have built a fortress there. The Zayyānids of Tlemcen kept a governor and a garrison there. Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard, 338) notes the importance of the market which was held at Mascara, "one of the towns of the Beni Rasid" (Banū Rāshid), where one could buy, along with cereals in large quantities, cloth and articles of harness manufactured in the country. The rulers of Tlemcen drew considerable revenues from it: 25,000 ducats according to Leo, 40,000 pistoles, according to Marmol (*Africa*, ii, 356).

The Turks established themselves at Mascara in the 16th century and placed a garrison there. In 1701 they made it the capital of the *beylik* of the west, which had hitherto been Mazūna in Dahra. The beys lived there till Oran was reoccupied by the Algerians in 1792. During this period, Mascara, which had hitherto only been an insignificant place, began to look like a regular town. The beys built two mosques and a *madrasa*, a wall and a *ḳaṣba* and brought in a water-supply. The manufacture of burnuses and *ḥāʾiks*, celebrated throughout the Regency, enriched the inhabitants. This prosperity began to decline after the beys left Mascara and especially after the risings, which broke out in the province of the West in the beginning of the 19th century. The Darḳāwī Ibn Sharīf seized the town in 1805 and held it for a time. In 1827 it was attacked by the marabout Muḥammad al-Tidjānī. Supported by the Hāshim, he gained possession of the suburb of Bāb ʿAlī, but was killed by the Turks when preparing to storm the town itself. At the end of the Turkish rule, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] who had been proclaimed Sultan by the tribes of the plain of Ghrīs, established his seat of government at Mascara, but rarely lived there. A French expedition in December 1836, led by Marshal Clauzel, occupied Mascara, which the French abandoned next day, after burning down part of it. The *amīr* returned to the town and held it till 30 May 1841, when a column under Bugeaud occupied it finally for the French. Mascara, then half in ruins, had only a population of 2,840 inhabitants.

Bibliography: Cès-Caupenne, *Mascara*, Paris 1856; Gorguos, *Notice sur Mohammed el Kebir*, in *Rev. Africaine* (1857); Lespinasse, *Notice sur les Hachem de Mascara*, in *ibid.* (1877); *Correspondence du capitaine Daumas*, Algiers 1912; *Tableau des Etablissements français dans l'Algérie*, year 1839; Guides Bleues, *Algérie-Tunisie*, index s.v.

(G. Yver*)

MUʿATTILA [see TAʿṬĪL].

MUʿĀWAḌA (A.), barter, exchange.

1. *Muʿāwaḍa*, barter, is historically an early form of the exchange of commodities between two parties and the predecessor of buying and selling (*bayʿ*; Roman law, *emptio-venditio*). In course of time, sale developed out of exchange when, with the coming of money, a sum was given in place of the goods which the other party had to give in return. In Islamic law we find the following four kinds of sale:

a. Exchange of one thing for another. This is the primitive method of exchange (*muʿāwaḍa*). Exchange is a transaction in kind. Payment takes place "hand upon hand" (*yadᵃⁿ bi-yadⁱⁿ*).

b. Exchange of a thing for a definite sum (*thaman*). By *thaman* (gold or silver) a sum of money is meant. Here we have a sale in the proper sense of the word [see BAYʿ].

c. Exchange of one definite sum (*thaman*) for another; this is the case of gold or silver being exchanged for each or one another. This is called *ṣarf* (money-changing).

d. Exchange of a claim (*dayn*, debt) for a definite sum. The main business under this head is the *salam* or *salaf* [*q.v.*].

2. *Muʿāwaḍa* is a subdivision of the form of agreement called *ṣulḥ*. According to Ibn al-Ḳāsim's definition, 338, and other *fuḳahāʾ*, such an agreement is either *ṣulḥ al-ibrāʾ*, reduction of debt (not wiping it out), or *ṣulḥ al-muʿāwaḍa*, exchange of debts. Ibn al-Ḳāsim thus defines the latter: "And the exchange, i.e. the composition, is the ceding of one's right to a third person, e.g. when someone claims a house or a part of it and he allows this claim and concludes an agreement with him by which the debt is paid in some definite thing, e.g. in clothes." In this case the creditor, instead of the thing claimed by him which the debtor is unwilling to give up, takes another to wipe out the disputed debt. An agreement may also be made about a legal claim instead of a thing. The following is a practical illustration. Zayd has a legal claim against ʿAmr. ʿAmr raises a claim against Zayd. Each of them abandons his claim in *ṣulḥ al-muʿāwaḍa* and the demands are cancelled.

3. Lastly, *muʿāwaḍa* is a technical term in the general Islamic law of contract, on which there is no comprehensive study taking full account of the sources. A contract (*ʿaḳd*) may be based on a one-sided or a mutual obligation (*contractus unilateralis* or *bilateralis*). The latter form, which is the basis for mutual obligations, claim and counterclaim, is called *muʿāwaḍa* in Islamic law. Examples of contract of this sort are those of sale, lease, marriage, etc.

Bibliography: L.W.C. van den Berg, *De Contractu "do ut des"*, Leiden 1868, 29; Aḥmad Abu 'l-Fatḥ, *al-Muʿāmalāt*, Cairo 1340, i, 41, 187 ff.; al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, pp. xi, xlviii, xiv; R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Göttingen 1895; see also the usual works on *fiḳh*.

(O. Spies)

MUʿĀWIYA I b. Abī Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of caliphs based in Syria (although not, as is often asserted, the first Umayyad caliph: that was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*], his second

cousin), ruled as generally acknowledged caliph from 41/661 to 60/680. His father was Abū Sufyān (Ṣakhr) b. Ḥarb b. Umayya al-Akbar b. ᶜAbd Shams [*q.v.*] and his mother was Hint bint ᶜUtba b. Rabīᶜa [*q.v.*], on account of whom Muᶜāwiya is sometimes referred to as Ibn Hind and *Ibn ākilat al-akbād*, "the son of the liver-eater" (cf. below).

The sources provide conflicting reports of the date of Muᶜāwiya's birth and of his age when he died: he is said to have been born 5, 7 or 13 years before Muḥammad's call to prophethood, conventionally set in 610 A.D. (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iii, 433), and to have been aged 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85 years when he died in Radjab 60/April-May 680 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 198, 199-200; see also Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 139. Several different dates in Radjab are proposed; it can be added that Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 356, believed him to have died on 6 Artemisios, May). His father, a prominent figure in pre-Islamic Mecca, being the leader of ᶜAbd Shams there, acted as the leader of the Meccans at the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*] in 3/625 (in the course of which Hind mutilated the corpse of the Prophet's uncle, Ḥamza, and chewed his liver as an act of vengeance), and organised the confederacy that unsuccessfully besieged Medina in 5/627. Thereafter, however, he ceased to figure as a leading member of the Meccan opposition to Muḥammad. In 7/629 his widowed daughter, Muᶜāwiya's sister Umm Ḥabība, married the Prophet; in 8/630 Abū Sufyān went to Medina to negotiate with him; and when in the same year Muḥammad entered Mecca, Abū Sufyān submitted and became a Muslim. According to Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, iii, 433, where the information is ascribed to al-Wāḳidī and preferred to a variant account), Muᶜāwiya also made his Islam manifest at this time (thus too al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 473), but in fact had been a crypto-Muslim since the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya [*q.v.*] in late 6/628. Both he and his father were nonetheless reckoned among the *ṭulaḳāʾ* and *ᶜutaḳāʾ*, enemies of the Prophet who had fallen into his hands, either at al-Ḥudaybiyya (al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmiᶜ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1953-60, xvi, 281, *ad* Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 24) or by virtue of the conquest of Mecca, and who had been released by him (cf. Ibn Hishām, 821; A.J. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936-69, s.v. *ṭalīḳ*). They were also among "those whose hearts [were] reconciled", as was Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān (W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 73; and see AL-MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). Muᶜāwiya went on to serve as one of the Prophet's scribes (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1782; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 473), being—so it is said—one of the seventeen literate Ḳurashīs at the time (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 471-2).

In 13/634 the caliph Abū Bakr sent Muᶜāwiya to Syria, where he functioned as the commander of the vanguard of the Arab army led by his brother Yazīd in various operations against the Byzantines (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2085, 2090; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 108, 117, 119, 126); and, according to Sayf b. ᶜUmar, he was present when the Arabs occupied Jerusalem in 16/637 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2406, wrongly dated). When Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān died in the plague of ᶜAmwās [*q.v.*] in 18/639, the caliph ᶜUmar put Muᶜāwiya in his brother's place (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2520 [*sub anno* 17]; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. al-ᶜUmarī, Nadjaf 1967, 109), and in the following year Muᶜāwiya was in command of the Arab conquest of Ḳaysariyya (*q.v.* for details; and note in particular al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142, ll. 14-17). The extent of the responsibilities assigned to Muᶜāwiya when his brother died is not entirely clear. According to one report, ᶜUmar put him in charge of the *djund* of Dimashḳ and its *kharādj*, and assigned the *djund* and *kharādj* of al-Urdunn to someone else (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2520, citing Ibn Isḥāḳ, who also provides a confusing report at p. 2646 in respect of the year 21); but according to another, ᶜUmar put him over both Dimashḳ and al-Urdunn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2866, citing Sayf); and a third says that he appointed him over "Syria", apparently in the sense of Dimashḳ, al-Urdunn, Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn to the exclusion of Filasṭīn (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141, citing Hishām b. ᶜAmmār; cf. also 172, l. 5; and Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 340, where the whole of the greater Syria is included). The situation is hardly any clearer in respect of 23/644, the year of ᶜUmar's death, or the arrangements made by ᶜUthmān; on the one hand, Muᶜāwiya was ᶜUmar's governor of Dimashḳ (or Dimashḳ and al-Urdunn) in 23, the governor of Ḥimṣ (or Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn) being ᶜUmayr b. Saᶜd al-Anṣārī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2737 [note e], 2798, 2866); but on the other hand, ᶜUthmān put Muᶜāwiya and ᶜUmayr b. Saᶜd in charge of (? confirmed their appointment over) "Syria" and al-Djazīra respectively (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183). The solution seems to be that Ḥimṣ, Ḳinnasrīn and al-Djazīra were distinct from "Syria" at this stage (*pace* Hishām b. ᶜAmmār, cited above) and formed an entity of their own, just as they had in 18/639 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 172, l. 16, citing al-Wāḳidī); they did not lie within Muᶜāwiya's remit until ᶜUmayr stood down or was dismissed, when they were made over to Muᶜāwiya by ᶜUthmān (who had by then also made Filasṭīn over to him) (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2866 f., citing Sayf; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183-4). According to Sayf, this bringing together of Syria (now in the conventional sense) and al-Djazīra under the sole control of Muᶜāwiya took place two years after ᶜUthmān's accession (*idjtamaᶜa ʾl-Shaʾm ᶜalā Muᶜāwiya li-sanatayn min imārat ᶜUthmān*; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2867), which would give us late 25/646 or early 26/647; and al-Wāḳidī knew that it had taken place by 31/651-2 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2865).

While expressions of discontent with ᶜUthmān and the representatives of his caliphal authority became increasingly manifest in ᶜIrāḳ, Egypt and Medina in the course of the early 30s/650s, Muᶜāwiya's Syro-Djazīran domain remained immune from such inconveniences, with the single exception of Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], who was quickly stifled. This was a front where there was plenty to do: Muᶜāwiya had held it energetically against the Byzantines, establishing strong garrisons along the coast and instituting Arab maritime warfare in the Mediterranean—an activity earlier forbidden by ᶜUmar (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2820-4; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 152-3). His firm government and continuing presence in Syria provided an element of stability. In addition, Syria had been the main Arab front in the time of Abū Bakr and, for much of the time, of ᶜUmar, with the result that the fighting men sent there were made up largely of cohesive Arab clan groups keen to campaign; by contrast, those whom it had been possible to muster for the secondary front of ᶜIrāḳ had for the most part been a miscellany of tribal oddments. This, together with the retention of the existing *djund* system in Syria, and the abandonment of any idea of establishing a single garrison city at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*] (or anywhere else) meant that each administrative unit was occupied by cohesive groups, whereas there was a mélange of diverse groups in Kūfa (see M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, in *IJMES*, ii [1971]). Arab newcomers could be accommodated in the appropriate *djunds*, and tensions of the

kind arising in Kūfa were obviated by the fact that the position of the tribal leaders was already established. In addition, it is possible that Muᶜāwiya may have taken the opportunity to station in Cyprus some of those Syrian early-comers whose standing was "Islamic" rather than tribal (al-Balā̲dh̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 153-4).

Thus, when the caliph ᶜUth̲mān was besieged in his Medinan residence by discontented provincials and others in 35/656, these elements did not include Arabs from Syria (Hinds, *The murder of the Caliph ᶜUth̲mān*, in *IJMES*, iii [1972], 464). Muᶜāwiya was among those governors to whom ᶜUth̲mān sent word, asking for help, and (perhaps after some extemporising) he did indeed despatch a relief force, which turned back at Wādī 'l-Ḳurā on learning that ᶜUth̲mān had been killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2959, 2985 [inconsistency in respect of the name of the leader]; al-Balādh̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 204-5). Thereafter, Muᶜāwiya simply bided his time in Syria while ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] sought to establish himself as leader and had to deal with Meccan-led opposition at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJ̲AMAL] at Baṣra in 36/late 656. ᶜAlī made no secret of his intention to dismiss Muᶜāwiya from office in Syria (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3085-6), and Muᶜāwiya studiously avoided paying any allegiance to him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3089-90). By the time when, after the Battle of the Camel, ᶜAlī sent a representative to elicit Muᶜāwiya's oath of allegiance (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3254), there was mounting Syrian resistance to him, coupled with a desire to hold him responsible for the murder of the dead caliph (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 74-5); and, crucially, it was at this point too that ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*] agreed to support Muᶜāwiya in return for a promise of Egypt when it could be detached from ᶜAlī's control (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3249-54, 3397). It was ᶜAmr who advised Muᶜāwiya to rally the notables (*wudj̲ūh*) of Syria by pinning the responsibility for ᶜUth̲mān's death on ᶜAlī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3255); they were called upon to fight for *s̲h̲ūrā* (i.e. the appointment of the caliph by consultation, as had been the case with ᶜUth̲mān) and vengeance for ᶜUth̲mān; and they responded by swearing allegiance to Muᶜāwiya in those terms, in his capacity of *amīr* (not caliph) (al-Balādh̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, ii, ed. Maḥmūdī, Beirut 1974, 300, 327). ᶜAlī's representative returned without Muᶜāwiya's oath of allegiance to him, bearing instead the information that the Syrians had resolved to fight him on the grounds that he had killed ᶜUth̲mān and harboured his [other] killers (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3255). The confrontation at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] ensued in late 36 and early 37/657 (see Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 77-83; Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, 362-5).

Concerning the battle itself, it will be sufficient here to note that, against the widely reported view that the Syrians were losing, whereupon Muᶜāwiya ordered the raising of the *maṣāḥif* and the call for a cessation of hostilities (Hinds, *The Siffin arbitration agreement*, in *JSS*, xvii [1972], 93-4), there can be set the non-Muslim contention that it was the Syrians who won this battle, a contention which is moreover corroborated by Umayyad court poetry (P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 69). As for the subsequent arbitration (see ᶜALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, at I, 383-4; Hinds, *The Siffin arbitration agreement*), it is best summed up by K̲h̲alīfa b, K̲h̲ayyāṭ in one sentence: "the arbiters agreed on nothing" (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, 174). In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaᶜda 37/April-May 658 ᶜAmr and the Syrians acknowledged Muᶜāwiya as caliph (*sallamū ᶜalayhi bi 'l-k̲h̲ilāfa*: al-Ṭabarī, i, 3359 ult., 3396; ii, 199).

Four more years were to pass, however, before Muᶜāwiya was able to enjoy general recognition as caliph. His immediate goal was achieved relatively easily; Egypt was taken in Ṣafar 38/July 658 and ᶜAmr formally took over as governor there two months later (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3407; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, 31; Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 93-8). This constituted a blow to the prestige of ᶜAlī, who was by then preoccupied with K̲h̲āridj̲ites [*q.v.*] in ᶜIrāḳ; and although Muᶜāwiya's attempt to subvert Baṣra in the same year through the agency of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī [*q.v.*] failed, ᶜAlī's position in ᶜIrāḳ grew weaker, while his control of territories further east was largely non-existent (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 99, and note in particular al-Ṭabarī, i, 3449). Muᶜāwiya waited, limiting his activities to small roving expeditions against the fringes of ᶜIrāḳ and into the Ḥidj̲āz and the Yemen (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 100), and may have gone so far as to make a truce with ᶜAlī in 40/660-1 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3453; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 101); if so, it was presumably at the very beginning of that year (May 660), for in July 660 there took place at Jerusalem a formal ceremony of allegiance to him as caliph (T. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Araber im 1. Jahr. d. H. aus syrischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG* xxix [1875], 95-6; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 4; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 101-2). Any plans ᶜAlī may have had to march against Muᶜāwiya were cut short in Ramaḍān 40/January 661, when he was struck with a poisoned sword in Kūfa by the K̲h̲āridj̲ite Ibn Muldj̲am [*q.v.*] and died some days later (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 102-4).The subsequent succession of al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] was a short-lived affair, for Muᶜāwiya now moved on ᶜIrāḳ with an army; al-Ḥasan settled for compensation in return for abdication and Muᶜāwiya entered Kūfa in Rabīᶜ I or Dj̲umādā I 41/July or September 661 (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 104-12). It is this year, the so-called *ᶜām* or *sanat al-dj̲amāᶜa*, "the year of [unification of] the community" (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 199; K̲h̲alīfa, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, 187), that is conventionally regarded as having marked the beginning of Muᶜāwiya's caliphate.

Thereafter, Muᶜāwiya had much to do in order to consolidate Sufyānid rule. Externally, there was above all the matter of Byzantium. In the Mediterranean he had already successfully challenged Byzantine seapower: in addition to having dealt with Cyprus [see KUBRUS] and raided Rhodes and Sicily, he had in 655 been in command of an Arab fleet of 200 vessels that had resoundingly defeated Constans II's fleet of 700-1000 vessels at the Battle of the Masts (on this and other operations against the Byzantines, see D̲H̲ĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl. and R.-J. Lilie, *Die Byzantinische Reaktion auf die Aussbreitung der Araber*, Munich 1976, 60 ff.). On the land frontier to the north, he had, as early as 646, advanced into Anatolia as far as Amorium [see ᶜAMMŪRIYA], but further progress had been limited and the actual frontier had been more in the area of Adana by the time the onset of war with ᶜAlī had forced Muᶜāwiya to come to terms with the Byzantines on the basis of payment of tribute (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 347). Now, however, he busied himself with settling Syrian coastal towns and improving their fortifications; Alexandria too was completely fortified (the work was completed by 670), and Egypt once more became the springboard of expansion into North Africa. The land offensive westwards was accompanied by an aggressive Arab policy at sea following the death of Constans II in 668. An expanded Arab navy raided as far as Sicily in 669, while the army in North Africa established al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] as a base and forayed into what is now Algeria. Rhodes and Crete were overrun in 672 and 674 respectively and

the naval expeditions that followed amounted to a seven-year blockade of Marmora and Constantinople—a blockade that came to an end shortly before Muᶜāwiya's death, when the Arab fleet was beaten off with Greek fire in 679. The same period witnessed regular annual incursions by land into Anatolia—incursions that had the advantage of providing booty and keeping the Arab army in trim. But late in his reign, Muᶜāwiya once more may have had to enter into arrangements involving the payment of tribute to the Byzantines, this time in order to cope with the Mardaites (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 355) [see DJARĀDJIMA].

Internally, Muᶜāwiya was faced with the task of defining and running a Syria-based caliphate capable of pulling together the sundered parts of the Arab domain and maintaining authority over an unruly tribal soldiery. In the Djazīra and the East, matters were particularly complex because the first conquests there had involved a double invasion of Arabs. The relatively united troops that resided in garrison cities under leaders backed by Medina were mainly Arabs from settled and semi-settled backgrounds; but their conquests were paralleled or, at times, even spearheaded by incursions of nomadic Arabs over whom the military leaders appointed by the caliphs had little or no control. In the Djazīra, the nomadic Sulamīs and other Ḳaysīs had enjoyed a free run for many decades, though Muᶜāwiya had settled tribesmen of Muḍar and Rabīᶜa on abandoned land in that region, permitting them to engage in agriculture, during the caliphate of ᶜUthmān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 178); and the situation had been further complicated by the influx of Kūfans and Baṣrans hostile to ᶜAlī who "abandoned their *hidjra*" in favour of the Djazīra in the course of the civil war (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2673; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ii, 297-8; al-Minḳarī, *Waḳᶜat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382, 12, 146; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 218; al-Ḳushayrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Raḳḳa*, ed. al-Niᶜsānī, Ḥamā 1387, 43; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 222; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, appendix I, nos. 13, 14, 16, 19). According to Sayf, Muᶜāwiya responded by detaching Ḳinnasrīn-Djazīra from Ḥimṣ and setting it up as a *djund* of its own (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2673). The *tadjnīd* of Ḳinnasrīn-Djazīra is, however, attributed to Yazīd I elsewhere (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132).

In the case of ᶜIrāḳ, few of the Tamīmīs and Bakrīs who had participated in the conquests settled at Kūfa and only relatively small numbers settled at Baṣra; for the most part they either returned to their own neighbouring pastures or pushed on into the remoter parts of ᶜIrāḳ or beyond, into Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. They had neither the desire nor the need to settle in garrison cities or other centres; and they were decidedly against any authority seeking to impose itself from outside. But the tightening up of control over the garrison cities themselves was also problematic. The basic problem here was that there were too many Arabs competing for too few resources, the lack of immigration controls having produced Arab over-population. Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], Muᶜāwiya's virtually autonomous viceroy in the East, dealt with this problem in a way which permitted him also to consolidate the conquests made in Khurāsān. He weeded out the *dīwān* lists of Kūfa and Baṣra, reorganised the tribal groupings, and moved an estimated 50,000 tribesmen and their families to Khurāsān in 51/671; these tribesmen were settled in the villages of the Marw oasis and were used to extend the Arab conquests in Khurāsān as far as the river Oxus (M.A. Shaban, *The ᶜAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 31 ff.). Within ᶜIrāḳ, Ziyād presided over a reorganisation which included confiscation of the *ṣawāfī*, erstwhile Sāsānid crown lands and other lands that had since the time of ᶜUmar been locally regarded as the collective property of the original conquerors (Ṣ.A. al-ᶜAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāᶜiyya wa 'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi 'l-Baṣra*, 2nd edn., Beirut 1969, 141; Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, 350, 367); and old-guard opposition to this was stifled by the exemplary execution of the veteran Ḥudjr b. ᶜAdī [*q.v.*]. At the same time, tribal leaders (*ashrāf*) who were ready to toe the Sufyānid line formed the base of the power structure.

The nature of this *ashrāf*-based power structure has been best described by Crone (*Slaves on horses*, 31-3, and, in more detail, *The Mawālī in the Umayyad period*, Univ. of London Ph.D. diss. 1973, unpubl., 27 ff.). Their *sharaf* was usually carried over from the Djāhilī period and they therefore represented "the continued efficacy of pre-Islamic tribal stratification"; since individual *ᶜashīras* [*q.v.*] were too small to function as autonomous units, some re-shaping had been essential: the tribal groupings at Kūfa had originally been *aᶜshār*, then they were *asbāᶜ*, and under Ziyād they were turned into *arbāᶜ*; at Baṣra they were *akhmās*. Sometimes existing confederacies accounted for these divisions and sometimes the divisions were organised specifically in order to break up such confederacies. The divisions themselves were like semi-artificial *ḳabāʾil* and, indeed, the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period are sometimes styled *ruʾūs al-ḳabāʾil*. The creation of these divisions engendered much rivalry for leadership, both between the divisions and within them, and also refusals to submit to particular leaders, as for example by the early Khāridjites or Ḥudjr b. ᶜAdī. The balance was thus a delicate one. Equally delicate was the role of the individual *sharīf* as an intermediary in the Sufyānid power structure, supporting and in turn being supported by the ruling authorities. The *ashrāf* would come together in the governor's *madjlis* and would be present at the Friday worship when the governor came face-to-face with the tribesmen; the governor's own *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] was drawn from the tribesmen, apparently by vote.

The governors of the provinces were drawn from among kinsmen of the caliph and people who were otherwise close to the caliphal family circle. In Medina, the governors were Umayyads: in Mecca, Umayyads and then a Makhzūmī; in Egypt, ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ and then notably Maslama b. Mukhallad [*q.v.*], who was one of the more important Anṣārīs who had stuck with Muᶜāwiya; in ᶜIrāḳ there was in particular Ziyād, whom Muᶜāwiya had adopted as his brother by the process of *istilḥāḳ* (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 121). The governors functioned as the link between the caliph and the *ashrāf* of the provinces, and the preference for kinsmen helped "to secure the impermeability of the state...vis-à-vis the *qabīla*s" (Crone, *Mawālī*, 29). The principle, in short, was one of indirect rule, with a good deal of provincial autonomy. The governors of the Sufyānid period had full civil and military authority within their huge provinces: the *amīr* or *ᶜāmil* (the terms seem to have been indistinguishable at this time) organised the army, conducted expeditions, led the worship, built mosques, administered justice, maintained order, ran the information network, appointed sub-governors (also called *amīr*s or *ᶜāmil*s), supervised the entire taxation system and (in principle at least) sent the surplus to Damascus. The use of pre-existing bureaucratic machinery, run by indigenous elements, meant that

the revenues were kept separate from the tribal framework; payments were made to tribesmen via the *ashrāf*, who themselves received stipends at the highest level (*sharaf al-ᶜaṭāʾ*). The *amīr* himself received a salary and allowances, while also being in a position to acquire riches from gifts, speculation in the sale of crops, trade and general appropriation of revenues. It was only in his person that the military and fiscal arms of the provincial administration met.

There was virtually no central bureaucracy, as distinct from the provincial bureaucracy of Syria. Muᶜāwiya is said to have set up a *dīwān al-rasāʾil* and a *dīwān al-khātam* (chancellery), as well as a *dīwān al-barīd* [see DĪWĀN. i); and he also compelled the provinces to contribute to the central treasury. But the evidence suggests a central administration of the most rudimentary kind, and the contributions of the provinces were not impressive. Out of an annual Egyptian revenue of three or five million *dīnārs*, Muᶜāwiya is said to have received a balance of only 600,000 *dīnārs* (thus Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 102, in conjunction with al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 61, and al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Buldān*, 339; differently al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 277); and out of an annual ᶜIrāḳī revenue of 100 million *dirhams* (120 million according to al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 277) he received no more than 6.66 million *dirhams* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv/1, ed. ᶜAbbās, 218-19). He was thus heavily dependent upon the revenues of his own province of Syria, the income from the *ṣawāfī* he had taken over in ᶜIrāḳ and elsewhere (al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 258-9, 277-8), the fifth of the booty made over to him at times of conquest, and other irregular income. There was no imperial body of troops. The caliph's troops were the Syrian troops, and the capital in effect moved around with the caliph.

Like his predecessor ᶜUthmān, Muᶜāwiya adopted the title *khalīfat Allāh*, "deputy of God" (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 6-7). But despite the claim to divine sanction and religious authority implied by this title, the caliphate was still a fluid institution. When Muᶜāwiya took over, there had been (we are told) four caliphs, only three of whom had gained general recognition, but each of whom had attained the caliphate by different means and three of whom had been murdered: the rights and duties of the caliph, the mode of succession and the general character of the power structure were matters that were neither spelt out nor agreed upon.

In practice, Muᶜāwiya does not seem to have pressed the divine sanction for his rule very far. He operated the system of clan and tribe—albeit within the changed conditions of life in ᶜIrāḳī cantonments and Syrian towns—as being the only viable form of Arab social order; his was a style that involved indirect rule through the *ashrāf*, supplemented by his own personal touch with delegations (*wufūd*) and, not least, by his *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], "the patient and tireless cunning in the manipulation of men through knowledge of their interests and passions" (M. Rodinson, *Muhammad*, London 1971, 221), which in his case included "the prudent mildness by which he disarmed and shamed the opposition, slowness to anger, and the most absolute self-command" (Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 138). In one of those semi-apocryphal stories with which Arabic literature is so rich, Muᶜāwiya is quoted as having said, "If there were but a single hair between myself and my people, it would never be severed.... I would let it go slack if ever they tugged it, and I would tug it myself if ever they slackened it" (thus, e.g., al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 283). Muᶜāwiya's success at this style of rule is attested by the fact that he managed to hold his kingdom together without ever having to resort to using his Syrian troops; and his contemporary John of Phenek, a Nestorian monk of north Mesopotamia, gives impressive testimony when he says, "Justice flourished in his time, and there was great peace in the regions under his control.... Once Mᶜawyā had come to the throne, the peace throughout the world was such that we have never heard, either from our fathers or from our grandparents, or seen that there had ever been any like it" (S. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, in *JSAI*, ix [1987], 61). The fact that his system of indirect control was "vulnerable in both structural and temporal terms" (Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 33) is more apparent to the modern historian than it was to contemporaries.

In Syria itself, Muᶜāwiya's position was underpinned by his troops, who were above all from the confederacy of Ḳuḍāᶜa [*q.v.*]. The leading tribe of Ḳuḍāᶜa was Kalb [see KALB B. WABARA] camel-breeding nomads of the Syrian desert who had earlier been employed by the Byzantines under Ghassānid leadership to defend the Syrian *limes* against the Sāsānids and the Lakhmids; they were accustomed to military discipline and had become Monophysite Christians. They stood aside when the Arab conquest of Syria took place, however, and were brought into the Arab power structure by Muᶜāwiya, who married Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbiyya [*q.v.*], the daughter of Baḥdal b. ᶜUnayf [*q.v.*] of the Ḥāritha b. Djanāb clan, which was the *bayt* of Kalb; this Maysūn became the mother of Muᶜāwiya's son Yazīd [*q.v.*]. On this basis, Muᶜāwiya built up a strong confederacy in which his Kalbī and other Ḳuḍāᶜī support was welded with that of immigrant tribesmen stationed in central and southern Syria, mainly Kindīs from the *wādīs* of southern Arabia. The leaders of the resultant confederacy were successively Mālik b. Baḥdal and his son Ḥassān b. Mālik [*q.v.*], and the arrangements included the awarding of stipends at the highest level to each of 2,000 men, together with privileges of consultation and precedence in the *madjlis* (*al-amr wa'l-nahy wa-ṣadr al-madjlis*: al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 200 = §1963).

Towards the end of his life, Muᶜāwiya had the oath of allegiance taken to his son Yazīd as his successor (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, 140-3; Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, in *MFOB*, v/1 [1911], ch. vi). It was not simply that Yazīd was of noble birth, mature years and acknowledged judgment; most important of all was the fact that he represented a continuation of the link with Kalb and so a continuation of the Kalb-led confederacy on which Sufyānid power ultimately rested (a point overlooked by Ibn Khaldūn in his celebrated defence of Muᶜāwiya's action, *ᶜIbar*, i, 175). From the main elements that made up the confederacy there was, understandably enough, no sign of protest that such an oath of allegiance marked a break with past Arab practice of choice by acclaim, and Muᶜāwiya did his best to grease the palms of others—notably members of Banū Hāshim—who might have been assailed by qualms. Nonetheless, his initiative met with resistance, notably on the part of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī [*q.v.*] in the Ḥidjāz. The resistance increased when Yazīd succeeded his father in 60/680; and with his early death in 64/683, civil war broke out again.

To posterity, Muᶜāwiya's accession marked the end of the rightly-guided caliphate. "It was as if Muhammad had worked and preached all for the greater glory and profit of his enemies. He had conquered an

empire for those who had rejected him, the Quraysh" (Rodinson, *Muhammad*, 295). At the same time, the transfer of the caliphate from Medina to Syria, the introduction of hereditary succession and the growth, however modest, of the state apparatus suggested that Muᶜāwiya had transformed the caliphate into a monarchic institution of the Persian or Byzantine type, the very institution that the Muslims had been sent to destroy (Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moᶜâwia Ier*, Paris, London and Leipzig 1908, 191-5; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 115). But even so, Muᶜāwiya's image is ambivalent (G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam*, London 1986, 42); he was seen, not just as the man who perverted the caliphate into kingship, but also as a clever and successful ruler, and there is considerable admiration for him in the sources. Attempts at dispassionate analysis of his reign were rare, however. To Ibn Rus͟hd, his caliphate represented a shift from the ideal constitution to a timocratic one (*Averroes' commentary on Plato's Republic*, tr. E.I.J. Rosenthal, Cambridge 1956, 223); and to Ibn K͟haldūn it was a stage in the inevitable transformation of *ᶜaṣabiyya* into *mulk* (*ᶜIbar*, i, 176). But more commonly, Muᶜāwiya was either cursed or venerated, the legitimacy of his caliphate being a far more important issue than its historical nature (cf. Pellat, *Le culte de Muᶜāwiya*, in *SI*, vi [1956]; M.A.J. Beg, *The reign of Muᶜāwiya*, in *IC*, li [1977], 84). Modern Muslim writings on Muᶜāwiya and the Umayyads are also highly *parti pris* (see W. Ende, *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte*, Beirut 1977).

Bibliography: Basically given in the article. See also H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930: ᶜU. Abu 'l-Naṣr, *Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān wa-ᶜaṣruhu*, Beirut 1962; E. Ladewig Petersen, *ᶜAlī and Muᶜāwiya in early Arabic tradition*, Copenhagen 1964; I. Hassan, *Recherches sur Muᶜāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān*, Jerusalem 1982 (in Hebrew, unpublished). (M. Hinds)

MUᶜĀWIYA II b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiya I, last caliph of the Sufyānid line of the Umayyads, reigned briefly in 64/683-4.

When Yazīd I b. Muᶜāwiya [*q.v.*] died at Ḥuwwārīn in the Syrian Desert in Rabīᶜ I 64/November 683, he left behind three young sons by free mothers; Muᶜāwiya and his brother K͟hālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] cannot have been much more than 20 years old, Muᶜāwiya's age being given by the sources variously at between 17 and 23. Most of the surviving Sufyānids were in fact young and inexperienced, with their leadership qualities unproven. Yazīd had had the *bayᶜa* [*q.v.*] made to Muᶜāwiya before his death (see Lammens, *Le califat de Yazîd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 112, 425 ff.), and Muᶜāwiya succeeded in Damascus with Kalbī support, but was not recognised in the lands acknowledging the anti-caliph ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. The name of Muᶜāwiya's mother is not recorded, but she was a member of the powerful Kalb group; those sources (e.g. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 22; etc.) making him the son of Umm Hās͟him Fāk͟hita bt. Abī Hās͟him confuse Muᶜāwiya's mother with that of his half-brother K͟hālid.

The length of Muᶜāwiya's reign is given in the sources as from 20 days up to 4 months, but given the fact that virtually nothing is known of his reign, a duration of at most one or two months seems likely. It is known that the Christian Sard͟jūn b. Manṣūr continued to serve the new caliph as head of the *dīwān*, as he had done in the previous two reigns (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837), and Muᶜāwiya's closest adviser seems to have been the Ḳuras͟hī head of the Ḳays group, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], subsequently to be vanquished at Mard͟j Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba, son of Muᶜāwiya I's only full brother and probably the eldest living Sufyānid.

Some of the very few incidents recounted for his reign by the historians must be regarded as fabricated for political or sectarian aims, hence unreliable. Thus the report of ᶜAwāna in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 468 (but not in al-Wāḳidī's account at ii, 577) and in al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 229, that he abdicated the throne (*tabarraʾa min al-k͟hilāfa*) before his actual death, stems from subsequent Marwānid propaganda to confuse the fact that the Marwānids supplanted the Sufyānids; it was probably for this reason that Muᶜāwiya's name does not appear in some of the lists of caliphs, e.g. K͟halīfa b. K͟hayyāṭ, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1387-8/1967-8, i, 318. Likewise, the assertion that he was an adherent of the Ḳadariyya sect may have resulted from a later belief in an abdication, which would have been in accord with Ḳadarī beliefs on human responsibility as a factor in political behaviour [see ḳadariyya, at IV, 369b]. Of S͟hīᶜī inspiration is the report in al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīk͟h*, ii, 302-3, that, at the meeting of Syrian leaders at the opening of his reign, Muᶜāwiya denounced the tyranny and perfidiousness of his own father and grandfather and their maltreatment of the ᶜAlids, the true inheritors of the Prophet (see Lammens, *Moᶜâwia II*, in *Études*, 192-202). The attribution to Muᶜāwiya of the *kunya* Abū Laylā, given ironically because, as several sources explain (e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maᶜārif*, ed. ᶜUkkās͟ha, 352; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 428-9; al-Masᶜūdī, v, 168-9 = §1932), it was especially applied to weak persons, is equally suspect; Muᶜāwiya does not in any case seem to have left behind any progeny.

What seems definite is that, on his accession, Muᶜāwiya remitted one-third of the taxation due, and a Latin chronicle of the Byzantine period states that Muᶜāwiya followed in the same commendable ways of conduct as his father Yazīd (Lammens, *Moᶜâwiya II*, 177-8, 179). But his ill-health compelled him to remain within the palace of al-K͟haḍrāʾ, the *dār al-imāra* of Damascus constructed by Muᶜāwiya I (see Ibn ᶜAsākir, tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas d'Ibn ᶜAsākir*, Damascus 1959, 228), leaving the practical conduct of affairs to al-Ḍaḥḥāk and not emerging from his residence till he died. It seems likely that his authority was only recognised in Damascus and southern Syria, and even possible that, already before his death, some of the partisans of the Umayyads may have started to look elsewhere for a more energetic ruler.

The exact cause of Muᶜāwiya's death is unclear. It may have resulted from jaundice (*al-ṣufār*), indicating a liver complaint, or it may have been the result of a sharp outbreak of plague which ravaged ᶜIrāḳ and Syria at this time and which could also have carried off al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 468; Ibn ᶜAsākir, ms. Ẓāhiriyya, notice on Muᶜāwiya b. Yazīd). Muᶜāwiya had either refused to nominate a successor (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 577) or, more probably, had never had time to hold a ceremony of *bayᶜa*. Al-Walīd b. ᶜUtba recited the funeral prayers over Muᶜāwiya but seems himself to have died before he could assert a claim to the throne; and Muᶜāwiya's uncle ᶜUt͟hmān b. ᶜAnbasa b. Abī Sufyān, who enjoyed some support among the Kalb of the province of Jordan, went to join his mother's brother ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the Ḥid͟jāz, where his claim to the caliphate had already been raised. Muᶜāwiya's death thus not only meant a complete cessation of the military operations begun in the Ḥid͟jāz by Yazīd against the rebels but led also to the temporary collapse of Umayyad power

in its own heartland of Syria, where only the resolute behaviour of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], from a parallel branch of the Umayyad family, was to secure the situation for the dynasty.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Saᶜd, v, 27; Balā̲dh̲urī, *Ansāb*, iv b, 62-5; Ṭabarī, ii, 429-32; Masᶜūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 168-70 = §§1932-4; idem, *Tanbīh*, 306-7, 335, tr. Carra de Vaux, 398, 431; T. Nöldeke, *Zur Geschichte der Omaijjaden*, in *ZDMG*, lv (1902), 683-5; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, Paris 1912-22, 734-5; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 169-70; H. Lammens, *Moᶜâwia II ou le dernier des Sofiânides*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1920, 163-210; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 108-11, 133-4; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad caliphate AD 661-750*, London 1986, 47.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MUᶜĀWIYA b. **HIS̲H̲ĀM** b. ᶜAbd al-Malik, Umayyad prince. As the eldest son of His̲h̲ām [*q.v.*], caliph from 105 to 125/724-43, he was designated heir presumptive by his father, but died prematurely, at a date variously located between 117 and 119/735-7, at about thirty years of age. Although he did not himself accede to the throne, he was the father of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], known as al-Dāk̲h̲il, who fled to Spain where he restored the dynasty founded in Damascus by Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*]. Muᶜāwiya b. His̲h̲ām, who had thirteen sons, was thus the ancestor of the *amīrs* and caliphs who reigned at Cordova until the 5th/11th century [see umayyads of spain].

Bibliographical information concerning him is scanty. His mother was probably an *umm walad*, and his father had him participate in about a dozen summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) from 106/724 onwards.

Bibliography: Muṣᶜab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳurays̲h̲*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amharat ansāb al-ᶜArab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 84-5; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, i, 156-7; Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, *Muᶜd̲j̲am Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970, s.v. and index.

(Ch. Pellat)

MUᶜĀWIYA b. **ḤUDAYD̲J̲** (K̲h̲adīd̲j̲ in the *D̲j̲amhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 240) b. D̲j̲afna al-Sakūnī al-Tud̲j̲ībī, Abū Nuᶜaym or Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, Companion of the Prophet who took part in the conquest of Egypt and remained in the country with the Muslim occupying forces.

He was an ᶜUt̲h̲mānī, much attached to the memory of ᶜUt̲h̲mān b. ᶜAffān and hostile to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; also, when Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], who had been involved in the murder of ᶜUt̲h̲mān, arrived at Fusṭāṭ in mid-Ramaḍān 37/24 February 658, in order to govern Egypt in the name of ᶜAlī, Ibn Ḥuday̲d̲j̲ showed him violent hostility, in which he was joined by Maslama b. Muk̲h̲allad [*q.v.*] who was, like him, the leader of a powerful contingent ready to lend support to potential rebels. Meanwhile, Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, still merely the governor of Syria, but pre-empting the decision of the two arbitrators appointed after Ṣiffīn and engaged in the effort to avenge the murder of ᶜUt̲h̲mān, appointed ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ [*q.v.*], governor of Egypt. To prevent him accomplishing his mission, the son of Abū Bakr mobilised his troops, among whom was the actual murderer of ᶜUt̲h̲mān, Kināna b. Bis̲h̲r, who was killed in battle; abandoned by his army, the titular governor took flight, so that ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ was able to enter Fusṭāṭ. Ibn Ḥuday̲d̲j̲ took part in the hunt for the fugitive, whom he discovered in hiding; he received orders from ᶜAmr to conduct him to Fusṭāṭ out of respect for his brother ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, who was among his ranks, but he refused and killed his adversary, placing his skin in the hide of a donkey and setting fire to it; it is also said that he sent his head to Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and that the latter paraded it through the streets of Damascus.

These events, which took place in 38/658, have engaged the main interest of historians and biographers, but Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥuday̲d̲j̲ also achieved renown through actions concerning the Mag̲h̲rib. He is in fact credited with three expeditions in Ifrīḳiya. In the course of the first, which took place in 34/654-5, he "took possession of numerous fortresses and gained a considerable quantity of booty. He established a garrison-camp near al-Ḳarn and resided there until his return to Egypt" (Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam, partial ed.-tr. A. Gateau, Algiers[2] 1957, 56/57); it was on this occasion that he awarded his troops "in the form of a special gratuity (*nafala*), half of the booty, having taken a fifth for himself" [see g̲h̲anīma]. The site of al-Ḳarn, which is a hill 171 m. in height "12 km. to the north-west of the present town of al-Ḳayrawān on the road from D̲j̲alūlā" [see al-ḳayrawān. i] may be considered as having determined the choice of location of the capital of Ifrīḳiya. The early historians—such as Ibn ᶜAbd al Ḥakam or al-Bakrī—describe with fantastic details the miraculous capture of D̲j̲alūlā by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān or by the leader of the expedition himself. The other mission, which took place in 40/660-1 (or 41, with the conquest of Bizerta [see banzart], or 45) and finally in 50/670, with the support of a contingent from Medina commanded by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, again led Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥuday̲d̲j̲ to al-Ḳarn, which was to some extent his operational base. Al-Ṭabarī (ii/1, 84, 93) states that he was appointed governor of Egypt in 47/667 and dismissed in 50/670, but in fact it was his comrade-in-arms Maslama b. Muk̲h̲allad who held this function. He died shortly afterwards, in 52/672, but historians such as Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (*s.a.* 58) or Ibn Tag̲h̲rībardī (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, i, 151) describe him receiving bountiful honours, in Damascus in 58/678, from Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, to whom he explained his refusal to accept appointment by the nephew of the caliph, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, as governor of Egypt; there is evidently some confusion here, the cause of which is unclear.

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted, see Balā̲d̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 221, 227, 228, 235, 237; Ṭabarī, i, 3404 ff.; Masᶜūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 421-3 = §1726; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, *Istīᶜāb*, commentary on the *Iṣāba*, iii, 406; Ibn ᶜId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, 15, 16; Bakrī, *Mug̲h̲rib*, ed.-tr. de Slane, index; ᶜAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 8062; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1951, i, 17-18; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maᶜālim al-īmān*, i, 39-40; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iii, 298; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībardī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, i, 110 ff., 139; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Berbères*, i, 210, 307, 308, 315, 324; Ibn al-ᶜImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, i, 54, 57.

(Ch. Pellat)

MUᶜĀWIYA b. **ᶜUBAYD ALLĀH** [see abū ᶜubayd allāh].

al-**MUᶜAWWID̲H̲ATĀNⁱ**, "the two sūras of taking refuge [from evil]", the name given to the two last sūras (CXIII and CXIV) of the Ḳurʾān, because they both begin with the words *ḳul: aᶜūd̲h̲u bi-rabbī* ... *min* ..., "Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of ... against ...", and are pronounced as prayers intended to dispel the evils engendered by the devil, evil spirits, the practice of magic, etc. The plural *al-muᶜawwid̲h̲āt* is also found equally applied to these two sūras and to

the preceding one, set forth in the form of a *credo*; this plural appears especially in al-Bukhārī (*daʿawāt, bāb* 12) in regard to the Prophet, who recited these sūras when he was about to go to sleep.

The *muʿawwidhatān*i are considered to be Meccan, although they are also considered as having been revealed at Medina in order to frustrate an attempt to lay a spell on the Prophet (on the use which he made of them, see al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 155). They have continued to be employed, especially to avert the evil eye (Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1899, 259).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also the dictionaries, s.v. (ED.)

AL-**MUʾAYYAD** [see HISHĀM II].

AL-**MUʾAYYAD BIʾLLĀH MUḤAMMAD**, the name of two Ḳāsimī Zaydī *imāms* of Yemen.

1. Ibn al-Imām al-Manṣūr biʾllāh al-Ḳāsim, known best as the *imām* in whose time the Ottoman Turks were expelled from Yemen after a continuous presence of a century (945-1045/1538-1635).

Born in 990/1582, widespread recognition of his scholarly and leadership capabilities assured him unchallenged election to the imāmate upon his illustrious father's death in Rabīʿ I 1029/February 1620. One of *Imām* Muḥammad's first acts was to renew the ten-year truce which his father had latterly concluded with Meḥmed Pasha, the governor of the Ottoman Turks still occupying numerous centres in Yemen. This agreement was upheld until early 1036/late 1626 when, following the execution of an eminent supporter of the *imām* by Ḥaydar Pasha, the current Ottoman governor, assaults on several Ottoman strongholds were mounted by the *imām*'s forces. Indigenous support for *Imām* Muḥammad proved considerable, and before the year's end the Turks had lost all of their holdings in the central and northern highlands except Ṣanʿāʾ, their main base, which was under close investment. With the surrender of both Ṣanʿāʾ and Taʿizz during 1038/1629, the Ottoman forces remained confined to Zabīd and Mocha in the Tihāma, despite their substantial augmentation with reinforcements. A series of short truces with the *imām* enabled the strife-torn Ottoman garrison to survive at Zabīd until mid-1045/late 1635, when Ḳānṣūh Pasha, the last Ottoman governor, capitulated and departed from Yemen, followed shortly by most of the remaining Ottoman soldiery. *Imām* Muḥammad died at Shahāra, his capital, in Radjab 1054/September 1644, the sources reporting no significant events during his final years.

Although during his time Yemen freed itself from foreign rule, thereby becoming the first Arab country to secede from the Ottoman empire, *Imām* Muḥammad entrusted all military affairs to his capable brothers, principally to al-Ḥasan (d. 1048/1639), al-Ḥusayn (d. 1050/1640) and Aḥmad (d. *ca.* 1060/1650), while he devoted himself to scholarship and to leading the Zaydī community. Al-Ḥibshī (*Muʾallafāt*, 137-9) has identified and located thirteen works of his authorship, mainly legal opinions and interpretations based on Zaydī dogma.

2. Ibn al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʾllah Ismāʿīl b. al-Imām al-Manṣūr biʾllāh al-Ḳāsim, who succeeded *Imām* al-Mahdī Aḥmad (d. Djumādā II 1092/June-July 1681) and held the imāmate until his death on 3 Djumādā II 1097/27 April 1686, possibly from poisoning. Unwarlike, and distinguished by his extreme ascetism, piety and devotion to learning, this incumbent, who was *imām* in little more than name only, was initially challenged and later largely disregarded by several aggressive competitors among his brothers and cousins.

Bibliography (combined): 1. Primary sources. An extant biography of *Imām* Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim is *al-Djawhara al-munīra* by Djurmūzī (d. 1077/1666-7), yet unpublished. Other ms. sources include the *Sīrat al-Manṣūr biʾllāh al-Ḳāsim*, of unknown authorship, described by A. Sayyid (*Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 332) as a history of Yemen 985-1085/1577-1674; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1689), *Bahdjat al-zaman*, the *dhayl* to his *Anbāʾ al-zaman* chronicling events in Yemen between 1046/1636-7 and 1099/1687-8; Ḥasanī (d. 1104/1692-3), *Takmilat Kitāb al-ifāda*; ʿĀmir b. Muḥammad al-Rashīd (d. 1135/1722-3), *Bughyat al-murīd*. Two useful published chronicles are Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī* (the abridgement of his *Anbāʾ al-zaman*), ed. S. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 813-39 (to 1045/1635-6) and Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734-5), *Ṭabaḳ al-ḥalwā*, ed. Djāzim, Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, which treats events in Yemen from 1045-90/1635-80.

2. Published secondary materials include Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, ii, 445-7, iii, 153-62; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, iii, 297-9, 396 f., iv, 122 f., 297 f.; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 222-58; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 48-56, 60-3; ʿĀṭıf Pasha, *Yemen tārīkhi*, Istanbul 1326/1908, i, 96-104; Zabāra, *Itḥāf al-muhtadīn*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1343/1924-5, 80, 84; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii. 139 f., 238-40; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 66-8; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 145-55, 169 f.; Muṣṭafā Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 369-89; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 245-9; Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 136-9, 143-5.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-**MUʾAYYAD FI ʾL-DĪN** ABŪ NAṢR HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ ʿIMRĀN MŪSĀ B. DĀWŪD AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, an eminent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, who played a leading role as an intermediary between the Fāṭimids and AL-BASĀSĪRĪ [*q.vv.*] in the famous campaign against the Saldjūḳs. He was born in Shīrāz during the eighties of the 4th/nineties of the 10th century (*Dīwān al-Muʾayyad*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 21-2, 234-5, 253, 282). His father, also an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, was a prominent man in the Būyid court circle, and Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī, the vizier of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] used to visit him frequently (*Sīrat al-Muʾayyad*, ed. Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949, 15). He probably succeeded his father in the headship of the *daʿwa* in Fārs. In 429/1038, the administration became alarmed at his rising influence over the Daylamīs, one of the main groups in the Būyid army, and over the people of Shīrāz, and wanted him deported. Al-Muʾayyad, who was on good terms with the vizier al-ʿĀdil, contrived to buy time and arranged a meeting with the young prince Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*]. The story of his life and adventures thenceforth until the year 450/1058 are well documented in his autobiography, whereas the preceding and following periods of his life remain somewhat obscure.

Through his wits, learning, and eloquence, al-Muʾayyad succeeded in winning the sympathies of Abū Kālīdjār and eventually converted him to the Ismāʿīlī faith. The favour shown to him by the prince aroused envy at court, but al-Muʾayyad was not deterred from propagating the Fāṭimid doctrine publicly. After the vizier al-ʿĀdil's death in 433/1041-

2 he journeyed to Ahwāz, restored an old mosque, inscribed the names of the Fāṭimid *imāms* on the *miḥrāb*, and read the *khuṭba* in name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (*Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad*, 54-5). On his return to Shīrāz he found a hostile reception from the new vizier. Finally, on account of the ʿAbbāsid caliph's pressure and of intrigue at his own court against al-Mu'ayyad, Abū Kālīdjār was obliged to withdraw his support and advised him to leave the city. Probably at the beginning of 435/1043, he migrated secretly to Ahwāz and stayed with *amīr* Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asadī on his estate for seven months. The *amīr*'s intervention on behalf of al-Mu'ayyad might have reconciled the prince, who was also in Ahwāz, but the death of Djalāl al-Dawla in Shaʿbān of the same year made it impossible, as Abū Kālīdjār renewed his claims to the throne in Baghdād. Consequently, al-Mu'ayyad left for Nadjaf and Karbalā'. After spending a year in al-Mawṣil, he arrived in Cairo in 438/1046, but failed to get an audience with the *imām* until Shaʿbān 29, 439/February 18, 1048.

Despite his superior accomplishment and great literary ability, al-Mu'ayyad did not find favour with the courtiers until 444/1052-3 when he was appointed to the chancery. In 446/1054-5, after receiving information through a Byzantine source that Ṭoghrıl Beg had entered into a secret agreement with the Byzantines against the Fāṭimids, he corresponded with al-Basāsīrī, a Turkish slave who had become a military commander in the last years of the Būyid dynasty, promising Fāṭimid aid and encouraging him to conquer Baghdād. The following year he was sent as a Fāṭimid plenipotentiary in this matter to ʿIrāḳ with money, exquisite robes, horses and weapons. By way of Damascus and Aleppo he went to al-Raḥba and handed over to al-Basāsīrī an investiture from al-Mustanṣir. His intense efforts at dealing with numerous *amīrs* and military leaders resulted in the formation of a coalition under the leadership of al-Basāsīrī which inflicted a bloody defeat on the Saldjūḳ army at Sindjār in 448/1057, and al-Mustanṣir was acknowledged in al-Mawṣil. However, a lack of further support from Cairo and the greed of military leaders led al-Mu'ayyad to withdraw to Aleppo.

He returned to Cairo in 450/1058 and became *dāʿī al-duʿāt*, but his good fortune did not last long and he was briefly vanished by a vizier to Jerusalem. He was in direct communication with the Yamanī *daʿwa*, since the Yamanī *dāʿī* al-Ḳāḍī Lamak b. Mālik, the Ṣulayḥid emissary in Cairo, had stayed with him during his sojourn (454-9/1062-7) in Cairo and had received special instructions from him. He died in 470/1077 and was buried in the Dār al-ʿIlm.

His *al-Madjālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* (vol. i ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1974; a compendium compiled by *dāʿī* Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1975) in 8 vols. is considered to be the apogee of Ismāʿīlī learning.

Bibliography: For a full description of his works and sources, see I Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 103-9.

(I. POONAWALA)

AL-**MU'AYYAD SHAYKH** (AL-MALIK), Circassian Mamlūk sultan. He was brought to Egypt by the *khʷādjā* Maḥmūd Shāh (732/1380-1), and bought by al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] whence his *nisba*s of al-Maḥmūdī al-Ẓāhirī.

He was then about 12 or possibly (following Ibn Taghrībirdī) some 10 years older, and was in due course emancipated and promoted in the sultan's entourage. In 802/1400 he was appointed governor of Tripoli by al-Nāṣir Faradj [*q.v.*], and spent the next 12 years in Syria, holding various appointments. He was deeply involved in the factional politics in which the Ẓāhiriyya, while generally opposed to Faradj and his Nāṣiriyya household, were also at odds amongst themselves. In 812/1410 Shaykh allied with his rival, Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Ẓāhirī, and ultimately they defeated and deposed Faradj (Muḥarram 815/May 1412). With the caliph al-Mustaʿīn as nominal sultan, the realm was partitioned, Nawrūz retaining Syria, while Shaykh ruled Egypt as *atābak al-ʿasākir*. This settlement was overturned when Shaykh usurped the sultanate (Shaʿbān 815/November 1412). Nawrūz refused to recognise his title, and endeavoured to organise the Syrian governors against him.

This led to Shaykh's first Syrian campaign (817/1414), when Nawrūz was lured out of the citadel of Damascus to his death. The ensuing settlement of Syria proved ephemeral, as the governors appointed by Shaykh conspired against him, and the sultan led a second campaign (818/1415) to suppress their revolt. The third campaign (820/1417) was very different in its purpose and scope. Shaykh advanced to Aleppo, which became his base for operations in the northern marches. Two Turcoman principalities were here the immediate neighbours of the sultanate: the Ramaḍānids (Ramaḍān-oghulları [*q.v.*]) dominated Cilicia [*q.v.*] from Adana [*q.v.*], while to their east were the Dulḳādirids (Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]) of Elbistan [*q.v.*] with their other principal towns at Marʿash and Malaṭya [*q.vv.*]. Greater powers flanked these client-states: westwards the Ḳaramānids (Ḳaramān-oghulları [*q.v.*]), and eastwards the Turcoman confederacies of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu [*q.vv.*]. Shaykh's immediate aim was to capture Ṭarsūs, which had been taken from his Ramaḍānid client by the Ḳaramānid Nāṣir al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg. This was achieved, while the main thrust of the expedition was developed towards the east with an offensive against Elbistan and the Dulḳādirid fortresses, most of which surrendered, at least temporarily. The Ḳaramānids and the growing power of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu under their greatest chief, Ḳara Yūsuf, continued to be Shaykh's chief anxieties. In 812/1418, fearing that fighting between the two Turcoman confederacies threatened Aleppo, he obtained a *fatwā* justifying *djihād* against Ḳara Yūsuf, who however withdrew. An expedition accompanied by Shaykh's son, Ṣārim al-Dīn (al-Ṣārimī) Ibrāhīm, invaded Ḳaramānid territory in 822/1419. Kayseri surrendered, and Shaykh's suzerainty was recognised. Meḥmed Beg withdrew as the sultan's army advanced to Konya, Niğde and Laranda. Here, however, the decision was taken to return to Aleppo. The expedition, like that of Baybars in 675/1276, had demonstrated the limitations and impermanency of Mamlūk ascendancy in Anatolia. There were no further campaigns in Shaykh's reign, although in his last months he was again preparing an expedition against Ḳara Yūsuf.

These transient victories partially masked the unsound condition of Egypt. The currency was unstable. Epidemics of plague were recurrent. A serious dearth resulting in bread riots occurred in 818/1415-16, while in 820/1417-18 the *ustādār* Fakhr al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Faradj carried out extortionate levies in Lower Egypt, which he followed with a punitive expedition against the Arabs of Upper Egypt. The booty then acquired (including enslaved free women) was disposed of by enforced purchase at arbitrarily fixed prices (*tarḥ*).

Shaykh suffered from a condition in his legs which

at times made walking impossible, and his health deteriorated throughout 823/1420. On 15 Djumādā II 823/27 June 1420, al-Ṣārimī Ibrāhīm died, leaving no obvious successor to the sultanate. Shaykh designated his infant son, Aḥmad (born 2 Djumādā I 822/27 May 1419) as his heir. Shaykh himself died on 9 Muḥarram 824/14 January 1421, and was buried in the Mu'ayyadī mosque, which he had built by the Zuwayla Gate. Less than a year later, al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad was deposed by the usurper Ṭaṭar al-Ẓāhirī.

Bibliography: There are two contemporary accounts of the reign: by Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), *K. al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, iv/1, 243-551, Cairo 1972; and by his younger contemporary, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, xiv, 1-166 (Cairo edn.) = Popper, vi/2, 322-431; tr. iii, 15-120. A later account is given by Ibn Iyās (b. 852/1448), *Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳā'iʿ al-duhūr*, ii, 3-63, Wiesbaden 1972 (translation by G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, Paris 1955-60, index).

(P.M. HOLT)

MU'AYYAD-ZĀDE or MÜ'EYYED-ZĀDE, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ ČELEBĪ, an important Ottoman theologian and legist.

Born in 860/1456 in Amasya of the family of Mu'ayyad-zāde (his father ʿAlī was one of the three sons of Diwrigli-zāde Shams al-Dīn Mu'ayyad Čelebī, d. 851/1447, Shaykh of the Yaʿḳūb Pasha *zāwiye* in Amasya), he became, as a young student of theology, acquainted with prince Bāyezīd, the younger son of Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and afterwards Sultan, who had been appointed *wālī* of Amasya as a seven year-old boy, and became a member of his circle. It is to this period that his relations with the famous poetess Mihrī Khātūn [*q.v.*] belong. The relations between the gifted youth and the prince, who was about 9 years older than he (born 851/1447), became so intimate that Mu'ayyad soon became the inseparable comrade of Bāyezīd. When Sultan Meḥemmed heard from various sources, especially from a complaint in verse by Ḥalīmī Luṭf ʿAllāh, *ḳāḍī* of Sīwās, who had been gravely insulted by the entourage of the prince, of alleged abuses at the prince's court, especially the orgies of drug-taking (*mukeyyefāt: bersh, afiyūn, maʿdjūn*), he sent a commission of enquiry which arrived in Amasya when the prince was with Mu'ayyad on a pleasure trip to Ladik. The result of the enquiry was the issue of an order for the execution of the two chief culprits, one of whom was Mu'ayyad (this *ḥükm-i sherīf* is given in Ferīdūn, *Medjmūʿa-yi münshe'āt*², Istanbul 1274/1857-8, i, 270-1). From a note by Mu'ayyad in a book bought by him during his stay in Ladik in Rabīʿ I 882/June 1477 (the *Zīdj* of Shems al-Dīn) the date is exactly fixed (the date in Ferīdūn should therefore be altered from 884 to 883; cf. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Amasya ta'rīkhi*, Istanbul 1927, iii, 230 n. 1). Mu'ayyad, receiving timely warning of the fate threatening him, escaped from Amasya, provided with everything necessary by Bāyezīd, and after a short stay in Ḥalab or Aleppo went to Shīrāz, where he completed his theological studies under the celebrated Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī [*q.v.*].

When Mu'ayyad returned home, on hearing of Bāyezīd's accession, he received an *idjāza* (teacher's diploma) from al-Dawwānī. In 887/1482 he reached Amasya, where his father had died three months earlier. After staying six weeks here, he went to Istanbul, where his extensive learning soon gained him a reputation among the theologians. Bāyezīd appointed him *müderris* at the Ḳalender-khāne *medrese* in Istanbul. In 891/1486 Mu'ayyad married the daughter of the famous legist Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Kasṭallānī (Mawlāna Kestellī) who was the last *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*-general of the Turkish empire, and after the reforms by which this office was divided, became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumelia. Mu'ayyad had a brilliant career: in 899/1494 he became *ḳāḍī* of Edirne; in 907/1501 *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia; in 910/1504-5, *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumelia and head of all the *ʿulamā'*. In 917/1511 the Janissaries who had taken the part of prince Selīm plundered his house because his sympathies were with Aḥmad, the favourite son of Bāyezīd. He himself was dismissed by the now-senile sultan under pressure from the Janissaries. Selīm I soon after his accession recalled him, however, to his old office, as he saw in him the right man to carry through the important duties of a *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*. Selīm took him with him on his campaign to Persia against Shāh Ismāʿīl. But on the way back, Mu'ayyad was deprived of his office in Čoban Köprü, as symptoms of a mental breakdown had begun to show themselves (920/1514). He died in 922/1516 in Istanbul and was buried in Eyyūb.

Mu'ayyad wrote a number of treatises on law and theology, especially on Ḳur'ānic exegesis. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II², 293-4, S II, 319, and Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmanlı mü'ellifleri*, Istanbul 1333/1915, i, 355, give a list of his works that survive in ms. Under the nom-de-plume of Khātimī, Mu'ayyad also wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His great service to Turkish literature lies, however, less in his own original work than in the magnificent liberality with which he encouraged rising young talent, like the poets Nedjātī and Dhātī, the historians Kemāl-Pasha-Zāde and Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed, the jurist Abu 'l-Suʿūd, and others. Mu'ayyad was also famed as a calligraphist. He was the first Ottoman to form a private library of over 7,000 volumes, a huge figure for the time.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted: Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ-i nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1269/1852-3, 308-11; German tr. O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, 191-4, 86; Sehī, *Hesht bihisht*, Istanbul 1325/1907-8, 27-8; Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 238; Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ u-khaṭṭāṭān*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9, 116; M. Shemʿī, *ʿIlāwe li-ethmār el-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1295/1878, 165; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 310; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iv, 30, 70-1; von Hammer, *Gesch. der Osm. Dichtkunst*, i, 305; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 29-31; *İA*, art. Müeyyed-zade (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(TH. MENZEL)

MU'AYYID AL-DAWLA, ABŪ MANṢŪR BŪYA B. RUKN AL-DAWLA ḤASAN, Būyid ruler in Iṣfahān, Rayy and most of Djibāl 366-73/976-84. His father Rukn al-Dawla had before his death partitioned his lands between Mu'ayyid al-Dawla (in Iṣfahān, Rayy and their dependencies) and another son Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (in Hamadān and Kurdish Djibāl). In the event, Mu'ayyid al-Dawla acknowledged the overlordship of their other brother, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] of Fārs, and with the latter's support prevented Fakhr al-Dawla from assuming control in the greater part of his allotted territories. Coins minted at Rayy during the years 366 to 373 bearing the names of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Mu'ayyid al-Dawla show that the latter generally controlled this city. Only after Mu'ayyid al-Dawla's death in Djurdjān whilst campaigning against Fakhr al-Dawla's allies the Ziyārids and Sāmānids (Shaʿbān 373/January 984) was Fakhr al-Dawla able to recover his patrimony and control the whole of the northern Būyid amīrate.

Mu'ayyid al-Dawla had as his secretary and then

vizier the famous Ṣāḥib Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜAbbād [*q.v.*], and the latter is said to have got his sobriquet "the companion" from his long contact with the Būyid prince [see IBN ᶜABBĀD].

Bibliography: See the general sources for Būyid history (Miskawayh, Rū̲dh̲rāwarī, Sibṭ b. al-D̲j̲awzī, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr); G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 166-70; Zambauer, *Manuel*, 213. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUᶜAẒẒAM**, AL-MALIK, the title of several Ayyūbid princes. Among these the most important and intriguing figure is doubtless al-Malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam S̲h̲araf al-Dīn ᶜĪsā b. al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb b. S̲h̲ād̲h̲ī b. Marwān. Born in Cairo in 576/1180, he was made ruler of Damascus in 594/1198, a position which he retained until his death from natural causes in 624/1227. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's career as prince of Damascus, especially its last six years, illustrates with extraordinary clarity the political dynamics of the Ayyūbid confederation's middle phase between the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] in 589/1193 and the rise of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb after 637/1240.

Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's career falls into four phases: his youth (576-94/1180-98); his rulership in Damascus under the tutelage of his father al-ᶜĀdil (594-615/1198-1218); the crisis of the Fifth Crusade (615-18/1218-21); finally, the struggle against his brothers al-Kāmil Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and al-As̲h̲raf Mūsā to secure his position in Syria (618-24/1221-7).

His early youth, passed during the heyday of his uncle Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's wars against the Crusaders and the Ayyūbid succession crisis (589-92/1193-6), is naturally obscure. But the political events of the time must have left a deep impression, and he received the foundations of a thorough education in Arabic letters and the Islamic sciences. He emerged into public life when he became prince of Damascus in 594/1198, but for the next twenty years he was under the close (not to say oppressive) tutelage of his redoutable father al-ᶜĀdil. These years were far from wasted, to be sure: he completed his education, he undertook an ambitious program of construction and restoration in Jerusalem, and he was handed a growing number of important political and military assignments by his father.

The training he had received during the previous two decades was put to a severe test immediately on al-ᶜĀdil's death, when he was called upon to play a major role during the Fifth Crusade. Indeed, al-Muᶜaẓẓam's decisiveness and unwavering support for his elder brother al-Kāmil Muḥammad, now the head of the Ayyūbid confederation, perhaps spelled the difference between victory and catastrophe in this long crisis. In the winter of 615/1219, al-Muᶜaẓẓam nipped in the bud a conspiracy among al-Kāmil's *amīrs* which aimed to replace the sultan with one of his brothers. He was also instrumental in inducing al-As̲h̲raf Mūsā, very much preoccupied with D̲j̲azīran and North Syrian affairs during these years, to come to Egypt and help repel the Crusaders during the critical summer of 618/1221. Perhaps most significantly, al-Muᶜaẓẓam concurred in al-Kāmil's offer (made on three separate occasions) to return Jerusalem and much of Palestine to the Franks in exchange for their withdrawal from Egypt. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's willingness to go along with this proposal is astonishing; not only did the regions in question represent a substantial part of his own appanage, but he had devoted great sums to the defence and beautification of Jerusalem.

The final phase in his career began with the departure of the Crusaders from Egypt in 618/1221. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam, determined to defend his autonomy and interests in Syria, embarked on a stubborn and daring campaign to undercut all efforts by the sultan al-Kāmil to assert his own authority as head of the confederation there. Gottschalk argues that al-Muᶜaẓẓam was aiming at supremacy within the entire Ayyūbid confederation, but this surely exaggerates his ambitions. Rather, his goal was paramountcy in Syria and Palestine, in order to secure his appanage from the political and military threat posed by his brothers al-As̲h̲raf Mūsā (al-D̲j̲azīra and Armenia) and al-Kāmil of Egypt. The six years between the end of the Fifth Crusade (autumn 618/1221) and al-Muᶜaẓẓam's death (autumn 624/1227) were filled with constantly shifting alliances. But in all the confusion there are some constants. (1) Al-Kāmil and al-As̲h̲raf were allied throughout this period against al-Muᶜaẓẓam; al-Kāmil never took the field, but the mere existence of his 12,000 regular cavalry—a force four times the size of al-Muᶜaẓẓam's—severely limited the latter's freedom of action. (2) Unable to face Egypt directly, al-Muᶜaẓẓam focused on undercutting al-As̲h̲raf's hegemony in D̲j̲azīra by constructing alliances with local rulers' discontent with the status quo in that region. His most consistent ally was Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökböri of Irbil, but he also drew in the Artuḳid [*q.v.*] princes of Āmid and Mārdīn and al-As̲h̲raf's (and his own) younger brother al-Muẓaffar G̲h̲āzī. (3) Al-Muᶜaẓẓam's own direct aims were limited to establishing a kind of protectorate over the autonomous Ayyūbid appanages of Ḥimṣ and Hamāt, an achievement which would have secured his paramountcy in Syria. But however modest, this goal persistently eluded him. (4) The dynamics of the situation inevitably led to the calling in of powerful outsiders: The K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Mingburnu [*q.v.*] by al-Muᶜaẓẓam, the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳid sultan ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn Kayḳubād̲h̲ [*q.v.*] by al-As̲h̲raf, and the Emperor Frederick II by al-Kāmil. These men of course had ambitions of their own, and their intervention came near to undermining Ayyūbid rule throughout Syria and al-D̲j̲azīra. The threat which they posed was resolved only after al-Muᶜaẓẓam's demise.

Al-Muᶜaẓẓam made an abortive effort to seize Ḥamāt in 619-20/1223, but this was frustrated by the opposition of al-As̲h̲raf and al-Kāmil. Realising that he lacked the resources to act alone, al-Muᶜaẓẓam formed an alliance against al-As̲h̲raf with al-Muẓaffar G̲h̲āzī and Gökböri in 621/1224, but this achieved nothing; indeed, al-As̲h̲raf's domination of North Syria and al-D̲j̲azīra was only strengthened. In the following year (622/1225), al-Muᶜaẓẓam took advantage of the sudden appearance in ᶜIrāḳ of the K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn to frame a new alliance with him. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam went so far as to accept robes of honor from the K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh, but the statement of al-Maḳrīzī that the K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh's name was substituted for al-Kāmil's in the *k̲h̲uṭba* and *sikka* finds no support in surviving coinage or contemporary texts. Al-Muᶜaẓẓam wanted D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn as an ally, not as a suzerain. Hostilities opened in D̲j̲umādā II 623/June 1226; fighting throughout the summer and autumn was severe and widespread, but again it led to little. Al-As̲h̲raf meantime countered by calling in the Rūm Sald̲j̲ūḳid Kayḳubād̲h̲, while al-Kāmil secretly opened negotiations with Emperor Frederick II, who was known to be planning a new Crusade. By now the situation was nearly out of control. Finally, in Ramaḍān 623/September 1226 al-As̲h̲raf travelled to Damascus to try to negotiate an end to the spiraling conflict. His hopes were quickly disappointed; al-

Muʿaẓẓam in effect detained him as a hostage for nearly ten months (Djumādā II 624/May-June 1227), until al-Ashraf conceded a free hand in Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt to him. Upon his release, of course, al-Ashraf at once denounced this agreement. The struggle was now reopened, complicated all the more by the arrival of Frederick II's advance forces in Acre in Shawwāl 624/October 1227. Al-Muʿaẓẓam seemed cornered, but he was as bold and resourceful as ever, and he had maintained his alliance with the Khʷārazmshāh. Only his unexpected death in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 624/November 1227 averted open civil war, and perhaps catastrophe for the Ayyūbid confederation.

With a sudden power vacuum in Damascus, which al-Muʿaẓẓam's son and successor al-Nāṣir Dāwūd could not fill, al-Kāmil, al-Ashraf, and Frederick were quickly able to settle matters to their mutual satisfaction. Jerusalem was turned over to the Emperor under the terms of a ten-year truce, the hapless al-Nāṣir Dāwūd was evicted from Damascus in 626/1229 and made lord of Transjordan, and al-Ashraf avenged his humiliation at the hands of his late brother by becoming prince of Damascus. Finally, as the guiding force behind this settlement, al-Kāmil for the first time achieved uncontested (though hardly unlimited) authority over all the princes of the Ayyūbid confederation.

However turbulent al-Muʿaẓẓam's relations with his fellow princes, his administration of his own territories seems to have been remarkably stable. In contrast to his father al-ʿĀdil, his reign was untroubled by turbulence among his senior *amīrs*—in large part, no doubt, because he had been able to replace the old guard with his own men during the years he had ruled Damascus under al-ʿĀdil's firm guidance. Some of al-Muʿaẓẓam's territories had been assigned in hereditary *iḳṭāʿ* to various younger brothers—e.g. Bānyās to al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān and Buṣrā to al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl—but these men were firmly under his thumb. Likewise, the important town and fortress of Ṣalkhad was held in *iḳṭāʿ* by his *mamlūk* ʿIzz-al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿaẓẓamī. For the most part, however, al-Muʿaẓẓam governed his principality through almost anonymous lieutenants (*nuwwāb*) whom he could rotate or replace at will. During the summer of 622/1225, he did face an uprising in the Ghūṭa led by a rural bandit named Shams al-Dīn b. al-Kaʿkī, but this was quickly suppressed. Other signs of social unrest are conspicuous by their absence.

The tortuous political history of al-Muʿaẓẓam's reign gives a very partial and distorted picture of his character and achievements, for he was himself a learned man and a committed patron of literature, the Islamic sciences, and architecture. He sponsored an Arabic translation of the *Shāh-nāme*, he ordered the Ḥanbalī scholar Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghanī to reorganise the traditions in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* according to topic, and he had a ten-volume compilation of Ḥanafī *fiḳh* made up for his personal use. Al-Muʿaẓẓam, an ardent Ḥanafī, took an active part in polemical disputations among the schools. He regarded himself as a *faḳīh*, and his entourage perforce agreed with him.

Al-Muʿaẓẓam's architectural patronage in Damascus was limited to a modest contribution to the Citadel, work on two of the city's gates (Bāb al-Sharḳī and Bāb Shāghūr) in the crisis year of 623/1226, the completion of the Madrasa ʿĀdiliyya in 619/1222, and a great funerary *madrasa* (no longer extant) in the Ḥanbalī suburb of al-Ṣāliḥiyya. Outside Damascus, however, there was a great deal. He undertook (though he could not complete) a massive project to equip the pilgrimage route between Damascus and Mecca with baths, wells, and caravanserais at each stopping point. His father put him in charge of completing the vast fortress at Mt. Tabor, and towards the end of his reign al-Muʿaẓẓam ordered the construction of the impressive citadel at al-Ṣubayba overlooking Bañyās. But Jerusalem was the real focus of his attentions; during the long years of tutelage under his father, he sponsored numerous restorations in the *Ḥaram* and major additions to the city's fortifications. Predictably, he also endowed a Ḥanafī *madrasa* there.

Al-Muʿaẓẓam was remarkable in one further respect; with the exception of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, no other Ayyūbid prince (and few Muslim rulers of any period) won such popular support and even affection among his own subjects. With members of the political élite he could be harsh and vindictive, but he knew how to mingle with his subjects without losing the fear and respect essential to government in those times.

Bibliography: The principal sources are the chronicles of Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, iii-iv, Cairo 1960, 1972, and Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān fī taʾrīkh al-aʿyān*, viii (no critical edition; facsimile ed. by J.R. Jewett, Chicago 1907; Hyderabad 1952—a printed version of Jewett); both chroniclers are sympathetic to al-Muʿaẓẓam. Les detailed but crucial for the regional context of al-Muʿaẓẓam's reign is Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut, xii. See also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, iii, Damascus 1968; Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, Moscow 1963; ʿIzz al-Dīn b.Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa 'l-Djazīra*, especially the two vols. on Damascus, Damascus 1956, and Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine, Damascus 1963; Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris* (2 vols., Damascus 1948-51). The inscriptions for this period are extremely important; most can be found in *RCEA*, x; in addition see *CIA, Jerusalem*, Paris 1922-7; N. Elisséeff, *A propos d'une inscription d'al-malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā*, in *AAS*, iv-v [1954-5]; M. Sharon, *The Ayyubid walls of Jerusalem*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977; R. Ellenblum and R. Amitai, *Who built Qalʿat al-Ṣubayba?*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 43 (1989). The coinage of the period is analysed in P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids*, London 1980; the fact that there are no known issues in al-Muʿaẓẓam's name is significant.

As always with the Ayyūbids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the literature is modest. The most detailed accounts of al-Muʿaẓẓam's policy and regime are H.L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, and R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany, NY 1977. They agree on most matters of fact but not on interpretation. On the first part of his reign, F.J. Dahlmanns, *Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, Ägypten und der Vordere Orient in den Jahren 589/1193 bis 615/1218*, diss., Giessen 1975, unpubl. Al-Muʿaẓẓam figures prominently in L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ s. Vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique*, Beirut 1988, richly documented but hostile to al-Muʿaẓẓam. At least one major incident, the affair of Ibn al-Kaʿkī, is seriously misconstrued. On his patronage of learning, see A.A. Badawī, *Maʾmūn Banī Ayyūb: al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā*, Cairo 1953. Al-Muʿaẓẓam's reign was much affected by the Crusades; most of the relevant bibliography can be found in Gottschalk and Humphreys, *op. cit.* See also E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, Paris 1968. (R.S. HUMPHREYS)

AL-MUʿAẒẒAM [see TŪRĀNSHĀH].

MÜBĀDELE (A. *mubādala*, "exchange"), a term used in Ottoman Turkish with various meanings: (i) *exchange of commodities and exchange of values.* This usage can be seen in the rendering during the 19th century, into Turkish and other Oriental languages, of concepts used in economics (see Ortaylı, *Osmanlılarda ilk bilinen telif iktisat yazması*, in *Yapit* [Oct. 1983], 41-2). (ii) *exchange of prisoners of war.* These exchanges took place under more regular and formal bases specially after the treaties of Carlowitz [see KARLOFČA] and Passarowitz signed between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers. (iii) *exchange of ambassadors* between the Ottoman empire and foreign powers. (iv) *exchange of populations* as the result of the break-up of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, which took place between Turkey and its Balkan neighbours (*ahālī mübadelesi*). Since it was regulated by international conventions, it falls in this sense without the scope of Islamic history and legal institutions; see further, MUHĀDJIR. 1. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands. The second and third of these denotations will be treated here.

Exchange of prisoners of war. Such exchanges occurred on a large scale between the Ottoman empire and the Habsburgs after the treaties of Carlowitz and Passarowitz. For more than twenty years, the Sublime Porte continuously sent *firmāns* to all corners of Rumelia and Anatolia ordering local authorities to release captives in exchange for moderate ransoms (BA *Nemče ahkâm*, no. 58, 1154-8/1741-5, and no. 60, 1176-7/1762-4; and Ortaylı, *Ottoman-Habsburg relations (1740-1770) and structural changes in the international affairs of the Ottoman state,* in *Festschrift Robert Anhegger-Türkische Miszellen, Varia Turcica* ix [1987], 297-98). In the 18th century, treaties and conventions between the Ottoman Empire and Austria provided that prisoners could be granted enfranchisement certificates (*ʿitāḳ-nāmes*) and be released more easily than in the past (K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1711)*, Naples 1963, 10-11).

Exchange of ambassadors. Ottoman envoys to foreign courts and their counterparts from foreign states met at the border, and after a ceremony on the spot, the latter proceeded to the Ottoman capital while the former would pursue their way to the place where their embassy took them. Embassies sent to announce the accession to the throne of a new monarch did not fall into this category. Embassies were more usually exchanged on the occasion of renewal of treaties and negotiations pursuant to it. Great care was taken that the strictest reciprocity was applied in the matter of gifts to the sovereigns and leading dignitaries, the size and composition of the retinue of the ambassadors and the way they were received at court. The truce of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] arranged by the Prophet with the Meccans does not include any provision concerning the exchange of legates. The first information of an exchange of envoys between an Islamic state and a people from the *dār al-ḥarb* goes back to the 3rd/9th century when the Vikings [see AL-MADJŪS] sent an embassy to the *amīr* of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and Muslim emissaries were dispatched in return under al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*]. The ambassador of the *amīr* was one Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī of Jaén, known as al-Ghazāl. He was sent in 845 either to Ireland or Denmark (B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London and New York, 93, 305; cf. also E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle,* in *Byzantion*, xii [1937], 1-24).

The Ottoman Empire had no permanent resident envoys in foreign countries till the reign of Selīm III (1203-22/1789-1807). Embassies were sent abroad on a temporary basis, and in response to similar foreign missions. For the organisation of these temporary embassies and the reception of foreign envoys, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *18. yüzyılda Osmanlı devletinde fevkalade elçilerin ağırlanması*, in *Ercümend Kuran'a armağan*, Ankara 1989, 201-31. Expenses of these missions were covered partly by the Treasury in Istanbul and partly by the inhabitants of the cities the embassy travelled through.

Great pomp and pageantry were displayed on the arrival of Austrian and Persian embassies, and Ottoman missions sent to these courts were expected to be treated with the same ceremonial. The accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam give an accurate image of the reception of Imperial embassies in 16th century Istanbul. For Russian embassies of the 18th century, the most important sources are the diaries of Repin (N. Izkowitz and M. Note, *Mübadele, an Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors*, Chicago 1970, 125 ff.), and those of P.A. Tolstoy. Ewliyā Čelebi describes the entrance to Vienna of the embassy of Ḳara Meḥmed Pasha in April 1665 (see R.F. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des goldenes Apfels*, Vienna 1957, 31-9).

At an appointed place on the border, the two embassies were exchanged according to an established ritual, and the number of their suites, their expenditures and livelihood on their way to and from the capital cities were determined. Presents brought by the two ambassadors and the letters which they carried were punctiously presented. The *ʿahd-nāme* dated 15 Radjab 972/16 February 1565 to the Emperor of Austria indicates that the Imperial ambassadors could be accompanied by as many interpreters as they wished and specifies the immunities from which these may benefit during their residence in Istanbul (A.C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleyman des Praechtigen an Karl V, Ferdinand I und Maximillian II*, Vienna 1983, Urkunde 32, p. 89).

If they were not carrying any letters from their own sovereign to the Sultan, foreign envoys were received in Istanbul only by the Grand Vizier. The Ottoman envoy sent in 1070/1660 on the occasion of the renewal of a peace treaty was not allowed to meet with his Austrian counterpart at the exchange place on the border nor to proceed to Vienna, on the grounds that the letter from the Sultan to the Emperor had not been couched in terms respectful enough. The Emperor had been addressed in the singular form (*sen*) and had not been given his proper title (*kral* instead of *imperator*). The letter had to be rewritten following the intervention of Siyāwush Pasha in Budin and Murād Pasha in Edirne (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, v, 21). The Ottoman sultans felt responsible for the immunity and personal safety of the foreign envoys who, heading towards Istanbul, had to travel through third countries. In a letter to the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand dated 21 September 1541, the latter is requested to secure the release of a French envoy who had been detained in Italy on his way to Istanbul by officials of Ferdinand's brother Charles V (Schaendlinger, *op. cit.*, Urkunde 3, p. 7).

The most detailed study of *mübādele* in this sense is by Itzkowitz and Note. ʿAbd al-Kerīm Pasha and Repnin were sent in 1775-6 respectively to Moscow and Istanbul on the occasion of the ratification of the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*]. The exchange took place at Khotin [*q.v.*] after the crossing of the Dnieper. The ceremony and the negotiations are described in detail, based on a comparative study of the diaries of the two envoys. During the exchange, a gun salute from each side greeted the two envoys. From that point onwards, an escort concomitant with the

envoy's rank accompanied him along the itinerary. Requirements in food and carriage were taken care of locally. The embassies were received in state in the cities and settlements on the way to the two capitals. The financial strain caused by the need to supply means of transportation and food proved too much for some of these localities, and the intinerary was occasionally changed and some exemptions were granted. The practice of paying for the expenses of foreign missions was, however, discontinued after 1792 when Yūsuf Āgāh Efendi was sent to London as the first Ottoman resident envoy abroad, when it became apparent that this usage was not enforced by foreign states.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also V. Kopcan, *Osmanische Kriegsgefangene auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei in 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix (1983), 197-211.

(İLBER ORTAYLI)

MUBĀḤ (A.) "licit, authorised", one of the five juridical qualifications [see AḤKĀM] of human acts [see SHARĪʿA].

MUBĀHALA (A.), synonym *mulāʿana*, literally "mutual imprecation, curse" (e.g. "may God's curse over the one of us who is wrong, who lies"), implies swearing a conditional curse (e.g. "may God's punishment hit me, may I be cursed if...") and a purifying oath (cf. *b-h-l* VIII: *nabtahil*).

In fact, the term indicates: (1) spontaneously swearing a curse in order to strengthen an assertion or to find the truth; (2) a kind of ordeal, invoked for the same purpose, between disputing individuals or parties, in which the instigation or call to the ordeal is more important than the execution. Originally, both forms may have been some sacred elevation of the more profane *taḥkīm* [*q.v.*], or of some sacred, magical features of this or any other primitive way of performing divination. This is also clear from the fact that the term equally implies (3) a reference to a "historical" ordeal, the *mubāhala* (in a second instance also recognised as a legal remedy by adherents of the Sunna and Shīʿa), which, according to Sunnī and Shīʿī tradition, was proposed in the year 10/632-3 by the Prophet to a deputation of the Christian Balḥārith b. Kaʿb from Nadjrān [see ḤĀRITH B. KAʿB]. This took place during a dispute on Christology and prophetology through examination of the "truthful" and the "liar", at the order of the apparently *ad hoc* revealed verse III, 54, of the Ḳurʾān which ostensibly suggested the "historical" ordeal (the *ʿilm asbāb al-nuzūl* and the *ʿilm al-tafsīr* in general relate the first 70-80 verses of Sūrat ʿImrān to this dispute). The Nadjrānīs, who had been summoned to this and had had second thoughts, are said to have been given a respite for reflection and deliberation. Under the impression of the presumed calamity which most certainly was going to hit their community and native town, and of the increasingly growing certainty that Muḥammad indeed was the promised Prophet and an authorised messenger of God, they decided to request him to postpone the threatening curse. After an intermission for deliberation, both sworn groups, with their followers, met at a remote place (according to some, the Red Dune, *kathīb aḥmar*, later called *djabal al-mubāhala*, in the cemetery of Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad) where the ordeal was to be executed. According to the majority of the traditions, from which the very original ones, like those of Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Saʿd, must be excluded, both parties sent from their midst prominent personalities as sureties and witnesses to the place of the trial of strength. Fortunately for the Christians, it was, however, averted. Instead, the Nadjrānīs requested and received confirmed agreement, namely, an indissoluble treaty of protection (*ṣulḥ, muṣālaḥa; ʿahd, dhimma* [*q.v.*]), with most closely defined rights and duties of the *dhimmīs*.

The *mubāhala* account (perhaps through exegesis grown out of the abstract proposal to the ordeal as found in the Ḳurʾān rather than vice-versa), which is still fragmentary in Ibn Isḥāḳ and others, soon became subject to enlargement and transformation as regards form and content. This certainly began during the lifetime of Ibn Hishām. In particular, it also underwent Shīʿī influence which is, in some features, even present in the accounts of the *ahl al-sunna*. Frame stories, earlier histories, interludes and after-pieces fill up the thin, original corpus and underline both the wondrous and the ominous elements of the *mubāhala*: prophecies, with eschatological perspectives, about the coming test of strength which were already pronounced during the council-meeting held by the Nadjrānīs in their home town; ominous events during the journey; picture of the mimicry and gesticulation at the ordeal; interpolations in the deliberations, in the explanation of the moments of cession and of the hypothetical effects of the curse in case the ordeal should be put into practice. The *tafsīr* of the motivation, given by Ibn Isḥāḳ (in Ibn Hishām), still unequivocally dominant before the *mubāhala* story had been arranged, decreases. The prelude to the ordeal, and especially the processing leading to it, obtains as much place as does the outfit of the persons on the stage of the ordeal, in particular the emphasis on the distinction of the sureties who, in the Sunnī tradition, are performers but who, in the Shīʿī tradition, even have a decisive role in the ordeal. Their number, at first probably limited, grows to four or five "people of the garment" (*aṣḥāb al-kisāʾ, ahl al-ʿabāʾ* [see AHL AL-KISĀʾ]). The Ḳurʾānic centre-piece, "Come here! We want to call together our sons and yours, our wives and yours, ourselves and yourselves", become for the Shīʿīs the corner-stone of their own tradition and interpretation of the ordeal. The nomination, function and position of the group of guarantors and witnesses become the centre of interest. To ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn is opposed an equally prominent group of Nadjrānīs, who are, however, not of the same quality as the first-mentioned. In addition, there takes place, in theory at least, an obvious association with the Shīʿī *tafsīr* of Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 33, where the purification of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] is mentioned: their purity, also brought forward in the *mubāhala*, liberates from guilt and protects from curse. Thus the highly-renowned Shīʿī garment traditions are fed from both sources. However, the Shīʿī development of the reports on the *mubāhala* and the garment are generally aimed at underscoring, through a suggestive investiture scene and its theological implication, the fact that the *ahl al-bayt* and their descendants have been chosen from eternity and that this has been confirmed over time more than once. Thus are emphasised their primal rights on the leadership of the community of the believers, that is to say, the principle of legitimacy, while at the same time the auguration and legitimisation of the Ghadīr Khumm [*q.v.*] episode is effectively completed (cf. the Shīʿī feast of *mubāhala*, mostly celebrated on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in connection with the remembrance of Ghadīr Khumm on the 18th of the same "holy" Shīʿī month). Finally, in the esoteric doctrine of the extremist Shīʿī *ghuluww* [*q.v.*], the *mubāhala* is completely transposed into the mythical world, with replaced or doubled actors, linked together through a cosmic identity.

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MUBĀLAGHA (a.), verbal noun of the form III verb *bālagha (fī)*, with the two related meanings of "to do the utmost [in s.th.]" and "to overdo [s.th.]"), technical term in (a) grammar ("intensiveness") and (b) literary theory ("emphasis" and, more particularly, "hyperbole").

(a) In grammar. Already in Sībawayh, the term *mubālagha* is used to denote the intensive meaning of a number of morphemes and syntagmas (see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 41). Most consistently it is henceforth applied to the intensive participles of the forms *faʿūl*, *faʿʿāl*, etc. Al-Sidjilmāsī (wrote *ca.* 704/1304) enumerates no less than 21 patterns for them under the general heading *ʿadl*, the term referring to nouns that are "diverged" (*maʿdūl*) from the active participle (*Manzaʿ*, 272-3). When used for God's attributes, these forms are, according to some, not intensive per se, but refer to the multiplicity of their objects, while others consider their form to be non-literal (*madjāz*), according to al-Tahānawī (*Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, i, 140).

(b) In literary theory. Although in the classical system of *ʿilm al-balāgha* the term *mubālagha* did come to mean "hyperbole", earlier theorists often protest against this narrow use and maintain that it means "emphasis, strengthening, heightening" in general, thus comprising "hyperbole" as one of its subcategories. At the outset the situation is, however, rather confusing: the earliest writers do not use the term *mubālagha* at all, though they are quite aware of the existence of "hyperbole", which they call by various names (Thaʿlab [d. 291/904]: *al-ifrāṭ fi 'l-ighrāḳ* [*Ḳawāʿid*, 49], Ibn al-Muʿtazz [d. 296/908]: *al-ifrāṭ fi 'l-ṣifa* [*Badīʿ*, 65], Ibn Ṭabāṭabā [d. 322/934]: *al-abyāt allatī aghraḳa ḳāʾiluhā fī maʿānīhā* [*ʿIyār*, 76]). Ḳudāma (d. 337/948) introduces the term *mubālagha*, though not in the sense of "hyperbole", for which he uses *ghulūw*, but to denote a very specialised type of emphasising (*īghāl* with later authors) in which a poetic idea is rounded out by a pertinent little exaggeration at the end of the line (*Naḳd*, 77). He does, however, use *mubālagha* also in an untechnical way to describe the mechanism of *ghulūw*: the intention of hyperbole is "emphasis and image-forming (*tamthīl*, not the [literal] truth of a thing" (*Naḳd*, 31, cf. also 27). Starting here, the "hyperbole" idea gradually spills over into *mubālagha*, although a man like Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063 or later) still defends the old meaning: those who reject "hyperbole" because of the untruth it entails mean *ghulūw* rather than *mubālagha*, because, he says, "if all *mubālagha* were worthless and blameworthy, even simile would be worthless and metaphor would be blameworthy as well as the other beauties" (*ʿUmda*, ii, 85); obviously, all these figures serve to emphasise the poetic ideas to which they are applied. In Ibn Rashīḳ we also find the first systematic ordering of terms: *mubālagha*, now more narrowly understood as "intensification," comprises subcategories, such as *taḳaṣṣī* ("going to the limit"), *tarāduf al-ṣifāt* ("piling of descriptions one over the other), and *ghulūw*. The enumeration is somewhat haphazard and probably not meant to be exhaustive. With the classical system of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338), logical stringency is achieved: *mubālagha* is defined as "claiming that a certain quality, in intensity or weakness, attains an unthinkable or improbable degree", and it is subdivided, in accordance with the philosophical distinctions *mumkin-mumtaniʿ-mustaḥīl*, "possible-impossible-unthinkable", into *tablīgh*, *ighrāḳ*, and *ghulūw*, of which the second is possible in the mind, but not according to everyday experience, while the first and third are possible in both or neither, respectively (*Īḍāḥ*, 514-16, *Talkhīṣ*, 370-1). This is the system represented in the nineteenth-century Western handbooks still in use (see Rückert, Mehren and Garcin de Tassy), which are based on al-Ḳazwīnī and later Arabic and Persian works.

Due to the inherent absurdity (*iḥāla*) of many hyperboles, *ghulūw* became a matter of dispute within the larger framework of untruth (*kadhib*) in poetry. Ḳudāma testifies to the existence of this literary feud in his time and opts for the permissibility of hyperbole by applying to it the adage *aḥsanu 'l-shiʿri akdhabuh* (*Naḳd*, 34-8). Others differ, and a sort of compromise emerges by postulating that a given hyperbole must survive the *kāda* test to be acceptable (thus already Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 133, cf. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 375, Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 65), i.e., the hyperbole in question must admit of being rewritten with an explicit form of the verb *kāda* "to be close to [doing s.th.]" or some word to the same effect. There is no question that hyperboles were of great importance in *muḥdath* poetry and in its Persian and Persianate successors, and the critics, even when averse to "lies" in poetry, had to come to terms with them. A conservative authority anonymously quoted by Ibn Rathīḳ says: "If poetry were [identical with] hyperbole (*mubālagha*) [apparently some went so far as to allege this], the sedentary people and the Moderns would be better poets than the Ancients" (*ʿUmda*, ii, 84). Others used the typical legitimising procedure of saying that the (or some) Moderns followed the Ancients in this respect (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār*, 81, al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, *Wasāṭa*, 420-3). In any case, the idea that hyperbole was of the essence in traditional Islamic poetry became so engrained that in our time the Turkish poet Orhan Veli, in a poem critical of the old Dīwān poetry, referred to the latter as *mübalâğa sanatı* "the art of hyperbole" (*Bütün şiirleri*, Istanbul 1966, 80).

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(W. Heinrichs)

MUBALLIGH [see dikka; masdjid I.D.2.e].

MUBĀRAK GHĀZĪ, an Indian Ṣūfī saint of Bengal.

In all parts of the Sundarbun, the Muslim woodcutters invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles. In the 24 *parganas* it is Mubārak Ghāzī who, in the eastern parts of the Ganges Delta, goes by the name of Zinda Ghāzī, the living warrior. Mubārak Ghāzī is said to have been a *faḳīr* (mendicant) who reclaimed the jungle tracts along the left bank of the river Hoogly. Every village has an altar dedicated to him, and no-one enters the forest nor do any of the boat's crew, who might sail through the districts, pass without first making offerings at one of these shrines. The *faḳīrs* in these dangerous forests, who claim to be lineally descended from the Ghāzī, indicate with pieces of wood called *sang* the precise limits within which the forest has to be felled. Mubārak Ghāzī, so the legend goes, came to Bengal when Rādjā Matak ruled over the Sundarbun. The saint happened to have a dispute with the chief, who thought himself to be in the right, upon which the latter agreed to give his only daughter Shushila in marriage to the former, should his own opinion be proved wrong. This the Ghāzī succeeded in doing and won his bride in consequence. Since no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so obedient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express desire. Before entering a jungle or sailing through the narrow channels whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muslims, raise little mounds of earth and on them make offerings of rice, plantains, and sweetmeats to Mubārak Ghāzī, after which they fearlessly cut the brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots.

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is borrowed from Hindus to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen and woodcutters.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUBĀRAK SHĀH, Muʿizz al-Dīn, the second king of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*], the first king, and succeeded his father on 19 Djumādā I 824/22 May 1421.

The limits of his kingdom were then restricted to a few districts of Hindūstān proper and Multān, and he was obliged to desist from an attempt to establish his authority in the Pandjāb by the necessity of relieving Gwalior, menaced by Hūshang of Mālwa [*q.v.*], who raised the siege and met him, but after an indecisive action came to terms and retired to Mālwa. From 828/1425 to 830/1427 he was engaged in attempting to restore order in Mēwāt [*q.v.*], and received the formal submission of the *rādjās* of Gwalior and Čandwār (Fīrūzābād); but Muḥammad Khān Awḥadī of Bayāna, whom he had taken prisoner, escaped and took refuge in Mēwāt, and the work there had to be done again. Muḥammad Awḥadī, on being hard pressed in Bayāna, fled to the Sharḳī sultan Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], and as the latter marched against Kālpī [*q.v.*], Mubārak marched to meet him. Ibrāhīm, who had been plundering Mubārak's dominions, avoided a conflict for some time, but on 16 Djumādā II 831/2 April 1428, the armies met near Čandwār, and Ibrāhīm, though not decisively

defeated, retired the next day to Djawnpūr. Mubārak then collected revenue in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and retired by way of Bayāna, which was evacuated by Muḥammad Awḥadī, who had returned thither. For the rest of the year, his officers were engaged in restoring order in the Pandjāb, ravaged by Djasrath the Khokar, and he in a similar task in Mēwāt, and in collecting revenue by force. In 833/1430 Fūlād Turkbačča successfully defied the royal authority in Bhātinda, and in 834/1431 a rebellion broke out in Multān and had no sooner been suppressed than Djasrath renewed his activity in the Pandjāb. The chronicle of the rest of the reign is a record of rebellions in the Pandjāb, Multān, Sāmāna, Mēwāt, Bayāna, Gwalior, Tidjāra and Itāwa; also, a rebel captured Lāhawr and attacked Dīpālpūr. Lāhawr was eventually recovered, but the whole country remained in a disturbed condition.

War broke out between Ibrāhīm of Djawnpūr and Hūshang of Mālwa in connection with Kālpī, the suzerainty over which belonged to neither and was claimed by both, and Mubārak, marching thither, turned aside to inspect Mubārakābād which he was building; but then, on 9 Radjab 837/19 February 1434, he was assassinated at the instance of Sarwar al-Mulk, whom he had dismissed from the post of minister in the preceding year.

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(T.W. Haig)

MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN [see MUẒAFFARIDS].

AL-**MUBARḲAʿ** ("the veiled one"), the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Abū Ḥarb al-Yamānī (according to al-Yaʿḳūbī: Tamīm al-Lakhmī, known as Abū Ḥarb), a rebel in Palestine 227/841-2 against the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim.

The most detailed source referring to the events of his uprising is the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1319-22; cf. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Muʿtaṣim*, New Haven 1951, 124-6), followed by the works of Ibn al-Athīr (vi, 522-3) and Ibn Khaldūn (*al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956-9, iii, 572-3). The *Taʾrīkh* of al-Yaʿḳūbī, however, presents the most independent description of the events (ii, 586).

The revolt involved (according to al-Yaʿḳūbī) the Lakhm, Djudhām, ʿĀmila and Balḳayn [*q.vv.*] (M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Leipzig 1943, 7, 78, points out that the events concerning this revolt were still preserved in the memory of the Kaʿābene of Hebron). A conflict concerning a soldier, whom Abū Ḥarb had put to death for personal reasons, caused his revolt and made him take refuge in the mountains of al-Urdunn. As he used to wear a veil (*burḳuʿ*) covering his face, he became known as al-Mubarḳaʿ ("The Veiled One"). He was joined by malcontent peasants, and when he claimed Umayyad descent, his supporters considered him to be the Sufyānī (for whose origin, cf. W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history*, in *SI*, lxiii [1986], 5-48, with further references). He gathered numerous followers, even persons from noble families (according to al-Ṭabarī, including Ibn Bayhas, one of the notables of the Yamāniyya).

Al-Muʿtaṣim sent an army against the rebel, which was commanded by Radjāʾ b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī (to whom Ibn ʿAsākir refers in *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1911-32, v, 311-2), but his troops were numerically inferior to the rebel's army. His acumen made him wait for the time when al-Mubarḳaʿ's peasant supporters would have to retreat to till their soils. According to some of the sources (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn), al-Muʿtaṣim died during the course of the events and his successor al-Wāthiḳ (but according to al-Ṭabarī, al-Muʿtaṣim) sent Radjāʾ against Ibn Bayhas, the leader of an insurrection in Damascus. Radjāʾ defeated the Damascene rebels and then returned to Palestine to fight al-Mubarḳaʿ. Al-Ṭabarī states that the battle took place near al-Ramla, where al-Mubarḳaʿ was taken prisoner; he was then brought to Sāmarrā and cast in prison. His further fate remains unknown.

For al-Ṭabarī (and his account appears to be the most reliable one), all events of the uprising of al-Mubarḳaʿ took place during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, who died on 18 Rabīʿ 227/5 January 842. Divergently, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khaldūn, as well as al-Yaʿḳūbī, place the end of the revolt in the reign of al-Wāthiḳ. It must be added that the Arabic sources leave some circumstances unexplained, especially the connection between Ibn Bayhas and al-Mubarḳaʿ (if indeed one existed).

Bibliography: Accounts derived from the sources cited in the article and from further historians are given by H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 109-10; H. Eisenstein, *Die Erhebung des Mubarqaʿ in Palästina*, in *Orientalia*, lv (1986), 454-8.

(H. Eisenstein)

AL-**MUBARRAD**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Akbar al-Thumālī al-Azdī (his genealogy reaches back to the Djāhiliyya; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, no. 10; Caskel, *Tafeln*, no. 210), celebrated philologist, was born in al-Baṣra on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 210/24 March 826 (or between 2 and 5 years earlier).

As tradition tells us, it was in the circles (*ḥalaḳāt*) of Abū ʿUmar al-Djarmī (d. 225/839) and Abū ʿUthmān al-Māzinī [*q.v.*] that he came into close contact with the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh; moreover, he took part in the scholarly discussions between Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869), who was a pupil of al-Aṣmaʿī, and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Riyāshī (d. 257/871) on philological questions concerning Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, poetry and *adab*. The participants in these discussions were impressed both by his demeanour and appearance and by his pure language and convincing argumentation. It is probably in these surroundings that he received his rather uncommon *laḳab*. Among several widely differing attempts to explain the genesis of this *laḳab* by way of anecdotes, the most realistic one tells us that Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was called *al-mubarrid*, i.e. *al-muthbit li 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, "he who affirms truth", because of his ingenious way of giving pertinent answers, and that others changed this name into *al-mubarrad*, "the cooled one". This distorted name finally stuck to him, as may be observed in other cases. In al-Baṣra he also met al-Tawwazī (d. 233/847) and al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], and he repeatedly refers to both of them. According to his own testimony, he was called, in 246/860, to Sāmarrā and the court of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned 232-47/847-61). Subsequently, he settled down in Baghdād, where his reputation as a great authority in matters of *ʿarabiyya* had already been established. There he committed himself to widespread teaching activities until his death on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 286/4 January 900 (or a year earlier). He was buried in the cemetery near Bāb al-Kūfa in a "house". Among his pupils were: Nifṭawayh, Ibn Kaysān, Mabramān and Ibn Durustawayh, as well as al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, Ibn al-Sarrādj and al-Ṣūlī; for two *warrāḳs* see *Fihrist*, 60, 1f., and for an alleged *mustamlī*, see al-

Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 104, ²242; Brockelmann, S I, 250.

In Baghdād, the *madjlis* of philologists received its classical form through the disputes (*munāẓarāt* [*q.v.*]) between al-Mubarrad and Thaᶜlab [*q.v.*]. These scholarly discussions took place in mosques and in public squares, attended by a large number of pupils and interested listeners. The rivalries between these two great scholars—in ability and style, al-Mubarrad surpassed his opponent—led to the formation of the two famous schools of philologists: the *madhhab* of the Baṣrans and that of the Kūfans. As a native of al-Baṣra, al-Mubarrad had been familiar with the traditions of the Baṣrans since childhood, and as far as we can judge, he deliberately and emphatically cultivated them. As we can see from the fact that he compiled a book of biographies of Baṣran scholars, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-akhbāruhum*, which has not survived, he investigated in them beyond his teachers and Sībawayh, going back as far as ᶜAlī and his *ḳāḍī* in al-Baṣra, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī [*q.v.*], the two legendary inventors of Arabic grammar (cf. R. Talmon, in *Stud. Isl.*, lxv [1987], 42 ff.; R. Sellheim, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 350). Thaᶜlab, a native of Baghdād, who was an authority on the traditions of the Kūfan al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*] and of his teacher al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], was inevitably pushed into the role of a representative of Kūfan traditions—which, as it seems to us, have never existed as a living doctrine. Later scholars have made of al-Ruʾāsī, from whom al-Kisāʾī transmitted, the founder of the Kūfan *madhhab* (cf. G. Weil's introd. to his edition of Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 83 ff.; H.M. Versteegh, in *Grundriss der Arab. Philologie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1987, 156-9).

Al-Mubarrad's most famous work, his (1) *K. al-Kāmil fi 'l-adab*, also called *K. al-Kāmil fi 'l-lugha wa 'l-adab wa 'l-naḥw wa 'l-taṣrīf*, is the classical *adab* work par excellence. It originated in public, i.e. during the author's teaching activities, from lectures and dictation. Traces of this atmosphere, as well as of the conversation between teacher/author and pupil/scribe, are perceptible (cf. pp. 549, 16 f.; 602, 14; 650, 2 and 15; 735, 2; etc.). The form of the work, as we know it today, goes back to al-Mubarrad's pupil Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927) [*q.v.*]. The arrangement by chapters (*bāb*) is irregular, sometimes even rather arbitrary. The first editor of the work, W. Wright (ed. in 12 fascicules, with good extensive indices, Leipzig 1864-92), enumerates 61 chapters. In colourful succession, usually by means of association, an extensive range of themes concerning *adab* are treated in prose as well as in poetry, starting, of course, with—alleged—sayings of the Prophet, and ending with verses from the Ḳurʾān, in the interpretation of which even grammarians sometimes tend to make mistakes (p. 795). As is still the practice of present-day teaching, numerous references to the subject in question are to help the reader to follow the red thread through the abundant mass of material. There are hardly any *isnāds*, and later authors have criticised al-Mubarrad for that (cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 279, and vi [1953], 67). Occasionally he (or his pupil al-Akhfash, who arranged the material) expresses himself as follows (p. 409): "In this chapter we shall mention something of everything, in order to prevent the reader from being wearied, and mix a little jest with the earnest, so that heart and soul may be refreshed." Such a remark fittingly describes the character of the whole book, especially so in connection with the author's intention (*niyya*), as stated in the short preface, to select and arrange the material in a way—always from the point of view of *adab*—that offers the reader philologically interesting themes and subjects of a high standard (cf. also pp. 581, 12 ff. and 793, 7 ff.), followed by a useful commentary. It may be added that sometimes these interpretations form detailed digressions, e.g. on the three species of *kināya*, "allusion, metonymy" (pp. 412 ff.), on different functions of the particle *lām* (pp. 601 f.), or on the *ism al-ishāra*, "noun of indication" (pp. 499 f.). Alongside with traditions of the Prophet (*aḥādīth*), sayings (*aḳwāl*), stories (*akhbār*) of famous and less famous personalities of the Islamic past, especially of its glorious early period, and several categories of wisdom (*ḥikam*) and proverbs (*amthāl*), we find there a large number of verses and poems (*muḳaṭṭaᶜāt*), some even belonging to the pre-Islamic period, and informative historical accounts in the style of the *ayyām al-ᶜArab*. Special mention should be made of the highly illuminating chapters on the Khāridjīs (chs. 49, 51 and 54 [pp. 527-703 in Wright's edition]), consisting of loosely arranged reports, without any visible structural intention (cf. pp. 581, 12 ff. and 703, 1 ff.), again and again interrupted by excursions on grammatical and lexicographical questions; now and then, these sections form short independent chapters (cf. chs. 50 and 52-3). Mention should also be made of al-Mubarrad's predilection for verses containing a comparison/simile (*tashbīh*), to which he repeatedly dedicates whole passages (pp. 447-64 and 494-522; etc.), as well as of the chapter entitled "Laments for the dead and consolation" (*taᶜāzī*) towards the end of the book (pp. 713-70, or, if we add the poems of more recent periods and of the author's own time, until p. 777). A large part of these mourning verses and mourning poems appear again in his late work, the *K. al-Taᶜāzī* (see below, no. 3), where he refers to his *K. al-Kāmil* (p. 301). The elegy on the caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) may serve as a *terminus post quem* for the genesis of the work (pp. 775-6), in which occasionally his *K. al-Muḳtaḍab* (p. 535, 2) and his *K. al-Ikhtiyār* (p. 760, 4) are referred to for further commentaries (see below, nos. 4 and 12).—O. Rescher has published a partial German translation, *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kâmil (nach der Ausgabe William Wright's), ein Specimen der älteren arabischen Adab-Litteratur*, Stuttgart 1922. For the older Oriental prints, see Brockelmann, I, 109, S I, 168. On the basis of Wright's edition, a new edition with enlarged indices (by Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī) has been initiated by Muḥammad Zakī ᶜAbd al-Salām Mubārak, continued from p. 433 onwards by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 3 vols., Cairo 1356-76/1937-56; the new edition by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and al-Sayyid Shaḥāta, in 4 vols., Cairo 1376/1956 ff., is no improvement. The most recent edition has been published by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dālī, in 4 vols., Beirut 1406/1986, followed by an extract, Damascus 1407/1987. There are two useful modern commentaries: one by al-Sibāᶜī al-Bayyūmī, *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil*, 2 vols., Cairo 1341/1923, and above all *Raghbat al-āmil min kitāb al-Kāmil*, by Sayyid b. ᶜAlī al-Marṣafī, 8 vols., Cairo 1346-8/1927-30; for the glosses and critical remarks by an anonymous author, following Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1101) and Abu 'l-Walīd al-Waḳḳashī/Waḳshī (d. 489/1096), see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ii [1949], 275-6, and Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Khāliḳ ᶜUḍayma in the introduction, pp. 54-5, to his edition of al-Mubarrad's *al-Muḳtaḍab* (see below, no. 4).

(2) *K. al-Fāḍil* (*wa 'l-mafḍūl*), another *adab*-work, though of much smaller size (*ca.* 1/10). It is better structured, but this is not consistently maintained; it is divided into 15 chapters (*bāb*) and a final one, consisting of 7 sections (*faṣl*). The preface is, considering

the early date of the work, remarkably abundant; it contains e.g. *akhbār* about the rise of Arabic grammar, a number of sayings and a play on words with the root *f-ḍ-l* and its derivations, followed by an elegant transition to the main subject, sc. *adab*. Besides the excellence of poetry, mostly embedded in pointed stories from the time of the Umayyads, further subjects are: generosity, grief, youth and old age, gratitude, envy, eloquence, and beauty; and, as in *al-Kāmil* (see above, no. 1), we find several casual remarks concerning the character and aim of the small treatise (pp. 68, 86 and 99). His principal authorities are al-Māzinī, al-Riyāshī, and al-Tawwazī, three scholars to whom he also refers in *al-Kāmil*. No sources are mentioned, nor does he refer to his own works or to the works of other authors. Part of the material is familiar to us from *al-Kāmil*, and in both works he scarcely uses *isnāds*. In contrast to *al-Kāmil*, lexicographical or grammatical explanations are rarely given here. In *al-Fāḍil*, the hand of the author, deliberately shaping the book, is clearly perceptible. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Maymanī has edited the text from a *unicum*, Cairo 1375/1956 (see also H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 67).

(3) *K. al-Taᶜāzī wa 'l-marāthī*, a voluminous collection of poems on condolence and mourning, with appropriate stories added to them. The text can be precisely dated to the period between the end of 282/beginning of 896 and 284/897. The core of the book consists of verses and poems, together with "historical" explanations which had already been quoted by the author in *al-Kāmil* and in *al-Fāḍil*. He also draws on tradition following al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/842, cf. his *K. al-Taᶜāzī*, Nadjaf 1391/1971; see also Borni el-Ouni's edition [from the same *unicum*], and his German translation, Ph.D thesis, University of Göttingen 1984, *passim*), and, without mentioning a name, following authorities such as Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255/869; cf. his *K. al-Waṣāyā*, Cairo 1961, 148 ff. *ad* 116 ff.). Muḥammad al-Dībādjī has edited the text in Damascus in 1396/1976 (cf. *Akhbār al-Turāth al-ᶜArabī* [Kuwait], i [1402/1982], 28, and *al-Mawrid* [Baghdād], iii, 4 [1394/1974], 311 ff.).

(4) *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, a voluminous and unsystematic collection of particular questions concerning morphology (*ṣarf*) and syntax (*naḥw*), as the title puts it, an extemporised (*muḳtaḍab*) work. The *unicum* Köprülü 1507-8, dated 347/958, revised by the well-known grammarian Abū Saᶜīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), has no preface. After the *basmala*, the text runs *hādhā tafsīr wudjūh al-ᶜarabiyya*, then follows *iᶜrāb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-afᶜāl*. The character of lecture notes becomes even more evident here than in *al-Kāmil*, which is less voluminous (cf. i, 22,2; 84,8; 98,6; 157,1; 239,10; etc.). Traces of such notes may also be recognised in repeated, indistinct references to matters treated before or after (cf. i, 36,7; 62,4; 220,1 f.; 254,10 f; 255,15; etc.); on the basis of such references, occasional omissions in the text can be detected (cf. i, 55,8; 95 below; 126 below; 130 below; 139,11; etc.). There are frequent direct or indirect references to the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh and to his teacher al-Khalīl [*q.v.*], as well as to the scholarly discussions of the Baṣriyyīn (e.g., i, 102,4; 107,5; cf. ii, 155,6: al-Kūfiyyūn!) or, in a more general sense, to those of the *naḥwiyyīn* (e.g., i, 115, 14; 126,18; 223,12). This reinforces the impression of a lively teaching atmosphere (cf. below, no. 11). From this background, we can understand why, in later times, this work was judged to be of little use (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 143), and in fact, it is only usable when equipped with a good index. This has been added by Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Khāliḳ ᶜUḍayma in his edition in 4 vols., Cairo 1383-8/1963-8 (repr. Beirut 1986). In his introduction, he calls our attention to differences and contradictions within the traditions going back to al-Mubarrad (cf. i, 119 ff.; iv, indices; for further material, see Sezgin, ix, 243, and R. Talmon, in *ZDMG*, cxxxviii [1988], 93 ff.). This again shows us, firstly, that at that time discussion on Arabic grammar was in full swing and far from being ossified, and secondly, that alleged quotations from al-Mubarrad, following a *ḳāla*, were not necessarily genuine; on the contrary, probably most of them merely represent the so-called official Baṣran doctrine (*madhhab*), with the name of al-Mubarrad added. Detailed investigation is necessary before we can say more on these topics. Of the four commentaries on *al-Muḳtaḍab* known to have existed, only that by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Fāriḳī (d. 391/1001) has survived (see iv, index, 219; Sezgin, ix, 79 and 201).

The short treatises by, or, more precisely, transmitted from al-Mubarrad and dealing with isolated questions relating to the fields of grammar, lexicography, and *adab*, such as *nasab* (genealogy), are mere lecture-notes; this can be concluded, among other things, from the fact that they have no prefaces. They originated in the *madjlis*, either at the time of *al-Muḳtaḍab* and *al-Kāmil*, or a little later, but in any case more or less in the background of these two works, and they have been called, more or less correctly, booklets by al-Mubarrad. Their titles are as follows: (5) *K. al-Mudhakkar wa 'l-muʾannath*, ed. Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Hādī, Cairo 1970 (cf. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 107 ff.); (6) *K. al-Ḳawāfī wa-mā 'shtuḳḳat alḳābuhā minhu*, ed. Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1972; (7) *K. Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa 'khtalafa maᶜnāhu min al-Ḳurʾān al-madjīd*, ed. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1350/1931 (cf. *Akhbār* [Kuwayt], nos. 40-1 [1409/1989], 8); (8) *Risāla fī aᶜdjāz buyūt tughnī fī 'l-tamthīl ᶜan ṣudūrihā*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 161-73; (9) *K. Nasab ᶜAdnān wa-Ḳaḥṭān*, ed. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936.—From the point of view of language and style, also his brief *risāla*, entitled (10) al-Balādja, which was written for Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (reigned 227-32/842-7), forms part of this group (cf. e.g. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 218). There are three editions of it, each one based on the only complete manuscript (Munich [Aumer], no. 791) written by the famous calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]); one by G. von Grünebaum, in *Orientalia*, x [1941], 372-82, one by Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1965, [2]1985, and one by Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad, Aligarh 1968.—Other works transmitted from al-Mubarrad and known from numerous quotations, such as his (11) *Sharḥ* with critical remarks on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, are of a similar quality, cf. *al-Muḳtaḍab*, iv, index, 220-6, and i, introduction, 87 ff.; ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Mayman (al-Maymanī), *Iḳlīd al-khizāna*, Lahore 1927, 89; also called (?) *K. al-Ziyāda al-muntazaᶜa min Kitāb Sībawayh*, ms. Konya, Yusuf Ağa, no. 4914,2 (cf. A. Ateş, in *Belleten*, xvi [1952], 59 f.); also Muḥammad al-Fāḍil Ibn ᶜĀshūr, in *MMᶜIᶜA*, xl [1385/1965], 30-45, and the lists in Sezgin, viii, 98 and ix, 79 f.

For further works whose titles are mentioned in the sources, such as (12) *al-Ikhtiyār*, (13) *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, (14) *al-Iᶜtinān*, (15) *Ṣifāt Allāh* (cf. P. Sbath, *Choix des livres ... d'Alep*, Cairo 1946, index), (16) *Ḳawāʾid al-shiᶜr* (*op. cit.*), and (17) *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-akhbāruhum* (*op. cit.*), see especially Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb, in his introduction to al-Mubarrad's *al-Mudhakkar* (see above, no. 5), who also gives the most

complete list of works, containing all together 54 titles, each one provided with a commentary.—Al-Mubarrad's (18) *K. al-Rawḍa*, a collection of poems by contemporary poets beginning with Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], has been used by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in his edition of *al-Fāḍil* (see above, no. 2) in a manuscript of which he gives us no further details (cf. p. 162b s.t.).—The contents of a (19) *Khuṭbat taḳrīʿ li 'l-Mubarrad* (?) contained in a *madjmūʿa* in al-Mawṣil (catalogue 1346/1927, no. 56, 13, not registered in Mawṣil², iii [1396/1976]), are unknown to us.—The (20) *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* attributed to him is probably the work of one of his younger contemporaries, namely his pupil al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (see above); in his small treatise, consisting exclusively of glosses—a feature typical of this author—he refers not only to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [al-Mubarrad], but also to Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā [Thaʿlab], Faḍl al-Yazīdī and al-Aḥwal, all authorities known to have been his teachers (cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 224,5 [Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 93, 11 f.] and vi, 482,19.—Brockelmann, S I, 53 f.; Sezgin, ii, 135; F. Krenkow, *EI*¹, AL-SHANFARĀ, etc., should all be corrected accordingly).

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(R. SELLHEIM)

AL-MUBARRAZ, an oasis town in the region of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia located at latitude 25°55′N, longitude 49°36′E. The origin of the name is uncertain. Philby's suggestion that it derives from the root *baraza* "go forth, appear"—as the town is only some three miles north of al-Hufūf [*q.v.*] and was usually the first halting-place for caravans leaving that place—has not been substantiated.

Al-Mubarraz was for many centuries the most important agricultural centre in al-Ḥasā after al-Hufūf, with which it was then connected by a raised causeway running through cultivated fields. The weekly market attracted people from a wide area and Sadleir, who visited the town in 1819, describes it as having an excellent water supply. It then had some 10,000 inhabitants and was defended by a mudbrick wall and a ditch. At the end of the 19th century the wall lay in ruins and the only military building was a small fort to the west at Ḳaṣr Sāhūd. According to the 1917 *Gazetteer of Arabia*, the Ottomans kept a small force of one company of infantry there.

The same report states that the population, all of whom were Arabs, was 80% Sunnī. Philby, who visited the town in 1917, estimated the population at 20,000; some forty years later Vidal put the total at about 28,000. In recent years al-Hufūf has expanded greatly and it now embraces al-Mubarraz.

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(R.M. BURRELL)

AL-MUBASHSHIR B. FĀTIK, ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ, 5th/11th century Egyptian historian and savant. Said to have been of Syrian origin, he apparently spent all of his long life in Egypt. He possibly lived and worked as a private scholar, and he may have had ties with the ruling circles of the country. In addition to history, his many interests included philosophy and medicine. He supposedly studied with such leaders in their fields as Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Riḍwān; a certain Jewish physician named Ibn Raḥmūn was his only known student. While reliable data on his life are extremely scarce, he emerges from what we know as an outstanding representative of the intellectualism that to some degree dominated life in Fāṭimid Egypt. An anecdote, which is undoubtedly apocryphal, brings to life for us the type of individual he appears to have been: when he died, his wife had all his books, for which he had always neglected her, thrown into the pool in the courtyard of their house.

Only one of his writings is preserved. The loss of his historical writings is particularly regrettable. He himself refers to his "Great History". This work was probably not identical with his three-volume biography of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, which, if preserved, would be a source of inestimable value for us. His surviving work, composed in 440/1048-9, is entitled *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim*, "Choice wise sayings and fine statements" (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Madrid 1377/1958). It was uniquely successful and secured lasting fame for him. The work naturally shares some of its material with earlier gnomologia, but no scheme of dependency has so far been securely established. It deals with ancient, almost exclusively Greek, sages, described by a combination of biographical sketches and collections of saying. It starts with chapters on legendary "sages" from the Egyptian Hermetic tradition, namely, Seth,

Hermes and Ṭāṭ (or Ṣāb, apparently, the Hermetic Tat somehow equated with the fictitious eponym of the Ṣābians). They are followed by Asclepius, who signals the transition to the general Greek tradition. Entries are devoted to Homer, Solon, Zeno of Elea, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, King Alexander, Ptolemy, Syros (?), Luḳmān [*q.v.*], Ainesios (i.e. Aesop?) Mahādardjīs (not yet definitely identified), the Church Fathers Basilios and Gregorios, and finally Galen. The work ends with a chapter on sayings of various sages and one containing anonymous sayings. The biographical information is often more detailed than anything that was ordinarily available in mediaeval times; some of it reflects otherwise lost sources. As an entertaining mirror of the best that Classical Antiquity had to offer in ethical thought and moral behaviour, the *Mukhtār* enjoyed great popularity in the Muslim world, as evidenced by the number of preserved manuscripts and its frequent use by later writers. A special recension of the text circulated in the Muslim West. It was translated into Spanish about 1250. The translation dropped al-Mubashshir's name, which was thus lost to the old European tradition. The Spanish translation was followed by translations into Latin and then into some European vernaculars—French, Provençal and English. Its title of *Bocados d'oro* was not adopted by subsequent translations; they preferred titles on the order of *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* or *Dicts and sayings of the philosophers*. After the invention of printing, editions of the Spanish, French and English versions appeared in large numbers. The English text printed by Caxton in 1477 is believed to have been the first English book printed in England. The last time one of the translations was printed in Renaissance Europe was in 1533, the date of a French edition. The growing acquaintance with Greek literature then made the work obsolete until Orientalist scholarship began to pay attention to it in the early 17th century.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 600, S I, 829: F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 132-58, giving most of the earlier literature; on further ms., idem, in *JAOS*, lxxxiii (1963), 456 f., xcv (1975), 211-13, xcix (1979), 91-3; idem, tr. of the chapter on the sayings of various sages, in *The classical heritage in Islam*, 118-44, London 1975; Mechthild Crombach, "*Bocados d'oro*", *Ausgabe des altspanischen Textes*, Bonn 1971. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**MUBAYYIḌA** [see AL-MUḲANNAʿ].

MUBTADAʾ (A.) 1. As a technical term of Arabic grammar. Here it is generally translated as "inchoative". It designates the first component part with which one begins (*yubtadaʾu bihi*) the nominal phrase, whose second eomponent is the predicate (*khabar*) [*q.v.*]. Sībawayhi defined it as being "every noun with which one begins in order to construct a statement (*kalām*) upon it; the introductory noun is the first and the construction built upon it comes after; the first is 'that which is connected' (*musnad*) and the other 'that to which it is connected' (*musnad ilayhi*) (*Kitāb*, i, 239); the introductory noun cannot do without (*lā yastaghnī*) that which is constructed upon it and, to make the statement, the first noun needs (*yaḥtādj*) the other" (*Kitāb*, i, 6).

As regards inflexion, the introductory noun is marked by the final vowel (*u*). The government of this vowel is the subject of a difference of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among the grammarians. Following Sībawayh, the grammarians of Baṣra consider that this vowel is governed by the introduction, i.e. the fact that the introductory noun is divested (*mudjarrad*, *muʿarrā*) of any regent (*ʿāmil*). On the other hand, the grammarians of Kūfa claim that the final vowel of the introductory noun is governed by the predicate, the two terms mutually governing each other. When it is preceded by one of the six particles *anna, inna, lakinna, layta, laʿalla* and *kaʾanna*, the introductory noun is marked by the vowel (*a*), being governed by these particles in the same way as by the verb.

As regards determination, all the grammarians are in agreement in stating that the introductory noun ought to be a known thing (*maʿrifa*), for the purpose of the information is to obtain for the hearer (*sāmiʿ*) the benefit (*ifāda*) of knowledge that he does not have. Information provided with regard to an unknown thing (*nakira*) is of no benefit. "A man [is] learned" is a statement which is of no benefit, because the hearer does not deny the existence of a learned man among those whom he does not know. But when the speaker (*mutukallim*) introduces a noun that the hearer knows and says "Zayd", the hearer expects (*yatawakkaʿ*) something that he does not know; and when the speaker says "[is] learned", he informs the hearer of something which he did not know. However, the grammarians admit that the introductory noun may be an unknown thing, on condition that it is closely connected with the known, such as an unknown thing which is qualified (*mawṣūf*), for the quality particularises it.

As for the possibility of moving back (*taʾkhīr*) the introductory noun and bringing forward (*taḳdīm*) the predicate, it was also the subject of a difference of opinion among the early grammarians; those of Baṣra allowed it, whereas those of Kūfa rejected it and, in the case where the predicate that has been brought forward is an adverb (*ẓarf*), they consider that the noun that has been moved back is no longer "introductory".

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(G. TROUPEAU)

2. In history. The term is employed in historical works, in particular with regard to the beginning of the creation and also to biblical history in general. In his *Fihrist*, 94 ll. 8-9. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a *K. al-Mubtadaʾ* which he attributed to ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Idrīs (d. 228/842) and which allegedly went back to that author's maternal grandfather Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732). This work, which deals with the history of the prophets (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), is the first of its type in Islamic culture. At the same time, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 3 ll. 7 ff., and al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 65 ll. 11 ff., after him, speak of an *al-Mubtadaʾ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, attributing it to Wahb. The same title was used by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767 or 151/768) in the first part of his *K. al-Maghāzī*, where he frequently cites Ibn Munabbih, who influenced him considerably in regard to enlarging his historical perspectives (see Brockelmann, S I, 205; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 289, and their references; R.G. Khoury, *Les sources islamiques de la "Sīra"*, 24 ff.). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 127 = § 126, uses the same word in regard to Ibn Munabbih and others, with a difference however in the second part of the title: *K. al-Mubtadaʾ wa 'l-siyar*. The word is also to be found in the long title of the *History* of Ibn Khaldūn.

Other later compilations, beginning with earlier oral or written versions, including that of Ibn Munabbih, use rather the synonym *badʾ*, such as

ʿUmara b. Wat͟hīma b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī (d. 289/902) in his *K. Badʾ al-k͟halḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, which he transmitted from his father Wat͟hīma (d. 237/851), and the latter from several authors beginning with Wahb again; and also al-Maḳdisī (d. 355/966), who called his own work *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīk͟h*. Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī also followed this tradition in certain versions of his book on the history of the prophets in Islam (see Brockelmann, S I, 592). With Ibn Kat͟hīr (d. 774/1373), there appears a third variant of *Mubtabaʾ*, sc. *al-Bidāya*, in his *History* called *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*. For more detail on the different works mentioned above, see the articles on their respective authors.

Bibliography: Ibn Kat͟hīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1351/1932; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1871-2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. T͟h. ʿUkkās͟ha, Cairo 1960; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922; Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīk͟h*, ed. and tr. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899 ff.; T͟haʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325/1907; R.G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, i, Wiesbaden 1972; idem, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam depuis le Ier jusqu'au IIIe siècle de l'Hégire*, Wiesbaden 1978; idem, *Les sources islamiques de la "Sīra" avant Ibn Hishām et leur valeur historique*, in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet*, Colloque de Strasbourg (Oct. 1980), Paris 1983, 7-29. (R.G. Khoury)

MUDANYA, a Turkish town located on the Gulf of Gemlik on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara, now in the *ilçe* or district of the same name and in the *il* or province of Bursa [*q.v.*]. In early Ottoman times, it came within the *liwāʾ* of K͟hudāwendigār [*q.v.*]. In late Ottoman times it was a port of regional importance, exporting the olive oil, fruit, wines and other agricultural produce of the fertile surrounding region; it also served as the port of transit for the manufactures of Bursa, the provincial capital, to which it was linked in 1892 by a narrow-gauge railway. The inhabitants of Mudanya were a mixture of Turks and Greeks; Ottoman statistics set the population of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Mudanya at 17,395 in 1893 and at 24,233 in 1907; according to the 1985 census, the town of Mudanya had 12,152 inhabitants and the *ilçe* 32,042.

The main event of the present century affecting Mudanya has been the fact that the Turkish War of Independence was brought to a practical end by an armistice concluded at Mudanya on 11 October 1922 by representatives of the Government of the Grand Natonial Assembly of Turkey and the Allied Powers Great Britain, France and Italy. The armistice arose from the situation created by the Turks' expulsion of Greek forces from Anatolia in September 1922, and the subsequent advance of Turkish troops up to and into the "neutral zone" around the Dardanelles which was occupied by detachments of the three Allied Powers. The Turks indicated that it was their intention to cross the neutral zone and expel Greek forces from Eastern Thrace; the Allied Powers refused to let them pass, and for some days war threatened. On 23 September the Allied Powers offered to negotiate an armistice on the basis that Greece should evacuate Eastern Thrace and that Turkey should respect the neutral zone; the Turkish Commander-in-Chief Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pas͟ha [see atatürk] accepted the offer of negotiation, and discussions commenced at Mudanya on 3 October, the Turks being represented by ʿIṣmet Pas͟ha [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the commander of their forces on the western front, and the Allied Powers by Generals Harington, Charpy and Mombelli. A Greek delegation was present at Mudanya, but did not enter the negotiations.

These in fact proved difficult. The Turkish delegation initially refused to recognise the neutral zone, and insisted that Eastern Thrace be recognised as Turkish sovereign territory and placed under Turkish control. A breakdown was narrowly averted; in the end the Allied Powers agreed to recognise full Turkish sovereignty in Eastern Thrace and to accept the entry of Turkish officials and gendarmes into the province within thirty days of Greek evacuation, which itself should be completed within fifteen days. In return, the Turks agreed to respect the neutral zone pending the outcome of a peace conference. They also agreed to a cessation of hostilities with Greece. The armistice came into force at midnight on 14-15 October 1922; Greece did not sign it, but announced her adherence on 14 October.

The armistice was therefore more than a ceasefire. By recognising full Ottoman sovereignty in Eastern Thrace it resolved one of the principal political issues between Turkey, Greece and the Allied Powers; the others were dealt with at the peace conference held at Lausanne (November 1922-July 1923). Allied forces remained in the neutral zone and Istanbul until the conclusion of the peace conference; all were evacuated by 1 October 1923. The Government of the Grand National Assembly had long since asserted its own political authority in Istanbul: some three weeks after the Mudanya armistice, it abolished the Sultanate and the Sultan's government which had hitherto survived under Allied protection, and installed its own men in charge of the capital.

Bibliography: Data on various aspects of Mudanya's history may be gleaned from *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1981-4, iii, 1611-1801 *passim*; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿUt͟hmāniyye'niñ djug͟hrāfīyā lug͟hāti*, i, Istanbul 1313, 735-6; S͟hems ed-Dīn Sāmī [*Fras͟hëri*], *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1306-16, 4237-8; *Géographie de Busching*, viii, Lausanne 1780, 212-13; J. Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'empire ottoman (1895-1914)*, Paris 1977, 139-41. For the Mudanya armistice of 1922, see Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türkiye devletinin dış siyasası*, Ankara 1973, 117-19; Tevfik Bıyıkıoğlu, *Trakya'da millî mücadele*, i, Ankara 1955, 433-63; S.F. Evans, *The slow rapprochement: Britain and Turkey in the age of Kemal Atatürk 1919-1938*, Hull 1982, 51-68; A.-F. Frangulis, *La Grèce et la crise mondiale*, ii, Paris 1926, 440-60; Lord Kinross, *Ataturk. The rebirth of a nation*, London 1964, 330-9; Salahi Ramsdan Sonyel, *Turkish diplomacy 1918-1923*, London 1975, 173-82; Âli Türkgeldi, *Mondros ve Mudanya mütarekelerinin tarihi*, Ankara 1948, 148-88; W.N. Medlicott, D. Dakin and M.E. Lambert (eds.), *Documents on British foreign policy 1919-1939, First Series, vol. xvii, Greece and Turkey 1922-1923.* (F.A.K. Yasamee)

MUḌAR [see rabīʿa].

MUḌĀRABA (a.) (also, in S͟hāfiʿī and Mālikī sources, *ḳirāḍ* and *muḳāraḍa*), a commercial association whereby an investor (*rabb al-māl*) entrusts capital to an agent (*muḍārib*, *ʿāmil*) who trades with it and shares with the investor a pre-determined proportion of the profits. Losses incurred in the venture are the responsibility of the investor; the agent loses his time and effort, and any profit he would have gained were it successful. Most schools of law require that the capital be entirely provided by the investor and the labour entirely by the agent, otherwise the arrangement is transformed into another kind of contract (e.g., loan, investment of merchandise, or partnership with unequal shares (*ʿinān*)) with different incidents. Thus strictly speaking, the *muḍāraba* contract is a fiduciary relationship (*amāna*) combined with agency

and becomes a partnership only with the division of the profits.

The capital for the formation of the *muḍāraba* must consist of currency. Chattels (*ʿurūḍ*) and real property are ineligible on grounds of uncertainty and risk (*gharar*) because their value may fluctuate before they are converted into cash, leaving the subject matter of the *muḍāraba* undefined and undetermined. However, the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools permit the formation of a *muḍāraba* with a pre-condition, so that once specific chattels or real property have been sold, the proceeds may finance the *muḍāraba*. Subject to controversy also is whether the *muḍāraba* can be financed by a debt (the creditor asks the debtor to assign what he owes as a *muḍāraba* investment), by a third-party debt (which the agent is charged to collect), by money held on deposit or owed from unlawful appropriation (*ghaṣb*).

The rights of the agent include a previously agreed proportions of the profit (neither party can stipulate a specific sum). He may deduct all legitimate business expenses from the capital to the extent that customary practice dictates; and he may usually deduct personal living expenses, but only if he is travelling. The Ḥanbalī school, by allowing all matters of personal expenses to be the subject of agreement between the parties, permits greater flexibility. Although the investor has the right to impose certain restrictions, the agent is given considerable freedom of action to conduct business and achieve a profit. Does the agent have the right to mix his own capital in the venture? Only the Ḥanbalī school permits the association of capital of both and the labour of one of the parties, provided that this is understood as both a *muḍāraba* and a partnership in property, and also provided that the profits be shared equally (*Mughnī*, v, 136). Again, further latitude is envisioned only by the Ḥanbalīs, who also permit an association of labour, where the capital is contributed by one party while both parties conduct trade together (*Mughnī*, v, 137). Such a *muḍāraba* is not permitted by the other schools, who insist that the capital be placed in the absolute possession of the agent.

The liquidation of the *muḍāraba*, i.e. conversion of the *muḍāraba* properties back to currency, is the duty of the agent, although there is considerable discussion as to the degree each party is entitled to decide the most profitable (or least harmful) time to do so. The recognised duty of the agent to buy and sell at the most profitable time conflicts, of course, with the notion of a fiduciary and non-binding contract which normally either party can dissolve at will. The inconsistency was noted by all schools and various rules attempt to resolve the conflict. In addition, in contrast to the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, the Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī schools permit a *muḍāraba* contract to be formed with a pre-determined time limit, after which the agent could no longer engage in trade on behalf of the *muḍāraba*.

The *muḍāraba* is treated at length in the classical *fikh* works as a contract distinct from other partnerships, reflecting the important role it played in medieval long distance trade. For this aspect, see KIRĀḌ. The contract was also a device to lend money with interest while circumventing the prohibition of unlawful gain [see RIBĀ]. In handing over money to the agent, the investor was liable only for the loss of the capital; but if the commercial venture were successful, the share of the profits he received (in addition to the capital) was tantamount to the interest on a loan.

In the contemporary Muslim world, the *muḍāraba* is the centrepiece of an anticipated system of interest-free banking. Briefly, funds mobilised by the bank from depositors on the basis of one *muḍāraba* contract can provide funds to entrepreneurs on the basis of another *muḍāraba*. The bank's income would be the difference between the share of profit it receives from entrepreneurs and the share of profit it gives to the depositors (Saleh, 101). Not only is the *muḍāraba* a versatile contract, but it also enjoyed the detailed attention and unanimous approval of the classical Muslim jurists.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳudāma, *K. al-Mughnī*, Beirut 1392/1972, v, 134-201; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1331/1912, xxii, 17-187; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1386/1966, ii, 258-67; Ṭaḥāwī, *K. al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*, Istanbul, ms. Murad Molla 997, fols. 107a-110a (contract of *muḍāraba*); C.A. Hooper, *The Civil Law of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (Eng. tr. of the *Madjalla*), Jerusalem 1933, i, arts. 1404-30; A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970; J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law*, Albany 1972 (contract of purchase by *muḍārib*, 130-1); N. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate partnership in Islamic law*, Cambridge and New York 1986; Abdullah Alwi bin Haji Hasan, *Al-Mudārabah (dormant partnership) and its identical Islamic partnerships in early Islam*, in *Hamdard Islamicus*, xii/2 (1989), 11-38.

(JEANETTE A. WAKIN)

MUḌĀRIʿ (A.), "similar", a technical term of Arabic grammar to designate the verbal form characterised by the prefixing of one of four augments (*zawāʾid*), marks of the person, *hamza, tāʾ, yāʾ and nūn*. As regards time, the "similar" verb is allocated to the expression of the present (*ḥāl, ḥāḍir*) and the future (*mustaḳbal, ātī*). It is the opposite of the *māḍī* [*q.v.*], characterised by the suffixing of personal markings and allocated to the expression of the past.

The grammarians call this verbal form "similar" because of the similarity (*muḍāraʿa*) that they establish between it and the noun, in three ways: 1. the "similar" verb, like the noun, is undefined (*mubham*), for both the article *al-* is prefixed to the noun to distinguish the indefinite (*radjulᵘⁿ*) from the definite (*al-radjulu*), and a particle, *sa-* or *sawfa*, should be prefixed to the "similar" verb to distinguish between the present (*yaktubu*) and the future (*sa-yaktubu*); 2. the "similar" verb can replace the noun of the agent (*ism al-fāʿil*) and express the same meaning: *Zaydun kātibun* has the same significance as *Zaydun yaktubu*; 3. one can prefix the *lām* of the confirmation (*taʾkīd*) to the similar verb (*la-yaktubu*), just as one can with the noun of the agent (*la-kātibun*).

On account of the similarity established between this verbal form and the noun, the Arab grammarians consider the "similar" verb to be inflected (*muʿrab*) like the noun. It can be inflected in three ways: (a) by suffixing the final vowel *-u* (*marfūʿ*), governed by the fact that it can occupy the position of a noun. (b) by suffixing the final vowel *-a* (*manṣūb*), governed by four particles, *an, lan, kay, idhan*, and five other particles, *ḥattā, li-, fa-, wa-* and *aw*, in which the particle *an* is implicit (*muḍmar*); (c) by the elision of the final vowel (*madjzūm*), governed by a certain number of particles such as *lam* and *lammā* of negation, *lā* of prohibition, *li-* of injunction and *in* of recompense (*djazāʾ*). As regards the expression of time, the Arab grammarians state, without explanation, the fact that the two negative particles *lam* and *lammā* transfer (*tanḳulu*) the "similar" verb into the past.

Bibliography: Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 2-3, 361-84; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍāb*, ed. ʿUḍayma, iv, 80-5; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl fī*

'l-naḥw, ed. Fatlī, i, 39-40, ii, 145-63; Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Seybold, 124-34; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, vii, 6-58; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 129; idem, *La "Risālāt al-Kitāb" de Sībawayhi*, in *MUSJ*, xlviii (1973-4), 321-38.

(G. Troupeau)

al-**MUDAWWANA,** Mālik treatise [see saḥnūn].

al-**MUDAWWANA,** Ibīḍī treatise [see abū ghānim].

al-**MUDAWWAR** (a.) "that which is round", has given, under the form almodovar, the name to a small river of the province of Cadiz which flows from the south-east into the Laguna de la Janda, and also to several places in Spain and Portugal: Almodovar del Rio, below Cordova; Almodovar del Campo (or de Calatrava), to the south-west of Ciudad Real; Almodovar del Pinar, in the province of Cunenca; and Almodovar to the west of Mértola in southern Portugal. (C.F. Seybold)

MUDAWWARA (a.), lit. "something circular", a term used in the central and western parts of the Arab world in the later Middle Ages to denote a large tent of rulers and great men, used especially when the army was on the march.

Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, ed. R. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, 136-7, tr. Venture de Paradis, Beirut 1950, 228) states that when the Mamlūk sultan sent out a powerful military expedition, the order of the commander's tents, when encamped, is that the highest-ranking officer's tent (*waṭāk*) is set up at the end of the formation, with the sultan's *mudawwara* (of such a size that its components had to be carried on 120 camels) right at the end of the line. The information of al-Ḳalḳashandī confirms that the *mudawwara* was a very large tent or pavilion. When the army of the Moroccan Marīnids [*q.v.*] was on the march, the city-like formation of the encampment (*shikka*, in Mamlūk parlance, *ḥawsh*) included a lofty tent intended as the sultan's public audience hall, the *ḳubbat al-sāḳa*, which al-Ḳalḳashandī says was called a *mudawwara* in Egypt (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 208-9).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Quatrèmere, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, i/1, 192, ii/2, 212, and Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 475. (Ed.)

al-**MUDDATHTHIR** and al-**MUZZAMMIL,** the titles respectively of the 74th and 73rd sūras of the Ḳurʾān, derived from the first verse of each one of them which may be translated "O you covered in a cloak!" The first term is the active participle of a form V, *tadaththara*, denominative verb from *dithār* "over garment", and the second, also an active participle, from form V, *tazammala* "to wrap oneself [in a garment]", the infix *t* of *mutadaththir* and *mutazammil* being simply assimilated to the first radical. The two sūras are Meccan, and the opening verses of the first sūra may well be the opening of the entire revelation. The exegetes offer several explanations for the two expressions, which obviously designate in both cases the Prophet in an ecstatic condition, probably with his head covered in the fashion of the diviners of former times. The variant *al-muzammal*, passive participle of form II, would imply the intervention of another person, in this case Khadīdja [*q.v.*], whom Muḥammad must have asked to cover him when he felt that a revelation was at hand.

Bibliography: In addition to the classical commentaries, see in particular, Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 98; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 72-3.

(Ed.)

MUDÉJAR (Spanish; in Catalan *mudèixar*), from the Arabic *mudadjdjan* or *ahl al-dadjn*, a term to designate the Muslim who, in return for the payment of tribute, continued to live in territories conquered by the Christians. The word covers the double sense of "one who remains behind, a laggard", and of *tributarius*, which is the translation of the *Vocabulista in arabico*. In fact, there is a correlation between the fact of not emigrating before the Christian advance and that of becoming subject to a new jurisdiction which is no longer Islamic. The term is also used to characterise the manifestations relative to this culture; thus there is reference to Mudéjar architecture, literature, etc. It should be stressed that, before the 15th century, the Mudéjars are generally called *mauri/moros* (often, more specifically, *moros de paz*), *sarraceni/sarrahins*, and that the term *mudéjar* only appears in Spanish texts *ca.* 1462, "eran de intención que se diesen al rey nuestro señor, e biviesen por modejares en aquella çibdad e su tierra" (*Crónica condestable Lucas de Iranzo*). The surrender of Purchena (1489) stipulates "...que Nos tomamos e recibimos por nuestros *vasallos mudexares*..." and the "alfaqui Yuzaf el Mudexar" was one of the administrators of Grenada in 1491.

It is possible to identify the status of being a Mudéjar: (a) of individuals, (b) of communities and (c) of political formations. These last may be "external" (i.e. not included geographically in the Christian zone). Thus it seems appropriate to speak of the Mudéjar status of the Naṣrid sultanate of Granada, politically subordinate to the Castilians to whom it paid tribute (the *parias* [*q.v.*]) and even to extend it to European colonialism and protectorates when exercised at the expense of Islamic states.

(a) Individual Mudéjar status is produced—at least sporadically—when an expedition launched from the *dār al-ḥarb* has successfully occupied a part of the *dār al-Islām* whose inhabitants have not retreated. There is also an implicit notion of the possibility of choice of residence, and a Muslim prisoner could not be considered a Mudéjar unless, when freed, he chose to stay (his status from the point of view of *fiḳh* is a subject to which we shall return). In this sense, the status of Mudéjar existed on almost all the frontiers (*thughūr* [*q.v.*]), the first cases occurring in Asia Minor, with the Byzantine counter-offensive of the 8th-9th centuries.

(b) The Mudéjar status of communities. This appears, in the sense of a widescale phenomenon giving its name to the process, in Spain only in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries (the Maghribī jurist al-Wansharīsī (d. 915/1509) considered it to have begun *ca.* 503/1100). It also came about in Sicily with the Norman conquest of the 11th century; in Syria-Palestine with the creation of the Latin Kingdom in the 12th century; in Russia with the Muscovite expansion of the 15th-16th centuries, and in the Balkans with the decline of the Ottomans in the 18th-19th centuries. The phenomenon has received no specific designation in these regions, and no scholar has yet undertaken a global and comparative study either of this historical process or of its evolution.

In all cases, this was a process affecting organised and close-knit (usually urban) groups who—having the option of emigration—preserved, in return for a formal capitulation, their religious, judicial, administrative, fiscal, linguistic and other structures. It also constituted the application to conquered Muslims of the status of *dhimmī* [*q.v.*]. That seems to be the opinion of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh when using the term *djizya* for the tribute paid to Alfonso VI of Castile. Ibn al-Kardabūs also uses it when speaking of

the tribute levied by the King of Castile, the Cid and Alfonso I of Aragon. Al-Wan<u>sh</u>arīsī spoke of *al-muslimīn al-<u>dh</u>immiyyīn* and *bayn al-ṭā<u>gh</u>iya wa-ahl <u>dh</u>immatihi min al-da<u>dj</u>n*. Mediaeval European societies, having no experience of co-existence with communities belonging to other faiths, confined themselves to copying a "model". It is this which explains and justifies, in 1665, the demand addressed by the Sublime Porte to the Tsar of Muscovy "that he treat his Muslim subjects in reciprocity with the status accorded by the Sultan to his own Christian subjects." But there was one essential difference: the status of *<u>dh</u>immī* was—as stipulated by the capitulation of Tudmīr—"covered by the divine pact and guarantee" (*ʿahd wa-mī<u>th</u>āḳ Allāh*). The vassal acquired "the protection (*<u>dh</u>imma*) of God and of Muḥammad." And divine decisions are, essentially, immutable. On the other hand, the Mudéjar was covered only by a diplomatic accord, granted by a (Christian) conquering power to the (Muslim) vanquished, where the former political sovereignty was transferred to the victors.

The condition of the *muda<u>djdj</u>an* declined very quickly, since the balance of forces no longer required adherence to the spirit and the letter of the signed treaties, while the fiscal needs of the Spanish kings led them to increase—to intolerable degrees—the burdens imposed (forced labour, military conscription) and the taxed levied (*peyta, cena, censal, morabetin, lezda, questia*, tithes, etc.). The situation was aggravated by the growing weight of Christian social pressure and the injunctions of the Lateran Council in 1215, of the Popes Honorius III and Gregory IX, requiring them to wear distinctive signs, or the ban, imposed by Clement V in 1311 and revived by the Bishop of Tortosa in 1359, on invoking the name of Muḥammad and on praying in public. In fact, the faith given and sworn *in perpetuum*, the word of honour of "sus Altezas e sus descendientes, para siempre jamas..." was of shortlived duration. Hence it was not long before it was violated, in part (two months at Toledo, after which they were deprived of use of the Great Mosque) or in total (eight years at Granada). It is therefore essential to distinguish the periods, since vast differences separate the politico-socio-economic context of the day of surrender from that where the marginal status of the Christians is no more than a vague memory. The treaties were full of provisions aimed at retaining a large Arabo-Muslim majority, not yet deprived of its ruling élites and structures, in contact with other Muslim states from which it could receive aid and support, and to which it could emigrate. Such provisions vanished without trace when the conquering power, having pushed back the frontiers and colonised the land, "interiorised" the Mudéjars, reducing their initial autonomy (to the advantage of monarchs or nobility), overseeing and exploiting the *aljamas*, isolated amid the Christian tide and no longer constituting a coherent group, its members suffering pressure, discrimination and contempt, their loyalty considered suspect. In this context it seems more appropriate to think in terms of the privileges, rather than of the rights, of the Mudéjars; for example, sexual contact with a Christian was not punishable by death.

The first known situation involving Mudéjars was apparently of 188/803-4. The capture of Barcelona by Louis the Pious guaranteed to "suum principem Amir et civitatem concessa facultate sedendi". The capture of Cea, Viseo, Alafoens and Lamego in 1038 by Ferdinand I of Léon, specified "...eo pacto, ut incolae remanerent et essent subditi sub tributo/fincassen los moros por sus vassallos...obtento loco habitanti." The capture of Toledo in 1085 stipulated that the Muslims would retain their property and their mosques and that their taxes would not be increased. That of Valencia by the Cid in 1094 was to mark the culminating point of Christian-Muslim co-existence. It was also to serve as a model for the surrenders of Tudela (1115), Saragossa (1118), Tortosa (1148), as well as for the last ones, Purchena (1489), Almeria (1490) and Granada (1491), which guaranteed freedom of emigration, the maintenance of religion, local authorities, properties, exemption from forced labour and the payment of tithes only.

Thus the terms of surrender of Tudela stipulated:

> ...volendo Deo ut affirmat illo alcadii in suo honore et in sua iustitia et suo filio, salvet illum Deus, in suo honore et in suo mandamento, et totos illos alguaçiros et alfachis et maiorales quod teneat eos in suos fueros, et totos illos alios moros quod stent in lures casas intra in illa civitate, de isto uno anno completo de ista carta; et infer tantum quod faciant et indreçent casas in illos arrabales de foras, et quod remaneat illa metzchida maiore in lurs manus usque ad isto anno completo, quod levent illos in lur fuero de lures hereditates que habent in Tortoxa, et in suas villas per direito et per iusticia sic est fuero in lure lege, id est, quod donent decima ad comes Raymundus Berengarii de totos lures fructos et totos lures alçatas, et qui voluerit ex eis sua alode vendere, qui non illi devetet aliquis, et vendat ubi potuerit, et qui voluerit ex illis exire de Tortoxa per ad alias terras aut per terra vel per aqua, vadat solutus cum suo toto avere, et cum filios et mulieres, qua hora voluerint prope vel tarde, et vadat de salvetate, si voluerit, sine consilio de nullo homine. Et totos illos mauros quod stent in lures fueros et in lures iusticias, et non inde illos dissolvat nullus homo, et stet super illos lure iudice cum suos castigamentos, sicut est in lure lege, et in via de lure iudicio...et quod non sedeat forçato nullo mauro per andare ad expugnandos alios mauros, et quod non moret nullo christiano per força in sua casa vel in suo orto. Et si cadigit iura super mauro circa christiano, quod iuret sicut est in sua lege, et non illos forçet, per alia iura facere. Et qui voluerit habitare de illis in sua almunia vel in suo orto, foras illa civitate, quod non ei devetet aliquis. Et non faciant illos de Tortoxa nulla açofra, nec illos homines, nec suas bestias. Et non ponant super illos iudicem in nulla baiulia, nec in ullas suas faciendas, et quod non demandent nullam occasionem super nullo servitiale, qui antea tenuit aliquod servitium regale, et sedeant comendatas totas causas de homines de Tortoxa ad alguaçir, vel quem ei elegerit. Et quod levent ad illos alcaides de illos moros super lures usaticos, et suos fueros in quantum tenent in manu, et quod sedeant honoratos in lures usaticos, sicut fuerunt in tempus de suos alios reges, et non inde illos tragat nullus. Et quod posent lures mercatos, ubi fuit suo fuero, in illos alfondechs de saputos de posare, et veniant illas arrafachas totas terras ad fidelitate, et non illas sachet, nec tragat nullus de suos fueros. Et quantas maluras fuerint facta inter nos usque ad isto tempus, quod totas sedeant finitas. Et affidiavit comes ad alguaciles, et alcadis, et alfachis in lures animas et in lures hereditates, et illos quod sedeant suos fideles vasallos, sicut illos alios bonos homines de Tortoxa...

The capitulation of Granada guaranteed:

> ... Item es asentado e concordado que sus Altezas e sus decendientes para siempre jamás dejarán vivir

al dicho Rey Muley Baaudili e á los dichos alcaides, e alcadís, e sabios, e moftíes, e alfaquíes, e alguaciles, e caballeros e escuderos, e viejos e buenos hombres, e comunidad, chicos e grandes, e estar en su ley, e non les mandarán quitar sus algimas e zumaas, e almuédanos, e torres de los dichos almuédanos, para que llamen á sus azalaes, e dejarán e mandarán dejar á la dichas algimas sus propios e rentas como agora los tienen, e que sean juzgados por su ley xaraçina con consejo de sus alcadís, segund costumbre de los moros, y les guardarán e mandarán guardar sus buenos usos e costumbres...serán honrados e mirados de sus altezas, e sus dichos oidos, e guardados sus buenos usos e costumbres; e que sean pagados á los alcadís e alfaquíes sus quitaciones, e derechos, e franquezas e todas las otras cosas e cada una dellas, segund e en la manera que lo hoy tienen e gozan e deben gozar.

Item es asentado e concordado que si debate ó quistión hobiere entre los dichos moros, que sean juzgados por su ley xaracima e por sus alcadís segund costumbre de los moros...

Item es asentado e concordado que las rentas de las dichas algimas, e cofradías, e otras cosas dadas para limosnas, e las rentas de las escuelas de abezar mochachos, queden á la gobernación de los alfaquíes; e que las dichas limosnas las puedan gastar e distribuir como los dichos alfaquíes vieren que conviene e es menester; e que sus Altezas non se entremetan en cosa alguna de las dichas limosnas, nin gelas manden tomar nin embargar agora nin en tiempo alguno para siempre jamás...

It is evident that, far from seeking their departure, these conditions were intended to retain and even to attract the Muslims. It is thus that the stipulations of the treaties (and of the *Cartas pueblas* of Chivert, Eslida, Uxó, etc.) all tend to preserve a status acceptable to the Muslims, and also to cancel the Almoravid fiscal inducement, taxes being reduced to a tithe. During the 14th century, when the Castile-Aragon wars ravaged the kingdom of Valencia, Pedro IV ("the Ceremonious") made a determined effort to persuade the Mudéjar emigrants to return to their former *aljamas*. It should however be noted that, from the 12th century onward, and this for reasons of security, the replacement of Muslim citizens by Christian residents was to become the rule (regulated over a year), the dispossessed then becoming concentrated in a single and separate quarter, the future *moreria*. On the other hand, the conquests of Cordova (1236), Valencia (1238), Seville (1247) and Marbella (1485) followed a different pattern: the immediate and total expulsion of the urban populations (rural populations always being retained for obvious fiscal reasons, especially on land requiring irrigated agriculture).

The economic importance of the Mudéjars needs no further demonstration, since J. Boswell has characterised it as "the royal treasure", adapting the popular wisdom which affirmed that "a más moro, más oro". Demographically, their number was considerable: 30% of the Aragonese population and the vast majority of Valencians in the 14th century. In Castile, although definite statistics are not available, the great Mudéjar revolt of the 13th century constituted quite a serious danger.

But it was most of all the emigration of the political leadership circles, the disruption of judicial, administrative and economic structures, and cultural erosion which dilated the Islam of the Mudéjars. To stay in Christian territory was reckoned a sin by such different authors as Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rus̲h̲d (d. 594/1198 [*q.v.*] and al-Wans̲h̲arīsī (d. 915/1509), and there were many *fatwās* declaring it the duty of the Andalusians to abandon the land of the infidels (*Miʿyār*, ii, 119-51).

The Christian occupation was accompanied by the disappearance of Arabo-Muslim political and cultural élites. Even such an educated and intellectually "pro-Arab" monarch as Alfonso X of Castile did not succeed in retaining the services of the celebrated Muḥammad al-Tiḳutī. It followed from this that there could be no elaborate training nor future for the Mudéjar *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ*, which explains the lack of creativity and the erosion of linguistic knowledge. Grammatical errors and an increasing impoverishment of vocabulary led eventually to a total and widespread ignorance of the Arabic language. This explains the emergence of *aljamiado* [*q.v.*] which is nothing other than Castilian written in Arabic characters. In the 14th century, the *Leyes de moros* were composed purely in Castilian and, in 1462, Içe de Gebir published the *Suma de los principales mandamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, evidently intended for a population which considered itself Muslim but which was no longer Arabic-speaking. On the other hand, the Mudéjars of Aragon and especially those of Valencia maintained the use of Arabic (spoken and written) until the time of their expulsion—as the Moriscos [*q.v.*]—in 1611-14.

The skill, high degree of specialisation and cheapness of Mudéjar handcrafts led to the continuation of such activity, thus perpetuating Arabo-Muslim techniques and decorative designs. This was particularly true in the context of ceramics (*loza dorada*), sculpted and painted ceilings (*artesonados*), decoration in stucco and, most of all, the use of brick for construction. It was in this period and in this context that there appeared the famous steeples of the Aragonese churches of the 14th-15th centuries (art historians speak of "ladrillo gothic"), steeples whose construction and embellishment are extremely reminiscent of the Giralda of Seville. Mudéjarism, which respected the religion and culture of the vanquished, was abruptly ended by the compulsory conversion decreed by the Catholic Kings in 1502 for the Castilian domains, and by the Emperor Charles V in 1526 for the Kingdom of Aragon. Following these dates, there existed no more Mudéjars in the strict sense of the term. Their place was taken by the "christianos nuevos" (officially Christian but crypto-Muslim in belief and culture); these were the Moriscos.

(c) The Mudéjar status of political groupings. It seems that it would be in order to speak of state Mudéjarism every time that an Andalusian political grouping declared itself—paying tribute (sometimes half of its revenues, as at Murcia)—as the vassal of a Christian kingdom. This type of Mudéjarism was always episodic and temporary. Within a fairly short period of time, it became internalised and finally blended into Mudéjarism of a community. Disregarding the disputable cases of Toledo, Saragossa and Tudela under Lubb b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī (*ca.* 863), and Toledo (1080-5) and Valencia (1086-92) under al-Ḳādir b. D̲h̲i 'l-Nūn, there exist others, indubitable and well-known: those of the kingdoms of Minorca (1231-87), Murcia (1243-66), Granada (1245 and at intervals until 1490), Niebla (1257-63) and Crévillente (1296-1316).

Bibliography: The basic authority (which gathers together and publishes numerous documents) continues to be Fr. Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid 1866; Isidoro de las Cagigas, *Los mudéjares*,

Madrid 1948-9, has unfortunately remained unfinished. For the Kingdom of Aragon, see Fr. Macho y Ortega, *Condición social y jurídica de los mudéjares aragoneses*, in *Mem. Fac. Fª Letras Zaragoza*, i (1923), 137-319; the studies of R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: colonial survival in the XIIIth century Kingdom of Valencia*, Princeton 1974, *Medieval colonialism: Postcrusade exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, Princeton 1975 and *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: societies in symbiosis*, Cambridge 1984; J. Boswell, *The royal treasure. Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the XIVth century*, Newhaven 1977; see also M.C. Barceló Torres, *Minorias islámicas en el país valenciano. Historia y dialecto*, Valencia 1984; G.M. Borras Qualis, *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, Saragossa 1985; Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār...fatāwī ahl Ifrīkiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, Muḥammadiyya 1981-3. To these should be added the thesis of P. Guichard, *La société musulmane valencienne et sa destruction à l'époque de la reconquête*, University of Toulouse 1987.

(P. Chalmeta)

MUDGAL, ancient fort in India situated in 13°5′ N., 75° E., in the modern state of Karnāṭaka; together with Rāyčūr [*q.v.*], it formed a principal defence of the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb*, i.e. that between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, that continuous bone of contention between the Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] and the Deccan sultanates. The date of its foundation is unknown, but it seems to have passed from the possession of the Yādava rulers of Dēwgir [see DAWLATĀBĀD] to the Kākatīya kings of Warangal, and from the appearance of the cyclopean masonry of parts of the outer wall, it could well have been established under the former. It came first to the attention of a Muslim sultanate after the conquest of Dēwgir (694/1295), when Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*] captured and garrisoned both Mudgal and Rāyčūr when on his way to attack the Kākatīya capital of Warangal; but there are no records of how long Muslim sway was then maintained. After the establishment of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] sultanate in Gulbargā, Mudgal frequently changed hands between that sultanate and Vidjayanagara; thus under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the sultanate, it formed, with Rāyčūr, part of the Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā *ṭaraf* under the able *wazīr* Sayf al-Dīn Ghūrī; it was lost for a time to the Vidjayanagara ruler Bukka I, but recaptured in the wars of 767/1366 when the Bahmanīs used cannon for the first time, and it was presumably about this time that the defences of the fort were adapted for artillery.

The reign of Dēvarāya I in Vidjayanagara, 808/1406, saw a renewal of hostilities brought about by the notorious "war of the goldsmith's daughter", an accomplished young lady whom the Rādja coveted; the Bahmanīs under Fīrūz were victorious, Dēvarāya had to pay a large indemnity, marry a daughter to Fīrūz, and cede the fortress of Bankāpūr, in the west of the *dōʾāb*, as a bridal gift. But the continual withholding of tribute from Vidjayanagara led to more fighting in the *dōʾāb* when Dēvarāya II, anxious to enlarge his dominions, again took Mudgal in *ca.* 846/1442-3, only to lose it again shortly.

The decline of the Bahmanī sultanate under Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, with the incipient Barīd-Shāhī and ʿĀdil-Shāhī powers now gaining in strength, left Mudgal under ʿĀdil-Shāhī control, again with constant harrying from Vidjayanagara; but the *dōʾāb* did not come finally under Muslim control until the confederacy of the four Deccan sultans crushed the Vidjayanagara armies decisively at the (so-called) battle of Tālikōṭa in 972/1565. The seven inscriptions at Mudgal are all of the ʿĀdil-Shāhī period. The fort with its ponderous walls is defended by a wide moat (sometimes as much as 50 m in width), with a bastioned scarp, a covert way, and a heavily bastioned counterscarp with round and square towers alternating, much as in Golkondā); the towers show signs of having been rebuilt for artillery. A range of hills defends the fort to the south-west. The Fatḥ *darwāza* to the north is defended by a strong barbican (again as in Golkondā), with an inscription of 996/1588, after ʿĀdil-Shāh's death, although it has been suggested that the victory commemorated is the battle of Tālikōṭa of twenty-three years before; a bastion inscription of 982/1574 records the conquest of Bankāpur. The southern gate is interesting as showing three gateways of different periods, the inner one of beam-and-bracket construction with small trefoil arches in the guards' rooms; this is of the Hindū period, and there are many Hindū sculptures in the vicinity. The middle gateway, however, is arched, and the outer gate (*Kānṭī darwāza*) is, as the name implies, heavily studded with iron spikes as a defence against elephants. There are several buildings in the fort, now somewhat ruined: a central mound (*Balā ḥiṣār*) held the royal buildings, of which a roofless *bārādarī* remains; an inscription of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh of 1053/1643 records the building of a marble palace, called Ghagan (?) maḥall—the reading *maḥall-i khakan* is presumably for *gagan* "sky", as in Bīdjāpur. An *ʿashur-khāna*, a *nawbat-khāna*, some powder magazines, and an early mosque constructed of plundered Hindū pillars have been identified, and water for the garrison is provided by a large *bāʾōlī* (Hikranī b.) in the west of the fort.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Notes on the survey of the Mudgal fort*, in *ARADHyd.*, 1345F/1935-6, 25-7, plates IXa and b, Xa; idem, *Inscriptions from Mudgal*, in *EIM* (1935-6), 14-19 and plates ix-xi; minor emendations to these in *EIAPS* for 1963, 1964 and 1965. For the historical information, see *Bibls.* to BAHMANĪ, RAYČUR and VIDJAYANAGARA. H. K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, i, Hyderabad 1973, is well-documented.

(J. Burton-Page)

MUDHAKKAR (A.) "masculine", a technical term of Arabic grammar which is the opposite of MUʾANNATH "feminine". These two words are the passive participles of denominative verbs derived from *dhakar* ("male") and *unthā* ("female"): *dhakkara* "to consider as male", and *annatha* "to consider as female".

For the Arab grammarians, the masculine is the basic state (*aṣl*) of the noun, because the word *shayʾ* "thing" which is common (*ʿamm*) to the masculine and the feminine, is a masculine noun; it does not require a mark (*ʿalāma*) to indicate it (*dalla*); on the other hand, the feminine, which is secondary (*farʿ*, *thānī*) in its relation to the masculine, requires a mark to indicate it, as a sign (*amāra*).

Considered as masculine is every noun which is devoid (*khalā*) of the suffix *tāʾ*/*-at* which is transformed (*inkalaba*) into *hāʾ*/*ah* in pause, or of the suffix *alif*, whether it is abbreviated (*maksūra*) *-a* or prolonged (*mamdūda*) *-āʾ*.

The grammarians distinguish between two types of feminine: the genuine (*ḥakīkī*) feminine, that which has a male counterpart among living beings (*ḥayawān*), such as *radjul* "man" who has a sex (*fardj*) different from that of *marʾa* "woman", and the non-genuine (*ghayr ḥakīkī*) feminine, that which is governed (*radjaʿa*) by pronunciation (*lafẓ*) and which depends

(*taᶜallaḳa*) on convention (*iṣṭilāḥ*) and on specific usage (*waḍᶜ*), such as *bus̲h̲rā* "good news", *ṣaḥrāʾ* "desert" and *g̲h̲urfa* "room".

But there are feminine nouns in which the mark of the feminine is intended (*murāda*) and implied (*muḳaddara*), such as *naᶜl* "shoe", *ḳidr* "cooking-pot" and *s̲h̲ams* "sun"; in these nouns, the mark of the feminine is suppressed (*ḥud̲h̲ifa*) in pronunciation and the practice is to dispense with (*istag̲h̲nā*) the fact of their particular classification (*ik̲h̲tiṣāṣ*) as feminine.

There are also adjectives which qualify as feminine nouns, although devoid of the mark of the feminine: they are those which express a durable (*t̲h̲ābit*) and not accidental (*ḥādit̲h̲*) quality, such as *ᶜāḳir* "sterile". Conversely, there are adjectives possessing the mark of the feminine, which qualify as masculine nouns: they are those which express an excess (*mubālagha*) in the quality, such as *ᶜallāma* "greatly learned". Finally, there are nouns which are considered sometimes as masculine, sometimes as feminine, such as *lisān* "tongue".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, *K. al-Mūd̲j̲az*, ed. Chouémi, 94-6; idem, *K. al-Uṣūl fi 'l-naḥw*, ed. al-Fatlī, ii, 407-15; Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *K. al-D̲j̲umal*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 285-90; Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī, *K. al-Takmila*, ed. S̲h̲ād̲h̲lī Farhūd, 86-146; Ibn Yaᶜīs̲h̲, *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, v, 88-113; Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Bulg̲h̲a fi l'-farḳ bayn al-mud̲h̲akkar wa 'l-muʾannat̲h̲*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*, Paris 1976, 34, 94-5.

(G. Troupeau)

MUDĪR (a.), the title of governors of the provinces of Egypt, called *mudīriyya*. The use of the word *mudīr* in this meaning is no doubt of Turkish origin. The office was created by Muḥammad ᶜAlī, when, shortly after 1813, he reorganised the administrative structure of Egypt, instituting seven *mudīriyyas*; this number has been changed several times. The chief task of the *mudīr* is the controlling of the industrial and agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates, viz. the *maʾmūr*, who administers a *markaz*, and the *nāẓir* who controls the *ḳism*, which is again a subdivision of the *markaz*. Under Saᶜīd Pas̲h̲a (1854-63) the office of *mudīr* was temporarily abolished with a view to preventing oppression. Until that time they had been without exception Turks, but under the Khedive Ismāᶜīl (1863-79) when the function was instituted again, this high administrative position was opened also to native Egyptians.

At the present time, Egypt comprises 25 *mudīriyyas* or governorates; some are comparatively small in area, being essentially urban (e.g. Port Said, Damietta, Cairo and Aswan), whilst at the other end of the spectrum, those covering the deserts of which the land mass of Egypt is largely composed (e.g. al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar, al-Wādī al-D̲j̲adīd and Mersa Matruh) are enormous in extent.

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MUD̲J̲ADDID (a.) "renewer [of the century]". In his *Mug̲h̲nī* (Brockelmann, II, 65; S I, 749, 19) Zayd al-Dīn al-ᶜIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) quotes a tradition according to which the Prophet had said that, at the beginning of each century, God will send a man, a descendant of his family, who will explain the matters of religion. Because of the lethargy in which Islamic science found itself since the 8th/14th century, no such renewer was expected for the 9th. This view was contested by D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]). In his *Kas̲h̲f ᶜan mud̲j̲āwaza hād̲h̲ihi 'l-umma 'l-alfa* (Brockelmann, II, 151, 35; S II, 187; *Cat. Cod. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat.*, iv, 273), written in 898/1492, al-Suyūṭī hopes that it is to him that his contemporaries will grant the title of *mud̲j̲addid al-dīn*, or also of *muḥyī al-islām* "renovator of Islam", for the coming 10th century.

In the title of the work mentioned above, al-Suyūṭī refers to the belief, current in certain circles, that Islam would not outlive a thousand years. This belief apparently was also spread in the Yemen, for S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir, in his *Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a*, written shortly after 967/1559-60, speaks of ignoramuses and stupid people who, relying on apocryphal traditions, pretend that the last days have arrived, since the 10th century is already at hand. According to al-Suyūṭī, quoted by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn, the reliable traditions of the Prophet mean that the Islamic *milla* will outlast one thousand years, but not five hundred more years; "What comes afterwards, only God knows."

The *laḳab* [*q.v.*] *mud̲j̲addid* was, among others, given to the Umayyad caliph ᶜUmar II (Ibn Saᶜd, v, 245), since he was particularly guided by God. The best known *mud̲j̲addid* of later times was the great theologian al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*], who was also given the honorific title *muḥyī al-dīn* "renovator of religion". The latter *laḳab* was given much more frequently, both to scholars and rulers. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] was generally known as *mud̲j̲addid-i alf t̲h̲ānī* "renovator of the second millennium".

On the Naḳs̲h̲bandī Mud̲j̲addidīs, see Hamid Algar, *The Naqshbandi Order: a preliminary survey of its history and significance*, in *SI*, xliv [1976], 123-51.

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MUD̲J̲ĀHID [see rasūl, banū].

MUD̲J̲ĀHID (a.), the active participle of the form III verb *d̲j̲āhada* "to strive" (of which the verbal noun is *d̲j̲ihād* [*q.v.*]), hence acquiring the technical religious meaning of "fighter for the faith, one who wages war against the unbelievers."

1. In classical legal theory and in early Islam. See for this d̲j̲ihād.

2. In Muslim Indian usage.

In the subcontinent, the term *mud̲j̲āhid* has been associated with Islamic revivalist movements there, and especially with the more militant ones which arose from the late 18th century onwards in response to threats to the waning power of the Mug̲h̲als in Dihlī and other Muslim sultanates from the increased pressures of the Marāṭhās, the Sikhs and the British.

The revivalist and reformer S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703-63 [*q.v.*]) stressed the duty of *d̲j̲ihād* and played a role in the inviting of the Afg̲h̲ān *amīr* Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*] into India in order to curb the Marāṭhās and D̲j̲āts [*q.vv.*]. S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh's ideas much influenced Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [see aḥmad brēlwī] of Bareilly (1786-1831) who in the early years of the 19th century formed the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya* movement, basically Ṣūfī-inspired but with some parallel motivation from the contemporary

Wahhābī movement [*q.v.*] in Arabia. In Sayyid Aḥmad's movement, *d̲j̲ihād* was viewed as the means to establish an independent Muslim state in the subcontinent, and his *mud̲j̲āhidūn* first turned their attention to the Sikhs' power in the Pand̲j̲āb (in the struggle against whom Sayyid Aḥmad was himself killed at Bālākot). His surviving *mud̲j̲āhidūn*, and more particularly the activist wing under Sayyid Aḥmad's main successor Mawlāwī Wilāyat ʿAlī (d. 1853) and the latter's brother ʿInāyat ʿAlī (d. 1858), centred on Pātna, fought on in the 1830s and 1840s, but now against the British after they had succeeded to the Sikh empire in the Pand̲j̲āb and had tried to extend northwestwards into Afg̲h̲ānistān. In the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, they allied themselves with the rebels, but their headquarters at Sithana were sacked by British forces in 1858, and they further suffered during the Ambāla campaign of 1863 and in the so-called "Wahhābī trials" of the 1860s. Parallel *mud̲j̲āhid*-type movements also occurred in the rural Muslim regions of Bengal in the early decades of the 19th century, such as that of the Farāʾiḍiyya [*q.v.*] of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲arīʿat Allāh (d. 1839) and his more militant son D̲h̲ūd̲h̲ū Miyān (d. 1860) and that of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī's disciple Tītū [*q.v.*] or Mīr Mithar ʿAlī (d. 1831), and in the extreme southwestern tip of India among the Muslim Māpilla [*q.v.*] or Moplah peasantry.

Enthusiasm for *d̲j̲ihād* remained strongest in the North-West frontier region of India. *Mud̲j̲āhidūn* participated in the frontier rising of 1897-8, and in the early 20th century they allied themselves with the K̲h̲ilāfat movement [*q.v.*] in India. The Third Afg̲h̲ān War of 1919 was launched by King Amān Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Afghanistan as a *d̲j̲ihād* against the British. During the events of 1947, when Indian forces moved into the predominantly Muslim-populated princely state of D̲j̲ammū and Kas̲h̲mīr [*q.vv.*] in order to prevent the population from acceding to Pakistan, *mud̲j̲āhidūn* from the Pathan areas of the North-West Frontier Providence and also from Afg̲h̲ānistān flocked thither in autumn of that year, attempting to establish Muslim rule there.

In recent years, since the setting-up in Kābul of the Soviet-supported régime of Babrak Karmal in December 1979, the anti-Communist resistance within Afg̲h̲ānistān has termed itself that of the *mud̲j̲āhidīn*.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

3. In modern Arab usage.

Many Muslims in the contemporary Arab world (and also outside this area) have come increasingly to regard all rulers who do not rule according to Islamic law as unbelievers (*kāfirūn*) [see KĀFIR] and thus, when born as Muslims, as apostates from Islam (*murtaddūn*) who according to Islamic law merit the death penalty [see MURTADD; RIDDA].

A scriptural basis for this theory is found in, e.g., Ḳurʾān V, 44: "Whosoever does not rule (*yaḥkum*) according to what God has sent down, they are the unbelievers." Hence war against unbelievers has become more and more directed against rulers who are not in favour of immediate and complete application of Islamic law in all its details both in private and in public life.

This militant view is usually designated as the *takfīr al-ḥākim* ("regarding the ruler as an unbeliever") theory. Even Muslims who are not ready to join the different activist groups are rarely willing to deny publicly that Muslim law has to be applied, and hence contribute to the creation of a general atmosphere in which anything that helps to introduce its application meets with approval or passive support.

Muslims, so the activists and extremists argue, have the duty to execute the prescriptions of Islamic law in all its details, since according to Muslims those prescripts are the command of God. Total and general application of these prescripts (or any other system of law) is, however, not possible without the active support of the power of the state. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic state which applies Islamic law is—according to many militant Muslims—an Islamic religious obligation as well.

Since no state can be established without the use of force, to participate in the violence, the use of force and possibly even the civil wars which are necessary to bring about the establishment of such a Muslim state, are equally a Muslim religious obligation. Hence a Muslim who participates in acts of terrorism which aim at the introduction of Islamic law in public life or the establishment of an Islamic state, may have good reason to regard himself as a true *mud̲j̲āhid.*

According to e.g. Dr. Yūsuf al-Ḳardāwī (see *Bibl.*), this way of thought came into being in the harsh atmosphere of the prison camps in which many members of the Muslim Brothers [see AL-IK̲H̲WĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] were held during the power struggle between the Brothers and the Nasser régime in the sixties [see ʿABD AL-NĀṢIR, D̲J̲AMĀL, in Suppl.]; certainly, the growing general support for the idea that Islamic law has to be applied both privately and publicly seems to be largely due to the efforts of the organisation of the Muslim Brothers.

Self-testimonies from Muslim extremist *mud̲j̲āhidūn* circles are rare. It seems that S̲h̲ukrī Muṣṭafā (executed in 1978 for his role in the abduction and murder of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-D̲h̲ahabī in Cairo in 1977) wrote a book entitled *Kitāb al-K̲h̲ilāfa*, but up to now this book has not been made accessible.

A member of the group that assassinated President Anwar al-Sādāt in October 1981, a certain Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Farad̲j̲ (executed in 1982), wrote an internal memorandum, entitled *al-Farīḍa al-g̲h̲āʾiba* ("The neglected duty"), which was published for the first time in the Cairo weekly *al-Aḥrār* on 14 December 1981, while its author was on trial for his role in al-Sādāt's assassination. This document has been reprinted, and translated into English (see *Bibl.*). Up to now (1986), it is by far the best primary source for modern Islamic activism and extremism.

The title of this brochure, "The neglected duty", refers to the neglect into which the Islamic religious duty of waging *d̲j̲ihād* against unbelievers has fallen. Islam, so its author argues, not only involves praying and fasting, but equally prescribes fighting for the cause of God.

The *Farīḍa* document quotes a large number of Muslim authorities to prove the existence of a general Muslim consensus (*id̲j̲māʿ* [*q.v.*]) which prescribes "taking Islam as a whole", *al-islām ka-kull*, including the duty of waging war against unbelievers (cf. Ḳurʾān II, 85: "Do ye believe in part of the Book and disbelieve (*takfurūna*) in [another] part?").

The most often and most extensively quoted authority, however, is the Ḥanbalī *faḳīh* Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), especially his anti-Mongol *fatāwā* which emphasize that the Mongol rulers, by not applying Islamic law after their conversion to Islam, had become apostates from Islam who had to be fought by the Sunnī Mamlūk Muslims and

their armies. Many modern *mudjāhidūn* believe that Ibn Taymiyya's anti-Mongol *théologie de guerre* from the 7th/13th century is, however, valid for all times and all places.

Many observers, both inside the Arab world and outside, think that even if the answers which the author of the *Farīda* document supplies to his readers are not correct, the questions he asks are the very questions which modern Muslims will have to find an answer to.

The ideals and aspirations of the modern *mudjāhidūn* are extremely attractive to large groups of middle-class university graduates, who have little hope of material bliss in this world and who have great expectations of the wholesome effects on economic and social justice of the introduction of Islamic law. Especially, of course, the Islamic ban on interest, *ribā* [*q.v.*], is seen as one of the few possibilities of making the world more Islamic and more liveable at the same time.

Much of the religious discussion going on in the contemporary Arab world, whether in newspaper and journals or on television, refers implicitly or explicitly to the theories and aspirations of the modern *mudjāhidūn*. Much of this discussion is hardly intelligible to someone who is not acquainted with these theories. Hence even though the number of people actually willing to die for them may be small, these theories are of extreme importance.

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(J.J.G. JANSEN)

MUDJĀHID, AL-MUWAFFAḲ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ʿĀMIRI, Abu 'l-Djaysh, ruler of Denia (Dāniya [*q.v.*]) and the Balearics from early 405/late 1014 until 436/1044-5.

Mudjāhid was a "Slav" (A. *ṣaḳlabī* [*q.v.*]), bought, converted to Islam (his patronymic "b. ʿAbd Allāh" represents a semi-legal formality, not his real father) and given an education by al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], the great *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*] of Hishām II [*q.v.*] al-Muʾayyad, the third Umayyad caliph in al-Andalus [*q.v.*] at the end of the 4th/10th century. He entered the service of the ʿĀmirids, and may have been governor of Denia under the two sons of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir towards the end of the 4th century/early 11th century. On the collapse of the Umayyad state, following the death of the third ʿĀmirid in 399/1009, Mudjāhid, like a number of others, set himself up as an independent ruler, gradually consolidating for himself a state in Denia and the Balearics, on the eastern seaboard of Spain. Within a few months of the beginning of his rule there, he set up a caliph of his own, a distant relative of the Umayyad house (the only Umayyad pretender to the caliphate in Spain, incidentally, not to be descended from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]), known as al-Muʿayṭī, with the title al-Muntaṣir bi'llāh. Leaving him in nominal charge in Denia, he set off, in 406/1015-16, to conquer Sardinia. Although initially successful, he was quickly ejected from there by the combined fleets of Pisa and Genoa, and even left his son (and eventual successor), ʿAlī, later known as Iḳbāl al-Dawla, as a prisoner in Christian hands, where he remained for many years. During Mudjāhid's absence, al-Muʿayṭī seems to have tried to take power in Denia for himself (possibly encouraged by reports of Mudjāhid's difficulties during his campaign); he was sent to an obscure exile in north Africa by Mudjāhid as soon as he returned.

For the next thirty years, Mudjāhid ruled with apparent success, keeping Denia (relatively isolated geographically) out of the mainstream of Iberian politics; he seems to have occupied Murcia temporarily at the very end of his life, but otherwise seems not to have entertained any ambitions for territorial aggrandisement within the peninsula after the consolidation of his rule. The numismatic material suggests some possible political difficulties with a son, Ḥasan, towards the end of his life (well discussed by Prieto; see *Bibl.*), but the evidence remains inconclusive. It is striking that we have no surviving dated coins at all for most of his long reign, from 407/1016-17 to 434/1042-3; a couple of coins at the very beginning of his reign (discussed by Miles; see *Bibl.*) are followed by a long silence until the penultimate year of his reign. In the last decade of his reign, Mudjāhid gave nominal recognition to the puppet caliph, said to be Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, set up by the ʿAbbādids of Seville [*q.v.*]. Mudjāhid seems also to have established ties of marriage with this dynasty, strengthening the links between Slav and Andalusian in the peninsula, as against the Berbers), but this recognition amounted to nothing in practical terms (it is discussed in Wasserstein, *Rise and fall*, 120-1).

For the long middle period of his reign, we know almost nothing in political terms, but we are relatively well informed about the cultural life of his court. Like many others of the Taifa monarchs, Mudjāhid was anxious to present himself as a Maecenas, and, unusually, was well placed, as an educated Slav, to encourage genuinely scholarly, as well as literary, activities: Denia became well-known as a centre for theological studies (Urvoy suggests that the entire eastern seaboard area was home to a more serious, religious form of culture in al-Andalus at this time than, say, Cordoba (Ḳurṭuba [*q.v.*]) or Seville (Ishbīliyya [*q.v.*]); see *Bibl.*), with a particular concentration on the study of the *kirāʾāt* [*q.v.*]. (It is intriguing to speculate whether Mudjāhid's interest in and encouragement of this particular branch of learning may not have been connected with his name, Mudjāhid: one of the best-known students of this subject was the famous Ibn Mudjāhid [*q.v.*] of the previous century.) But scholars in many fields, as well as poets and littérateurs, came to enjoy the patronage of the Denian ruler: Ibn Gharsiya [*q.v.*] wrote his well-known *shuʿūbi* [see SHUʿŪBIYYA] *risāla* at his court; Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar dedicated to him his *Risālat al-Sayf wa 'l-ḳalam* (text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1399/1979, i, 523-28; tr. in F. de la Granja, *Dos epistolas de Aḥmad ibn Burd al-Aṣghar*, in *And.*, xxv [1960], 383-418), and other works were composed there and elsewhere under his patronage. Mudjāhid himself is said to have written a work on metre (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]), but nothing of this is known to survive. Ibn

Ḥazm and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr [*q.vv.*] also spent time at his court (see the works by Sarnelli Cerqua and Urvoy listed in the *Bibl.*). The character of Mud̲j̲āhid's court lasted beyond his death, as is shown by the fact that Ibn Ḥazm and al-Bād̲j̲ī carried out their disputation at the court of his son ʿAlī Iḳbāl al-Dawla, in Majorca (Mayūrḳa [*q.v.*]), around 439/1047-8.

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(D.J. Wasserstein)

MUD̲J̲ĀHID b. **D̲J̲ABR** al-**MAKKĪ**, Abu l-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, a Successor, born 21/642, died between 100/718 and 104/722 in Mecca, *mawla* of al-Sāʾib (or ʿAbd Allāh or Ḳays) b. Abi 'l-Sāʾib al-Mak̲h̲zūmī. Famed as a *muḳriʾ* and as a source of *tafsīr*, he is connected to the school of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], but is said to have studied with many other companions as well (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ii, 306). A report is found that he read the Ḳurʾān with Ibn ʿAbbās three times, stopping each time after each verse and asking about its interpretation, specifically concerning what it was revealed about and how it came to be so. He was proclaimed the most knowledgable in *tafsīr* in his age. Some of his information was said to have come from Jews and Christians, thus making some wary of his work (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 467); he is also said to have searched the world for wonders spoken of in the Ḳurʾān, for example, meeting Hārūt and Mārūt at Babel (al-D̲h̲ahabī, ii, 307-8). On the other hand, he is associated with a rationalist approach to Ḳurʾān interpretation (Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 107-10) and with *raʾy* in *fiḳh*. Certainly, no clear, consistent picture emerges out of the biographical anecdotes of an exegetical activity which can be connected to a single historical persona.

Much exegetical material is found in al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, attributed to Mud̲j̲āhid (see H. Horst, *Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentars aṭ-Ṭabarīs* in *ZDMG*, ciii, 295-8); there also exists a manuscript entitled *Tafsīr Mud̲j̲āhid*, Cairo Dār al-Kutub, *tafsīr* 1075 (now published, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sūrtī, Islāmābād 1975). The text may well represent one of the interpretative strands connected to the name Mud̲j̲āhid, but it has been shown by Stauth and Leemhuis to have been neither a source for, nor an extract from, al-Ṭabarī. It consists of primarily periphrastic comments with some narrative embellishment; it appears to be theologically neutral and not marked by over de-anthropomorphism.

Bibliography: Biographical anecdotes in the edition of *Tafsīr Mud̲j̲āhid*, 39-53; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iii, 279-310, no. 243, and other sources mentioned in Sezgin, i, 29 (also viii, 22). For the *Tafsīr*, see G. Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muğāhid b. Ğabrs*, thesis, Giessen 1969; İsmail Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsirde Mücâhid ve ona isnad edilen tefsir*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, xxiii (1978), 31-50; F. Leemhuis, *Ms. 1075 tafsīr of the Cairene Dār al-Kutub and Muğāhid's Tafsīr*, in R. Peters, *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, 169-80; idem, *Origins and development of the tafsīr tradition*, in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾan*, Oxford 1987, ch. 1.

(A. Rippin)

MUʿD̲J̲AM [see ḳāmūs].

MUD̲J̲ASSIMA [see tas̲h̲bīh].

MUD̲J̲ĀWIR, f. *mud̲j̲āwira* (a.), active participle of the form III verb *d̲j̲āwara* in the meaning of neighbour [see also d̲j̲iwār]. In the restricted sense, the term indicates, as does the synonym *d̲j̲ār allāh*, a person who, for a shorter or longer period of time, settles in a holy place in order to lead a life of ascetism and religious contemplation and to receive the *baraka* of that place. Such places are the Kaʿba in Mecca, the *ḥaram* in Jerusalem and the Prophet's tomb in Medina, but also the tombs of earlier prophets [see al-k̲h̲alīl], of the companions of Muḥammad, of the Imāms and their descendants (especially with the S̲h̲īʿīs [see imāmzāda]), and in general the tombs of highly venerated Muslims, theologians as well as Ṣūfīs.

Already in early times, *zāwiyas* and *madrasas* [*q.vv.*] arose in the neighbourhood of such places, in or near which *mud̲j̲āwirūn* settled in order to receive religious instruction from saints and scholars who were living there, or to be teachers themselves, to show the holy places to visitors (*zuwwār*) and to give them religious instruction. A subsidiary meaning of the term, used in Egypt until today, arose in connection with the *madrasas*: *mud̲j̲āwir* may indicate there any student of the Azhar [*q.v.*] who comes from outside and lives in the premises of al-Azhar (Lane, i/2, 483, s.v. *d̲j̲-w-r* (3); idem, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 213; H. Wehr, *Dictionary of modern written Arabic*, s.v.).

The Prophet himself is the example of the *mud̲j̲āwir*. From a certain moment in his life onwards, he used to withdraw every year in the solitude of Mount Ḥirāʾ in order to lead a life of religious contemplation there (*kāna yud̲j̲āwiru*; Ibn His̲h̲ām, Sīra, i, 152, and see ḥirāʾ). This practice, together with the specific significance of the *Ḥaramayn* in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, have caused the term *mud̲j̲āwir* to be associated in the first place with those who have taken up their "pious residence" (*mud̲j̲āwara*, also *d̲j̲iwār*) in Mecca or Medina (Lane, *loc. cit.*, and Redhouse, *Yeni Türkçe-Ingilizce sözlük*, s.v. *mücaveret*, *mücavir*). The term is used in the same way by the S̲h̲īʿīs, except that for them *mud̲j̲āwara* at the tombs of the Imāms in ʿIrāḳ [see ʿatabāt in Suppl.] is of hardly less importance.

Many pious Muslims considered *mud̲j̲āwara* in Medina, at the tomb of the Prophet and the resting-

places of many of his Companions, as even more meritorious than that in Mecca. This opinion was, among other things, influenced by the fact that apparently none of the Companions of the Prophet had expressed the wish to remain in Mecca as a *mudjāwir* after having performed the smaller or greater pilgrimage (Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1955, i, 50-1).

Some theologians, among whom Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*], warned against the danger which might arise from a permanent stay in the neighbourhood of the *Ḥaramayn* (especially Mecca) for people who were not firmly established in their religion. Becoming too familiar with the holy places could easily lead to carelessness and even to distaste and arrogance, and finally to desecration of the sanctity of these places. Only a very few persons would be immune from this weakness or from the sins emanating from it. To this small number of believers alone, *mudjāwara* at the *Ḥaramayn* might be recommended without limits, and for them it might really bring great profit. All others, for the sake of their spiritual welfare, should avoid *mudjāwara* (Raḥmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 1585), *Djamʿ al-manāsik wa-nafʿ al-nāṣir*, in the margins of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī, *Djāmiʿ al-manāsik ʿalā aḥsan al-masālik*, Istanbul 1289/1872, 387-8).

The position and pattern of behaviour of the *mudjāwir* stand in the same relation to the activities of the *ḥādjdj* or the visitor of another holy place (*zāʾir*) as that which exists between the *murābiṭ* and the *mudjāhid*; with the *mudjāwir* and the *murābiṭ*, the element of quiet and contemplation, of waiting and watching is predominant, while with the *ḥādjdj* and the *mudjāhid*, involvement in activities prevails (see F. Meier, in *WI*, xxi [1981], 81, 90-1).

Not seldom a pilgrimage to Mecca, followed by *mudjāwara* there or in Medina, was made use of as a means of exile or banishment. One out of many examples is the vizier Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, who, after his fall, lived in Medina as a *mudjāwir* and died there in 488/1095 (H. Laoust, *La politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970, 56). Apparently because of such cases, the Persian verb *mudjāwarat dāshtan* can also mean "to banish" (like *nafy-i balad kardan*, see *Dictionnaire Ghaffari Persan-Français*, v, Tehran 1957, 806).

People of highly different classes could be *mudjāwirūn* or *mudjāwirāt*: distinguished widows or superannuated officials, socially uprooted individuals, poor Ṣūfīs, merchants, young divinity students, or old people from all strata of society who were awaiting death in a holy place. Many *mudjāwirūn* left substantial fortunes to the sanctuary with which they were connected or to the *madrasa* attached to it. Likewise, it was always meritorious to support the living of the *mudjāwirūn* of a certain holy place by founding *awkāf*, by single donations or by collecting such donations (for this, see, e.g., F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, Leipzig 1948 = Bibliotheca Islamica, xiv, 49-51). Thus important *awkāf* in India were destined for pious Shīʿīs who had gone to Karbalāʾ or Nadjaf with the aim of *mudjāwara*.

In the holy places, the *mudjāwirūn* often, but not necessarily, lived together in specific quarters, like the *Maghāriba* [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem. Their descendants, if any, were usually absorbed very soon into the local population, who often designated the *mudjāwirūn* quite summarily, like in Mecca, where almost all those coming from Central Asia were called *Bukhāriyyūn*, and those belonging to the various peoples of south-east Asia were in general indicated as *Djāwa* (Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*², Cairo 1339/1920-1, 40 f.; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 295 ff., who devoted a whole chapter to the *Djāwa*; and see DJĀWĪ).

The local people (*al-ahālī*) of Mecca and Medina tended to indicate as *mudjāwirūn* all persons who, for a longer period of time, were living in the *Ḥaramayn* without having been born there, even if their status and way of life was not in accordance with *mudjāwara* in a narrow sense (R.F. Burton, *A pilgrimage to Al-Madīna and Mecca*, London 1893, ii, 7).

In more recent times, the term *mudjāwir* has gradually become used to indicate permanently-appointed personnel of places of pilgrimage (guards, cleaners, guides of the *zuwwār*, etc.), who in general belong to the local population (see e.g. H. Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan*, Wiesbaden 1977, 75-7). The coming into existence of national states in the Islamic world and the regulation of travelling that has gone with it, have increasingly hampered the believers in making a free choice of a place in which they might settle as *mudjāwirūn*. To this must be added the decline of the *awkāf* and the loss of other subsidies which in the past gave the *mudjāwirūn* the possibility of finding a living.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. ENDE)

MUDJAWWAZA [see TÜLBEND].

MUDJBIRA [see DJABRIYYA].

MUDJĪR AL-DĪN AL-ʿULAYMĪ, Abu 'l-Yumn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī al-Maḳdisī, Arab historian, born in Jerusalem in 810/1456. After his studies in Cairo, he was first appointed judge in Ramla, then became *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* in Jerusalem, which office he held until 922/1516. He died in the town of his birth in 928/1522. He is the author of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*Fatḥ al-Raḥmān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*) in two volumes, of a collection of biographies of Ḥanbalī *fuḳahāʾ* (*al-Manhadj al-aḥmad fī tarādjim aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*), probably also of a guide for the visiting of the Prophet's tomb in Medina (*Itḥāf al-zāʾir wa-iṭrāf al-muḳīm al-musāfir*), and of a general history until 896/1491 and dealing with Jerusalem in particular (*al-Taʾrīkh al-muʿtabar fī anbāʾ man ʿabara fi 'l-taʾrīkh*). This latter work may be identical with the ms. B.N. Suppl. no. 488, which has no title.

Mudjīr al-Dīn's principal work is a history in two volumes of Jerusalem and Hebron, entitled *al-Uns al-djalīl fī taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl*, the only extant history concerned with Jerusalem and some of the holy places of Palestine. As he states in his preface, the author had no predecessor; however, in i, 296 (in this article, references are to the 1973 ʿAmmān edition), he mentions the Shāfiʿ *faḳīh* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī (born in 432/1040-1, taken prisoner by the Crusaders and stoned for being unable to pay the ransom), who had begun a history of Jerusalem and had gathered a large amount of material, which suggests that this work was not finished (al-Makkī is cited by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. *Bayt Laḥm*). Apparently, Mudjīr al-Dīn had no further successor, for the rich historiography of the Ayyūbid period, especially in local history, ended abruptly, here as elsewhere, after the arrival of the Ottomans.

Mudjīr al-Dīn puts Palestine, with Jerusalem and Hebron, on the same level as the Ḥidjāz with its Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. It is significant that he begins, citing sūra XVII, 1, with a reference to the *isrāʾ* (and *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). In a sometimes rather mixed order, he discusses, after some introductory remarks, the following subjects: (1) The most important

moments in sacred history, where he also discusses the history of the sanctuaries of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron, until "the third foundation of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maḳdis*)" under the Emperor Constantine (i, 5-172); (2) Episodes in the life of Muḥammad relating to the Kaʿba and the mosque of Medina (i, 172-224); (3) Rites performed at the time of visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina and the *faḍāʾil* of al-Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem (i, 224-44); (4) The conquest of Jerusalem by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and construction of al-Aḳṣā Mosque (i, 244-85); (5) Biographies of *tābiʿūn*, scholars and pious persons of Jerusalem until the time of the Crusades (i, 285-303); (6) Events that took place between the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (398/1007-8) and the definitive reconquest of Jerusalem by the Ayyūbids (642/1244) (i, 303-ii, 10); (7) Description of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf and the city, including the buildings and streets as well as the churches and monasteries (ii, 11-65); (8) Short notices on the most important towns in Palestine, Hebron in particular (ii, 65-85); (9) Lists of rulers, governors and officials, as well as *fuḳahāʾ* from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Ḳāʾit Bāy (ii, 85-282); (10) Annals of Jerusalem during the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy until 900/1494-5 (ii, 282-377); (11) Biography of Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. *al-amīr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, born in 822/1420 (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 944 no. 147, without biographical information), the master of the author who, in the end, was the head of al-Khānaḳāh al-Ṣalāḥiyya (ii, 377-82); and (12) Colophon.

In the preface, the author names his sources: works on the *faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds*, the conquest of the city by ʿUmar, the Umayyad buildings and the conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, as well as biographical and other works. At suitable places in the text, the authors and titles of the works used are named, including Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Muradjdjā, *Kitāb Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maḳdis* and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, *Muthīr al-gharām*. Mudjīr al-Dīn also made use of official documents belonging to Jerusalem institutions. From the fact that the subjects of some chapters correspond with the titles of Mudjīr al-Dīn's other works, mentioned above, one can deduce that he also used them.

The large number of manuscripts shows that the work attracted attention, as one can ascertain from the following selection, taken from recent catalogues (in addition to those mentioned in Brockelmann): Cairo, Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt, Fuʾād Sayyid, iii, no. 962 (974/1566-7); Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Karatay, iii, nos. 6128-32 (981-1149/1573-1736); Princeton, Garrett (Yahuda section), Mach, no. 4422 (980/1572); Lebanon, ʿĪsā Iskandar Maʿlūf, Nasrallah, no. 93 (1087/1676-7); Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, Khālid al-Rayyān, no. 240 (12th/18th century); Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Fuʾād Sayyid, i, 82 (n.d.). The work was printed in Cairo (1283/1866-7), Nadjaf (1968) and ʿAmmān (1973), but no critical edition exists. A partial French translation, based on the Cairo edition of 1283, is to be found in H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris 1876 (following the Cairo edition of 1283). A sequel to the work is announced in the colophon. In any case, one of these last has come down to us in several manuscripts, taking the work to 914/1508-9.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, 512; Brockelmann, S II, 42; idem, in *EI*[1], s.v. *al-ʿOlaimī*; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, v, 177; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 108; S.D. Goitein, *Jerusalem in the Arab period (638-1099)*, in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, ii (1982), 199 f. nn. 2 and 3; Huda Lutfi, *al-Quds al-mamlūkiyya. A History of Mamluk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram documents*, Berlin 1985, 72 ff.

(H. Busse)

MUʿDJIZA (A.), active participle of Form IV of the root ʿ-*dj*-*z*, lit. "that by means of which [the Prophet] confounds, overwhelms, his opponents", has become the technical term for miracle. It does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, which denies miracles in connection with Muḥammad, whereas it emphasises his "signs", *āyāt*, later taken to mean the verses of the Ḳurʾān [see ḲURʾĀN. 1]. Even in later literature, Muḥammad's chief miracle is the Ḳurʾān (cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 74). *Muʿdjiza* and *aya* have become synonyms; they denote the miracles performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles. The term *karāma* [*q.v.*] is used in connection with the saints; it differs from *muʿdjiza* in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by God to a saint.

Miracles of Apostles and Prophets, especially those of Muḥammad, occur in the *sīra* and in *ḥadīth*. Yet in this literature the term *muʿdjiza* is still lacking, as it is in the oldest forms of the creed. The *Fiḳh akbar*, ii, art. 16, mentions the *āyāt* of the prophets and the *karāmāt* of the saints. *Muʿdjiza* occurs in the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (ed. Cureton, 4; ed. al-Taftāzānī, 165): "And He has fortified them (sc. the apostles) by miracles contradicting the usual course of things."

Al-Taftāzānī explains it in this way: a thing deviating from the usual course of things, appearing at the hands of him who pretends to be a prophet, as a challenge to those who deny this, of such a nature that it makes it impossible for them to produce the like of it. It is God's testimony to the sincerity of His apostles.

A very complete and systematic description occurs in al-Īdjī's *Mawāḳif*. He gives the following definition of *muʿdjiza*: it is meant to prove the sincerity of him who pretends to be an apostle of God. Further, he enumerates the following conditions: (1) it must be an act of God; (2) it must be contrary to the usual course of things; (3) contradiction to it must be impossible; (4) it must happen at the hands of him who claims to be an apostle, so that it appears as a confirmation of his sincerity; (5) it must be in conformity with his announcement of it, and the miracle itself must not be a disavowal of his claim (*daʿwā*); (6) it must follow on his *daʿwā*.

Further, according to al-Īdjī, the miracle happens in this way that God produces it at the hands of him whose sincerity he wishes to show, in order to realise His will, viz. the salvation of men through the preaching of His apostle. Finally, as to its effect, it produces, in accordance with God's custom, in those who witness it, the conviction of the apostle's being sincere.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥanīfa, *Fiḳh akbar*, with the commentary of ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḳārī, Cairo 1327/1909, 69; Abu 'l-Barakāt ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *ʿUmda*, ed. Cureton, 15 ff.; Abū Ḥafṣ Nasafī, ed. Taftāzānī, Constantinople 1313/1895-6, 165-7; Muḥammad Aʿlā al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1862, 975 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Ḥaydarābād 1320/1902-3; D.B. Macdonald, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 49-52; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 224-8; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 359. (A.J. Wensinck)

MUDJTAHID (A.) denotes, in contemporary usage, one who possesses the aptitude to form

his own judgement on questions concerning the *sharīʿa*, using personal effort (*idjtihād* [*q.v.*]) in the interpretation of the fundamental principles (*uṣūl* [*q.v.*]) of the *sharīʿa*. The prerogatives of *mudjtahids* are thus essentially linked to the diverse connotations of the term *idjtihād* which have varied in the course of time and according to schools. Its application to the field of jurisprudence is in fact a narrowing of the concept, the terms *idjtahada/idjtihād* signifying originally, in various contexts: to exert oneself, using one's intellectual faculties, for (the good of) the Muslim community or of Islam (see Bravmann, 188 ff., who criticises Schacht's interpretation). Employed in a broader sense, this concept embraced that of piety or of mysticism. The cognomen *mudjtahid fi 'l-ʿibāda* is in fact frequently encountered in the biographies of the early ascetics (Laoust (1958), index). But it is especially in its technical jurisprudential sense that the term *mudjtahīd* is currently utilised, with variants or extrapolations, in contexts specific to Sunnism, to Shīʿism and to movements evolved from Shīʿism.

I. In Sunnī Circles.

Until quite recently, numerous authors have reckoned that, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th, when the *sharīʿa* had been elaborated in detail, a consensus was gradually established among the scholar-jurists of all the Sunnī schools, considering that *idjtihād* could no longer be practised. In this context, only the founders of the four schools of law (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī) and certain of their contemporaries or immediate successors could be regarded as *mudjtahids* in the strict sense (*muṭlaḳ*). Henceforward, jurists, like other devout Muslims, were obliged to practise *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], thus becoming plain *muḳallids*. The great *mudjtahids* of the past were succeeded by those who could only be considered as *muftīs* (the *prudentes* of Roman law) or as *mudjtahid bi 'l-fatwā* (by judicial opinion), sometimes called *mudjtahid fi 'l-madhhab* (according to the jurisprudence of each school). This notion of the closure of the door of *idjtihād* (*insidād bāb al-idjtihād*) and its logical consequence, i.e. the disappearance of *mudjtahids*, has been vehemently opposed by certain scholar-jurists. A critical re-appraisal of the question, based on primary sources from the 4th/10th century, shows that jurists capable of *idjtihād* existed almost all the time, that *idjtihād* was used to develop the law after the formation of the judicial schools, that until *ca.* 500 A.H. there was no mention of closure of the door of *idjtihād*, and that controversy over this closure and the extinction of the *mudjtahids* prevented jurists from reaching a consensus on this subject (see Hallaq (1984), who calls into question the positions adopted by Schacht, Anderson, Khadduri, Rahman, Gibb, Coulson, Lewis, etc.; idem (1986), 130, nn. 4 and 5). Movements opposed to *idjtihād* (such as the Ẓāhiriyya or *Ḥashwiyya*) being excluded from Sunnism, there was "no school or branch of a school within the Sunnī Muslim community which could have opposed *idjtihād* as a point of principle" (Hallaq (1984), 9, quoting Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr). From the time of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) onwards, a consensus was established on the validity of the existing Sunnī schools, with the exception of the Ẓāhirīs. However, in the 4th/10th century, *mudjtahids*, independent or affiliated to the schools, sometimes in disharmony with them, continued to elaborate the *sharīʿa* (idem, 10f.).

The jurists of the 5th/11th century also practised *idjtihād*, leaving *taḳlīd* to the simply devout (*ʿāmmī*). With their emergence as the sole unifying element of the Muslim community, the *ʿulamāʾ* wielded ever more influence over the holders of political and military power who sought their advice. Henceforward, the questionable nature of *idjtihād* and the competence or authority of *mudjtahids* is an issue in the works of all authors dealing with theories of power and the sovereignty exercised by the *Imām* or the caliph, in particular al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1120). According to al-Baghdādī, al-Māwardī and al-Djuwaynī, the *Imām* must be capable of *idjtihād* (idem, 13 ff.; Lambton (1985), 89, 105). Nevertheless, the controversy over the existence of *mudjtahids* takes on a polemical tone with Āmidī (d. 631/1233) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1249), and is revived by al-Subkī (d. 771/1369) followed by others. Only the Ḥanbalīs and certain Shāfiʿīs denied the possibility of the extinction of the *mudjtahids* even in theory (Hallaq (1984), 22 ff.) Despite his original notions, the neo-Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) recognises the indispensable role of the *mudjtahids* as partners in political power (Hallaq (1986), 136).

The development of the notion of *tadjdīd* (renovation, restoration) according to which, at the turn of each century. God will send a renovator (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]) to the Muslim community, in its turn influenced the concept of *idjtihād*. Initially employed to legitimise the innovatory teaching of al-Shāfiʿī, the *mudjaddid ḥadīth* also provides an argument in proving the persistence of *idjtihād*, the *mudjaddids* necessarily being *mudjtahids* of superior rank, the majority of whom were Shāfiʿīs (Hallaq (1984), 28; Landau-Tasseron (1989), 83, 113). But while *idjtihād* is extensively discussed in jurisprudential and doctrinal literature, *tadjdīd* is not a central concept in the evolution of mediaeval Muslim thought. It is above all else an honorific title applied to strong personalities (idem, 83-4). The degree of importance of each *mudjtahid/mudjaddid* thus depends most of all on his own pretensions, the appreciation accorded him by his contemporaries or by posterity. Thus, al-Ghazālī, while implicitly declaring himself the *mudjaddid* of the 6th/12th century (idem, 86), also seems to consider himself plain *mudjtahid fi 'l-madhhab*, i.e. of the Shāfiʿī school. In addition he recognises two types of *mudjtahids*, independent (*muṭlaḳ*) and limited (*muḳayyad*) (Hallaq (1984), 17).

Until the end of the 8th/14th century, nobody was to dispute the claims of *mudjtahids* to practise *idjtihād* within the framework of their *madhhab*. However, in the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) claimed to exercise *idjtihād* in its highest degree, his ultimate ambition being to have himself recognised as *mudjaddid*. Although considered as such by some, he was vigorously opposed, especially by his adversary al-Sakhāwī. The later *ʿulamāʾ* remained divided on his claims (Hallaq (1984), 27-8; Landau-Tasseron (1989), 87-8). Following the departure of this great *mudjtahid*, there was a marked reduction in the number of Sunnī jurists capable of exercising *idjtihād* or claiming this right for themselves. This situation is reflected in the belated grading of *mudjtahids* in categories of excellence (*ṭabaḳāt*) which ultimately led, in the 10th/16th century, to a classification of jurists in seven grades of which only the two or three highest were developed upon *mudjtahids*, the lower grades being applied, in diminishing order of competence, to the *muḳallids* (Hallaq (1984), 29-30). This need for the classification of jurists is most in evidence in the writings of Ḥanafīs who, convinced that *mudjtahids* have ceased to exist, deny the right of *idjtihād* to latter-day jurists, and even ignore *idjtihād* when it is prac-

tised. In fact, although not known as *mudjtahids*, numerous jurists continued to practise the methodology of *idjtihād*, expecially in the Ottoman empire (idem, 30-1).

From the 12th/18th century onwards, increasing numbers of Muslims, expecially in the Ottoman empire and in Mughal India, while rejecting traditional *taklīd*, launched an offensive against those who proclaimed the closure of the door of *idjtihād* and the extinction of *mudjtahids*. This resurgence of *idjtihād* owes much to the attitude of Ḥanbalīs, especially that of Ibn Taymiyya, who influenced the thinking of pre-modern reformists who, from North Africa to India, advocated the practice of a new and free *idjtihād*, going much further than what had been permitted at the time of the formulation of Islamic law (idem, 30 ff.; Schacht, 72-3, tr., 65; Coulson, 202-3). This resurgence of *idjtihād* owes much to the persistence of renovatory or reformist themes (*tadjdīd, iṣlāḥ*). The right to *idjtihād* is also clearly claimed by movements or *turuḳ* such as the Sanūsiyya or the Wahhābiyya as well as by modern reformists such as Muḥammad Abdūh (Voll, 35 ff.; on the Sanūsiyya, see also Evans-Pritchard (1954); Ziadeh (1958); and Laoust (1965), 353). This need for renewal of *idjtihād* has also been advocated, for Muslims, by a modern humanist (Gardet (1962), 31).

This re-appraisal of *idjtihād* was particularly vigorous in India where, alongside the persistence of the tradition of cyclical renovation (since the time of Aḥmad Sirhindī, d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī*, i.e. of the second millennium) the *ahl al-ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], influenced by Ibn Taymiyya and al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839), preached the necessity of rediscovering *idjtihād* beyond the confines of the constituted schools (Laoust (1965), 358; Hallaq (1984), 32-3). The reformist Muḥammad Iḳbāl (d. 1938 [*q.v.*]) recommended a kind of collective *idjtihād* (Esposito (1983), 187).

Controversies over *idjtihād, taklīd, ḳiyās, idjmāʿ, tadjdīd*, etc. have also been fuelled by the nature and the limits of the influence and power of *mudjtahids*. The problem of their training and their qualifications, their precise role indeed, seems to have been addressed at a very early stage (for al-Ghazālī, see Laoust (1970), 179-80; Hallaq (1984), 6-7). Their responsibility has been partially relieved by their right to be in error, since even one who commits a fault of judgement (*khaṭaʾ* [*q.v.*]) is entitled to a reward in Paradise, one who expresses correct judgement being doubly rewarded (Hallaq, *ibid.*). But, in spite of these divergencies of opinion or appreciation (*ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]), numerous jurists give their support to the practical formula according to which every *mudjtahid* has reason (*kullu mudjtahid muṣīb*) which derives from the thought of al-Shāfiʿī (see refs. in Calder (1983), 66-7).

II. In Shīʿī Twelver Imāmī Circles

A. Doctrinal and historio-geographical evolution.

Formation and diffusion. Unlike other branches of Shīʿism, especially Zaydism and Ismāʿīlism, Twelver Imāmism has retained the notion of the absence or the concealment (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām of the Time. The lasting success of the traditional Imāmī formulation is linked to the activities of an élite of scholars who elaborated this theory with the object of exploiting loyalty towards the ʿAlids, while controlling the revolutionary element inherent in Shīʿism. Following the concealment of the twelfth Imām (*ghayba: al-ṣughrā*, 260/874; *al-kubrā*, approx. 329/940), authority was centred on the Imāmi *ʿulamāʾ* who, at a time when the Sunnī schools were already constituted, soon succeeded in establishing a corpus of Imāmī *ḥadīths* and formulating their own principles, both religious (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and judicial (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*): see Sachedina (1988), 57; Calder (1989), 57-8).

The elaboration of the doctrinal positions of Imāmism on *idjtihād* and *taklīd*, as well as the bases and extent of the influence of the Imāmī *mudjtahids* have been tackled elsewhere [see MARDJAʿ-I TAḲLĪD]; we shall confine ourselves to presenting, in the context of doctrinal, historio-geographical and socio-economic aspects, the new elements brought to bear upon these ever controversial questions by the most recent studies.

The first Imāmī doctrinal formulation was produced in the era of the Būyids/Buwayhids [*q.v.*] in an atmosphere of polemical opposition to the Sunnīs and the Muʿtazilīs, each group considering that, unlike its opponent, it had a basis in knowledge (*ʿilm*) and not in personal opinion (*ẓann*). In this context, the *ʿulamāʾ* rejected *ḳiyās* (reasoning by analogy [*q.v.*]), *idjtihād* and *khabar wāḥid*, i.e. the unique, isolated tradition, emanating from a single transmitter, as opposed to tradition attested in a continuous manner (*mutawātir*). While criticising the Sunnī slogan *kullu mudjtahid muṣīb*, al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) justified his acceptance of *khabar wāḥid* by employing the concept of divergence of opinion (*ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]), by means of which al-Shāfiʿī had succeeded in establishing the authority of the Sunnī religious class (Calder (1983); idem (1989), 62 ff.) This recognition of choice in matters of opinion introduced doubt as to the establishment of judicial values and reconciled the Imāmīs to the theory of *idjtihād*, previously rejected in the name of tradition. With the accession of the Saldjūḳids, intellectual activity and the elaboration of Imāmī *uṣūl* entered a period of stagnation, as did *taklīd*, i.e. imitation of al-Ṭūsī (idem, 63-4).

The renewal of Imāmī thinking at the end of the Saldjūḳid era is marked by the affirmation of Uṣūlī doctrines, especially in the controversy of the *Kitāb al-naḳd* (see Calmard (1971), Scarcia Amoretti (1981); on the origin of the *akhbārī/uṣūlī* controversy, see also Calder (1989), 68, n. 31). This resurgence was dominated from an early stage by Imāmī jurists established at Ḥilla [*q.v.*], which was to become an important Imāmī theological centre after the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols. It is with the leading jurists of the school of Ḥilla, Ibn Idrīs (d. 596/1201), al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ (d. 676/1277) and al-ʿAllāma (d. 726/1325), that an Imāmī theory of *idjtihād* gradually evolves (Calder (1989), 64 ff.) Constantly discussed, the thorny problem of the legitimacy of the power and authority of the Imāmī jurists during the *ghayba* remains at the heart of the debate on *idjtihād* and *taklīd* (on this question, see Madelung (1982), Sachedina (1988)). The Imāmī *fuḳahāʾ* are conventionally divided into two groups, ancient (*mutaḳaddimūn*) and modern (*mutaʾkhkhirūn*), the latter being considered "superior" by Ibn Idrīs (Calder (1989), 65; Sachedina, *op. cit.* 16, accords the leading role to ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī). Already recognised by al-Ṭūsī, the division of the faithful between *muftīs* and *mukallids* led to the emergence of a charismatic concept of the religious class which appears in the writings of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ and al-ʿAllāma, the latter borrowing widely from Sunnī judicial sources and methods (idem, 75-6). However, Imāmī methodology remains broadly anchored in *al-idjtihād al-sharʿī*, based on revelation and on the sciences of *ḥadīth* and its major authorities (*ridjāl*), and not on *al-idjtihād al-ʿaḳlī*, related to *ḳiyās* (see Sachedina (1988), 19-20). In such

a context, the qualifications required for *mudjtahids* do not differ from those demanded by al-Ṭūsī for a *muftī* or a *ḳāḍī* (Calder (1979); idem (1989), 76). The decisive evolution is constituted above all by the prerogatives of the *mudjtahids* in the capacity of representatives (sing. *nā'ib*) of the Hidden Imām and by the need for the *muḳallids* to choose the wisest among them. Having regard to the mass of traditions and exegeses, the diverse factors (social, political, economic, personal) affecting the choice of a *mudjtahid* are not easily appreciated. However, the Imāmī theory of *idjtihād* is formulated most authoritatively in the *Maʿālim al-dīn* of Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1011/1602-3), a work which provided "the clearest expression of a possible methodology of doubt" and was to be attacked by the traditionalist Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (d. 1036/1626), at the outset of the polemic between *akhbārīs* and *uṣūlīs* which would henceforward dominate Imāmī jurisprudence (Calder (1989), 76-7).

In Ṣafawid Persia (1501-1722), Imāmī *mudjtahids* "imported" from Arab countries, charged with developing and imposing the doctrine, succeeded in establishing their authority to the detriment of Persian religious dignitaries. Their influence is particularly evident in the distinguished position attained by al-Karakī (d. 940/1534), given the titles of *mudjtahid al-zamān* and *khātam al-mudjtahidīn* by Shāh Ṭahmāsp (1524-76). Although the title of *mudjtahid al-zamān* was retained by the al-Karakī family in the 10th/16th century, this expression implied neither doctrinal justification of a supremacy of religious authority nor the control of this authority over the higher echelons of religious administration (*ṣidārat*), the latter remaining in the hands of the *ṣadrs*, subordinate only to the Shāh. While the al-Karakī family retained its importance in the reign of Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631 [see AL-DĀMĀD]), and major *mudjtahids* continued to exert their influence, not one of them bore the title of *mudjtahid al-zamān* in the 11th/17th century. With many religious Imāmīs taking refuge in Ṣūfism or philosophy, religious authority became diffuse and tended to be devolved to the *shaykh al-Islām* of the major cities.

Under ʿAbbās I (1587-1629) the *shaykh al-Islām* of Iṣfahān became the most powerful religious authority in the kingdom. This post was to be occupied by Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]), who decisively consolidated the influence of the Imāmī hierocracy by preparing the way for the creation of the office of *mullā-bāshī* (Arjomand (1988 A), 81 ff.; see also MOLLĀ). But, in spite of its importance, this office could be considered as a "patrimonial" solution for institutionalisation of supreme religious authority in the Shīʿī state, the increasing authority of the *mudjtahids* resulting, under the Ḳādjārs (1794-1925), in the emergence of a dichotomy between the State and an ever more autonomous Shīʿī hierarchy (idem, 83 ff.). The institutionalisation of a centralised Shīʿī authority according to the principles of Imāmī jurisprudence (revised and revived) was not to take place until after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 (idem, 93, 191 ff.).

While the triumph of Uṣūlism over Akhbārism was affirmed, problems of sovereignty, or of a sovereign considered just according to Imāmism, persisted in the Ḳādjār era, the concern for legitimacy being of primal importance for the sovereigns as much as for the *ʿulamā'*. Although their historiographers did not go so far as to accept the myth of their Ṣafawid connection, the Ḳādjārs obtained a certain degree of legitimacy on the part of leading *mudjtahids* such as Shaykh Djaʿfar al-Nadjafī, Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1227/1812 [*q.v.*]), Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳummī (d. 1231/1816), Sayyid Djaʿfar Kashfī (d. 1267/1850): see Arjomand (1984), 221 ff.; Hairi (1988), 272 ff. This problem of legitimacy became crucial with the proclamation of *djihād* against the Russians which enabled Shaykh Djaʿfar, doyen of the *mudjtahids* (*shaykh al-mudjtahidīn*), to authorise in the name of the hidden Imām, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), the exercise of this *djihād*. (See references in Arjomand (1984), 221 ff.; Hairi, *ibid.*.)

In spite of this level of power of the *mudjtahids*, the opinion according to which the emergence of the institution of *mardjaʿiyyat-i taḳlīd* constitutes, *de facto*, the establishment of an Imāmī hierarchy under a single authority, has been reconsidered. In fact, although theoretically founded on superiority of knowledge (*aʿlamiyyat*) the effective hierarchy of the *mudjtahids* depended largely on the degree of their respective influence over the *muḳallids*. It was above all established on the basis of leadership (*riyāsat*) recognised by popular acclamation and by the payment of religious taxes. This concept of *riyāsat*, which can be traced back to the Imāms, has evolved with political and socio-economic changes. Throughout the 19th century, it was in particular linked to the control exercised by the *mudjtahids* over socio-professional and ethnic communities (Arabs, Persians, Turks or Turkish-speakers): see Amanat (1988), 98 ff.

This delay in the structuring of the Imāmī hierarchy (already mentioned: see Calmard (1982)) is also linked to the controversies over sovereignty which persisted in spite of the formulation by Mollā Aḥmad Narāghī (d. 1245/1829) of the doctrine of delegation of authority (*wilāyat*) devolved to the *fuḳahā'*/*mudjtahids*. Often contradictory *ḥadīths* concerning the legitimacy of the power of *mudjtahids* or the illegitimacy of non-*mudjtahid* sovereigns remain variously interpreted, each scholar-jurist being obliged to exert his own *idjtihād* on each particular case, the *taḳlīd* of the opinion of another *mudjtahid*, however eminent he may be, being forbidden him (see Modarressi (1984), 143; Hairi (1988), 277 ff.). With the final elaboration of the doctrine of *wilāyat-i faḳīh*, by Āyatullāh Khumaynī (d. 4 June 1989), there has been a departure from the traditional elements of prudent reserve and casuistry (see below).

A little-known aspect of the growth in the influence of the *mudjtahids* remains the basis of their economic power. Those residing in the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] enjoyed, from the end of the 18th century, the support of the Shīʿī merchants of Baghdād and of certain pro-Shīʿī elements in the local administration. After the accession of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, they turned towards Persia, where they could benefit from royal patronage. In spite of the deterioration of the politico-economic situation (the sack of Karbalā' by the Wahhābīs in 1802, the hardening of Ottoman control, tribal conflicts, factionalism and instability lasting until 1843), the *mudjtahids* gained by their administration of the increasingly substantial sums of money emanating from Persia, India and elsewhere. With the re-emergence of the ancient Imāmī notions of *niyābat-i ʿāmma*/*wilāyat-i ʿāmma*, initially serving the interests of Shaykh Djaʿfar Nadjafī, the *mudjtahids* could reclaim their right to the administration of religious taxes, in particular the *khums*, a part of which (*sahm-i imām*) was their due (Calder (1982); Amanat (1988), 103-4; for Sachedina (1988), 245, it is the precepts of Imāmī jurisprudence concerning "*al-khums, al-idjtihād* and *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*" which establish the role of the Imāmī jurists, culminating in the

"government of the jurist", i.e. *wilāyat-i faḳīh*). Although the *mudjtahids* of the educational establishments of the *ʿatabāt* were, in principle, considered their superiors, those residing in Persia saw their authority reinforced by their political and economic successes. Their principal source of income was for a long time the administration of mortmain property (*waḳf/awḳāf/mawḳūfa*) which had been withdrawn from them under Nādir Shāh (1736-47 [*q.v.*]) the most important endowment being that of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. They could also reap the benefits of ownerless property, and participate in commercial and agricultural activities. But it was in particular the unprecedented endowments and bounties lavished upon them by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh which enabled them to extend their influence materially as well as spiritually over the whole of the Imāmi community. While profiting by their financial support, the *ṭullāb* of the *madrasas* increased the influence of the *mudjtahids* who in their turn enjoyed the support of certain urban groups. Some *mudjtahids* exercised genuine political power as patrons and protectors of *sayyids* (self-styled or authentic) and of *lūṭīs* ("marginal" types degraded to the status of urban brigands [*q.v.*]) who constituted formidable armed bands. With all these sources of support, the *mudjtahids* could deal on equal terms with governments, dignitaries, other *mudjtahids*, etc. Their influence and their independence were boosted considerably with the weakening of Ḳādjār power at the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48 [*q.v.*]). Despite their reputation for integrity, deserved in some cases, other *mudjtahids* amassed vast fortunes by illicit methods, in particular by speculating on the price of cereals in times of famine. Their greed, comparable to that of the holders of power, contributed to the rise of anti-clerical sentiment, before and after the constitutional revolution of 1905-11 (on the income of Imāmī *mudjtahids*, see Algar (1969), 14 ff., 46 ff., 172 ff.; Momen (1985), 206-7; Amanat (1989), 103 ff.; see also section B below).

It is possible to present the evolution of Imāmī religious leadership, from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th, as a shifting of the authority of the *madrasa* towards the socio-economic life of the *bāzār*. "In this process, academic seniority was transformed in a collective direction, without giving way to a supreme collective authority" (Amanat (1988), 111). Although the *mudjtahids* became more autonomous, internal dangers (the rise of messianic tendencies derived from Shīʿism and finding expression in the Shaykhī and Bābī movements [*q.vv.*]) constrained them to remain loyal to the state with which they shared a common interest in preservation of the status quo. The Bābī experience compelled them to reform their hierarchy through the elaboration of the doctrine of *mardjaʿiyyat* to the advantage of the great charismatic chief Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864) whose leadership, exerted over all the Imāmī communities, was based on the re-assertion of the major Imāmī values (piety, equity and learning). With the repression of Bābism and the elimination of the reformist anti-clerical Grand Vizier Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr (d. 1268/1852 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), the precarious equilibrium between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ* was restored. Private and official funds converged on Nadjaf, the importance of which over other educational centres was established, with, however, a rift between ethno-linguistic groups, Turks and Persians, who claimed the leadership. The successor to Anṣārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1312/1895), saw his authority disputed at Nadjaf by Ḥādjdj Sayyid Ḥusayn Kūh-Kamarāʾī (d. 1299/1881-2) and his Turkish-speaking disciples. In 1874, he emigrated to Sāmarrāʾ (near the catacomb of the hidden Imām), a town dominated by Sunnīs. Associated with the commercial circles of southern Persia, Shīrāzī played a crucial role in the revolt of the tobacco-growers (1891-2). Some of the *ṭullāb* who had followed him to Sāmarrāʾ had an important role in the constitutionalist revolution of 1905-11 (Amanat (1988), 109 ff.; idem (1989), 405 ff.).

The problem of the Imāmī leadership remained unsolved after the death of Shīrāzī. In the *ʿatabāt*, various *mudjtahids* argued over the patronage of Turkish-speaking and Persian-speaking *ṭullāb* and the rank of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*. In Persia and elsewhere, the *mudjtahids* remained divided, not only on the question of *riyāsat* but also on the attitude to be adopted in the constitutionalist revolution, in which they played important and contradictory roles which have been variously interpreted by posterity. While certain authors (Algar in particular) have considered this "revolution" as the culmination of a long period of conflict between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the state which they regarded as illegitimate, a recent study tends to minimise the role of the *ʿulamāʾ*, at least in the initial phase of conflict, which is viewed especially from the socio-economic angle (see Martin (1989), 64). In a general manner, the leadership of the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids*, candidates in most cases being pushed forward by their faithful adherents, has been reconsidered (see Lahidji (1988), 133 ff.). In another sociological analysis, the *ʿulamāʾ/mudjtahids* have been divided, according to their varied attitudes, into four groups, the first being that of the old-style unconditional traditionalists who refused to join in the anti-monarchical demonstrations of 1905 but allied themselves in 1907 to the anti-constitutionalist movement launched by Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (executed in 1909). Those who had at first accepted constitutional reform as a possible means of preserving Islamic values were divided into three groups when, in 1907, the principles of the parliamentary régime became known and were diseussed. Some, alarmed by what they saw as the destruction of Islam by secular reformists, placed themselves under the leadership of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī; this group gained in strength and included most of the *ʿulamāʾ* at the time of the brief restoration of autocracy in June 1908. Although succeeding in retaining recognition of their judicial authority, those who, conditionally, remained loyal to the constitution were generally unappreciated. Finally, a group of unconditional constitutionalists, composed in the main of young *ʿulamāʾ*, who included the *ṭullāb* of Ākhūnd Khurāsānī (d. 1911), considered that threats to their prerogatives were the price to be paid for reinforcing "the Shīʿī nation" of Persia (see Arjomand (1988 A), 34 ff., 78 ff.; idem (1988 C), 179 ff.; Lahidji (1988), 134 ff.; the opposing theories of Nūrī and of the constitutionalist Khalkhālī are revealed in texts translated and annotated by H. Dabashi (1988), 334-70; on the constitutionalist views of Nāʾīnī, see Hairi (1977)).

During his rise to power and in the early years of his reign, Riḍā Khān (ruled 1925-41 [*q.v.*]), apparently maintained good relations with the *mudjtahids* who saw in the preservation of the monarchy a bulwark against the foundation of a secular republic on the Turkish model. But his policies of centralisation, modernisation and secularisation, which tended to separate political and religious powers, revived the conflict between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose leadership remained divided, with divergent political attitudes. The courageous opposition to Riḍā

Khān (later Shāh) on the part of Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, exiled and killed in 1936, may be compared with the collaborationist position adopted by the Āyatullāhs Kāshānī (d. 1962) and Sayyid Muḥammad Bihbahānī (son of the great constitutionalist leader Bihbahānī) towards Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī (1941-79 [*q.v.*]). Finally, after the rebirth of Ḳum [*q.v.*] as an educational centre in the 1920s, the Imāmī hierarchy was re-structured around a politically neutral figure, Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who became the sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*. After his death, and the disintegration of the *mardjaʿiyyat*, the Imāmī leadership was once more strongly politicised with the emergence in 1962 of Khumaynī as a powerful opponent of the Pahlavī régime. The policy of modernisation and secularisation, which was accompanied by repressive measures against the *mudjtahids* and the educational centres of Ḳum and Mashhad, strengthened the hand of Khumaynī, who could present himself as the avenger of the Imāmī hierocracy, crusading against the Pahlavī dynasty. After the victory of the Islamic revolution, he ultimately turned his back on the intellectuals ("westerners", including those who had rejected westernisation) who, according to him, had incessantly duped the *ʿulamāʾ*, and he conducted a massive cultural offensive against them (Akhavi (1980), 25 ff.; Bakhash (1986²), 35 ff.; Arjomand (1988 A), 80 ff.). Nor were the *ʿulamāʾ*/*mudjtahids* to be spared. Largely dependent on the personal opinion of its author, the doctrine of *wilāyat-i faḳīh*, formulated by Khumaynī and enshrined as an institution in the Islamic Republic of Iran, where it is taught in colleges, may be considered a veritable ideological revolution in Shīʿism. Objections formulated by certain *mudjtahids* led in 1982 to an unprecedented crisis in the Imāmī leadership: the removal of Sharīʿat-Madārī from his position as *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd*/*āyatullāh al-ʿuẓmā*ʾ; the purge of his supporters among the *ʿulamāʾ* and of others opposed to the *wilāyat-i faḳīh* (Arjomand (1988 C), 196-7). Since the end of the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8) and the death of Āyatullāh/Imām Khumaynī, power has remained in dispute; there has been the influential role of Hāshimī-Rafsandjānī, president of the *madjlis*, and the promotion of Khameneʿī, president of the Islamic Republic, as *walī-i faḳīh*, after the removal of the successor designated by Khumaynī, Āyatullāh Muntaẓirī, confirmation of this appointment by the assembly of experts (*madjlis-i khibrigān*) in 1985 having been far from clear.

Imāmī mudjtahids *in India*. The activity of Imāmī *mudjtahids*, often of Persian origin, as was particularly significant in the Shīʿī kingdoms of India after the disintegration of the Bahmanids (748-933/1347-1527 [*q.v.*]). As a repercussion of the proclamation of Shīʿism as the state religion by Shāh Ismāʿīl al-Ṣafawī, the dynasty of the ʿĀdilshāhīs of Bīdjāpūr (895-1097/1490-1686) became, in 908/1503, the first Shīʿī state of India (see ʿĀDELŠĀHĪS, in *EIr*). The most important of these dynasties was that of the Ḳuṭbshāhīs (901-1496/1098-1687 [*q.v.*]) of Golkonḍā, which developed a specifically Indo-Muslim culture (Rizvi, i, 292 ff.). Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* who were emigrants or fugitives from Ṣafawid Persia propagated Shīʿism in India. Among the most important are the following: Shāh Ṭāhir b. Shāh Rāḍī al-Dīn Ḳazwīnī (d. 946/1549) who converted Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who in his turn proclaimed Shīʿism the state religion at Aḥmadnagar (Rizvi, i, 282 ff.; AḤMADNAGAR, in *EIr*); the great *mudjtahid ḳāḍī* Nūr Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī al-Shūshtarī, the "third martyr" (executed in 1019/1610), who exercised official functions at the Mughal court and whose activity and writings had a profound influence among the Shīʿīs of India, who considered him their greatest *ʿālim* (Rizvi, i, 342 ff.; see also MARʿASHĪS).

Shīʿī influence is also encountered in the north, in Mughal India. Adherents of the Nurbakhshiyya [*q.v.*], emigrating to Kashmīr shortly before the accession to power of the Ṣafawids, embraced Shīʿism, which was adopted by the Čak ruling family (969-94/1561-86: see Rizvi, i, 167 f.; Momen (1985), 129-30; Cole (1988), 25). The most influential dynasty was that of the Nawwābs of Awadh/Oudh [*q.v.*], descended from a family of *ḳāḍīs* of Nīshāpūr of ʿIrāḳī origin (the Kingdom of Awadh was sometimes called Nīshāpūrī). A vassal state before becoming independent of the Mughals, the Shīʿī kingdom of Awadh (1132-1272/1714-1856) was richly endowed by the Nawwābs with important cultural and educational centres at Fayḍābād [*q.v.*] and at Lakhnaw/Lucknow [*q.v.*].

Despite its idiosyncrasies, the Shīʿism of Awadh was founded on Middle Eastern roots and was subject to a powerful Persian influence, manifested, from the start, by the teaching of the poet-*mudjtahid* Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥazīn Gīlānī (d. 1180/1766 [*q.v.*]), a fugitive from Persia, then in the last throes of Ṣafawid power-struggles, who ultimately took up residence in Benares under the protection of the Hindu Rādjā (Rizvi, ii, 107 ff.; Cole (1988), 13 ff.). Enjoying the patronage of the powerful and often holding important posts (*manṣab-dārīs*), the Imāmī *mudjtahids* maintained sometimes strained relations with the socio-religious milieu: Hindus, Sunnīs and *ʿulamāʾ*/Ṣūfīs, including the eminent family of Ḥanafī theologians of the Farangī Maḥall [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The *mudjtahids* were also obliged to assert themselves in opposition to the Akhbārīs, who remained influential. As had been the case on many occasions in Persia in the 18th century, it was desertion from Akhbārism which laid the foundations for the growing influence of an Imāmī "clergy" at Lakhnaw. In fact, after his return from the *ʿatabāt* where he had been converted to Uṣūlism, the *mudjtahid* Mawlānā Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī Naṣīrābādī "Ghufrān Maʾāb" (d. 1235/1820), in spite of the opposition of Sunnī and Akhbārī *ʿulamāʾ*, led the Friday prayers in the palace of the Nawwāb. The initiatives of Sayyid Dildār, combined with those of other *ʿulamāʾ*, did much to increase the influence of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, especially by assuring them of the support of the governing power. In the following generation, the sons and pupils of Naṣīrābādī taught hundreds of students and, in the 1840s, the Nawwāb founded a *madrasa*. The educational network extended throughout India and beyond, towards ʿIrāḳ and Persia. From the end of the 18th century, initially on the advice of Sayyid Dildār, the Nawwāb endowed the *ʿatabāt* with lavish donations (Cole (1988), 50 ff.; on Sayyid Dildār, see Rizvi, ii, 128 ff.).

Provided with official posts and holdings of land, the Naṣīrābādī family increased its influence. In the second generation, the *uṣūlī mudjtahids* asserted their hegemony, often acting in concert with their former teachers in the *ʿatabāt* or in opposition to recently-arrived Persian Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*. The Naṣīrābādī family played a leading role in the foundation of cultic sites (mosques, *imāmbaras* [*q.v.*]) and educational establishments, a court of justice, etc. The elder son of Sayyid Dildār, Sayyid Muḥammad (d. 1284/1867), and his younger son Sayyid Ḥusayn (d. 1273/1856) presided jointly over the supreme court of appeal of the *muftīs*. On the strength of a vision seen by his

father, Sayyid Muḥammad declared himself adoptive son of the Twelfth Imām and engaged in conflict with the Nawwāb Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1827-37), who did not succeed in imposing control over the Imāmī hierocracy in his capacity as "royal" representative of the Twelfth Imām. Sayyid Dildār was to be credited (posthumously, in the *ʿatabāt*) with the title of *khātam al-mudjtahidīn*. The Nawwāb Amdjad ʿAlī Shāh (1842-7) conferred on Sayyid Muḥammad the titles of *mudjtahid al-ʿaṣr* and *sulṭān* al-*ʿulamāʾ* (Cole (1988), 173 ff.; on the descendents of Sayyid Dildār, see Rizvi, ii, 139 ff.).

In the third generation of *uṣūlī ʿulamāʾ*, the influence of the Naṣīrābādī family was maintained at Lakhnaw, where the supervision of the *madrasa* was entrusted to Sayyid Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1289/1872), younger son of Sayyid Ḥusayn. Applying to their own advantage the principle of accommodation with ruling powers, the *ʿulamāʾ*/*mudjtahids* seldom showed hostility towards the British until the 1840s and 1850s, when they engaged in conflict with a British administration intent on annexing Awadh or transforming it into a protectorate. Like the majority of Imāmīs, a number of *ʿulamāʾ* joined in the great Mutiny of 1857-8, but they subsequently were at pains to minimise the extent of their involvement. Although several of his sons participated actively in the revolt, the leader of the *mudjtahids*, Sayyid Muḥammad Naṣīrābādī, prudently remained aloof. When the British sought reconciliation with local élites, some Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, including Sayyid ʿAlī Akbar (d. 1909), sixth son of Sayyid Muḥammad, entered the British administration (Cole (1988), 251 ff.).

Despite certain positive aspects (the development and diffusion of Shīʿī culture, in particular through proselytism), the activities of the *mudjtahids* of Awadh had the effect of creating a "social closure" of the Shīʿī community which, with its own particular rituals (especially in the celebration of Shīʿī funereal rites), came to resemble a caste. This also encouraged the rise of "communalism" (struggles between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, with the Hindus siding with one faction or the other) and ultimately assisted movements aimed at restoring Sunnī control and creating structures designed to further Muslim separatism, given substantive reality by the formation of national states (although the Shīʿīs of India were, in the main, opposed to the creation of a State of Pakistan dominated by Sunnīs, many emigrated to Pakistan, unlike the Sunnīs: see refs. in Momen (1985), 276 ff.: Cole (1988), 283 ff.).

Imāmī mudjtahid*s in the Arab countries: recent politico-religious developments*. In the states which emerged following the collapse of the Ottoman empire, Imāmī communities and *mudjtahids* have played very varied roles, ranging from traditional quietism to the most violent political activism. In ʿIrāḳ, the *mudjtahids* of the *ʿatabāt* opposed the British occupation against which they issued *fatwās*. Certain eminent *mudjtahids*, including Nāʾīnī (d. 1936) and Iṣfahānī (d. 1946), took temporary refuge in Ḳum (1923-4). Although constituting a majority and despite its involvement in political life, the Shīʿī community of ʿIrāḳ has seen its situation deteriorate since the fall of the monarchy (1958) and especially since the coming to power of the Baʿth party in 1963. The visit of Khumaynī to ʿIrāḳ (1965) inspired the Shīʿī opposition, which became radicalised in activist movements, of which the most important were *al-Daʿwa al-Islāmiyya* (formed in the 1960s) and *al-Mudjāhidīn* (established in 1979 under Persian influence), while the leadership (*mardjaʿiyyat*) continued in dispute between the Āyatullāhs Muḥsin al-Ḥākim, Khūʾī, Khumaynī and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ṣadr. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran (1979), the Shīʿī resistance was brutally repressed by the régime of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn (with the execution of Shīʿī dignitaries, including Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Ṣadr in 1980). This repression increased during the Iran-ʿIrāḳ war (1980-8) with the execution of numerous Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* in June 1984 (on the situation of Shīʿīs and *mudjtahids* in ʿIrāḳ, see Momen (1985), 261 ff.; Batatu (1986); Ramazani (1986), 39 ff.; Kedourie (1987)).

At the same time as the *mudjtahids* of ʿIrāḳ were opposing the British, the Shīʿīs of Baḥrayn considered the latter their protectors against oppression on the part of the Sunnī tribal hierarchy. Sporadic sectarian violence occurred, even after independence (1970), in spite of elections favourable to the Shīʿīs who were suspected of supporting the Shāh's claims to Baḥrayn (formally abandoned in 1971). Tensions between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs were revived after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, with the authorities taking steps to protect their majority Shīʿī population from Iranian influence (Momen (1985), 272 ff.; Ramazani (1986), 48 ff.).

Although indigenous Imāmī communities, sometimes augmented by recent immigration, exist in other states of the Arabo-Persian Gulf, particularly in Saudi Arabia (notably in al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Ḥasā), in Ḳaṭar, in the United Arab Emirates (Dubai in particular), and Oman, no eminent *mudjtahid* seems to have emerged in these regions. The same applies to the North African countries, where the Imāmī population is estimated at 40,000 (for a worldwide assessment of Shīʿī populations in 1980, see Momen (1985), 280 ff.).

The Shīʿī community of Lebanon, established at a very early stage and essentially rural, has played an important role in the development of Imāmism. Its great *mudjtahids*, originally from the Djabal ʿĀmil, were the driving force behind the elaboration and diffusion of Shīʿism in Ṣafawid Persia (see Hourani (1986)). But, although a certain Uṣūlī tradition was maintained in the region, under Ottoman control the Imāmīs, like the other communities (Sunnīs, Druses and Christians), were worn out by the internecine factional struggles which continued after effective independence (in 1943). On the initiative of the leader of the Shīʿī community, Ḥādjdj Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 1957), trained at Nadjaf, a revival of Imāmī teaching took place in Tyre. In 1959, the senior *mudjtahid* Imām Mūsā al-Ṣadr—coming from Persia but in ancestry from the Djabal ʿĀmil—became the head of the Shīʿī community and established himself in Tyre. After much hard work on behalf of Imāmism, he entered the political arena and his supporters founded the politico-military movement Amal which was to maintain close links with the revolutionary movement of Iran. In August 1978, he disappeared mysteriously in Libya. Deeply involved in all aspects of Middle Eastern politics, Lebanese Shīʿism has not resigned itself to the disappearance of Mūsā al-Ṣadr and has not appointed a new charismatic leader (Momen (1985), 264 ff.; Cobban (1986)).

Before coming under the influence of the Iranian Revolution, *ʿulamāʾ*/*mudjtahids* of Lebanon, ʿIrāḳ and Syria resisted the influence of Persian Shīʿī practices, especially in funereal rites (Ende (1978)).

B. Qualifications, functions, influence and titles of the Imāmī *Mudjtahids*.

The necessary preconditions to be a *mudjtahid* (maturity, intelligence, faith, fairness or integrity

according to the *sharīʿa*, being male and of legitimate birth) are the same as those required, *a fortiori*, to become *mardjaʿ-i taklīd*. Although a woman may attain the rank of *mollā* [*q.v.*], she can only in exceptional circumstances be promoted to that of *mudjtahid* (on the disagreement of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* regarding the validity of the *idjtihād* of Banū Amīn, a female *mudjtahid* of Iṣfahān, see Fisher, 163; Momen (1985), 245, n. 5). The aspiring *mudjtahid* must complete the three stages of study common to all *ṭullāb* (*mukaddamāt*, preliminaries; *dhāt* or *suṭūh*, study of basic texts, *dars al-khāridj*, including statements and debates). After the third stage has been completed, the student composes a treatise which must be presented to a *mudjtahid* who confers on him his *idjāza*, i.e. authorisation to practise *idjtihād*. Certain *mudjtahids* have established preconditions which stipulate scholastic qualifications in subjects such as theology (*kalām*), principles of faith (*uṣūl-i dīn*) and of jurisprudence (*uṣūl-i fikh*), mastery of the Arabic language, of logic (*manṭik*), of Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), of tradition (*ḥadīth*) and its narrators (*ridjāl*), etc. for attaining the rank of *idjtihād*. In addition to theological knowledge and the practice of equity, piety (*waraʿ*, *takwā*) is also an essential quality for the exercise of *idjtihad*. Since the time required for these studies is very long, it is unusual to obtain *idjtihād* before the age of thirty, and some are still *ṭullāb* after the age of forty. In addition, the worth of the *idjtihād* depends on the reputation of the *mudjtahid* who has conferred it. *Ṭullāb* who wish to make a name for themselves seek the award of *idjtihād* from numerous eminent *mudjtahids* in order to become fully qualified (*djāmiʿ al-sharāyiṭ*) or absolute (*muṭlak*) *mudjtahids*. Whatever their standard of qualification, newly-qualified *mudjtahids* must, in their turn, obtain renown and most of all a clientèle of *mukallids*. Those who do not succeed in this respect are sometimes called *mudjtahid muḥtaṭ* (Algar (1969), 85 ff.; Fischer (1980), 247 ff.; Momen (1985), 200 ff.; Amanat (1988), 98-9).

Once qualified, *mudjtahids* can exercise any function which falls within the purview of *ʿulamāʾ* in the administration or direction of religious affairs, the most important function being that of *ṣidārat* (that of the *ṣadr*), followed by those of *shaykh al-Islām* and *mullā-bāshī* in the Ṣafawid period, the official functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *imām djumʿa* forming the link with the independent hierarchy of power (the institution of *mardjaʿiyyat*) in the Ḳādjār era. In practice, the prerogatives of *mudjtahids* are multifarious, as the functions corresponding to the titles *mudjtahid*, *fakīh* and *muftī* may be exercised by a single person. They are also guarantors and trustees to whom goods, the property of minors and the care of orphans are entrusted. The administration fee (*mutawallī*) of the most important *wakfs* is paid to them. They certify the legality of all kinds of documents. The collection of religious taxes (*zakāt*, *khums*, etc.) is within their responsibility. Their most important official function is the administration of justice in the capacity of *kāḍī* or *muftī*. The function of teaching (*mudarris*) is most often exercised by the most scholarly ones, who keep themselves separated from the practice of power (Algar (1969), 11 ff.; on the *mudarris* and their teaching, see Fischer (1980), 61 ff.; Momen, *op. cit.*).

Having multiple sources of revenue at their disposal (see above), the *mudjtahids* consolidate their influence and their popularity by matrimonial ties with the mercantile community or with eminent families of *ʿulamāʾ*, or with dignitaries close to the institutions of power. The *mollās* often give them valuable assistance in the levying of religious taxes and the execution of various administrative taxes (on matrimonial relations between families of *ʿulamāʾ* and between *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants, see Fischer (1969), 89 ff.). As has been noted previously, in the Ḳādjār period certain eminent *mudjtahids* surrounded themselves with bands of urban agitators in order to challenge the ruling authorities. Similar elements were used in the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Whether incorporated into the Ḥizbullāhī party or acting as guardians of the revolution (*pāsdārān*) they constitute the most solid nucleus for the support of radical *ʿulamāʾ* and for revolutionary militancy (see Momen (1985), 199; Bakhash (1986[2]) index, s.v. *hezbollahis*, *pasdaran-e enqelab*).

Although in principle exerting control over *ʿulamāʾ* of inferior status, in the Ḳādjār period the *mudjtahids* acted in conjunction with the *mollās* who enjoyed enormous popularity among the general public in their capacity as preachers (*wāʿiz*, *rawdakhʷān*) at Shīʿī funeral assemblies, which increasingly came to resemble political rallies. While the majority of *mudjtahids* used to have a critical, even reproachful or contemptuous attitude towards popular Shīʿī piety, its principal themes (cult of the martyr, "paradigm of Karbalāʾ") were to be widely employed in the Islamic Revolution and Republic (Algar (1969), 20; Fathi (1980); Fischer (1980), 170 ff.; Momen (1985), 238 ff.) Khumaynī actively encouraged the *mudjtahids* to promote his ideas through sermons. It has been claimed that, by the mid-1970s, he had trained five hundred *mudjtahids* and that twelve thousand students had followed his teaching in the years preceding his exile in 1964. Often of rural or provincial origin, the young *mudjtahids* profited considerably from the coming to power of the Imāmī hierocracy (Arjomand (1988 A), 98).

The influence enjoyed by the *mudjtahids*, in circles of power as well as among their peers or their followers, is reflected in their ever more emphatic or grandiloquent honorific titles, which do not always correspond to a hierarchical rank. At the beginning of the 19th century, after Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ had been awarded the title of *shaykh al-mudjtahidīn* (see above), Muḥammad Bāḳir Shaftī (d. 1260/1844) was called *ḥudjdjat al-Islām*, a quite unconventional title which was henceforward to be current among the Imāmīs (Arjomand (1984), 238, after Ḥabībādādī, *Makārim*, iv, 1616). Although his eulogists do not award him the title of *mardjaʿ*, Anṣārī is honoured with that of *khātam al-mudjtahidīn* (Amanat (1988), 114). Analogous to the Sunnī tradition, the major figures of Imāmism have been granted the title of *mudjaddid* (partial list in Momen (1985), 206). But the titles which have become most prestigious are *āyatullāh* and *mardjaʿ-i taklīd*, while that of Imām is applied in a quite exceptional manner to Khumaynī and Mūsā al-Ṣadr (see *ibid.*, 289 [on the full range of Imāmī titles, see ĀYATULLĀH, in Suppl.; MARDJAʿ-I TAKLĪD]; Djalal Matini (1983)).

In spite of the pompous titles attributed to them, some *mudjtahids* prefer, out of genuine or false modesty, to be known by more humble titles, such as *mollā* or *ākhūnd*, which may remind them of the early stages of their religious careers. The respectful title *āḳā* is also used, often in conjunction with *mollā*.

III. Idjtihād In Movements Derived From Imāmism.

Although it has been customary to limit usage of the concept of *idjtihād*, in its various forms, to Sunnī and Imāmī circles, certain post-Ṣafawid philosophical or heterodox movements have made use of it. Powerfully influenced by the dynamics of Shīʿī eschatology, these

movements were born in an atmosphere of decline and decadence from which the only ones to profit were those in possession of power and certain religious dignitaries. Although rejecting the *idjtihād* and *taklīd* of the Uṣūlī *mudjtahids*, the Shaykhīs considered that in principle every believer has a vocation to *idjtihād*, the only authority to be emulated (*taklīd*) being that of the hidden Imām (Corbin, iv, 252 f.). The Bāb himself [see BĀBĪS] does not seem to have rejected the notion of *idjtihād*, although he considered void and unlawful any judgment independent of his authority (Amanat (1989), 205). In a eulogy, the Bābī Mukaddas Khurāsānī is called *mudjtahid* (idem, 263). Attacked by *uṣūlī mudjtahids*, the *Shaykhī* Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī opposed the Bābīs and gradually restored the doctrine of the *rukn-i rābiʿ* (fourth pillar) to the point where it became indistinguishable from that of the collective delegated authority of the Imāmī *mudjtahids* (Bayat (1982), 75 ff.; Amanat (1989), 291 f.). Opposed both to the Shaykhism of Kirmānī and to Bābism, some moderate Shaykhīs of Tabrīz went over to Uṣūlism and became very influential *mudjtahids* in the second half of the 19th century (Bayat (1982), 59; Amanat (1969), 411, uses the expression "conservative shaykhi mudjtahids").

But, in general, the practice of *idjtihād* is a prerogative jealously guarded by the Uṣūlīs. Those who, from the Ṣafawid period onwards, refused to embrace Shīʿism were to become outcasts condemned by the *mudjtahids* to suffer popular or official punishment. After the Sunnīs—Ṣūfīs in particular—the Akhbārīs, the Shaykhīs, the Bābīs and then the Bahāʾīs were to be the object of these persecutions (Momen (1988), 237). In the name of the defence of Islam, the *mudjtahids* have instigated repression of the Bābīs and legalised their execution (Momen (1989), 324).

Bibliography and abbreviations: (On the notions of *idjtihād taklīd, idjmāʿ*, etc. according to the various schools, which have not been addressed in this article, recourse may be had to the works of jurisprudence and the numerous studies of Islamic law listed in the major bibliographies, in particular the *Index Islamicus*: biographical details relating to the *mudjtahids* are to be found in the abundant literature of *ansāb, ṭabakāt, tadhkirāt, ridjāl*, etc. On the *uṣūl* and Imāmī biographical works, see MARDJAʿ-I TAKLĪD and MOLLĀ, *Bibls.*, also containing numerous titles of studies concerning the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*; with a few exceptions, only those mentioned in the present article will be repeated here, as well as collective works comprising important contributions and bibliographical data. On the abundant literature concerning Persian Shīʿism since 1978-9, see the *Abstracta Iranica* which also deal with Indian Shīʿism; on the particular case of the Shīʿism of Deccan, a collective study is now in progress under the direction of B. Scarcia Amoretti.)

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MUDJTATHTH (a.), the name of the fourteenth metre in Arabic prosody [see ʿarūḍ]. Theoretically, it comprises three feet: *mustafʿilun* / *fāʿilātun* / *fāʿilātun* (––⏑–/–⏑––/–⏑––) to each hemistich, but in practice, there is just one single *fāʿilātun*.

Mustafʿilun can become *mutafʿilun* (⏑–⏑–) or even *mutafʿilu* (⏑–⏑⏑), whilst *fāʿilātun* can be replaced in the *ʿarūḍ* (the first hemistich) by *faʿilātun* (⏑⏑––) or even *fāʿilun* (–⏑–) and, in the *ḍarb* (the second hemistich) by one of the two preceding feet or by *mustafʿil* (–––).

This metre is not used by the ancient poets, and it is not impossible that it was invented by al-Khalīl [*q.v.*] (cf. St. Guyard, *Théorie nouvelle de la metrique arabe*, in *JA* [1877], 168, 272 ff.).

Bibliography: See that in ʿarūḍ and in particular, Muḥammad b. Abī Shanab (Ben Cheneb), *Tuḥfat al-adab fī mīzān ashʿār al-ʿArab*, ³Paris 1954, 85-7. Most of the older manuals of Arabic grammar, such as those of Silvestre de Sacy, Wright, Donat Vernier, Périer, etc., contain a table of the metres. (Ed.)

MUDJŪN (a.) is one of those words whose richness discourages any attempt at exact translation. In its weakest sense, it approximates to *hazl* "jest" as opposed to *djidd* "seriousness" [see al-djidd wa 'l-hazl] and corresponds in an appreciable degree to frivolity. But its semantic field extends widely to the point that it can mean the most shameless debauchery, including vulgarity, coarseness, impudence, libertinage, obscenity and everything that may provoke coarse laughter, such as scatological humour.

This word embarrassed the Arab lexicographers, who connected it with the root *m-dj-n*, which implies an idea of toughness and roughness; they glossed the participle *mādjin*, pl. *mudjdjān*, which often parallels *khalīʿ* "libertine, debauched", as "one who commits sins, dishonourable acts, and is insensible to any reproach, due to his roughness and toughness", or "who does not bother about what he does or what anyone says to him." For al-Zamakhsharī (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.), the *mādjin* constantly talks nonsense and speaks wrongly and at cross-purposes, but this explanation is hardly more convincing than the reference to the radical *madjana* = *ṣaluba*; Ibn Durayd resolves the difficulty by proposing to see in *mudjūn* a borrowing, but he is wary of stating its origin exactly.

In any case, the definitions advanced by the lexicographers scarcely correspond to the meanings of this word that have been enumerated above and that we may deduce from the texts in which it figures. Unlike the *sukhf* [*q.v.*] practised by an Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], which becomes the manifestation of a deliberately non-conformist attitude, *mudjūn* nourished, from the literary viewpoint, entertaining works full of more or less obscene anecdotes and, from the social viewpoint, supplied material for the parties of persons of high rank—caliphs and dignitaries—who did not hesitate to indulge in bad manners during their hours of relaxation and take pleasure in listening to risqué stories. For example, al-Masʿūdī narrates (*Murūdj*, § 2874) that al-Mutawakkil and his courtiers did not disdain jests that would be considered smutty. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī relates, in the 18th night of his *Imtāʿ* (ii, 50-60), a gathering held in the salon of the vizier Ibn Saʿdān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and devoted especially to *mudjūnī* subjects; this chapter enumerates 35 anecdotes which supply samples of what could be described as *mudjūn*, although the conclusion drawn from the evening returns to the idea that *hazl* is necessary to distract the spirit tired by *djidd*.

In the modern period, *mudjūn* and *madjana* have the meaning of "clowning; effrontery, impudence" and *mādjin* that of "clown; cheeky, insolent", like the intensive *madjdjān*. We do not know to what extent it is appropriate to follow the lexicographers, modern as well as mediaeval, who connect with the same root the word *madjdjān* "something given freely, without compensation".

Bibliography: See the Arabic dictionaries as well as the books and articles relating to the literature of entertainment (notably makāma). (Ch. Pellat)

MUḌMAR (a.) "implicit", a technical term of Arabic grammar synonymous with *ḍamīr*, designating a noun in which the person is disguised by means of a mark (*ʿalāma*). This term is the converse of *muẓhar* ("explicit"), designating a noun in which the person is revealed in a clear manner. The category of the implicit noun corresponds to that of the personal pronoun in Western grammar.

Al-Mubarrad defines the implicit noun as that which can only be employed after mention (*dhikr*) of the person, and Sībawayhi considers it defined (*maʿrifa*), since it is understood that the interlocutor knows the identity of the person who is supposed to be individually designated (*bi-ʿaynihi*).

The implicit nouns are used to indicate three persons: the speaker (*mutakallim*), the interlocutor (*mukhāṭab*) and the absent party (*ghāʾib*), who is the object of the discussion (*muḥaddath ʿanhu*). From a formal point of view they are of two kinds: separated (*munfaṣil*) or contiguous (*muttaṣil*). All implicit nouns have an evident (*bāriz*) mark in expression (*lafẓ*), except in the verb where the mark of certain persons is hidden (*mustatir*). Unlike explicit nouns, in which the final syllable is flexible (*muʿrab*), that of implicit nouns is fixed (*mabnī*). According to the grammarians of Kūfa, the term which designates the implicit noun is *maknī* ("supplied").

In syntax, the term *muḍmar* "implicit" denotes the governing word (*ʿāmil*) which, through dissimulation (*iḍmār*), does not appear in an explicit (*muẓhar*) manner in the conversation, but which is supposed (*mukaddar*) to exist in the intention (*niyya*) of the speaker; i.e.

by implication, according to the terminology of Western grammar.

Sībawayhi distinguishes between two types of implicit words: those of which the manifestation (*iẓhār*) is utilised (*mustaᶜmal*) and those of which the manifestation is laid aside (*matrūk*).

The implicit word can be a verb or a particle, the existence of which, implied in the conversation, justifies the rection observed in the governed word.

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(G. TROUPEAU)

MUDROS [see MONDROS].

MUEZZIN [see MUʾADHDHIN].

AL-**MUFAḌḌAL** B. **ABI 'L-FAḌĀʾIL**, Coptic historian who lived in the 8th/14th century. His only known work, *al-Nahdj al-sadīd wa 'l-durr al-farīd fīmā baᶜd Taʾrīkh Ibn al-ᶜAmīd*, is an account of the Baḥrī Mamlūk period from 658/1260 until 741/1348.

Nothing more is known about al-Mufaḍḍal's life than his Coptic confession and the year in which he completed his *Nahdj*, 759/1358. A passage in Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī's *Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Dhimma wa-man tabiᶜahum* (ed. and tr. R. Gottheil, in *JAOS* [1921], 338-457), in which a certain Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil figures as the nephew (*ibn ukht*) of the Coptic historian al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmīd [*q.v.*], has led modern scholars to affirm that al-Mufaḍḍal was the great-nephew of his more famous predecessor, whose world history *al-Madjmūᶜ al-mubārak* he sought to continue.

In his *Nahdj*, a necrological chronicle with a basically annalistic structure, al-Mufaḍḍal concentrates on political history in Egypt and Syria, but also sheds some light on events in other parts of the Muslim world, particularly those pertaining to the Mongol empire in Persia.

The intricate problem of al-Mufaḍḍal's sources has been studied mainly by D.P. Little, U. Haarmann and S. Kortantamer in the framework of Mamlūk historiography and cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that the *Nahdj* is not a servile copy of al-Nuwayrī's [*q.v.*] *Nihāyat al-arab* as Blochet contended; several texts have been shown to share enough features with the *Nahdj* to be regarded as its direct or indirect *Vorlage* or as deriving from a common source. Besides the *Nihāya*, this goes for Shams al-Dīn al-Djazarī's [*q.v.*] *Ḥawādith al-zamān*, Ibn al-Dawādārī's [*q.v.*] *Kanz al-durar*, Baybars al-Manṣūrī's [*q.v.*] *Zubdat al-fikra* and other texts.

Information of specifically Coptic interest in the *Nahdj* is limited to a few notes on the Coptic patriarchs of the period and a small number of other times. In most cases, an implicitly Christian attitude may only be detected where comparison with other (Muslim) texts points towards al-Mufaḍḍal's omission of details which discredit his coreligionists (for this method, see Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 142-4, and Kortantamer, *Mufaḍḍal*, 38-40).

Although the *Nahdj* does not appear to have had any direct influence on later Mamlūk historians, the passages where al-Mufaḍḍal writes as a contemporary observer of events make it a valuable document of central importance to the period which it describes. In those parts where he draws upon older texts, moreover, al-Mufaḍḍal displays an undeniable originality in his ability to organise his sources in a coherent and meaningful manner.

Bibliography: The unique ms. (probably al-Mufaḍḍal's autograph), of the *Nahdj*, Paris ar. 4345, was ed. and tr. by E. Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abi l-Fazaïl, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks. Texte arabe publié et traduit en français*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xii (1919), 345-550, xiv (1920), 375-672, and xx (1929), 3-270. This edition contains the text of the *Nahdj* up to the year 716/1316. The remaining part was edited and translated by S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 23), Freiburg im Breisgau 1973, whose introduction includes a limited but valuable study of the problem of sources, continuing the research carried out by D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography. An analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical sources for the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Freiburger Islamstudien 2), Wiesbaden 1970, and U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1), Freiburg im Breisgau 1970. See also the reviews of Kortantamer's book by U. Haarmann in *Isl.*, li (1974), 319-20, and by B. Schäfer in *ZDMG*, cxxvii (1977), 138 (with further suggestions for parallels with al-Shudjāᶜī and al-Maḳrīzī). On al-Muffaḍḍal's family link with al-Makīn, see F. Nau, *Sur al-Makin et Ibn Abi-l-Fazaïl*, in *ROC*, xxvi (1927-8), 208-11. For all other works incidentally dealing with al-Mufaḍḍal, see Kortantamer's extensive bibliography.

(J. DEN HEIJER)

AL-**MUFAḌḌAL** B. MUḤAMMAD B. YAᶜLĀ b. ᶜĀmir b. Sālim b. al-Rammāl AL-**ḌABBĪ**, an Arabic philologist of the Kufan school. By birth he was a free-born Arab; the date of his birth is not known. His father was a recognised authority on the events in the wars of the Arabs on the frontiers of Khurāsān in 30-90/651-709 (quoted in al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*). It is possible that his son was born in this region. As a partisan of the house of ᶜAlī he took part in the rising against the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr led by Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], brother of *al-Nafs al-zakiyya*. The rising was put down and Ibrāhīm killed; al-Mufaḍḍal was taken prisoner but pardoned by the caliph and appointed tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, in whose train he visited Khurāsān. He then worked in Kūfa as a philologist and teacher; among his pupils was his son-in-law Ibn al-Aᶜrābī [*q.v.*]. The date of his death is variously given; the *Fihrist* does not give it at all while others give 164, 168 or 170/781, 784-5 or 786-7.

Al-Mufaḍḍal, like his contemporary Ḥammād [*q.v.*] bore the epithet and title of honour al-Rāwiya, and was regarded as an authority on the poetry of the *Djāhiliyya*. In contrast to Ḥammād, he is celebrated for the reliability of his transmission. In the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* there are several stories illustrating this fact. While Ḥammād was accused of having inserted into poems of the *Djāhiliyya* verses which he had himself composed, al-Mufaḍḍal is praised for handing down the old poetry pure and unfalsified. There was, of course, a great rivalry between the two *rāwī*s which also finds expression in the stories of the *Aghānī*. Al-Mufaḍḍal is reported to have said that the influence of Ḥammād on Arabic poetry had been most disastrous, to a degree which could never be corrected. To the question what this meant and whether Ḥammād had made mistakes in the attribution of the poems or linguistic errors, he replied that if that were all, it could be corrected, but he had done worse than this. Since he was such an authority on the old poets, he was able to write verses in their style and he had inserted such verses of his own composition into genuine old *ḳaṣīda*s so that now only very good critics of the

old poetry could recognise them (cf. *Aghānī*, v. 172, and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 171). It is also recorded that al-Mufaḍḍal once caught Ḥammād in the presence of the caliph passing off verses of his own as the work of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā. The *ḳaṣīda* which Ḥammād was reciting began with *daʿ dhā*, and when the caliph asked for the missing *nasīb*, he added several *nasīb* verses. Al-Mufaḍḍal, however, said quite rightly that there had probably been a *nasīb* before the surviving verses, but no one any longer knew it (cf. Renata Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīda*, Wiesbaden 1971, 17). Ḥammād was thereupon forced to admit his forgery. It is interesting to learn that, as is recorded in this passage of the *Aghānī*, Ḥammād was rewarded for his recitation but the sum given to al-Mufaḍḍal was considerably greater. Al-Mufaḍḍal was given his reward, not only for his knowledge, but also for his fidelity and honesty in transmission (cf. *Aghānī, loc. cit.* and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*).

Al-Mufaḍḍal worked in different fields of Arabic philology. He was considered an authority on rare Arabic expressions, celebrated as a grammarian and was also an authority on genealogy and on the Arab battles (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*). He wrote a number of books: a *Kitāb al-Amthāl* (on proverbs), a *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ* (on metres), a *Kitāb Maʿnā 'l-shiʿr* (on the meaning of poems) and a dictionary *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ*. His principal work, however, is a collection of old Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* called the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, which he compiled for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī. Al-Mufaḍḍal himself is said to have given another story of the origin of this anthology, which is one of the most valuable Arabic collections. When on one occasion Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh was in hiding in his house, he brought him some books to read at his request. Ibrāhīm marked a number of poems, and these he collected in one volume because Ibrāhīm was a good critic of the old poetry. This collection was later called the *Ikhtiyār al-Mufaḍḍal* (cf. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 144, n. 1).

The *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* contains 126 poems, some complete *ḳaṣīdas* of many verses, some fragments of small size, while in Abū Tammām's collection, the *Ḥamāsa*, only short fragments of poems or separate verses are contained. The latter was compiled some fifty years later; at first it was much more popular than the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, and more frequently annotated. But al-Muffaḍḍal's anthology is of outstanding merit. The great bulk of it is the work of pagan poets and *mukhaḍramūn*, while only 6 of the 67 poets represented were born Muslims. Two of the poets whose *ḳaṣīdas* are contained in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* were Christians. The poems, the date of composition of which can frequently be deduced from events mentioned in them, are in some cases very old. The earliest are those attributed to Muraḳḳish the Elder [*q.v.*], which probably belong to the first decade of the 6th century A.D. Al-Mufaḍḍal's anthology offers a rich selection of the old Arabic poetry, the value of which is increased by the great age of the poems preserved in it. The name of its collector, who enjoyed a good reputation among his contemporaries for his reliability, also gives us a certain guarantee that we have in the poems of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* truly genuine specimens of old Arab poetry.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, v, 172-3 and *passim*; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 68-9; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, London 1926, vii, 171 ff.; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Oxford 1918-21, 2 vols., Indexes by A.A. Bevan, Leiden and London 1924, esp. *Introd.*, vol. ii; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 142 ff.; *Die Mufaḍḍalijjāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1885; Brockelmann, I², 118-9, S I, 36-7, 179; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, index, s.v., viii, 115-6; Blachère, *HLA*, index s.v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

AL-MUFAḌḌALIYYA [see AL-KHAṬṬĀBIYYA].

AL-MUFAḌḌALIYYĀT, the title of an anthology of early Arabic poems, mainly pre-Islamic, compiled by the Kūfan philologist al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿlā al-Ḍabbī (d. 164/780 or 170/786 [*q.v.*]). The original title is *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt* (or *al-Mukhtārāt*) "choice collection", but already in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], completed in 377/987-8, 68, it is referred to as *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. The anthology is valued highly by mediaeval authors on account of al-Mufaḍḍal's reliability as a transmitter, and because of the poetic merit and lexicographical interest of the poems. It is of primary importance as a source of ancient Arabic poetry, some texts dating back to the beginning of the 6th century.

1. Compilation and transmission.

Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) states that the anthology consists of 128 poems, but adds that their number and arrangement vary "according to the difference of transmission" (*bi-ḥasbi 'l-riwāya ʿanhu*). He further mentions that al-Mufaḍḍal made his collection for the caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], who had taken him into his service. There is an earlier, more detailed report to the same effect by al-Ḳālī al-Baghdādī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) on the authority of Abū ʿIkrima al-Ḍabbī (d. 250/864), who studied the anthology with Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]), al-Mufaḍḍal's stepson and transmitter. One day the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who had appointed al-Mufaḍḍal tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, overheard the boy reciting an ode by the pre-Islamic poet al-Musayyab during a lesson. The caliph listened with pleasure and later asked al-Mufaḍḍal to collect for his pupil choice specimens of the *muḳillūn*, i.e. those poets who had left little poetry (*K. al-Amālī*, Cairo 1344/1926, iii, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 130-2). The last detail is interesting, because it explains the striking absence from the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* of the most famous pre-Islamic poets. The same source, again quoting Abū ʿIkrima, provides the information that al-Mufaḍḍal selected 80 poems only, and that the number was filled up to 120 by the Baṣran philologist al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]) and his students when they studied the collection. There is a different story recorded by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) in his book on the ʿAlids written in 313/923 (*Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365/1949, 338-9). While Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], the Shīʿī pretender, was concealing himself in al-Mufaḍḍal's house, he once asked for some books to pass the time. Al-Mufaḍḍal supplied him with several volumes of poetry, from which he chose 70 poems and wrote them down in a separate book. "After he had been killed," al-Mufaḍḍal allegedly said, "I brought them out and attributed them to myself... Later I added to them till the number was 128."

Of the numerous biographical sources mentioning al-Mufaḍḍal, only a few refer to his anthology and its origin. These are divided with regard to the two traditions. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) follows the *Fihrist* (*Udabāʾ*, iii, 173), and so does Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]), who also reports the second tradition, however, with some embellishment, in a different place (*Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, iii, 302, 304). The story of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, corresponding almost verbatim to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's text, is further told by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) (cf. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 143-4), and by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), who gives

the *Fawāʾid* of al-Nadjīrāmī (d. 423/1031) as his source (*al-Muzhir*, ii, 319). Thus the "Shīʿī" tradition was obviously favoured by later authors. It is discussed and accredited by S.M. Yūsuf (*The original compiler of the Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, in *IC*, xviii [1944], 206-8).

There seems to be no way to prove for certain which of the two reports is authentic. However, one would have expected Ibn al-Nadīm, who was a Shīʿī like Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, to know the second tradition and to mention it, had it seemed convincing. A further point in favour of al-Ḳālī's story is the reference to the *muḳillūn*. It is a likely criterion of choice, if al-Mufaḍḍal was the compiler, but it hardly fits Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, who selected the poems for his own pleasure, as the story goes. Why should he have preferred minor poets? A combination of the two traditions is suggested by A.M. Shākir and ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn in their introduction to the Cairo edition (13, see *Bibl.*). According to them, al-Mufaḍḍal followed the caliph's request, offering Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh's collection with some additions of his own. Later, al-Aṣmaʿī and his students added to it.

The majority of sources agree on the point that there was first an anthology of 70 or 80 poems and that their number was complemented later. The question remains, who made the additions, al-Mufaḍḍal himself or al-Aṣmaʿī? It is discussed by C.J. Lyall in the introduction to his edition (ii, pp. xv-xvi, see *Bibl.*), who favours al-Mufaḍḍal, but believes that the question admits of no certain solution. The editors of the Cairo edition (14-19), on the other hand, accept al-Aṣmaʿī's contribution and further maintain that his own anthology, the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, had become mixed with the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* at an early stage of transmission,as indeed is mentioned in a manuscript uniting them both (*op. cit.*., 18; cf. also Lyall, i, p. xvii). The point is strengthened by the fact that a sequence of poems was transmitted, with some variations, in both collections (*Muf.* nos. 100-18 = *Aṣm.* nos. 71-89). However it may be, the two anthologies are evidently related and should be studied together. Since al-Aṣmaʿī was highly esteemed as a scholar, no doubt is shed on the authenticity of the corpus, even if some of the texts were selected by him.

2. Recensions and commentaries.

It is to be assumed that al-Mufaḍḍal dictated the collection to his students and that different traditions existed from the beginning. Five recensions with commentaries are known (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 54); three of them are preserved. The first commentator in the chronological order is Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Anbārī (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), whose recension goes back to Abū ʿIkrima and Ibn al-Aʿrābī, the most reliable line of transmission according to the *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*). In his extensive commentary, al-Anbārī mainly quotes scholars from Kūfa, but al-Aṣmaʿī and other Baṣrans are referred to as well. Some explanations come from al-Mufaḍḍal himself, although he was not regarded as an authority on grammar and lexicography, and disclaimed all merit in these fields (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1974², 116), Judging from quotations in mediaeval sources, al-Anbārī's text seems to have been the standard recension of the time. It is edited and translated by Lyall, whose introduction and notes to his translation are still an invaluable guide to the poetry, especailly as regards historical information (cf. also W. Caskel, *Ein Missverständnis in den Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, in *Oriens*, vii [1954], 290-303).

The second recension by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) is unedited, but studied and taken into consideration in other editions. It contains 109 poems, their sequence varying considerably from al-Anbārī's recension (cf. Lyall's comparative tables, i, pp. xxii-xxv). In his commentary, al-Marzūḳī relies on al-Anbārī, and so does the third commentator, Abū Yaḥyā al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109 [*q.v.*]), who uses material from both his precursors. In his commentary he is more concise and to the point, however, leaving out many of the *shawāhid* quoted by al-Anbārī. The recension contains 128 poems, their sequence corresponding approximately to al-Anbārī's text. It is available in two editions, one of them incomplete (see *Bibl.*).

3. Analysis of content.

In Lyall's edition, the anthology consists of 126 poems by 67 poets and one (anonymous) poetess; four texts are added in an appendix. The majority (48) belong to the pre-Islamic period (= 94 poems). 14 poets (= 24 poems) are *mukhaḍramūn*, i.e. poets who reached the time of Islam, and six (= 8 poems) lived in the first Islamic century. Thus, unlike the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], a collection of pre-Islamic odes, the texts extend over a period of about 200 years. They are not limited to one genre, moreover, but present a fairly comprehensive survey of ancient Arabic genres and motifs. There is no evidence that verses were extracted from other poems, as became a literary fashion 50 years later, starting with the famous *Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*] of Abū Tammām (d. 231/845). From all we know it is safe to assume that even the shortest texts (2-4 lines) were reproduced as they had been preserved, and that lacunae are due to faulty transmission before al-Mufaḍḍal's time.

The only information we have as to the original order of the texts is the remark by Ibn al-Nadīm (*loc. cit.*) that the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* began with the ode by Taʾabbaṭa Sharran (no. 1). Attempts to detect any internal or external principle of arrangement are in vain. Even the verses of one poet are not always listed together. Sometimes texts referring to the same historical event seem to be arranged together, which suggests that historical content may have occasionally motivated selection. A further criterion of choice, besides scholarly interest in the *muḳillūn* and in "rare words" (*gharīb*), was suggested by W. Stoetzer in a recent study of Arabic prosody based on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (*Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1986, 70-1). From his analysis it would appear that only *ḳarīḍ* was selected, a term applied by Stoetzer to metres of a certain length.

The collection contains a few pre-Islamic texts by Christian poets, Djābir b. Ḥunayy (no. 42) and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (nos. 72, 73, 83), without distinctive features, and an Umayyad *ghazal* by an anonymous Jewish poet (no. 37), in which the adversities of love are ascribed to God's decree. Although many texts are fragmentary and difficult to classify, the material can be roughly divided into three categories: (a) 61 polythematic odes; (b) 7 elegies; (c) 58 monothematic poems. There are only a few indubitable fragments, i.e. verses that must have formed part of a greater unit. These are counted within the last category.

(a) From the aspect of structure, two main types of the polythematic ode (*ḳaṣīda*) are to be distinguished, the tripartite form (22) with a camel section following the amatory prelude (*nasīb*), and the bipartite form (39), where the amatory prelude is followed, mostly without transition, by one or more topics of the poet's present concern. There are only ten odes ending with a panegyric, nine of them tripartite, which suggests that the tripartite ode was favoured for panegyrical

purposes at an early stage. In the majority of odes, the final section is devoted to tribal feuds, self-praise and satire. A comparatively small number, 4 tripartite and 13 bipartite odes, deal with old age and death, often in combination with memories of youthful pleasures and adventures. As a rule, the treatment of themes and motifs follows conventional patterns, but there are also some unusual variations, e.g. one poet extending his complaint of old age and greying hair to the beloved (no. 105, 1-11), who is habitually pictured as a young girl, and another describing the journey of the parting beloved instead of his own (no. 42, 5-10). The odes of the brigands (*ṣaʿālīk*) Taʾabbaṭa S̲h̲arr^an^ (no. 1) and S̲h̲anfarā (no. 20) deserve special attention, as they do not conform to tribal poetry in several respects (cf. S. Pinckney-Stetkevych, in *JAOS*, civ [1984], 661-78, and *IJMES*, xviii [1986], 361-90).

(b) The second category, the elegy (*mart̲h̲iya*), represented by seven texts only, appears heterogeneous as to composition and style. There is an elegy by a woman (no. 69) differing from the rest by its anaphoric style. A short lament in warlike spirit (no. 109) and an Islamic elegy beginning and ending with religious formulas (no. 92) are interesting mainly from a historical point of view. The remaining four texts adapt motifs and techniques of the polythematic ode in different ways. Once, the lament is preceded by a *nasīb* (no. 54), a rare but by no means unique procedure. The influence of the ode, especially of the *nasīb*, is also apparent in two poems by Mutammim b. Nuwayra (nos. 67, 68), who laments his brother Mālik, and in the famous elegy of Abū D̲h̲uʾayb on the death of his sons (no. 126), where scenes of animal life from the camel section are employed with a new function. As evidenced by these texts, the elegy, once the domain of female mourners, was shaped by professional poets according to the model and standard of the polythematic ode.

(c) The monothematic poem (*ḳiṭʿa*) presents a great variety of content, since individual problems are treated more freely here than within the framework of the ceremonious ode. Most of the poems (43) are concerned with tribal warfare, self-praise with menacing intent and satire. The remaining 15 texts contain various topics, e.g. praise of the poet's horse (nos. 2, 3), of a goat (no. 33), a hunting scene (no. 73), domestic troubles (nos. 4, 110), reproof of a drunk (no. 72), and *g̲h̲azal* verses (nos. 37, 59). Six texts are thematically related, as they all deal with the question of old age and death. The subject is treated in combination with a retrospect of the time of youth (no. 101), or with the poet's testament for his son(s) (nos. 27, 116). Sometimes a poet imagines his own funeral (no. 80, cf. also no. 27, 23-30), and there are verses of proud resignation uttered by poets facing immediate death (nos. 30, 65). In this context a passage from an ode by Mutammim b. Nuwayra (no. 9, 31-36) should be considered, who imagines the ominous approach of a hyaena, while lying wounded on the battle-field. Taken together, these verses constitute a remarkable manifestation of the tribal poet's attitude towards fate.

Besides offering rich material for the study of ancient Arabic genres, the corpus yields some valuable information from the diachronistic point of view. Already in the verses of the *muk̲h̲aḍramūn* (nos. 9, 15, 17, 21-4, 26, 27, 38-40, 43, 67, 68, 84, 85, 102, 103, 113-15, 123, 126) the experience of changing social conditions is occasionally reflected. Thus ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb alludes to the conflict between Bedouin and settled life (no. 26, 7), and ends his ode with the description of an urban tavern (66-81). Sometimes the rendering of a motif indicates that it has lost its original function, e.g. when the poet's melancholy mood after separation from the beloved is dispelled by the prospect of future meetings (no. 114, 2). The few Islamic texts (nos. 14, 16, 24, 33, 37, 63, 64, 92) contain interesting variations of the conventional pattern, especially in the *nasīb*, e.g. the description of two hyaenas fighting in the dust of the "deserted campsite" (no. 64, 2-4). In the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, the desolation of the place is compensated by descriptions of luxurious vegetation and peacefully-grazing deer. The Islamic poet, although evidently versed in poetic tradition, either lost understanding of its inherent meaning or intentionally deviated from it.

In spite of the great diversity of content and various traces of individual composition and style, the anthology gives the impression of homogeneity resulting from its common social background. Whether the tribal poet recounts his experience in love and war, or reflects in old age and death, he displays the same indomitable spirit, the "heroic attitude" as defined by A. Hamori, whose essay *The poet as hero* is based on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (*On the art of medieval Arabic literature*. Princeton 1974, 3-30). The poet's recklessness and pride are most clearly expressed in his self-praise, but they appear equally striking in verses on the transitoriness of life, where hope is abandoned and fate accepted without submission or humility. It seems significant that the question of human destiny is treated predominantly in texts of *muk̲h̲aḍramūn*, i.e. on the eve of Islam. The answer they provide could not satisfy Arabic society any more; pre-Islamic metaphysics had reached an impasse. But the proud verses of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* document that there was a long way to go, till the "Bedouin hero" would be transformed into the "servant of God".

Bibliography: Mediaeval sources and literary studies are mentioned in the text. Editions: *Die Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke. 1. Heft, Leipzig 1885 (not continued); *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. ed. Abū Bakr b. ʿU. Dag̲h̲istānī, Cairo 1324/1906; ed. A.M. S̲h̲ākir and ʿAbd-al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo 1361/1942, ³1964. With the commentary of al-Anbārī: *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, an anthology of ancient Arabic odes*, ed. C.J. Lyall, i, *Arabic text*, Oxford 1921, ii, *Translation and notes*, *ibid.* 1918; iii, *Indexes to the Arabic text*, compiled by A.A. Bevan, London 1924. With the commentary of al-Tibrīzī: *S̲h̲arḥ Ik̲h̲tiyārāt al-Muf.*, ed. F. Ḳabāwa, i-ii, Damascus 1388-91/1968-71 (contains 59 poems only); *S̲h̲arḥ al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. A.M. al-Bid̲j̲āwī, i-iii, Cairo 1977. History of the text: Brockelmann, *SI*, 36-7; Blachère, *HLA*, i, 148; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-s̲h̲iʿr al-d̲j̲āhilī*, Cairo 1956, 573-7; D̲j̲awād ʿAlī, *Tadwīn al-s̲h̲iʿr al-D̲j̲āhilī*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIraḳī*, iv (1956), 536-41; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 53-4.

(RENATE JACOBI)

MUFĀK̲H̲ARA (A.), *maṣdar* of the form III verb *fāk̲h̲ara* (synonyms *fak̲h̲r*, *fik̲h̲ār*, *iftik̲h̲ār*), has both a reflexive meaning, that of self-praise, and an active one, that of contest for precedence and glory, rivalry with other tribes or groups (hence also synonymous with *tafāk̲h̲ur*, Ḳurʾān, LVII, 19; *munāẓara; munāfara; tafāḍul*, al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī, *D̲j̲amhara*, Būlāḳ, 170 l. 4). The *munāfara* must have originally been a *mufāk̲h̲ara*, the difference being of numbers only (cf. the term *takāt̲h̲ur*, sūra CII, 1, and the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1321, xxx, 156; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1315, 341. See further Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, 227; Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar, *Naḳd al-s̲h̲iʿr*, Constantinople 1302/1885, 30).

1. As self-praise. Self-praise may have been one of the earliest poetical expressions of the Arabs, for the short battle-sayings, mostly expressed not yet in the later metres but in rhymed prose (*sadj*ᶜ) or *radjaz*, contained, next to derision of the enemies (*hidjā*ʾ), above all self-praise. These sayings were part of the battle, and were supposed to have magical influence on the own fighters as well as on the enemy through the power of expression. The hero or the tribe often presented themselves with the formula "I am so-and-so", or "We are so-and-so", and then added an assertion of their own power or a violent expression (see M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 18 ff.). Other introductory formulas were "Just ask so-and-so about me (us)...!", or "So-and-so know(s) that I (we)...." Either a tribe or a beautiful girl were named as possible informers about the exploits of the poet. Concern about a beloved one being aware of the poet's exploits was also expressed in longer monothematic self-praise poems (*ḳiṭ*ᶜ*a*), now no more composed in *sadj*ᶜ or *radjaz* alone (see A. Bloch, *Qaṣīda*, in *Asiatische Studien* ii [1948], 109-10). This relation with the beloved one offered a good starting-point to connect *fakhr* with *nasīb* [*q.v.*], and thus to integrate it into the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]: on the morning of separation, the poet tried to keep back his beloved one by recalling his exploits to her. G. Richter (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *ZDMG* xcii [1938], 552-69), went so far as to conclude that the entire *ḳaṣīda* was self-praise intended as a proposal. In fact, the great majority of the old Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* contain self-praise as their main part, but not all of them. The main reason why Richter's thesis fails is that the *nasīb* is not a proposal, but grief over a past love. In any case, *fakhr* became, with *nasīb*, the most important part of the *ḳaṣīda*, but it also continued to live on in monothematic poems.

The qualities praised by the poet in himself and his tribe are: courage in battle (a favourite topic are the slain enemies, left as carrion to the birds), generosity, a well-balanced judgment in tribal council meetings, and a talent to enjoy the pleasures of life, sc. women, gambling, wine and hunting.

The poet boasts not only about his personal qualities, but also about his possessions: helmet, sword, suit of armour, horse, and above all his camel, the most precious property of the Bedouin (see G. Müller, *Ich bin Labīd und das ist mein Ziel*, Wiesbaden 1981, 41 ff.). With this a good connection is found, inside the *ḳaṣīda*, with the *aṭlāl* scene: the poet tears himself away from the memories called up by the deserted camp, and takes comfort in his property, which heightens his sense of self-esteem. Since the most important part of this property was the camel, the description of the animal first developed, from the rest of the *fakhr*, into an independent theme, known as *waṣf al-djamal*, and then, after the panegyric of rulers (*madīḥ*) had become the main theme of the *ḳaṣīda*, into the travelling by camel (*raḥīl*) to the praised one (*mamdūḥ*) (see Renate Jacobi, *The Camel-Section of the panegyrical ode*, in *JAL* xiii [1975], 35-36).

A further starting-point for *fakhr*, inside and outside the *ḳaṣīda*, was the topic of old age. The ageing poet recalls his earlier exploits (e.g. Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī [*q.v.*]).

Specific themes are found in the *fakhr* of the "bandit" poets (*ṣu*ᶜ*lūk*, pl. *ṣa*ᶜ*ālīk* [*q.v.*]). Naturally, praise of the tribe came second to self-praise for the poet who was an outcast from his tribe. The peculiar code of honour of the *ṣu*ᶜ*lūk* made him praise his poverty, hunger and physical neglect (e.g. al-Shanfarā). The poverty of the outlaw, undoubtedly, was appreciated more highly than that resulting from a lower social level (cf. ᶜUrwa b. al-Ward). The *ṣu*ᶜ*lūk* even boasted of fleeing before the enemy because it proved his swiftness (e.g. Taʾabbaṭa Sharran).

Already in early times, *fakhr* had, in battle-sayings, a magical function related to *hidjā*ʾ. In the old Arabic period, *hidjā*ʾ was hardly ever separated from *fakhr* inside and outside the *ḳaṣīda*. Even in later times, both remained closely connected. Derision is found intermingled with self-praise, in the new form of *hidjā*ʾ during the Umayyad period, in the *naḳāʾiḍ* (reciprocal satirical poems) of al-Farazdaḳ, Djarīr and al-Akhṭal [*q.vv.*]. This did not change in the ᶜAbbāsid period. Thus the famous *hidjā*ʾ *bāʾiyya* poem of Abū Nuwās contains at least as much self-praise of the South Arabs as it contains derision of the North Arabs. The Shuᶜūbī poets, too, joined self-praise of their royal Persian ancestors with derision of the miserable Arab Bedouins (see section 2, below).

Indigenous scholars of Arabic literature have paid little attention to *fakhr* because they considered it part of the basic category of praise: *madīḥ* is praise of a living person, *rithā*ʾ is praise of a deceased person, and *fakhr* is praise of oneself (see G. Schoeller, *Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern*, in *ZDMG* cxxiii [1973], 9-55). This view is also expressed by Ibn Rashīḳ, who does have a separate chapter on *iftikhār* (ᶜ*Umda*, ed. M.M. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1955, ii, 143-7) but which, apart from the remark about classifying *fakhr* given above, provides only examples. The *iftikhār* chapters in the *Dīwān al-ma*ᶜ*ānī* of Abū Hilāl al-ᶜAskarī [*q.v.*] (ed. Cairo 1352/1933, i, 76-91) and other anthologies are also only collections of examples. In the *dīwān* recensions arranged according to subject, a chapter *fakhr wa-ṭalab* is found for the first time in Abū Tammām (recension of ᶜAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī), and then, completely independent, in al-Buḥturī, Ibn al-Muᶜtazz and others.

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(E. Wagner)

2. As a contest for precedence and glory. The pre-Islamic Arabs gave themselves up to *mufākharāt* and *munāfarāt* at definite times (usually fairs, especially the *sūḳ* of ᶜUkāẓ, whence the verb *ta*ᶜ*ākaẓa* [= *tafākhara*]) after the pilgrimage or at random. The Ḳuraysh notably held them regularly in one of the ravines near Mecca (*Aghānī*, viii, 109). The *mufākhara* usually took place between groups, tribes and clans; occasionally between families and individuals.

In the *mufākharāt* where the orator and especially the poet played a prominent part (cf. *Aghānī*, iv, 8 ff.; there was also the *safīr*, the spokesman of the group: *al-*ᶜ*Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 45), the Arabs were fond of boasting of all that constituted their honour (ᶜ*irḍ* [*q.v.*]), i.e. of everything that contributed to their ᶜ*izza* (power). To vaunt their titles to fame (*maʾāthir, mafākhir, manāḳib*) and to dispute pre-eminence, the adversaries used to abuse one another most vehemently (rôle of satire or *hidjā*ʾ [*q.v.*]). These literary tourneys (not to mention the fact that they contributed a great deal to the development of poetry and oratory) stirred up great excitement and ended in violent quarrels or even bloodshed which provided the beginning of wars (cf. e.g. *Aghānī*, viii, 109).

In steeping the Arabs from time to time in an atmosphere of mass exaltation, the *mufākhara*, or tour-

nament of honour, performed an important social function. In a way it was a kind of religious ceremony. Indeed, the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs, a poor and ineffectual one, yielded place to honour inasmuch as the latter, thanks on the one hand to its sacred character and on the other to the *mufākharāt* (the elements or *leitmotiv* of which were connected on the psycho-sociological plane with strictly religious beliefs and practices), periodically revived in the Arabs this state of intense social life in which the individual forces were stimulated to the extent of bringing about a complete transfiguration of the individual.

This explains why the *mufākhara* was an important social institution. Did it not survive the objurgations of the Ḳur'ān and the reprimands of the Prophet (who did not, nevertheless, fail to indulge in it)? With Islam, however, to the elements that constituted pre-Islamic honour there came to be added elements from the new religion or belonging to the new culture or the new social organisation. Sometimes in post-Islamic times, *mufākharāt* were held in the presence of the caliphs who were not ashamed to take part in them (sometimes rulers and great lords presided over them). Finally, we may note that the aim of the *Shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*], while protesting against the arrogant pride of the Arabs, was to assert in their eyes their own claims to pre-eminence at the expense of their quarterings of nobility; not in gatherings like those of pre-Islamic days, but with the pen and the word. This new kind of feud was no less violent than the old one: polemics, personalities and insults (*ʿIḳd*, ii, 85 ff.; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Stud.*, i, 167 ff.; cf. also the *Mathālib al-ʿArab*). (One of the poets of the *Shuʿūbiyya*, Ismāʿīl Yasār, had already roused the wrath of the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik by celebrating exuberantly the memory of the *ʿadjam* or non-Arabs; see *Aghānī*, iv, 125.)

Nevertheless, the post-Islamic *mufākhara*—revived for a time and under another aspect as the quarrel between Arabs and non-Arabs—was no longer anything more than a survival doomed to gradual extinction, because Islam had dispossessed it of its function, had fought it so far as it was a social institution, and had broken it up by condemning a number of the elements of honour, notably *al-sharaf* (nobility) and *al-ḥasab* (the example of one's forefathers).

Bibliography: See the detailed bibliography in B. Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islām*, Paris 1932, II, 42, 51-2, 99, 161-2, 185-203, 212. In addition to the dictionaries (arts. *ḥ-s-b*, *f-kh-r*, *k-th-r*, *n-f-r*), cf. especially Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī aḥwāl al-ʿArab*, Baghdād 1314/1896-7, 299-338.

(Bichr Farès)

MUFARRIDJ b. **DAGHFAL** [see djarrāḥids].

MUFĀWAḌA (a.), a legal term denoting a form of commercial partnership and having different meanings within different schools of Islamic law. From mediaeval times, the *mufāwaḍa* has been most prominently associated with the Ḥanafī school, whose law restricts the conduct of partners in the operation of partnerships to a far lesser extent than that of the other schools, a phenomenon thought to have had its origins in the close relationship between independent reasoning (*ra'y*) and juristic preference (*istiḥsān*) in early Ḥanafī jurisprudence. For the Ḥanafīs, the *mufāwaḍa*, which "is perhaps best translated as a universal, or unlimited, investment partnership" (Udovitch, 40; see *Bibl.* below) is one of the two classes of commercial partnership into which their law divides them, the other being the *ʿinān*, "which is perhaps best rendered as a limited investment partnership" (*ibid.*) and in which relations between the partners are based on mutual agency alone and not mutual suretyship.

According to a brief general outline given by the 5th/11th century Ḥanafī jurist of ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*], in his *Mukhtaṣar*, a *mufāwaḍa* was the forming of a partnership by two people of equal wealth, religion and freedom of action, and was accordingly permissible between two free Muslims of full age and sound mind, but not between a Muslim and an unbeliever, a minor and one of full age, a free man and a slave; full powers of agency and liability attached to each partner, the arrangement thereby amounting to mutual procuration (*wakāla*) and suretyship (*kafāla*); the whole property of each partner was engaged except for food and clothing for the family, and equal liability attached to both for any obligation assumed by either of them in exchange for anything that was valid within the partnership.

The hallmark of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* was equality, relating not only to the amount of each partner's investment and to profits and losses but also to personal status and religious affiliation. In this connection it should be noted that a *mufāwaḍa* between two Christians, two Jews or two adherents of any other protected religion was lawful, as was a contract between two women of the same faith. The only exception to the rule of equality was in respect of personal and household effects.

Despite the denial, by Islamic legal theory, of the validity of documents, which it held to amount, at the most, to nothing more than corroborative evidence, the desirability of written contracts was recognised as early as the 2nd/8th century by al-Shaybānī, the true father of Ḥanafī law, whose celebrated *K. al-Aṣl* incorporates formulae for partnership contracts. The latter include a suggested formula for a general *mufāwaḍa* contract, followed by a direction that each partner should write and retain his own copy of the contract agreed upon.

Whether a *mufāwaḍa* could be validly contracted without the express use of that precise term was a question on which there was a difference of opinion. Abū Ḥanīfa's reported ruling was that if the term *mufāwaḍa* was not used, the partnership was to be construed as a general limited investment partnership. However, the importance attached by Islamic contract law to intended meaning rather than to forms and phrasing conduced to the view that, if the parties to a *mufāwaḍa* contract were aware of the rules of *mufāwaḍa* and its meaning, the actual term need not be used.

In Islamic law the mediaeval Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* was the closest approximation to a corporate entity because, from the point of view of commercial principles, the partners were as one person. All the partners' eligible capital and all their commercial activities were included in the *mufāwaḍa* partnership, and, accordingly, each partner was held fully liable for all the commercial activities and commitments of the other. The claims of third parties, on the one hand, were actionable against either of the partners, and, on the other hand, either partner had the right to claim against a third party, even without his having been involved in the transaction giving rise to the claim. In the matter of third parties, then, "dealing with the individual *mufāwaḍa* partner is equivalent to dealing with the partnership firm. In this respect, the *mufāwaḍa* approaches the modern [non-Islamic] conception of the partnership" (Udovitch, 100).

The dissolution of a *mufāwaḍa* partnership was governed by the same considerations as those governing the dissolution of all Islamic contractual partnerships

(e.g. expiry of the stipulated term of the contract, attainment of the agreed goal, termination by mutual consent of the partners, death of a partner). However, there was one factor leading to dissolution that was peculiar to the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa*: the lapse of equality in eligible capital which had been a condition of the formation of the partnership. Such a lapse could occur if, for instance, one of the partners was given or inherited such property as was eligible for partnership investment. In the case of inheritance, the partnership would terminate only at the time when the partner in question took possession of the inherited property.

Investment form and the formation of joint capital, deposits and pledges, loans, purchase, sale and debts, partners' expenses, investment with third parties, limit of mutual surety (e.g. by a crime committed by one of the partners), etc., are matters on which information may be most conveniently derived from Udovitch since they are aspects of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* which cannot be treated here.

Like the *mufāwaḍa* of Ḥanafī law, that of Mālikī law is an early mediaeval institution with a history dating certainly from the first half of the 3rd/9th century and having its roots in the latter half of the 2nd/8th. In the context of Mālikī law, the term *mufāwaḍa* is perhaps best translated as "general mandate partnership" (cf. Udovitch, 143) because it denotes a partnership in which each of the contracting parties confers on the other an unqualified mandate to dispose of their joint capital in any acceptable manner designed to benefit their common enterprise. The distinctive feature of the Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* is, then, the delegation of authority (*tafwīḍ*) by each of the partners to the other to engage in trade with each other's capital.

Despite the assertion that the Mālikī concept of the *mufāwaḍa* "is nearly the same as that of the Ḥanafīs" (Saleh, 92; see *Bibl.* below), there were from the outset fundamental differences between the two as well as different emphases. First and foremost, equality in the personal and financial status of the parties was not held to be a prerequisite of the formation of a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* partnership. Secondly, the partners were not required to include all eligible capital within the partnership. Thirdly, the validity of a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* remained unaffected by the existence of wealth outside the partnership. All in all, the rules governing investment in a Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* were patently quite different from those applicable to investment in a Ḥanafī partnership designated by the same term.

The question of persons eligible to enter into a *mufāwaḍa* partnership was another area in which the Mālikī requirements differed from those of the Ḥanafīs. In Mālikī law no legally competent person, male or female, with freedom of disposition (*taṣarruf*) of property and capacity to confer a mandate was denied the right to enter into a *mufāwaḍa* contract, and this right extended even to a slave who had his master's permission to trade. Nor was a difference in religion between the contracting parties an impediment to entry into a *mufāwaḍa* contract provided that a Muslim closely supervised his non-Muslim partner in order to ensure that the latter refrained from usurious business activities and other religiously unacceptable practices.

With the exception of the lapse of equality in eligible capital, which has no place in Mālikī *mufāwaḍa* arrangements, the same factors as those leading to dissolution of the Ḥanafī *mufāwaḍa* partnership were applicable to the Mālikī counterpart.

As in the case of the Ḥanafī law of *mufāwaḍa*, it has not been practicable to cover here all that needs or be said about the various aspects of the Mālikī *mufāwaḍa*, and yet again Udovitch may be recommended as the most convenient source of information on the more important points.

As viewed by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820), *mufāwaḍa*, whether in the Ḥanafī or Mālikī understanding of the term, was an approximation to the proscribed practice of gambling since the obligations undertaken by the parties to the contract were not wholly known to and controlled by that contract. For him, the basis of profit or gain from any common commercial undertaking could only be cash invested by each partner party to the contract, and to charge the profit and loss of all commercial activities undertaken by the partners, whether singly or jointly, to a common partnership fund was an arrangement in which there was too great an element of the unknown. In S̲h̲āfiʿī law, then, the *mufāwaḍa* was and is not a valid commercial partnership as conceived by the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools of law.

As regards the Ḥanbalī school, there are authorities sharing al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's view of *mufāwaḍa*, but at the same time some, such as Taḳī al-Dīn al-Futūḥī (d. *ca.* 980/1572), inclining to the Ḥanafī position. Ibn Ḳudāmā [*q.v.*], writing more than three-and-a-half centuries earlier in *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, a work that acquired, and still enjoys, a great reputation, held the only lawful *mufāwaḍa* to be a partnership in which all the different forms of partnership investment, viz. money, labour and credit, were combined.

It remains only to touch on the Ibāḍīs, whose sect is particularly prominent in ʿUmān. Their concept of the *mufāwaḍa* is an unlimited association of two or more persons in all areas thereof. Each partner is to have equality of authority over the property of his partner(s), and all profits and gains (apart from inheritance, blood-money and bride-price) are equally divisible among the partners. Some Ibāḍī authorities reject the Ḥanafī requirement of equality in respect of both capital and shares in profits.

At the present day, *mufāwaḍa* is by no means a dead letter: it is, in particular, one of those commercial modes of operation traditional to Islamic jurisprudence to which modern Islamic financial institutions turn as they experience the need to meet the challenge presented by what they see as the secular systems of commercial law operating in the West.

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2. Secondary works: For English-speaking peoples with no Arabic, A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970 is the work of reference *par excellence* (see especially 29-39, 40-118, 144-5, 150-69). N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986, is also useful, but in the use of his sources the author is somewhat eclectic, presumably because his thought is directed towards the re-assertion of Islamic law in the modern world. As almost all the

important secondary literature is contained in the bibliographies of Udovitch and Saleh, they need not be listed here. Special mention must, however, be made of D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, 2 vols., Rome 1925-38. (J.D. LATHAM)

MÜFETTIS̲H̲ [see Supplement].

AL-**MUFĪD**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī al-ʿUkbarī, Imāmī S̲h̲īʿī theologian and jurist, was born on 11 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 336/23 May 948 (other dates mentioned, 333 and 338, seem less likely) in Suwayḳat Ibn al-Baṣrī near ʿUkbarā.

His family was of Southern Arab descent of the Banu 'l-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Kaʿb, and his father had been a teacher in Wāsiṭ before moving to ʿUkbarā. After his father's profession, al-Mufīd was also known as Ibn al-Muʿallim. He came to Bag̲h̲dād as a boy and already in Muḥarram 347/April 958 heard *ḥadīt̲h̲* in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr. His teacher in *fiḳh* was D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḳūlūya of Ḳumm (d. 369/979-80). In theology, his main teacher seems to have been Abu l'-D̲j̲ays̲h̲ al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Balk̲h̲ī al-Warrāḳ (d. 367/977-8). The statement of al-Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī (308) that he first read with Ṭāhir, the *g̲h̲ulām* of Abu 'l-D̲j̲ays̲h̲, is probably to be understood as meaning that he studied as a boy with Abu 'l-D̲j̲ays̲h̲'s assistant before continuing with the master. Abu 'l-D̲j̲ays̲h̲ al-Balk̲h̲ī is described in the Imāmī sources as a disciple of the Imāmī *mutakallim* Abū Sahl b. Nawbak̲h̲t. Most likely he had earlier studied in his home town under Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balk̲h̲ī al-Kaʿbī, the head of the Bag̲h̲dād school of the Muʿtazila. It was evidently from him that al-Mufīd received his basic training in the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the Bag̲h̲dād school and his acquaintance with the teaching of the Banū Nawbak̲h̲t. A later report which describes him as a disciple of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and al-Rummānī, both representatives of the Baṣran Muʿtazilī school, is legendary and probably without foundation. He heard tradition from a large number of S̲h̲īʿī or pro-S̲h̲īʿī traditionists, among them Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-D̲j̲iʿābī (d. 355/966). The tradition of the Imāmī school of Ḳumm he received chiefly from Ibn Ḳūlūya, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd al-Ḳummī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḳummī (d. 368/978-9), and Abū D̲j̲aʿfar b. Bābūya (d. 381/991-2), whom he heard presumably during his visits of Bag̲h̲dād in 352/963 and 355/966. There is no evidence that al-Mufīd ever visited Ḳumm.

He soon became the leading theologian and spokesman of the Imāmiyya. Ibn al-Nadīm, writing in 377/987-8, describes him as such, and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī characterises him in this period as a resourceful and persevering debater with a pleasant surface (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1953, i, 141). He taught and held discussion sessions in his house and mosque in the Darb Riyāḥ in al-Kark̲h̲, and elsewhere engaged in debates with numerous scholars of opposing factions, among them the As̲h̲ʿarī al-Bāḳillanī and the Muʿtazilīs al-Rummānī and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār.

Most of his writings, which numbered about two hundred, are known only by title. He wrote refutations of treatises and view of Muʿtazilīs like D̲j̲aʿfar b. Ḥarb, al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, Abū ʿAlī al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balk̲h̲ī, al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn al-Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īd, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, al-Rummānī, al-K̲h̲ālidī, al-Naṣīb(īn)ī, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār and Abū Ras̲h̲īd (?); of Sunnī traditionalist theologians like Ibn al-Kullāb and al-Karābīsī; of Ḳurʾān experts like Ḳuṭrub and T̲h̲aʿlab; of the Ṣūfī followers of al-Ḥallād̲j̲; and of Imāmī scholars with whom he disagreed like Ibn Bābūya, Ibn ʿAwn al-Asadī, and Ibn D̲j̲unayd al-Iskāfī. The wide recognition of his authority among Imāmīs outside Bag̲h̲dād is reflected in his written answers to questions sent to him from the communities in K̲h̲ʷārazm, Naysābūr, D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān, Sāriya, Ṭabaristān, Ṣāg̲h̲ān, Dīnawar, K̲h̲ūzistān, Fārs, al-Raḳḳa, al-Ḥāʾir, and ʿUkbarā, besides answers to named individuals elsewhere. Despite his outspoken anti-Sunnī polemics, his relations with the authorities were generally good. The Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla is said to have visited him often. Together with other prominent Imāmī leaders, he signed the document impugning the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs drawn up at the order of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳādir in 402/1011-12. During riots between Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs in Bag̲h̲dād, he was three times, in 392/1002, 398/1008 and 409/1018, banished from the town, although he does not appear to have been involved in starting them. Each time the order was either revoked or he was soon allowed to return. Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭabrisī (al-Ṭabarsī) quotes two letters which he is said to have received from the Hidden *Imām* in Ṣafar 410/June 1019 and D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 420/1022 (*al-Iḥtid̲j̲ād̲j̲*, Nad̲j̲af 1367-8/1966, ii, 318-25). Later sources mention a third letter. In one of them he is addressed with his honorific *laḳab* al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Mufīd. Stories about how he first received this agnomen are legendary.

In theology, al-Mufīd rejected the cardinal Muʿtazilī position that the basic truths of religion can and must be discovered by reason alone, and he insisted that transmitted revelation (*samʿ*) is indispensable for reason to gain religious knowledge. In practice, he mostly adopted the doctrine of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balk̲h̲ī (d. 319/932), the head of the Bag̲h̲dād Muʿtazilī school, as against the Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine prevalent in Bag̲h̲dād in his time. He wrote a book on "the agreement of the Bag̲h̲dādīs of the Muʿtazila with what is related from the *Imāms*". Excluded were subjects which touched on vital Imāmī dogma, the imāmate and related points. Against the Muʿtazilī affirmation of the unconditional punishment of the unrepentent sinner in the hereafter, he upheld the Imāmī belief in the effective intercession of the Prophet and the *Imāms* for the sinners of their community. He rejected the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the intermediate position of the grave sinner between believer and unbeliever [see AL-MANZILA BAYN AL-MANZILATAYN] as incompatible with S̲h̲īʿism and affirmed the Imāmī belief in *rad̲j̲ʿa*, the return of some of the dead to life at the time of the advent of the Mahdī. The Imāmī doctrine of *badāʾ* [*q.v.*] he cautiously explained as identical in substance with the general Muslim notion of *nask̲h̲*, the abrogation of religious law, and the Muʿtazilī doctrine about God's changing man's life-span and sustenance in accordance with their actions. Concerning the Ḳurʾān, he held that there were neither substantial additions nor deletions in the ʿUt̲h̲mānic text, but that the enemies of ʿAlī had changed the arrangement of verses and suppressed the commentary contained in his codex. In agreement with earlier Imāmī theologians like His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Sahl b. Nawbak̲h̲t and his teacher Abu 'l-D̲j̲ays̲h̲, he rejected the materialist Muʿtazilī identification of man with the body, or part of it, and defined the essence of man as spirit and a simple substance (*d̲j̲awhar basīṭ*).

In the religious law, al-Mufīd repudiated the use of *id̲j̲tihād* and analogy (*ḳiyās*) and criticised his older con-

temporary Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Djunayd al-Iskāfī, whom he met in Baghdād and from whom he related traditions, for advocating their employment. He was equally critical of the Imāmī traditionalist school of Ḳumm, which he accused of accepting often contradictory single (*āḥād*) traditions of the *Imāms* as a basis of the law. He held that single traditions were valid only if they could be supported by one of the sources of certain knowledge, reason, a Ḳurʾānic text, a widely transmitted (*mutawātir*) tradition, or the consensus of the Muslims or of the Imāmiyya. Many of the traditions which he transmitted to his disciple al-Ṭūsī were incorporated by the latter in his *K. Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, one of the canonical collections of Imāmī traditions. The first part of this book, written still in the lifetime of al-Mufīd, is a commentary on the latter's theological and legal compendium *al-Risāla al-muḳniʿa*. On the question of the length of the month of Ramaḍān, which was disputed at the time, al-Mufīd at first followed his teacher Ibn Ḳūlūya in holding that it always must number a full thirty days, a doctrine adopted in Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī law. Later, he changed his position and supported the view that the length of Ramaḍān is determined by the sighting of the new moon, which became standard Imāmī doctrine. In his criticism of Ibn Bābūya's creed he also rejected his belief that all *Imāms* had been murdered by their opponents.

Al-Mufīd died on 3 Ramaḍān 413/29 November 1032. The funeral worship was led by his pupil al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and was attended by a huge crowd. He was buried at first in his house and later in the *Maḳābir Ḳuraysh* next to his teacher Ibn Ḳūlūya and near the *Imām* Muḥammad al-Djawād. Virtually all the leading Imāmī scholars of the following generation were his students: the Sharīfs al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā, the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, al-Nadjāshī, al-Karādjakī, Sālār al-Daylamī, Abu 'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and others. Al-Mufīd's influence on later Imāmī theology remained restricted, however, since the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, followed by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, adopted Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine in preference to his.

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(W. MADELUNG)

MUFRAD (A.), a technical term of Arabic grammar, which can have four ranges of meaning. In a general way, it means "singular", being synonymous with *wāḥid* and in opposition to *muthannā* "in the dual" and *madjmūʿ* "in the plural". In morphology, it means "simple", as opposed to *murakkab* "compound" and designates a noun made up of a single element. In syntax, it means "in isolation", as opposed to *muḍāf* "in annexation" and designates a noun which is not followed by a determinating complement. In lexicography, more often used in the plural *mufradāt*, it means "the words taken in isolation in the lexicon".

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(G. TROUPEAU)

MUFTĪ [see FATWĀ].

MUGHALS, an Indo-Muslim dynasty which ruled, latterly with decreasing effectiveness, 932-1274/1526-1858.

1. History
2. External relations
3. Administrative and social organisation
4. Economy and internal commerce
5. External commerce and European trade connections with Mughal India
6. Religious life
7. Architecture
8. Carpets and textiles
9. Painting and the applied arts
10. Literature
11. Numismatics

1. *History*. This article, like the section on History in HIND, iv, above, aims at being no more than a guide to the numerous articles on the history of the Mughal dynasty in India to be found elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia*, and to relate these to a chronological framework.

The Mughals were given their first foothold in Indian territory in 800/1398 when Pīr Muḥammad, governor of Kābul and a grandson of Tīmūr, attacked Uččh and Multān, and established a governor in Dīpalpur; when this governor was attacked and killed, Tīmūr [*q.v.*] himself sacked Dīpalpur and Bhaṭnēr, marching through Pānīpat to Dihlī, which was occupied, sacked and plundered, and many of its inhabitants massacred. When Tīmūr withdrew in 801/1399 the Dihlī sultanate was left in anarchy and bankruptcy; Maḥmūd Tughluḳ returned to Dihlī almost powerless, and in the Pandjāb the Sayyid Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*] ruled as governor owing allegiance to Tīmūr or his son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*]. The Dihlī sultanate later fell to Khiḍr Khān in 817/141-4, and he and his house ruled until 855/1451, without however causing any further Mughal concern. For this period see TĪMŪR; SHĀH RUKH; KHIḌR KHĀN; MAḤMŪD TUGHLUḲ; for Tīmūr's ancestry, see TĪMŪRIDS.

Bābur, b. 888/1483-4, was descended in the fifth generation from Tīmūr, and on his mother's side from Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]; heir to the small kingdom of Farghānā [*q.v.*], his early years were mostly spent in conflict with his cousins of the petty principalities of Afghānistān and Transoxiana which were what remained of the Tīmūrid legacy, never conclusively successful against Samarḳand, but eventually (910/1504) taking possession of Kābul [*q.v.*] and gaining suzerainty over Ghaznī; possession of the strategically important Ḳandahār [*q.v.*] in 928/1522 strengthened his hand. He had already made minor forays into India; he was invited to intervene in the affairs of the Dihlī sultanate (disputed between three members of Lāhawr), but soon showed that his action was more in his own interest than that of the Lōdīs when he defeated the combined Afghān armies at the first battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] in 932/1526. He moved on

to occupy Dihlī and Āgrā [q.v.], then eastwards to Djawnpur [q.v.] and Ghāzīpur, and brought about the important victory of Khānuʾā against the Rādjpūt armies of Rānā Sanga [q.v.] of Čitawr in 933/1527; a later victory over Afghāns in the east extended his dominions to the edge of Bengal. He was critical of Indian gardens, and brought the concept of the symmetrical Mughal garden to India. For this period see MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR; BĀBUR (the article BĀBUR. 2. refers to Bābur's literary works, in Čaghatay Turkī); DIHLĪ SULTANATE; LŌDĪ; MĒWĀŔ; RĀNĀ SANGA.

After Bābur's death in Āgrā in 936/1530 he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn, who assigned Kābul, Ḳandahār and the west Pandjāb to Mīrzā Kāmrān [q.v.], whose ambitions caused Humāyūn anxieties about the defence of his western front. Opposition from nobles of the old Lōdī régime was suppressed, but the most able general among them, Shēr Khān, the future Sūrī ruler, continued active preparations against Humāyūn, at one point entering the Mughal service in order to find out more about Mughal organisation. Humāyūn's brother-in-law Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā [q.v.] allied himself to Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, leading to war with that country; the pursuit of Bahādur Shāh led Humāyūn to the capture of both Māndū [q.v.] and Čampānēr [q.v.], and the first Mughal occupation of Gudjarāt in 942/1535-6. Mālwā could not be retained, and his rebellious and independent-minded Tīmūrid cousins [for these see MĪRZĀS] caused him much trouble in Gudjarāt, and Shēr Khān, in attempting to establish Afghān rule in the east, had already occupied Bihār [q.v.] and was moving to the capture of Gawŕ, the Bengal capital. Humāyūn, pursuing, found that Shēr had cut his line of communication, was defeated in two major battles, fled towards Sindh [q.v.] in 947/1540, where his son Akbar was born, and eventually arrived at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [q.v.] in Persia for the beginning of his fifteen years exile. The Mughal dominions in India passed under the control of Shēr Khān, now become Shēr Shāh; under him important innovations were made to the currency [see 11. Numismatics, below], and to the fiscal regulations [see ḌARĪBA. 6b], which were perpetuated under the Mughals after their restoration; Shēr Shāh also restored the ancient pilgrim route (*rādjamārga*) from one end of his territory to the other, which also was taken over by Akbar and still persists as the Grand Trunk Road. Humāyūn was at last able to reoccupy Kābul, whence he marched to reconquer the successors to the Sūr rule, now squabbling among themselves, at Sirhind [q.v.] in 962/1555, going on to reoccupy Dihlī; after six months he died from a fall from a height. In his entourage he had brought from Persia some painters from Shāh Ṭahmāsp's court, who were fundamental in bringing into being the Mughal school of painting [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below, and TAṢWĪR]. For this period, see especially HUMĀYŪN; BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ; GUDJARĀT; MALWĀ; MĀNḌŪ; MĪRZĀS; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR; SŪRS; DIHLĪ. For Humāyūn's tomb at Dihlī, see DIHLĪ (plan) and 7. Architecture, below.

The young Akbar, succeeding to the Mughal throne at the age of 14, was at first under the tutelage of the general Bayrām Khān [q.v.] and under the influence of the *atga khayl*, his former wet-nurses and foster-mothers, their husbands and children. Since Bayrām Khān was a Shīʿī, there were necessarily tensions in an otherwise nominally Sunnī court. A rival, the brilliant Hindū general Hēmū, ostensibly campaigning on behalf of the dispossessed Lōdī sultans, was killed in the second battle of Pānīpat [q.v.], and lost territories were recaptured under Akbar's generals, after which Akbar was able to free himself from the influence of the "haram party", and moved his court from Dihlī to Āgrā. The rebellion at Māndū [q.v.] was crushed by Akbar in person in 971/1564, and an attempt at Afghān independence in Bihār [q.v.] was put down in the same year. There were rebellions from an Uzbek faction at the Dihlī court, and of more consequence that of the Mīrzās [q.v.] who, having at first received small assignments in Kaṭahr [q.v.; see also ROHILKHANḌ], moved at first to Mālwā and later to Gudjarāt [q.v.] where in the local disorders consequent on the disruption of the Gudjarāt sultanate they became possessed of much land. After three victories over Rādjpūt strongholds (Čitawr, Ranthambor, Kalindjar), Akbar was able to found his new capital at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [q.v.], where his heir Salīm, the emperor Djahāngīr, was born. For Akbar's matrimonial alliances with the great Rādjpūt houses, see RĀDJĀSTHĀN. Local rebellions by the refractory Mēʾōs [q.v.] in the Mēwāt [q.v.] were suppressed. Next, Gudjarāt was conquered, the local sultanate having shown itself incapable of protecting the pilgrim traffic to the Ḥidjāz; but Akbar established sufficiently good relations with the Portuguese navies to ensure its safety. A rebellion in Bengal [see BANGĀLA, in Suppl.] aroused Akbar's movement against that province, concluded in 984/1576 with the death of Dāwūd Khān Kararānī [q.v.], and the incorporation of Bengal within the Mughal empire. Khāndēsh [q.v.], a buffer state between Mughal possessions and the Deccan, was annexed in 985/1577. The first Jesuit mission reached Āgrā in 988/1580, with interesting repercussions: religious toleration was preached in the Mughal court, largely the result of the influence of Akbar's ministers Abu ʾl-Faḍl and his brother Fayḍī [q.vv.] [see also DJAYN, PĀRSĪ], and the European influence became obvious in Mughal painting [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below]; since the "toleration" appeared to exclude Islam, rebellions arose, suppressed by Akbar, who in 990/1582 promulgated his syncretistic faith, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* [q.v.]; two years later he introduced an *Ilāhī* era [see TAʾRĪKH; *Ilāhī* dates are important in the interpretation of Mughal coins, and extended beyond Akbar's time]. For hostile attitudes to Akbar's innovations, see BADĀʾŪNĪ, ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR, and AḤMAD SIRHINDĪ. Kashmīr [q.v.] was annexed in 994/1586, Sindh, Kaṭhiāwāŕ and Uŕisā [q.vv.] had submitted by 1001/1593, and the province of Barār [see BERAR], and the fortresses of Gāwīlgaŕh, Narnālā, Aḥmadnagar and Āsīrgaŕh [q.vv.] had all fallen into Mughal hands by 1010/1601; Khāndēsh [q.v.] of which Āsīrgaŕh was the principal stronghold, thus became a Mughal *ṣūba*, and for a time bore the name Dāndēsh after Akbar's youngest son Dāniyāl. Akbar died in 1014/1605 and was buried in a large garden tomb at Sikandra, near Āgrā [see 7. Architecture, below]. For Akbar's time, see, in addition to the references above, AKBAR; DĀNIYĀL; MUḤAMMAD ḤAKIM; MĪRZĀ ʿAZĪZ KŌKA; MĀN SINGH; MĒWĀŔ and RĀDJĀSTHĀN; ADJMĒR; ĀGRĀ; FATḤPŪR SĪKRĪ; LĀHAWR; ROHTĀSGAŔH. For Akbar's revenue system, and its relation to that of Shēr Shāh, see ḌARĪBA. 6b; also ṬOḌAR MALL, and references under MISĀḤA; for Akbar's reorganisation of the provinces, see under ṢŪBA; references to literature in Akbar's time also in HINDĪ and ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN; for Akbar's coinage see 11. Numismatics, below. Large projects of historical writing and of narrative painting were instituted for the millennium (1000/1591-2); see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below.

Djahāngīr, after a short attempt at independence in his father's lifetime, succeeded Akbar on his death, although his rule was early challenged by his son Khusraw; in the punishment of the rebels which followed, the Sikh [*q.v.*] leader Guru Ardjun Singh was executed, an act which provoked the Sikhs into lasting enmity with the Mughal power. A Persian claim to Ḳandahār caused Djahāngīr to move for a time to Kābul; there was a renewed conflict with Mēwāŕ [*q.v.*], and operations, at first largely unsuccessful, were started against the Deccan, but a former Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] slave Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], using guerilla bands of Marāṭhā soldiers, recovered Aḥmadnagar, and further loss of territory in the Deccan followed. Not until 1030/1621 did the prince Khurram, the future Shāhdjahān, meet with some success there; but on the fall of Ḳandahār to Shāh ʿAbbās of Persia in the following year, Khurram, ordered to retake it, went into open rebellion against his father; in the confusion Malik ʿAnbar was able to retake the Bīdar [*q.v.*] province. Djahāngīr was not an active patron of building like Akbar, but was however a connoisseur of painting (helped by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from Elizabeth I of England) [see 9. Painting and the applied arts, below, also MURAḲḲAʿ], and under him Mughal painting (as well as the Mughal coinage, see 11. Numismatics, below) reached its zenith; his memoirs (*Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*) reveal him as an enthusiastic traveller and a great lover of nature. He died in 1037/1627. For his period, see DJAHĀNGĪR; NŪR DJAHĀN; ĀṢAF KHĀN; ĀGRĀ, LĀHAWR, MĀNḎŪ, NĀRNAWL; BŪSTĀN; KASHMĪR; SHRĪNAGAR; in addition to section 9 on Painting below, see especially MANŌHAR and MANṢŪR. For the Mughal kitchen up to Djahāngīr's time, see MAṬBAKH. 4.

Khurram succeeded in 1037/1627 as Shāhdjahān, after a war of succession (involving Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusraw, who was once proclaimed with *khuṭba* and *sikka*; his brother Shahriyār was also proclaimed; there had been rebellious uprisings in Bundelkhand [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Āṣaf Khān [*q.v.*], his strongest and ablest supporter, was his father-in-law, for Shāhdjahān had married his daughter Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*]. A rebellion on the part of Khān Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*] led to further wars with the Deccan sultanates, Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] surrendering in 1042/1633 with the fall of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. Operations in the Deccan were hampered by the rise of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] as a military power, but a peace treaty was concluded with Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] in 1045/1636. After this, the young prince Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] was appointed viceroy and commander-in-chief of the Mughal forces in the Deccan, and Shāhdjahān returned to the north to start building his new capital of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ]. Northern campaigns against Ḳandahār and Balkh [*q.vv.*] having largely failed, it was the Deccan which engaged Mughal attention [see DAKHAN], thanks largely to Awrangzīb's generalship [see AWRANGZĪB and DAKHAN]. Shāhdjahān's sickness in 1067/1657 led to a quarrel for the throne between his four sons, in which Awrangzīb was ultimately the victor [see DĀRĀ SHUKŌH, MURĀD BAKHSH, SHĀH SHUDJĀʿ]; he placed his father in confinement in the Āgrā court, where he died in 1076/1666. For details of Shāhdjahān's reign, see further SHĀHDJAHĀN; MARĀṬHĀS; ḲANDAHĀR; DAKHAN; BĪDJĀPŪR; NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS; ḤAYDARĀBĀD; for his architecture and the "reign of marble" see 7. Architecture, below, and HIND, vii. Architecture, and ADJMĒR; ĀGRĀ; DIHLĪ; LĀHAWR; TĀDJ MAḤALL. A prominent author of Akbar's, Djāhāngīr's and Shahdjahān's reigns, renowned especially as a *muḥaddith*, was ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. For ceremonial practices under the first few Mughal emperors, see MARĀSIM. 5, MAWĀKIB. 5 and references s.v. MARĀTIB.

Before Awrangzīb's formal accession (1068/1658), with the regnal title of ʿĀlamgīr, the Deccan had been ravaged by the Marāṭhā adventurer Shivādjī [*q.v.*; see also MARĀṬHĀS]. He eventually surrendered to the Mughals in 1076/1666, though the final treaty gave him the right to *čawth*, a quarter of the revenues of Bīdjāpūr, the ceded district; the Marāṭhās, however, exacted this tribute from whatever region they later conquered [see also ḤAYDARĀBĀD, b.], so that when these districts later fell to the Mughals their resources had already been seriously depleted. When Awrangzīb moved to Ḥasan Abdāl [*q.v.*] for two years after 1082/1671, in order to quell risings by Yūsufzay and Afrīdī Paṭhāns, Shivādjī pursued his depredations in the Deccan undisturbed, and virtually created a nation out of the Marāṭhās, who had formerly been the subjects of the Muslim sultanates of Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr, and who were to become the Mughals' main challengers. Awrangzīb moved to the Deccan in 1093/1682 and spent the remaining 25 years of his life in almost perpetual warfare there, the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultanate of Bīdjāpūr falling in 1097/1686 and the Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultanate of Golkonḍā [*q.v.*; see also DAKHAN and ḤAYDARĀBĀD. b.] in the following year, the whole Deccan becoming one large *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, with headquarters at Awrangābād [*q.v.*]; the disadvantage of the conquest was that the balance of power was destroyed, for Bīdjāpūr and Golkonḍā no longer stood between the Mughals and the Marāṭhās. Many forts were recaptured from the Marāṭhās, and some Hindū kingdoms were attacked, but as the Mughal armies were becoming exhausted and financial resources were dwindling, a retreat was made to Awrangābād, where Awrangzīb died in 1118/1707, to be buried in the *rawḍa* in the necropolis village of Khuldābād. For his period, see SHĀHDJAHĀN, AWRANGZĪB, DAKHAN, and entries under the regional Deccan sultanates; MARĀṬHĀS, SHIVĀDJĪ; references to his bigotry under DJIZYA, iii; for an important digest of Muslim law compiled by his orders, see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ʿĀLAMGĪRIYYA; for Awrangzīb's buildings, see HIND, vii. Architecture; DIHLĪ, LĀHAWR, and 7. Architecture, below; for his (rather uninspired) coinage, see, 11. Numismatics, below.

Awrangzīb was succeeded by his second son Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam with the regnal title of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*], who had earlier received the title of Shāh ʿĀlam after successes in the Deccan as one of Awrangzīb's commanders; the eldest son Sulṭān Muḥammad had long been confined to prison after deserting his father in favour of Shāh Shudjāʿ, but Awrangzīb's other sons engaged in the usual war of succession (two, Shāh Aʿẓam and Kām Bakhsh, crowning themselves in different parts of the empire). In Bahādur Shāh's five years' reign, he was barely able to retain the Mughal authority in his dominions; the Rādjpūts [see RĀDJĀSTHĀN] were in rebellion in Djōdhpur [*q.v.*], the Sikhs [*q.v.*] in the Pandjāb, and the Marāṭhās were consistently harrying the Mughals in the south. The last Sikh *guru*, Govind Singh, in fact a supporter of Bahādur Shāh, had died in 1120/1708; but followers of his produced a "sham guru", known as Banda, who declared a mission to rouse the Sikhs against the Mughal empire. In addition, Bahādur had provoked resentment among northern Muslims by commanding the introduction of Shīʿī forms in worship. On his death in 1124/1712, the break-up of the Mughal power was intensified: Djahāndar Shāh [*q.v.*]

was soon followed by Farrukhsiyar [q.v.], Rafīʿ al-Daradjāt and Rafīʿ al-Dawla (= Shāhdjahān II) [q.vv.] as emperors, all puppets in the strong hands of local kingmakers [see SAYYIDS OF BĀRHĀ], whose reigns were counted in months rather than years, until the Sayyids produced Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48 [q.v.]). Through lack of confidence in the monarchy, and even less in the Sayyids, provincial governors were able to assume independence more or less at will; thus Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič Khān, entitled Niẓām al-Dīn [q.v.], eventually, by defeating his deputy at the battle of Shakarkheldā [q.v.], made himself independent in the Deccan with Ḥaydarābād as his headquarters, and all Dihlī could do was to conciliate him by bestowing the title of Āṣaf Djāh—since borne by his descendants, the Niẓāms [q.v.] of Ḥaydarābād. He supported the Marāṫhās, the new Peshwā [q.v.], Badjī Rāo, becoming governor of Mālwā whence he constantly harried the Mughals by demands for fresh territory and tribute. A growing power around Dihlī and Āgrā was that of the Djāṫs [q.v.] of Bharatpūr [q.v.], with whom the Sayyids made a separate treaty; the *nawwābs* of Awadh [q.v.], while nominally acknowledging Mughal authority, became virtually independent from the time of Saʿādat Khān, better known by his later title of Burhān al-Mulk [q.v.], in 1134/1722; the *māhīmarātib* which had been conferred on him became the badge of the *nawwābs* of Awadh. His successor Mīrzā Muḳīm Abu ʾl-Manṣūr Khān, entitled Ṣafdar Djang [q.v.], wielded the real political power in the Mughal empire. A former imperial officer ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was practically independent in Kaṫahr [q.v.], by now more commonly called Rohilkhand [q.v.], where his followers were increased by numbers of Afghāns taking refuge from the depredations of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] of Persia, the Mughals losing Kābul and the trans-Indus territories to him in 1130/1738. Nādir Shāh continued his journey of plunder as far as Dihlī, which was sacked in 1131/1739 amid a general massacre of its citizens; he then restored Muḥammad Shāh to his almost meaningless throne, and returned to Persia loaded down with treasure, including the Peacock Throne of the Mughals [see TAKHT-I ṬĀWŪS]. Nādir Shāh was murdered in 1160/1747, but an opportunist commander Aḥmad Khān took over the royal possessions as Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.], and behaved in much the same way: three invasions had by 1165/1751 brought the Durrānī armies Lāhawr, the Pandjāb, and Multān; Dihlī was again ransacked in 1170/1757. In 1174/1761 the Durrānīs, joined by Mughal, Awadh and Rohilla troops, broke the Marāṫhā power in the north at the third battle of Pānīpat [q.v.]. The *ṣūba* of Bengal, however, was less disturbed than the centre under succession of strong governors; see MURSHID ḲULĪ KHĀN, SHUDJĀʿ AL-DAWLA, ʿALĪ WIRDĪ KHĀN, SIRĀDJ AL-DAWLA; MURSHIDĀBĀD. The political strife, however, was at least not reflected in the sphere of religion, thanks largely to Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1115-76/1703-62 [q.v.]).

Muḥammad Shāh had died in 1161/1748 and had been succeeded by his son Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur, who was declared incapable, deposed, imprisoned and blinded in 1167/1754; he was succeeded by ʿĀlamgīr II, assassinated in 1173/1759, Shāhdjahān III, deposed the following year, and Shāh ʿĀlam II, 1173-1221/1759-1806 [q.v.], none of them with any authority or power; a local ditty ran *az Dihlī tā Pālam bādshāhī Shāh ʿĀlam*—Palam being a small village outside Dihlī where Delhi airport now stands. The real power belonged to Awadh, the Rohillas and the Djāṫs. The Marāṫhās were now again rising to power under Sindhia [q.v.], and Shāh ʿĀlam came under British protection between 1765 and 1771. In 1788 a Rohilla, Ghulām Khān, had attacked Dihlī and blinded the emperor; he came again under British protection in 1803 when the Marāṫhā army was soundly beaten by the British general Lord Lake, interestingly commemorated in the Mughal coinage (see 11. Numismatics, below). But he, Akbar II (1221-53/1806-37) and Bahādur Shāh II [q.v.], deposed in 1857 after the Mutiny, were no more than titular figures, for the Mughal empire had long ceased to exist and the last emperor's authority did not extend beyond the Red Fort in Dihlī. The 19th century saw the rise of Urdū poetry, the emperor Bahādur Shāh himself writing verse under the *takhalluṣ* of Ẓafar; see also DARD, DHAWḲ, GHĀLIB, MUʾMIN, and URDŪ. For Bahādur Shāh's buildings, of some merit, see 7. Architecture, below.

Bibliography: The bibliographies to the articles referred to above should be consulted.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

2. External Relations. Introductory. The Mughal Empire, the Ṣafawid monarchy and the long-established Ottoman Empire were the three leading Muslim powers of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. The Uzbeks of Central Asia were another power competing with the Ṣafawids for the control of Khurāsān and Balkh; they sought support on occasions for this purpose from the Ottoman Turks, and at times from the Mughals as well. But when it suited them, they would threaten the marches of the Mughal province of Kābul and would go to the extent of playing the Ṣafawid game to the detriment of Mughal interests. The Mughal empire and Ṣafawid Persia had enough in common regarding faith, culture and territorial interests to encourage long periods of peace, although the main territorial issue between them was the control of Ḳandahār (see below). During the 10th/17th century, the Deccan kingdoms, with their political and Shīʿī sectarian religious alignment with Persia, also caused tension in Mughal-Ṣafawid relations [see ʿĀDIL-SHĀHS and ḲUṬB-SHĀHS]. In situations of conflict, each of these various empires and kingdoms would seek allies among the other Muslim states according to its current territorial interests. Moreover, the Tīmūrid nostalgia for ancestral homelands in Central Asia was also a psychological factor of considerable pull which the freshly-uprooted Bābur, as well as the ambitious Shāh Djahān, found difficult to resist, and this involved them in much fruitless hostilities in Central Asia.

Bābur and Humāyūn. Even though Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur [q.v.] had been in active contact with Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī since after the historic battle of Marw (Ramaḍān 916/December 1510), his relations with Persia, as the sovereign of the Mughal empire, began only after his assumption of that status at Dihlī in Djumādā II-Radjab 932/April 1526. Two embassies arrived from Shāh Ṭahmāsp I after that date, the second to report on his great victory over the Uzbeks in the battle of Djām (935/1528); and one was sent by Bābur to report on his success against the Rādjpūts at the battle of Kānwa (933/1527). Apparently these were only minor missions. As Bābur's territorial interests had been more exposed to the menace of the Uzbeks, Ṣafawid victories over them must have been welcome to him, and the mission sent to Ḳazwīn must have dwelt on that subject.

The next Mughal ruler, Humāyūn [q.v.], was so deeply engrossed in winning territories and in losing them that he found little time to nourish the seeds of Indo-Persian intercourse left by Bābur. In fact, he

sent his first mission to Persia when he was in flight from India after his two successive defeats (946/1539, 947/1540) at the hands of the Sūrī Afghān Shīr Shāh (regn. 947-52/1540-5). When, during the flight, he was in immediate danger of falling into the hands of his hostile brother Kāmrān Mīrzā [q.v.], virtual ruler of Kābul, the unfortunate Pādshāh, on the advice of his faithful adviser and friend Bayram Khān [q.v.] sought and found refuge in Persia. The story of Humāyūn's one-year stay there (practically the whole of 951/1544 including some three months' stay with the Shāh), and the accounts of the receptions, festivities and banquets held in Humāyūn's honour, make interesting reading, but the details need not detain us here. Two things, however, stand out: that it was with the unexpectedly extensive military help of Tahmāsp that it was possible for Humāyūn to recover Ḳandahār, which in turn became the stepping stone for the recovery of Kābul and later of Dihlī, and two, Humāyūn's fine sensibility in the matter of art and calligraphy (see Riazul Islam, *Calendar of documents of Indo-Persian relations*, Calendar no. Tx. 326) could not fail to impress the Persians; and several outstanding Persian artists, including Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī and Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, joined Humāyūn's service and eventually became instrumental in founding the Mughal school of painting at Dihlī (Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations*, 166; P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924, 53-4).

After the seizure of Ḳandahār from Kāmrān's forces, Humāyūn handed over the fort to a Persian commander in accordance with his promise to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. But as he and his men were now without any shelter whatsoever, he reoccupied the fort and sent an explanation to the Shāh, who acccepted the *fait accompli* with a good grace. In the remaining chequered decade of his life—right up to his restoration at Dihlī and eventual death—Humāyūn was able to maintain good relations and exchange friendly embassies with Ṭahmāsp.

Akbar. During his long reign, the Emperor Akbar had dealings with four Ṣafawid monarchs, including the famous Shāhs Ṭahmāsp I and ʿAbbās I. Within a couple of years of Humāyūn's demise, Ṭahmāsp sent a force to occupy Ḳandahār (965/1558). Akbar was then in no position to do anything to save the fort, but its loss rankled in his heart. An embassy sent by the Shāh, evidently to mollify the young Mughal ruler, failed in its purpose. No return embassy was sent.

Ascending the throne a dozen years after the demise of his grandfather Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Shāh ʿAbbās I was in a desperately difficult position, with pressure from the Ottoman Turks in the West and with the Uzbeks in occupation of Khurāsān. He sent a full-scale embassy to Akbar (999/1591), principally for the purpose of seeking Mughal support against the Uzbeks. ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek's occupation of Khurāsān and Uzbek marauding activity in the Mughal frontier region, were no less worrying for Akbar, who stayed for about fourteen years in the Pandjāb to keep a watch on the frontier. Placed thus, Akbar had to conduct his foreign relations cautiously. Hence for a good while he discouraged ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek's proposal for a joint Mughal-Uzbek invasion of Persia (985/1577), and when, later, he signified agreement (994/1586), he did so to keep the Khān humoured, fully knowing that the contingency of such a Mughal-Uzbek invasion was hardly ever likely to occur. Akbar's real interest was in the recovery of Ḳandahār, for which he awaited a suitable opportunity. Finding that they could not save it from the burgeoning Uzbek power and losing hope of support from the Shāh in distant Ḳazwīn, the Persian governors of the fort gladly handed it over to Akbar's men and accepted high *manṣab*s for themselves in the Mughal Empire. The sudden collapse of Uzbek power, with the death of ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbek and his domineering son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Khān in the same year (1007/1598-9), resolved the crisis for Shāh ʿAbbās I and also marked the end of a fourteen years' vigil on the part of Akbar.

It was only when Akbar felt certain of having Ḳandahār within his grasp that he decided to send his first embassy to Persia. "This was the first full-fledged embassy from the Mughal Emperor for more than four decades and Shah ʿAbbās I naturally made much of it" (*Indo-Persian relations*, 62). At this stage, the Shāh did not particularly mind Mughal occupation of Ḳandahār, for this boded far less ill for his power than an Uzbek occupation would. The Uzbeks were still strong in Khurāsān, and the Shāh needed as good relations with Akbar as possible. The embassy which he sent to the Mughal court in 1006/1598 was aimed at seeking the Emperor's blessings for his projected campaign for the recovery of Khurāsān. The demise of the two Uzbek Khāns now paved the way for its recovery. With this accomplished, the Shāh's position greatly improved at home and abroad. Thus when the next embassy from Akbar led by the distinguished littérateur Mīr Maʿṣūm [q.v.] arrived, Shāh ʿAbbās I made it wait for a long time before granting it the first audience and, when dismissing the envoy, sent no return embassy. Undoubtedly, this was intended to express his dissatisfaction over continued Mughal occupation of Ḳandahār.

Djahāngīr. The reign of Djahāngīr opened with a carefully-planned Persian attack on Ḳandahār under the leadership of the governor of Harāt (1014/1606). The attack, which was launched in the hope of taking advantage of the situation arising from a change on the throne, was disowned by Shāh ʿAbbās I when it failed. The Shāh now changed his strategy. He professed brotherly love for Djahāngīr (with whom he had been in correspondence even before the latter's accession). In 1018/1609-10 the Shāh sent a major embassy to the Mughal court. This was the first of the many missions that he sent to the Emperor during the next dozen years—some full-scale embassies, some *čāpār* ones (small, fast-travelling missions), and some comprising simply a noted merchant on a normal trading trip to whom a royal missive was given for delivery to the Emperor. The purpose of these numerous missions was to allay all apprehensions on the score of Persian interest in Ḳandahār and to build up a relation of confidence and trust with Djahāngīr. The Shāh played the long diplomatic game with great finesse, achieving in the end complete success. Djahāngīr's pride in his brotherly relationship with the Shāh was considerable, and he sent him the most magnificent of all embassies ever sent by the Mughals. It was accompanied by more than a thousand servants and was led by a distinguished noble, Khān ʿĀlam by title, whom Djahāngīr used to address as brother. Iskandar Beg Munshī records that no embassy like it had ever come to the Ṣafawid court. It received a magnificent reception, and the Shāh treated the ambassador on terms of personal friendship. The upshot of the whole diplomatic exercise was that Djahāngīr came to place so much trust in the Shāh's personal friendship that when the latter led an expedition to Ḳandahār, there were only 300 troops in this strategically vital fortress. Djahāngīr's attempt to form a Sunnī alliance with the Uzbeks and his plans

to send an expedition under Prince Shāh Djahān for the recovery of the fort, all came to nothing.

Shāh Djahān. Combining ability, ambition and vigour, Shāh Djahān was well-equipped to follow an active and assertive foreign policy. His accession to the Mughal throne was followed within one year by the death of the great Shāh ʿAbbās I, whom Shāh Djahān as prince used to address as uncle. Shāh Djahān had "three main objectives in foreign policy each of which was related to Persia directly or indirectly. He wanted to recover Qandahār, to re-establish the power of his house in his ancestral lands in Tūrān, and to assert his suzerainty over the Deccan kingdoms and destroy their alliance with Persia. It was naturally his aim to preserve friendship with Tūrān when striking at Qandahār and to keep Persia neutral when invading Tūrān." (*Indo-Persian relations*, 99.) So he proceeded energetically to establish relations with both sides. A major embassy was sent to the Ṣafawid court, now presided over by the inept Shāh Ṣafī I, ʿAbbās I's grandson, who had been brought up in the *andarūn*. A return embassy also arrived from Persia. But Shāh Djahān also started secret negotiations with the Persian commander of Ḳandahār, ʿAlī Mardān Khān. This distinguished Persian noble was in mortal danger, for Shāh Ṣafī had summoned him to the court, and he had interpreted this as a threat to his life. This enabled Shāh Djahān to send his commanders to take over Ḳandahār. (ʿAlī Mardān was given a very high position in Mughal service.) The Emperor now sent several missions to the Ṣafawid court in order to mollify Shāh Ṣafī and, later, his son and minor successor Shāh ʿAbbās II, with the purpose of winning Persian neutrality, if not friendship, in his next ambitious venture, sc. the conquest of Tūrān; but the Persians remained sullen and cold towards these approaches.

Meanwhile, Shāh Djahān had launched his over-ambitious plan of the conquest of Tūrān. The motives for this were sentimental rather than realistic. Though successful at the outset, the plan inevitably failed, and the Mughals had to beat a costly retreat after only fifteen months' occupation of Balkh. The Mughal retreat from Balkh paved the way for a Persian advance on Ḳandahār.

Shāh ʿAbbās II sent Shāh Djahān a politely worded request for the restoration of Ḳandahār. But he issued the letter from Khurāsān when he was already on his way to invest the fort. The energetic young Shāh, ignoring the rigours of winter, captured the fort after a short siege before the slow-moving Mughal contingents could reach there (1059/1649). Three Mughal expeditions sent one after the other for the recovery of the fort failed in their purpose. The point worth noting is that seizure of Ḳandahār by one party at an opportune moment, and acquiescence in the accomplished fact by the other, had been the norm of Mughal-Ṣafawid relations till the time that Shāh Djahān introduced the element of war into them.

Awrangzīb. Awrangzīb, who ascended the throne with the title of ʿĀlamgīr in 1069/1658-9, had been involved in two of the three Ḳandahār expeditions during the previous reign. None knew better than he the futility of pursuing a policy of recovering the fort. Opting for a realistic policy, he gave no further thought to its conquest, but at the same time he followed a very firm policy in respect of the frontier posts, as can be seen in his *aḥkām* sent to the Mughal governor of Kābul (*Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations*, nos. Ab 254-5). In the opening years of his reign, Awrangzīb was naturally anxious to receive a congratulatory embassy from Persia—signifying recognition of his régime—especially as he had come to the throne after a prolonged and contested war of succession. He was therefore particularly delighted when news arrived of the advent of a full-scale embassy from Shāh ʿAbbās II. The embassy was received with much display of warmth and hospitality, and the envoy Budāg Beg was honoured in various ways. The Shāh particularly enjoyed the gift of *pān* (betel-leaf) sent by the Emperor, who now ordered arrangements for its regular supply to the capital Iṣfahān. The ambassador was dismissed with many presents.

A return embassy sent by the Emperor was well-received at Iṣfahān at the outset, but later faced much rebuff an insult at the hands of the Shāh. The ambassador, Tarbiyat Khān, was curtly dismissed and handed an insulting letter addressed to Awrangzīb. The Shāh even threatened to invade India and indeed marched out of the capital, but died in Khurāsān. The change in the Shāh's attitude is not easy to explain. It could be attributed to a *faux pas* on the part of Tarbiyat Khān, or to a sudden change in the mood of the strong-tempered Shāh, who was given to much drinking, or to a relapse into sectarian fanaticism on his part. In any case it was a most unfortunate occurrence from the point of view of Mughal-Ṣafawid relations, for these were not resumed for the rest of Awrangzīb's long reign.

The post-Awrangzīb period. Mughal-Ṣafawid relations in the post-Awrangzīb period were "spasmodic and inconsequential". It is interesting to note that, once again, it was the question of Ḳandahār which brought some animation into these relations which had been dormant since 1077/1666. In 1121/1709 Mīr Ways, the Ghilzay Afghān chief of Ḳandahār, threw off the Ṣafawid yoke, declared for India and sought support from the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*]. The latter appointed him Mughal governor of Ḳandahār and gave him the prestigious title of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, but at the same time, realising that the situation of Ḳandahār could spell danger for both Iṣfahān and Dihlī, he sent a secret advice to the Ṣafawid Sulṭān Ḥusayn to that effect. In order to forestall a Mughal-Afghān link-up, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn sent a major Persian embassy to Dihlī, followed by a minor one. But little came out of the despatch of these two missions. Both empires were in a state of dissolution, and were in no position to assist each other. The Ghilzay success at Ḳandahār emboldened the Afghāns to invade Persia, an event that had far-reaching consequences.

Ḳandahār. A word should be said about Ḳandahār, which has figured so prominently in this article. It was the main bone of contention between Ṣafawid Persia and the Mughal Empire. The question is, why did the two powers attach so much importance to it in their relations? Standing athwart the route between the two kingdoms, it controlled the flow of a great deal of their overland trade. But Ḳandahār as a provincial unit itself produced scant revenues. It was, rather, a revenue-consuming area and was by no means a financial asset. Significantly enough, Ḳandahār has been disparagingly called in Mughal-Ṣafawid correspondence and in the chronicles variously "a mass of rock", "a mound of dust" and "the wasteland of Ḳandahār" (*kharāba-yi Ḳandahār*) (see *Indo-Persian relations*, 300, n. 3). All the figures are not available, yet it is a safe bet that Shāh Dhahān spent much more on his three fruitless Ḳandahār expeditions than whatever he received by way of revenue or customs duty from Ḳandahār during the eleven years of its occupation. The main motives

behind the Mughal and the Ṣafawid passion for the fortress seem to have been prestige and strategy; the party which controlled Ḳandahār could deal more effectively with the Uzbeks.

Mughal-Ottoman relations. The reigns of Sultans Selim I (918-26/1512-20) and Süleymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) witnessed the extension of Ottoman interest and influence in the Indian Ocean. This, however, was rapidly cut short with the appearance of the Portuguese naval power in the same region. Towards the end of this phase, the Turkish Admiral, Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs, was detailed by the Sultan to help the Muslim kingdom of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] against the Portuguese. Suffering defeat at the hands of the latter, he decided to find his way back home by the land route and thus reached Dihlī, where he was accorded a grand reception by the Emperor Humāyūn. The Emperor's accidental death occurred during the Admiral's stay in Dihlī. The royal letter which he carried on his way back was, in our view, prepared when Humāyūn was alive (as evidenced by the reference to "re-establishment on the throne"), but was issued in Akbar's name. This letter, addressed to Sultan Süleymān, does not appear to have evoked any response. Akbar's long reign remained barren in regard to relations with the Ottomans, who are indeed reported to have been suspicious of the great Mughal's role in matters affecting Ottoman regional interests in the East.

Djahāngīr was so taken up with his friendship with Shāh ʿAbbās I that he gave no thought to cultivating contacts with the Ottomans. He paid little attention to an Ottoman embassy that arrived at his court in the early years of his reign on account of its uncertain status. Shāh Djahān, who pursued a vigorous foreign policy, was the first Mughal Emperor to send a fully-fledged embassy to the Ottoman court. He was motivated by a desire to build up a Sunnī front against a hostile Ṣafawid Persia, but his letter was couched in a mood of self-exaltation. A *nāma-yi humāyūn* (royal letter) brought by the Ottoman envoy, Arslān Agha, caused much annoyance to the Emperor because of its lack of a proper address. Subsequent correspondence failed to mitigate the damage done to state relations. The Ottoman Sultan Murād IV's letter (*Calendar of documents*, no. Ott. 394) to Shāh Djahān about the Uzbek Khāns, also evoked a curt reply (no. Ott. 395). Another Ottoman embassy arrived, but, unluckily, its visit coincided with the period of the War of Succession and it proved in effect futile. The Emperor Awrangzīb also evinced little interest in friendly relations with the Ottomans. With the Turkish government in a troubled state after the Ottoman defeat before Vienna in 1094/1683, Sultan Süleymān III (1099-1102/1687-91) sent an embassy to Awrangzīb in 1100/1688-9. The embassy was poorly received, and Awrangzīb disdained to send a return embassy.Then, after a lapse of well over half-a-century, in the wake of Nādir Shāh's invasion and spoliation of Dihlī, Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48 [*q.v.*]) opened diplomatic negotiations with Sultan Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54) during the years 1157-60/1744-7, and several embassies were exchanged; but these proved of little consequence.

In general, Mughal-Ottoman relations were marked by long gaps and were not productive of any worthwhile results or developments. Apart from other impediments, distance and the length of time taken in the exchange of embassies robbed these relations of any substance. Proposals made from time to time of an alliance against Persia were merely chimerical.

The great Mughal Emperors kept a vigilant eye on all areas which were of interest to the empire. Thus Akbar kept in touch with Kāshghar and was eager to learn about the political situation in China and also about that in Europe. He further maintained regular diplomatic contacts with the Sharīfs of Mecca (*Calendar of documents*, no. Ott. 381.1). The same could be said, with varying emphasis, of other Emperors down to Awrangzīb. The Mughal Emperors also maintained contact with men of learning in Persia. Thus Akbar received regular reports about them from highly-placed agents assigned for this purpose (*Calendar of documents*, nos. A.21, A.24, A.32, A.33).

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N.B. (i) For a detailed bibl. of primary (mss. and published) and secondary sources on the subject, see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations*, Tehran 1970, 238-69.

(ii) For Mughal-Ottoman relations, see Sulaymān b. Khalīl ʿIzzī, *Tārīkh-i ʿIzzī*, Istanbul 1784; Joseph de Hammer, *Memoir on the diplomatic relations between the courts of Delhi and Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ii (London 1830); Hikmet Bayur, *Hindistan tarihi*, Ankara 1947-50 (also his articles on Mughal-Ottoman relations, referred to in *Calendar of documents on the Indo-Persian relations*); Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964; articles of Lewis and Kahle cited in the Bibl. above; and Riazul Islam, *Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations*, ii, Calendar nos. 379-425.

(iii) For an inconsequential attempt on the part of Shīr Shāh Sūrī to open up diplomatic relations with Persia and Turkey, see *Indo-Persian relations*, Appendix F, which is based on S.A. Rashid and R.P. Tripathi, *Tawārīkh-e-dawlat-e-Shēr Shāhī, by Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān*, in *Medieval India Quarterly* (Aligarh, July 1950). (Riazul Islam)

3. Administrative and social organisation. Its centralised administration, organised on systematic lines, was a notable feature of the Mughal Empire. Very largely it was a creation of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). At the centre, the Emperor appointed ministers such as the *wakīl*, whose office after Bayram Khān (d. 967/1560) became largely titular and was often unoccupied. The *dīwān-i aʿlā* or head of the revenue and finance department came to be the most important minister. He controlled revenues realised in the Emperor's personal domain (*khāliṣa*), determined the assessment figures (*djamāʿ*) on whose basis *djāgīrs* [*q.v.*] were assigned, and was in charge of payment of all expenditure, including cash salaries. He issued instructions to his subordinates, called *dīwāns* in the provinces (*ṣūbas*).

The *mīr bakhshī* was in charge of grants of *manṣabs* [*q.v.*] (salary-determining ranks), upkeep of the army and the intelligence service. He had his own subordinates (*bakhshīs*) in the *ṣūbas*. The *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* was in charge of appointments of judicial officers and charity grants, again with subordinates called *ṣadrs* posted in each *ṣūba*.

Akbar divided the Empire into *ṣūbas*, each having a governor (*sipahsālār, ṣāḥib-i ṣūba, nāẓim*) appointed by the Emperor. The governor's powers were greatly restricted by other officers, the *dīwān*, the *bakhshī* and the *ṣadr*, who were directly subordinate only to the respective ministers at the centre. Each *ṣūba* was divided into *sarkārs*, maintained largely for territorial identification. *Fawdjdārs* maintained law and order over areas which did not necessarily coincide with *sarkārs*. Each *sarkār* was divided among *parganas*, each having a Muslim judge (*ḳāḍī*) and two semi-hereditary officials called *ḳānūngo* and *čhaudharī*, who were concerned with tax-collection.

None of the higher offices ever became hereditary before the 12th/18th century and had, in actual practice, only short incumbencies. These were filled by persons who were awarded *manṣabs* or numerical ranks. Each *manṣab* was marked by dual numbers. e.g. 5,000 *dhāt*, 3,000 *suwār* (now conventionally represented as 5,000/3,000) [see MANṢAB and MANṢABDĀR].

The holders of *manṣabs* or *manṣabdārs* of the Mughal Empire received their pay either in cash (*naḳd*) or in the form of assignments or areas of lands from which they were entitled to collect the land revenue and all other taxes imposed or sanctioned by the Emperor. These assignments were known as *djāgīrs*, though sometimes the term *iḳṭāʿ*, used by the Dihlī Sultans, was also employed. Land which was reserved for the income of the crown was called *khāliṣa*, and such areas which were due to be assigned, but were for the time being managed by imperial officers, were known as *pāybāḳī*. Territories assigned in lieu of the salary due to a *manṣabdār* were termed *djāgīrs*, or more precisely *tankhwāh djāgīrs*.

Since a *djāgīr* was given in lieu of cash salary, it was essential that it should yield as much as the salary to which the holder was entitled. *Djamāʿ* was the name given to figures officially determined as representing the net revenue expected from each unit of territory (village, *pargana*, etc.). The *djāgīrs* were by their very nature transferable. That no person should have the same *djāgīr* for a long period was an established principle of the Mughal Empire. Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī compared it with the way a gardener transplants plants. In practice, the transfers were continuously made because a *manṣabdār*, when sent to serve in a province, had to be assigned a *djāgīr* there; and similarly, those recalled from there would require *djāgīr* elsewhere. But each such transfer, owing to adjustments with *djamāʿ*, necessitated other transfers. The system of *djāgīr* transfers was necessary for the unity and cohesion of the Empire. Only by these transfers could the nobles or military commanders be prevented from growing into local potentates. Under this system, they could never call any part of the country their own and remained entirely dependent on the will of the Emperor.

Waṭan-djāgīrs formed the only exception to the general system of *djāgīr* transfers. These *djāgīrs* originated from the admission of *zamīndārs* or territorial chiefs into the Mughal service. The chiefs obtained *manṣabs* or ranks, the pay for which was equal to the *djamāʿ* of their hereditary dominions, but since their dominions had been autonomous, this calculation was arbitrary. Theoretically, the ruler was entitled to determine the succession to a *waṭan-djāgīr*,

but, as a rule, the Emperor normally nominated a scion of the ruling house. Nobles who were not *zamīndārs* did not normally hold any place as *waṭan*. As a concession to these *manṣabdārs*, D̲j̲ahāngīr instituted *altūn-tamg̲h̲a-d̲j̲āgīrs* to be held permanently. But these *d̲j̲āgīrs* were confined to small localities and could not compare with the great *waṭans* or ancestral dominions of the Rād̲j̲put chiefs.

Regarding fiscal rights of the *d̲j̲āgīrdārs*, the assignment orders described in practically set terms the rights which the Emperor granted to *d̲j̲āgīrdārs*. The *d̲j̲āgīrdārs* were entitled to collect authorised revenue (*māl-i wād̲j̲ibī*) and all claims of the state (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*). No other right except that of collecting the land revenue and authorised taxes was delegated to the *d̲j̲āgīrdār* as *d̲j̲āgīrdār*, and he was expected to exercise this right, too, in conformity with imperial regulations. Simple statements requiring the *d̲j̲āgīrdārs* to take not more than half of the produce occur in the revenue records and other literature of Awrangzīb's reign.

The *d̲j̲āgīrdār* had to employ his own agents to collect the revenue and taxes within his *d̲j̲āgīrs*. His chief agent (*gumās̲h̲ta*) was the *ʿāmil*, also known as *s̲h̲iḳdār*; he would be assisted by an *amīn* (revenue assessor), a *fūṭadār* (treasurer), and a *kārkun* (accountant). Sometimes, under smaller *d̲j̲āgīrdārs*, the duties of the *amīn* and of the treasurer were also entrusted to the *ʿāmil*. Often these persons had to deposit securities (*ḳabḍ*) with the *d̲j̲āgīrdār*, while they drew their remuneration from the revenues they collected. A practice which appealed especially to the smaller *d̲j̲āgīrdārs* was that of *id̲j̲āra* or revenue farming. It became very common during the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān and was held to be one of the causes for the ruin of the peasantry.

The French traveller Bernier has presented us with a closely-argued analysis of the causes of the failure of the Mug̲h̲al Empire. Bernier argued that the system of the transfer of *d̲j̲āgīrs* led inevitably to oppression and devastation of the country. Bernier is supported by Bhim Sen, who wrote in or about 1700. A *d̲j̲āgīrdār* who had no permanent interest in his *d̲j̲āgīr* had, as an individual, a great temptation to exploit his temporary assignment to an excessive degree. The pertinent question which arises is whether the *d̲j̲āgīrdārs* were able to put their wishes into effect without any check from the Emperor and administration. The *d̲j̲āgīrdār* did not possess within his *d̲j̲āgīr* an absolute power over its inhabitants. On the contrary, his authority was checked by an almost parallel system of administration under the direct control of the ruler and his ministers. In the field of revenue collection, the ruler's interests were represented in every *pargana* by two officials known as *ḳānūngo* and *čaudharī* (*des̲h̲mukh̲* in the Deccan). These offices were hereditary. The *fawd̲j̲dārs* [*q.v.*] or military commandants appointed by the Emperor had the task of maintaining law and order. In discharging this duty they could also operate within *d̲j̲āgīrs*. The *d̲j̲āgīrdār* had no judicial powers, and the *ḳāḍī* appointed under an imperial *farmān* heard and settled criminal cases. Finally, there were the news reporters who sent their reports on the conduct of *d̲j̲āgīrdārs* and their agents.

The *d̲j̲āgīr* system in its standard form worked with tolerable efficiency down to the middle of Awrangzīb's reign (1069-1118/1659-1707). But towards the close of that reign, owing to the increasing strain of the Deccan wars on the financial resources of the Empire and the dislocation of the administration owing to the Emperor's absence fromn Northern India, the complicated machinery under which *d̲j̲āgīrs* were assigned began to weaken. The crisis which shook the *d̲j̲āgīr* system appeared in the garb of what a contemporary writer called *bī-d̲j̲āgīrī* (absence of *d̲j̲āgīrs*. More commanders and officers had to be accommodated on the imperial payrolls than could be found *d̲j̲āgīrs*. Inevitably, influence and money began to count more and more in all *d̲j̲āgīr* assignments.

A struggle for *d̲j̲āgīrs* thus developed among the *manṣabdārs*. It had not become an armed struggle during the reign of Awrangzīb, when it was fought out in the form of factional rivalries. Ānand Rām Mukh̲liṣ suggests that during the reign of Farrukh̲-Siyar (1124-30/1713-19 [*q.v.*]) *d̲j̲āgīr* assignment by the court became a matter of mere paper orders, so that a large number of persons who were granted *manṣabs* never got *d̲j̲āgīrs*. Once this happened, all was over not only with the *d̲j̲āgīr* system but with the Mug̲h̲al Empire as a whole.

The Mug̲h̲al nobility was theoretically the creation of the Emperor. It was he alone who could confer, increase, diminish or resume the *manṣab* of any of his subjects. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the Mug̲h̲al nobility was open to all who could fulfill certain criteria of merit and competence to the satisfaction of the Emperor. The *manṣabdārs* were not only public servants but also the richest class in the Empire and a closed aristocracy; entrance into this class was not easily available to ordinary subjects, whatever their merits. The most important factor which was taken into account when nobles were appointed was heredity. The *k̲h̲ānazāds*, or sons and descendants of *manṣabdārs*, had the best claim of all. But sons did not normally succeed to the full *manṣabs* of their fathers. As a result, a large portion of recruits always consisted of persons who did not belong to families of those already holding *manṣabs*. Such persons came from a variety of classes. A number of them were *zamīndārs* or chiefs within the Empire. The inclusion of *zamīndārs* among the officers of the state was no innovation of the Mug̲h̲als, but it is true that Akbar gave it very great importance by granting *manṣabs* to a large number of *zamīndārs*, pre-eminently the Rād̲j̲put chiefs. Their ancestral domains were left to them, being treated as their *waṭan-d̲j̲āgīrs*, but as government officers, ordinary *d̲j̲āgīrs* were assigned to them in all parts of the Empire.

There were nobles and high officers of other states who were given a place in the Mug̲h̲al nobility on account of their experience, status and influence or of the contingents which they commanded and the territories which they controlled. For the Persian and Uzbek nobility, India had traditionally been an El Dorado where fortunes could be rapidly made. In the Deccan, military necessity required that the large number of nobles and officers of the independent states, both in times of peace and war, be won over to the Mug̲h̲al side. They had to be granted *manṣabs* high enough to induce them to betray their own states. Almost all the Deccani *manṣabdārs*, e.g. Bīd̲j̲apurīs, Ḥaydarābādīs or Marāṭhās, belonged to this category. A small portion of the Mug̲h̲al nobility was recruited from those who had no claims to high birth but were pure administrators or accountants. Such were the members of the castes of Khatrīs, Kāyasths, Nāgar Brahmans, etc. Finally, *manṣabs* were also awarded to scholars, religious divines, men of letters, etc. Abu 'l-Faḍl in the time of Akbar and Saʿd Allāh K̲h̲ān and Dānis̲h̲mand K̲h̲ān during the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān owed their high ranks to their talents as men of letters. A few theologians and religious scholars were also awarded *manṣabs*.

These various elements were incorporated into the Mug̲h̲al service largely as a result of historical cir-

cumstances, but partly also as a result of planned imperial policy. Akbar's policy seems to have been to integrate all these elements into a single imperial service. He often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve under one superior officer. At the same time, the distinct or separate character of each group was respected. Akbar's policy of *ṣulḥ-i kull*, universal peace, was at least partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs—Sunnīs, Shīʿīs and Hindus—and to prevent sectarian differences among them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne.

From a close scrutiny of the sources, it is clear that a marked expansion of the nobility did not take place till Awrangzīb embarked on the policy of annexing the entire Deccan. As a result of fresh recruitment made during this period, the internal composition of the nobility changed in some material respects. Abu 'l-Faḍl Maʾmūrī summed up the changes by saying that the *khānazāds*, i.e. nobles belonging to families previously connected with imperial service, were the chief losers. There may be some element of exaggeration in his statement, but our evidence largely bears him out. Recruitment from aristocratic families of central Asia and Persia still continued, but on a much smaller scale. There was very little opportunity of entry left for the non-aristocratic educated classes. There may have been a few promotions of scholars like Bakhtāwar Khān and ʿInāyat Allāh Khān, but their number was limited. There was, however, room for adventurers, who first organised their troops and established themselves as chiefs or rulers in areas outside the control of the Empire and then sought to enter imperial service. Many Marāṭhā chiefs offer an excellent illustration of this curious procedure.

Mughal India had a currency system based on the silver rupee (178 grains); but the system was formally trimetallic, with gold and copper coins circulating at rates based on their metal values. The Mughals succeeded in issuing a coinage of great purity and uniformity from numerous mints throughout their empire. See further on Mughal coinage, 9. below, Numismatics.

Beneath the imperial structure existed a more stable class, that of *zamīndārs*. Mukhliṣ (*ca.* 1750) defined a *zamīndār* as "literally meaning master of the land (*ṣāḥib-i zamīn*) but now (actually) the *mālik* (proprietor) of the land of a village or township, who also carried on cultivation". With such superior "land-owners" at one extreme, the *zamīndār* also comprised the various tributary chiefs and autonomous Rādjas, who were also called *zamīndārs* by the Mughal chancery.

It is a remarkable fact that general revenue regulations issued in the period from Akbar and Awrangzīb exclude the *zamīndārs* from the framework of the standard revenue machinery. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that the *zamīndārs* paid the revenue on behalf of whole villages. A possible explanation seems to be that every locality had some land under *zamīndārs*, who from the point of view of the revenue authorities were often simple revenue-payers or *āsāmī*.

Summary assessment of land revenue and collection through *zamīndārs* must in general have considerably simplified the task of the *djāgīrdārs* and their agents. Yet it was also from the *zamīndārs* that they met with the greatest opposition. A heavy assessment would deprive the *zamīndārs* of their income and, in that case, they might use their armed retainers, backed in some cases by the peasants, to defy the *djāgīrdārs*. For such defiance, a *zamīndār* might forfeit his *zamīndārī* rights. But a *zamīndār* could not be dispossessed or appointed by any one except by the Emperor.

The reign of Awrangzīb saw a great increase in the pressure of the administration of the *djāgīrdārs* upon the *zamīndārs* as a class. Manucci declared that "usually the viceroys and governors [of the Mughal Empire] are in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and *zamīndārs*—with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others to force them to pay more revenue than is customary." There was usually "some rebellion of the Rādjas and *zamīndārs* going on in the Mogul Kingdom".

The peasants were largely comprehended by the names *raʿāyā, raʿiyyat* (hence the Anglo-Indian "ryot"). That the peasants were a greatly differentiated class is suggested by the distinction made between *mukaddams* (headmen), *kalantran* (higher-level men), etc., on the one hand, and the *rezariʿāyā* (small peasants), on the other. A *farmān* of Awrangzīb makes a separate category for peasants who were so indigent as to depend wholly on credit for their seed, cattle and subsistence. Whether the peasants had ownership rights on the land may be doubted; but since land was not scarce, the authorities were more interested in keeping the peasants tied to the land which they had been cultivating rather than in stressing their claim to evict them. There was, in fact, a considerable migratory population among the peasants, often called *pāykasht*, peasants tilling land away from their home villages.

The village was the unit around which peasant society revolved. It was also the real unit of assessment of the state's revenue demand, which was then distributed among villagers by the headmen and the village accountant (*patwarī*). It had thus a financial pool, from which apart from taxpayments, minor common expenses (*kharādj-i dih*) were also met. This seems to have formed the basic factor behind the formation of the celebrated, but often elusive, Indian village community. The village had its own servants, whose status and functions have been studied by Fukazawa in an important paper based on documents from 18th century Maharashtra.

Commerce seems to have greatly penetrated the village economy, since the peasant needed to sell his crop in order to pay his tax. He had little left, however, with which to buy urban products. Even so, commerce must have intensified the differentiation which uneven possession of agricultural and pastoral goods (seed, plough, cattle) must already have created. There was, however, a simultaneous tendency towards peasant pauperisation generated by the regressive land tax. The peasants were divided among castes. Even the administration recognised caste hierarchy by varying the revenue rates according to peasant castes, as the documents from Rajasthan especially show. The menial and "untouchable" castes were generally excluded from the land and formed the bulk of agricultural labourers.

By and large, the artisans were in the same position as the peasants: they were technically "free", but hemmed around by many constraints. Though some of them were bound to render customary services as village servants, most of the artisans could sell their wares in the market. Need for advances, however, often forced them to deal only with merchants, brokers or other middlemen. A very small number worked in the workshops (*kārkhānas*) of nobles and merchants.

Merchants formed a numerous and fairly well-protected class in the Mughal Empire. It was also

quite divergent. There were, on the one hand, the large bands of *bandjarās*, or transporters of goods of bulk, moving with load-carrying bullocks over enormous distances; on the other, there were specialised bankers (*ṣarrāfs*), brokers (*dallāls*) and insurers. Some of them, at the ports, also owned and operated ships.

The theory has been put forward (e.g. by van Leur, Steensgaard) that the merchants in Asian and Indian commerce (sea-borne as well as inland) were essentially "pedlars", so that the intrusion of the Dutch and English East India Companies introduced radically superior commercial techniques for controlled response to price-variations in different markets. There is, however, little justification for this thesis. There were small men in Indian commerce undoubtedly, men like the small jewel merchant Banarsidas, who has left his memoirs. But then there were also large merchants (*sahs*) who had numerous agents (*baparis*, *bandjaras*) at different places. One of such large merchants, Virji Vora of Surat, often financed the English East India Company. He had agents not only in all important towns in India but also in several ports abroad. A fairly efficient system of bills (*hundis*) and insurance (*bima*) were great aids to the smooth functioning of commerce.

An interesting debate has been going on for quite some time as to whether the Mughal Empire had a middle class and so contained potentialities to develop into a capitalist economy. Reisner, W.C. Smith and Iqtidar Alam Khan have argued that this was so. Karen Leonard has recently tried to apply the "Great Firm" theory to explain the decline of the Mughal Empire. Essentially, proponents of the theory point to the development of commerce, banking and large professional classes. Opponents of the thesis include Irfan Habib, who has argued that the Mughal urban economy and commerce rested heavily on the system of land-tax extraction and was incapable of independent development into capitalism. The debate continues.

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4. Economy and internal commerce.

Population. Estimates of the population of India (pre-1947 frontiers) around 1600, when the larger part of it had come to be included within the Mughal Empire, range from 125 millions (W.H. Moreland, corrected by K. Davis) to 145 millions (S. Moosvi). Even at the higher figure, it had a population of less than a seventh of what the region today contains, and an average rate of population growth of just 0,2% per annum. Of this, again, as much as 85% lived in the villages, the towns containing an estimated 15% of the total.

(a) *Rural Production*

Forests and pastures. These covered a very large part of the land surface of the Mughal Empire, the forests yielding economically important products, from elephants to gumlac. Teak, one of the best timbers for shipping, grew abundantly on the west coast and lower Godavari valley. The larger share of pastoral production was reflected in the relatively low value of *ghī*, or clarified butter, relative to foodgrains and possibly in the larger availability of cattle per capita.

Agriculture. Statistics in Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* suggest that sown area in *ca.* 1595 was about 50% of what it was *ca.* 1910 in Uttar Pradesh, 58% in Gudjarāt and 40% in the Pandjāb. This was cultivated largely by reliance on rainfall, supplemented by irrigation from tanks and wells, and, especially in the Indus basin, by canals. Shāh Djahān built two notable canals, the West Djamunā Canal (*Nahr-i Fayḍ*) and the Ravi canal, designed to provide irrigation as well as bring water to the cities of Dihlī and Lahore. The implements of agriculture, including means of waterlift, were about the same in 1600 as 1900, the change being seen mostly in the substitution of the metallic "Persian wheel" for the wood-and-clay-pot geared waterwheel, and the metallic cane crushers for the mortar-and-pestle and wooden-rollers mills.

As in other sub-tropical lands, a very large number of crops could be raised here. The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* lists 19 crops assessed for revenue in the spring harvest and as many as 25 in the autumn in the province of Āgrā. Among the new crops that were introduced in India under the Mughals were tobacco and maize. Chilli

followed a little later. Sericulture had been practised in Bengal earlier, but now it underwent considerable expansion as Bengal silk appeared on the world market. Indigo had a similarly prosperous phase, though owing to competition from chemical substitutes, the plant is no longer grown commercially.

Horticulture was widely pursued, new grafting techniques leading to improved varieties of oranges and mangoes. Pineapples were introduced by the Portuguese.

The village community. Agriculture was largely a peasant enterprise, certain castes being exclusively peasant ones. But artisans and rural labourers also undertook petty cultivation as supplementary occupations. The caste system, by excluding the "untouchables" from the ranks of land-holders proper, provided a large reserve of labour for agricultural operations in return for artificially-depressed wages. The dominant peasants, appearing in the shape of headmen or "councillors" (*panč*), often disposed of the waste lands, collected taxes on behalf of the state and operated a village fund. Some of the headmen could become rich enough to move into the class of *zamīndārs*.

(b) *Industry*

Minerals. Mug̲h̲al India produced considerable quantities of good iron, though copper production in Rād̲j̲asthān seems to have been on the decline. As for precious stones, the South Indian diamond mines (in Golkondā and Bīd̲j̲āpūr) were celebrated throughout the world. Salt was mined in the Salt Range of Western Pand̲j̲āb. Gold, silver and tin mines were no longer worked, and these metals had to be imported.

Crafts. Textile production was perhaps the largest sector, in terms of employment, after agriculture. A large variety of cotton cloth, muslin, calico, long cloth, chintz, etc., was produced and found markets the world over. Gud̲j̲arāt specialised in the interweaving of cotton, silk, and silver and gold wire, and was the home of the ingenious patola device (warp and weft pre-dyed). India also produced good steel, leather, and lacquerware. With the introduction of artillery, guns and muskets began to be made [see BĀRŪD. vi. India], but the lack of ability to cast iron hampered manufacture of iron goods.

Production organisation. The rural artisan was often tied to his village by the hereditary allotment of land for subsistence in lieu of which and of some petty shares in the villagers' crop, he had to render certain customary services to the villagers. Thus villages had their own hereditary carpenters and blacksmiths, barbers, leather workers, etc. But there were a large number of independent artisans who worked on orders of individuals or put their products directly on the market. Once they came into contact with merchants, they began to receive from them advances to cover costs of raw materials in return for their pledging to meet their orders on time and at predetermined prices. This led to a kind of putting-out system where the material for work being expensive, the merchant provided it himself (e.g. silk). Finally, the artisan became a wage-worker in the workshops (*kārk̲h̲ānas*) of merchants and nobles, where he worked for wages, provided by the master with the material to be worked on (gold, jewellery, silk, etc.). The typical Indian artisan, however, seems to have worked at home, often heavily burdened with advances from the merchant-usurer.

(c) *The fiscal system*

The taxation system was a very important component of the economy, since it was the large land-tax, generating "induced trade" in the countryside, and the expenditure of the tax-money, from the establishments of the Emperor and the nobility, which maintained directly or indirectly a very large part of the urban population. Though the rate of the land-tax, as portion of actual produce, varied according to crop, kind of land, category of revenue-payer and locality, the tax nevertheless comprised such a large part of the surplus that it could be legitimately confused with rent. This was not only what François Bernier thought, holding the King to be the proprietor of the soil, but the Indian jurist Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Aʿlāʾ also held this too, deeming the land-tax to be *ud̲j̲ra* (rent) and not *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*. In the 11th/16th century documents, half the produce is held to be a fair amount of tax [see further, ḌARĪBA. 6 (b) and (c); K̲H̲ARĀD̲J̲. IV].

The state also levied taxes on crafts, goods in transit, exports and imports, all grouped under the term *sāʾir*. It is difficult to estimate the full magnitude of such taxes, the burden of which, of course, fell on the consumer. These do not seem, however, to have been excessively heavy. The custom duties, for example, did not exceed 5% *ad valorem*.

A feature of the Mug̲h̲al system was the combination of tax-collection with salary payment; taxation rights in particular areas (*d̲j̲āgīrs*) were assigned to nobles (*d̲j̲āgīrdārs*) who could collect the amounts due to them by this means, it being so arranged that the *d̲j̲amʿ* (or estimated net revenue) of the area placed in their *d̲j̲āgīr* was equal to their pay-claim (*ṭalab*). This necessitated constant transfer of these assignments, as the nobles were posted to other places, or an increase or decrease in their pay required alteration in the size of their *d̲j̲āgīrs* [see further, D̲J̲ĀGĪR and section 3 above].

The pattern of expenditure of the tax-resources contributed much to the shaping of the urban economy. A very large part of the tax-income passed into the hands of the high nobility: the top 25 princes and nobles in 1595 obtained over 30% of the estimated tax-income. They maintained an exceptionally large "service" sector (harem, attendants, musicians, dancers, etc.), and spent heavily on luxuries (jewellery, fine clothes, gold and silver articles, animals, etc.), thus creating on the one hand, a mass of unproductive servant population and, on the other giving employment to craftsmen and professionals, concerned with luxury articles and court culture only. A very large part of the tax-income, about half, went into maintaining the army, which meant an enormous expenditure on horses (largely imported) and their maintenance; here again the mode of life of a cavalry trooper supported a large service sector.

Towns grew to provide subsistence goods as well as craft-goods to this tax-generated market. Since productivity was so low, I. Habib has argued that a very large urban population became necessary to provide for the needs of the population directly maintained by tax-expenditure. Foreign travellers of the period certainly found many Indian towns to be very large, Āgra [*q.v.*] in the 11th/17th century well exceeding half-a-million in population.

Only a small part of the tax collected in the villages seems to have been spent in the countryside. This was almost certainly the case with what the *zamīndārs* collected. These hereditary rural right-holders obtained a part of the revenue collected (10% in most parts of Northern India) for their assistance in collecting revenue, and also had rights to levy their own imposts, which brought them an income, officially computed as equal to 10% of the land tax in Northern

India and 25% in Gudjarāt. They also had further fiscal claims of a lesser magnitude as local hereditary officials (*čhawdhurīs*, *desāīs*, *deshmukhs*, etc.). The *zamīndārs* thus provided a semi-aristocratic rural market for certain crafts; but how far they depended on towns is not entirely clear.

(d) *Internal commerce*

Monetary system. Taking over from Shēr Shāh Lōdī (947-52/1540-45), the Mughals maintained a trimetallic system of great uniformity and purity. The silver rupee gradually replaced the copper *tanka* as the major money unit for larger transactions, and in the 11th/17th century, there was a great contraction in Mughal copper coinage. The gold mohur [*q.v.*] remained in use mainly for hoarding purposes. The influx of silver into India in the 10th/16th century did not cause a large rise in prices owing to the absorption of silver-money as substitute for copper; but in the next century a moderate inflation seems to have taken place [see further, below, section 11].

Credit. The use of bills (*hundīs*) in the Mughal Empire was so extensive that bill-money must be deemed to have substantially supplemented coined money in the major markets. The *hundīs* could also be insured. The *ṣarrāfs* or bankers, who specialised in discounting bills, also accepted deposits, so that a rudimentary system of deposit-banking existed, with even credit-money being created by allowing payments through bankers on bankers' books. The interest rates were higher in India than in Western Europe, and lower in Gudjarāt and Northern India than in Bengal and the Deccan. But they distinctly fell about the middle of the 11th/17th century, varying in commercial transactions in Gudjarāt between 0.5 and 0.75% a month. Annual interest rates were not quoted.

Commercial organisation. It has become common to assume, after van Leur and Steensgaard, that the basic unit of Indian and Asian commerce was "the pedlar", or the merchant with small capital, who made the volume of trade large in the aggregate only because his class was so numerous. There have been doubts raised on this (T. Raychaudhuri, I. Habib), since merchants (*sahūs*) of large capital, with numerous factors (*byupārīs*, *gumāshtas*) are so frequently encountered. "Avog", a kind of bottomry or respondentia arrangement, also enabled the use of large capital resources by shipowners and other merchants.

Brokers were a universal element in Indian commercial organisation (South India being an exception); they provided supplies as well as credit, in which case they sometimes acted as bankers. All merchants normally dealt through brokers, for convenience and possibly as a kind of protection against fraud. Insurance (*bīma*) itself was fairly well developed. Bills could be insured against non-payment, and merchandise against loss. The *adaviyas* even insured merchandise against transit taxes, for payment of which they made themselves responsible. "Avog" arrangements appear to have led to a species of marine insurance, which even the English East India Company [see below, section 5] freely made use of.

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(Shireen Moosvi)

5. Commerce and European trade connections with Mughal India.

In the regions of the Mughal empire which were at peace, commerce was active, and, for the period, highly organised. Funds were ordinarily transmitted by bills of exchange, which could be negotiated in all the principal towns, and in some centres outside the empire. Merchants were, however, disinclined to carry large stocks of commodities, and preferred to utilise their funds in money-lending; the rate of interest in commercial transactions was commonly about 10 or 12 per cent, but the charge was much higher when the element of risk was great.

External land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kābul and Ḳandahār, though there was some small traffic with Tibet. By sea, Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] had old-established connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, with East Africa, and with Sumatra, Malacca and further East; on a much smaller scale, Sind had relations with Persia; while Bengal dealt chiefly with the south of India and with Burma and Siam.

During the 16th century, all the sea routes connecting India with the rest of the world were dominated by the Portuguese, who had in 1510 conquered Goa from the ʿĀdilshāhīs [*q.v.*], and subsequently took over Diu [*q.v.*] and Damão in the Kathiawar peninsula in 1535 and 1558 respectively [see HIND. iv. History, at III, 422a], and for the remainder of the century it was the Portuguese who controlled European commerce with the Mughal lands. They were concerned rather to exploit than develop; the chief extension of trade due to their efforts was the supply of cloth to Brazil and West Africa, but most of this was drawn from the Coromandel coast, which was outside the Mughal empire until almost the end of the 17th century.

But the Portuguese monopoly was challenged when the English East India Company, following on the success of the English Levant Company's trade with the Eastern Mediterranean lands of Islam, was incor-

porated by royal charter in 1600. A "factory" or trading agency was established in Sūrat [*q.v.*] against strenuous Portuguese opposition, and its position secured by a grant from the Emperor Djahāngīr in 1618. Sūrat was replaced by Bombay [*q.v.*] as the Company's principal settlement on the west coast of India, being acquired from the Portuguese in 1661 as part of the dowry brought by Charles II's wife Catherine of Braganza; the fortunes of the Company were to be exactly coeval with the Mughal dynasty, for in 1858, after the Indian Mutiny, the Company lost its charter and was legally dissolved.

Various separate Dutch companies began trading with India and the Far East, but a merger in 1602 led to the formation of the powerful United East India Company, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Campagnie (VOC), which also had a factory at Sūrat from 1617. In the course of the first two-thirds of the 17th century the Dutch dealt severe blows at the Portuguese Estado da India, blockading Goa by sea and capturing Colombo in Ceylon and Cochin in mainland India in 1656 and 1663 respectively. During the 18th century, however, the Dutch were gradually excluded from India by the British and concentrated their efforts on the East Indies and the Far East; the VOC itself was dissolved in 1800 and its functions transferred to the Dutch state, the Batavian Republic as it then was.

A French East India Company, the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, was first founded by Colbert in 1664 and the factory at Pondicherry opened in 1674, but its operations were on a smaller scale than those of the British and Dutch until it was re-organised in 1721 and 1725, and henceforth it was well-capitalised and strongly supported by the state. Until the Treaty of Paris of 1763 confined French trade to the five ports in southern and eastern India, the two Companies and the state apparatuses behind them were to be rivals for political control, and the involvement of the two powers in local dynastic conflicts was to be a factor in the loosening of Mughal control over the provinces and the final enfeeblement of the Empire during the 18th century. Smaller trading companies were also founded by e.g. Denmark and Sweden and from Ostend, with a Danish factory at Tranquebar on the south-east coast since 1620.

The acquisition of trading rights by the English and Dutch in western India in the early 17th century owed much to the Mughal authorities' strained relations with the Portuguese at this time. Frome Sūrat the two companies speedily expanded their trade inland to the commercial centres of textile weaving, not only at places near the coast like Broach [see BHAROČ] and Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] in Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] but also to more distant places like the great emporia and imperial capitals of Burhānpur, Āgrā and Dihlī [*q.vv.*], and thence eastwards to Bihār, Orissa and Bengal. Factories were established by the English, Dutch and then French on the Hūglī (Hooghly) river in Bengal from the 1630s onwards, lured by the agricultural richness of eastern India, its textiles, indigo, etc., and likewise on the south-eastern Coromandel coast, including at Madras [*q.v.*], by the English, Dutch, French and Danish. Trade developed in silk, saltpetre, fine calico and muslin. Towards the close of the century a change of fashions in Europe produced a great demand for muslin and prints, which was met partly by Bengal, and partly by Madras, by this time technically within the limits of the empire.

The outstanding feature of all trade with India was the need for importing gold and silver. India bought little beyond the industrial metals and luxury goods, but was eager to sell produce for cash; and, since Western Europe could not supply what was most in demand, the operations of the trading Companies were necessarily so organised as to direct streams of gold and silver to India from those countries which would part with them, notably, at this period, gold from China, and silver, and later gold from Japan. The seaports serving the empire were thus brought into a complex but efficient organisation, which took whatever they had to sell, supplied whatever they wanted to buy, and, so far as was possible, satisfied the demand for gold and silver.

Inland transport was necessarily less efficient. The Indus, the Ganges, the Djumna, and the waterways of Bengal were largely used, but the bulk of the empire depended on what were then called roads, unmetalled tracks, sometimes defined by lines of trees, with halting-places which were generally walled or otherwise defended against robbers, and usually furnished with supplies. Transport was effected by carts and pack-animals, generally oxen but in some places camels. Passengers travelled on horseback, in palanquins, or in carts drawn by fast oxen. There were excellent arrangements for the rapid transit of letters, but these were for official use, and were not ordinarily available for private persons, who hired messengers when required, or in a few cases, clubbed together to send messengers periodically.

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(W.H. Moreland-[C.E. Bosworth])

6. Religious life.

When speaking of Mug͟hal religious life, most scholars, and general readers, will think almost exclusively of Akbar's *dīn-i ilāhī [q.v.]*, that syncretistic religious movement which has been considered by some to be heresy, if not plain apostasy from Islam, while others would rather classify it as a kind of mystical "secret society" comprising a very limited number of court-related élite. Akbar, the prototype of "mystical electicism", who liked to select the very best from all the religious traditions which he had encountered during his famous discussions in the *ʿibādat-k͟hāna* of Fatḥpūr Sikrī, has become, for many, the quintessential Grand Mug͟hal. However, his attempt at a reconciliation of the major trends inside his vast country was only one in the plethora of religious movements during Mug͟hal times.

When settling in the subcontinent, the Mug͟hals found a considerable Mahdawī influence [see mahdawīs]. The Mahdī of D̲j̲awnpūr had died in 911/1505, but his followers became once more powerful during the Sūrī interregnum, and apparently continued to live under the surface, influencing a number of mystically-minded people. On the other hand, Bābur himself brought with him, if not an affiliation with, at least a great respect for, the Naḳs͟hbandī order; he even translated ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's *Risāla-yi Wālidiyya* [see aḥrār in Suppl.]. One century later, it was this very Naḳs͟hbandī order in India that tried to counteract Akbar's lenient religious policy and found its most remarkable representative in Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624 [*q.v.*]).

For Indian Islam has always displayed two faces which one might call, for want of a better term, the India-oriented mystical, inclusive one, and the Mecca-oriented prophetic, exclusive one. These two trends are visible from early times and became once more evident in the conflict of Akbar's ideals and those of the Naḳs͟hbandiyya at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. They are fully developed in the conflict of his great-grandsons Dārā S͟hikōh and Awrangzīb [*q.vv.*] in the second half of the same century.

Akbar, like his father and grandfather, had been a great believer in the Ṣūfīs, particularly the Čis͟htī order [see čis͟htiyya], but his assumption of the role of supreme arbiter in religious affairs, as promulgated in the *maḥḍar*, the so-called "infallibility decree", after his great vision in 988/1579, should perhaps be understood as being influenced by the approaching turn of the millennium: the year 1000 A.H. (corresponding to 1591-2) could be imagined as the beginning of a new, ideal phase in the history of Islamic peoples under a sacred king. But against such mystical claims stands the mission of the *mud̲j̲addid-i alf-i t̲h̲ānī*, The Renovator of the second millennium, Aḥmad Sirhindī, who regarded himself as the *ḳayyūm* upon whose being the world relies. The role assumed by Akbar, and to a lesser extent by his two successors D̲j̲ahāngīr and S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān, is that of the king as the carrier of the *farr-i humāyūn*, the ancient Iranian concept of the *k͟hwārena*, the wholesome luminous power: The ruler, as Akbar's admirers would claim, is the *insān-i kāmil* [see al-insān al-kāmil], the Perfect Man, of whom Ṣūfism had been dreaming for centuries. In the case of D̲j̲ahāngīr and S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān, the emphasis seems to shift slightly toward the king's role as the heir to Solomon, the Ḳurʾānic prophet-king who had power over men, *d̲j̲inns*, and animals (Ebba Koch, in her *S͟hah Jahan and Orpheus*, Vienna 1988, has rediscovered the Solomonic imagery in Mug͟hal palaces). But while the royal mystique was fitted into a more orthodox framework under Akbar's two successors, S͟hāh D̲j̲ahān's heir-apparent Dārā S͟hikōh once more tried to follow his ancestor's attempt to unite the two main religions of India in order to reach the *mad̲j̲maʿ al-baḥrayn* (sūra XVIII, 60), the confluence of the two oceans. That is the title of his book in which he emphasised the essential unity of the great religious traditions by leaning heavily on the concept of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* as it had become the hallmark of the followers of Ibn ʿArabī (active in India since the late 8th/14th century) which seemed to be the Islamic equivalent of the Vedantic concept of *advaita*, non-duality. The tensions between him and his younger brother Awrangzīb that led to his own execution brought about a rule of the Mecca-oriented type of Indian Islam for nearly half a century, much to the chagrin of many Ṣūfīs, S͟hīʿīs and Hindus.

This highlights the fact that another tension that marks the Mug͟hal period is that between Sunnī and S͟hīʿī groups, which became increasingly problematic owing to the constant influx of Persian nobles who took office in the army or at court, particularly after D̲j̲ahāngīr's marriage with the Persian lady Nūrd̲j̲ahān. The struggle against the S͟hīʿa was carried out largely by scholars close to the Naḳs͟hbandī order. That is true also for the 12th/18th century, when the Naḳs͟hbandī-S͟hīʿī conflict found a tragic expression in the case of the staunch Naḳs͟hbandī leader and poet Maẓhar D̲j̲ānd̲j̲ānān, who lost his life when ridiculing a Muḥarram procession. The fact that the Deccan kingdoms were predominantly ruled by S͟hīʿī princes gave the orthodox defender of Mug͟hal Sunnī supremacy in the 11th/17th century an additional reason for caution, if not aversion.

But it was not only the movements on the higher levels of society such as the imperial experiments, or the ardent letters of Aḥmad Sirhindī, who urged the nobles to return to a sober Islam, that mark the religious situation in Mug͟hal India. One may even say that, in the long run, another trend was more important than these theological issues, and that is the development of religious literature in the vernaculars. During early Mug͟hal days, Ḳāḍī Ḳādan, a Mahdawī mystic from Sind (d. 959/1551), wrote what seems to be the first mystical verse in Sindhi, using the indigenous form of the *dōhā* and the imagery of the countryside, thus laying the foundations for a great poetical tradition. (It may be mentioned at random that Ḳāḍī Ḳādan's grandson Miyān Mīr was Dārā S͟hikōh's source of inspiration.) Shortly after Ḳāḍī Ḳādan's death, mystical literature appears in the Northwestern Frontier region, where Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the *pīr-i raws͟han* "luminous Pīr", composed religious instruction in his native Pas͟hto [see raws͟haniyya]. And while Akbar was residing in Lahore, he may have heard of the mystical bard Mādhō Lāl Ḥusayn, who—again for the first time—used his Pand̲j̲ābī

mother tongue to sing of the intoxicating power of love. It is quite possible that Akbar's generalissimo Khān Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [see KHĀN KHĀNĀN] was acquainted with him; he too joined those who wrote mystical verse in the vernacular, in his case, in Hindī.

After Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, India, and especially Dihlī, was reduced to a most deplorable state; and yet the 12th/18th century was a time of amazing religious and literary activities. One has only to think of those Ṣūfīs who wrote in the regional languages; the names of Bullhē Shāh and, somewhat earlier, Sulṭān Bāhū for Pandjābī, of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Bhitāʾī for Sindhī, and of Raḥmān Bābā for Pashto, are proudly mentioned in the countryside, and their works have given people in the rural areas a treasure of wisdom and mystical imagery which has permeated their lives and has inspired the literature in those languages to our day. In the Deccan, Dakhnī Urdu had flourished for a long time, and was then transported to the north where Urdu developed into a rich literature after Awrangzīb's death. Great mystical writers continued to live in Dihlī despite material disasters, and tried to offer the people some consolation with their writings and preaching.

Mīr Dard [*q.v.*] is famous for his tender mystical Urdu verse, but produced also numerous Persian works in which he propagated the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* which his father had founded, a mystical sub-order of the Naḳshbandiyya *mudjaddidiyya*; later, the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* was to turn into a belligerent movement against the Sikhs and the British. Maẓhar represented the stern Naḳshbandī line, while Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*], initiated into various *ṭarīḳas*, including the Naḳshbandiyya, tried for the first time a more modern approach to the problems of his time by analysing the causes of the downfall of Muslim power. By translating the Ḳurʾān into Persian, he sought to help his compatriots to understand its simple meaning without relying on the fossilised commentaries and supercommentaries; and, as "vicegerent of the Prophet in blaming" he chastised the numerous un-Islamic customs, including pilgrimages to certain saints' tombs. All three of the Dihlī mystics expressed equal aversion to popular mysticism and the activities of the "miracle-mongers" who apparently swarmed around in the country.

The position of the Muslims was becoming increasingly difficult during the later Mughal days, partly owing to the divergent trends among themselves. But they had also to deal with the Sikh community, which had developed from a mystically-minded fraternity in the Pandjāb into a militant power, since Djahāngīr and later Awrangzīb very unwisely had given up Akbar's tolerant attitude towards them. Under political pressure, the Sikh power had grown to become a deadly enemy of the later Mughals; its soldiers wrested most of the Pandjāb from them. But perhaps the most tragic part of later Mughal times is that the worst pillages were inflicted upon the inhabitants of northwestern India, not by the Djāts, Sikhs, or even Mahrāttas, but by their Muslim coreligionists: first the Persians under Nādir Shāh, and then the Afghāns under Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī Abdālī, who had been invited by such religious leaders of Dihlī as Shāh Walī Allāh to rescue the Indian Muslims from their enemies. Another tragic aspect is the widening rift between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, especially after the foundation of the outspokenly Shīʿī province, later kingdom, of Awadh [*q.v.*]. The pocket of Sunnī Rohillas, who had been intensely involved in Dihlī politics, was crushed by the Shīʿī Nawwāb of Awadh, who played into the hands of the British. The increasing British influence on Indian life was to change the political and economical status of the Muslims for the worse by introducing legal and fiscal measures that led to the impoverishment of large groups of Muslims, as well as to a decrease in Muslim education. Lucknow continued to develop a Shīʿī subculture of its own, and it seems that the ideals of the Naḳshbandiyya and the *ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya* survived in some of the leading figures in Dihlī during the last decades of Mughal rule.

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(ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL)

7. Architecture.

Various aspects of Mughal architecture have been treated under HIND. vii. Architecture. The Mughal schools; and DIHLĪ. For typologies of buildings see BURDJ. iii, 4; BŪSTĀN. ii; MAḤALL. vi; MAḲBARA. 5. India; MANĀRA, 2. India; MASDJID. H. The architecture of the mosque. II. In Muslim India. This section gives an overview of the stylistic development and of architectural types. Names and monuments between quotation marks are that of local usage not supported by historical evidence. The use of Persian terms follows the practice of the Mughal sources. Abbreviated references inserted in the text are quoted in full in the *Bibliography* at the end of the article.

Muslim architecture owes to the patronage of the Mughals one of its most creative and richest periods. As recent research has begun to show, no other period of Muslim architecture before the Mughals has left us such a wealth of secular and religious buildings. The Mughals were highly aware of the potential of architecture as a means of self-representation as well as an instrument of royalty (Ḳandahārī, 144 f., 147, Eng. tr. Brand and Lowry, 1985, 290-1, 294; Kanbō, iii, 1972, 18; Eng. tr. of the latter, Koch, 1982b, 259). Consequently, at least up to Awrangzīb's reign, the formative phases of Mughal architecture were determined not by individual architects but by the committed patronage and informed judgment of each emperor. Mughal architecture created a supremely confident style by synthesising the most heterogenous elements: Central Asian, Tīmūrid, Indian, Persian and European. The supra-regional character of

Mughal architecture sets it apart from the earlier Muslim architecture of India and gives it a universal appeal.

Since the Mughals were direct heirs to the Tīmūrids, the sustaining element of their architecture, especially in the initial phase, was Tīmūrid (in the older literature often taken to be "Persian"). A fact that is not generally recognised is that essential ideas of Tīmūrid architecture, such as symmetry of plans reflected in the elevations, as well as complex vaulting, came to fruition much more in Mughal architecture than in Ṣafawid Persia, which was also heir to the same tradition.

Bābur (932-7/1526-30).

The initial phase under Bābur is difficult to evaluate because of the discrepancy between his own writing about architecture, which sets high Tīmūrid standards (*Bābur-nāma*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1921), and the few buildings that have survived. Although he is celebrated as a founder of gardens, it is his mosques in Sambhal (933/1526), Ayodhya and Pānīpat (both 935/1528-9) that remain from his brief reign. Of Bābur's gardens in India, the rock cut Bāgh-i Nīlūfar at Dhōlpūr is preserved to some extent (933-5/1527-9). Only fragments remain of his famous Čahār Bāgh (Čār Bāgh) or Bāgh-i Hasht Bihisht at Āgra. According to an 18th-century plan of Āgra in the Djaypur Palace Museum, the garden was situated on the other side of the Yamunā or Jumna almost opposite to the later Tādj Maḥall. According to Zayn Khān (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Bāburī*, Eng. tr. S.H. Askari, Delhi 1982, 160 f.), Bābur's nobles followed his example by building gardens "on the models of Khurāsānī edifices". Other amenities of Central Asian life style, such as "four royal hot-baths", were constructed "in the cities of Hindūstān" to content the "Khurāsānīs and Samarḳandīs" who had come with Bābur to India (*ibid.*).

Humāyūn (937-50/1530-43, 962-3/1555-6).

A heterogenous picture of Mughal architecture prevails during the next period, that is, up to the middle of the 16th century, the two phases of Humāyūn's reign. The Tīmūrid strand is represented by almost pure imports such as the mosque at Kačpura, Āgra (937/1530-1), which shares its main features with the 16th-century Namāzgāh at Ḳarshī [*q.v.*] to the south-west of Samarḳand. Two anonymous tombs at Dihlī, the "Sabz Burdj" and the "Nīlā Gumbad", introduce on North Indian soil a late-Tīmūrid formula for octagonal tombs [see MUTHAMMAN]. The common features of the two buildings are their elegant proportions (more pronounced in the "Sabz Burdj", Pl. XXI, 1, which reflect late-Tīmūrid ideals with its elongated *pīshṭāḳs* (sc. portals in the form of a monumental arched niche in a rectangular frame), and a slightly bulbuous dome set on a high cylindrical drum housing an inner lower dome), their four-centred arches, their outer facing with tile work arranged in geometrical patterns and the painted plaster decoration and arch-netting of their vaults. The ground plan of this tomb type is in the form of an irregular octagon. The Tīmūrid element was soon to merge with local building traditions, in particular with regard to the facing of buildings and architectural decoration. The main source of inspiration was here the revival of the ornamental sandstone style of the early Dihlī sultanate. It had gone out of fashion during the 14th and 15th centuries in Dihlī, but continued uninterrupted in provincial centres (Bayāna, Kanawdj) leaving an architectural deposit from which early Mughal and Sūrī architectures could draw their inspiration (Koch, *Arch. forms*, 135 f.). Characteristic of this style is, *inter alia*, a highly ornate revetment of buildings with red or buff sandstone. Typical examples are the buildings of the Purānā Ḳilʿa at Dihlī (the palace citadel founded in 939/1533 as Dīnpanāh by Humāyūn and altered consequently by Shēr Shāh Sūrī and probably also by Akbar), particularly the mosque in it, which, on the basis of literary evidence, must be attributed to Shēr Shāh Sūrī (early 1540s). The only surviving palace building in the citadel, the two-storeyed octagonal "Shēr Manḍal", represents a Tīmūrid-Ṣafawid pavilion type with a painted cruciform interior and arch-netted vaults (for a plan, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 237). None of Humāyūn's own palace buildings described by Khʷāndamīr (cf. MAḤALL] seems to have survived. The first preserved Mughal residential building that can be dated is the recently-identified pavilion of Muḥammad, Humāyūn's *bakhshī* (Pl. XXIII). It was built in 940/1533-4 near the tomb of Shaykh Bahlūl in the fort of Vidjayamandirgaṛh, Bayāna (Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ii, 63; cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, *New light on the history of two early Mughal monuments of Bayana*, in *Muqarnas*, vi). The small two-storeyed stepped pavilion of red sandstone is a key building of Mughal palace architecture because it contains *in nuce* two constituent elements: that of flat-roofed post and beam construction and, in its main floor, the configuration of a closed central block with an ambulatory verandah.

Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605).

General considerations. After these architectural preludes, Mughal architecture attains its distinctive character during the reign of Akbar, whose syncretistic genius had its impact not only on the political affairs of the Mughal empire but also on the development of the arts. Military conquests were reflected in architecture, a process helped by an influx of craftsmen from the new provinces to the Mughal court. Akbar's architectural activity surpassed even that of the Tughluḳs, who had already shown a mania for building. Akbarī architecture developed into a supra-regional dramatic synthesis characterised by a most sweeping extraction of features from earlier Indian, Central Asian, Tīmūrid and Persian styles. Stylistic clashes resulting from the amalgamation of such heterogenous elements were absorbed by the favourite building material, red sandstone, whose unifying hue carried an additional attraction in being the colour reserved for imperial tents.

In the uninhibited interaction of styles, however, a certain predilection prevails for particular types of buildings. The Tīmūrid influence makes itself most felt in vaulted masonry architecture employed for mausolea, individual palace buildings (pleasure kiosks), gate houses (serving often residential purposes), *ḥammāms*, *kārwānsarāʾīs* and smaller mosques. To this category belongs the first major building enterprise of Akbar's period, the tomb of his father Humāyūn, the first of the grand dynastic mausolea which were to become synonymous with Mughal architecture (Pl. XXII). Here Mughal architecture reaches for the first time the monumental scale which was to be characteristic of imperial projects. The tomb is situated in the centre of the first preserved Mughal garden of a four-fold *čār bāgh* pattern (for a sketch plan, see DIHLĪ, Fig. 6). The intricate ground plan of the main body of the mausoleum, which stands on a large podium housing some 124 vaulted chambers, elaborates on the nine-fold plan or *hasht bihisht*, derived from its late- (or post-) Tīmūrid versions. The complete nine-fold plan consists of a square or rectangle (sometimes with cor-

ners fortified by towers, but more often chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon—the Mughal *muthamman baghdādī*) divided by four construction lines crossing each other into nine parts: a central domed chamber, rectangular open halls in the middle of the sides—either in the form of a *pīshṭāḳ* or a flat-roofed verandah supported by pillars (the Mughal "*īwān*")—and double-storeyed vaulted corner rooms (blocks) reflected on the façade by superimposed vaulted niches.

The plan of Humāyūn's tomb is composed of four such nine-fold units which in turn form the corner elements of the main nine-part figure, a designing process apparently inspired by Humāyūn's boat palace (Khʷāndamīr, 52 ff., tr. 37 ff.). In Akbar's period, the ninefold plan became the ground plan *par excellence*, used both in residential and funerary architecture. It was particularly popular for pleasure houses in the context of garden or water architecture ("Todar Mal's Bāradarī", Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 1571-85; the water palace of Shāh Ḳulī Khān at Nārnawl, 999-1001/1590-3, for which see G. Yazdani, *Narnaul and its buildings*, in *JASB*, N.S., iii [1907], 641-3; illus. in Parihar, pl. 48).

The Central-Asian-Tīmūrid influence showed itself most extensively in those building types which were patronised also by the nobility and religious circles, i.e. garden houses and small palaces, secular and religious mausolea, *ḥammāms*, *kārwānsarāʾīs* and smaller mosques. The overall Akbarī synthesis took place in the great imperial projects, the fortress palaces and the large *djāmiʿ* mosques.

Fortress-palaces. Almost coeval with the construction of Humāyūn's tomb was the rebuilding of the old mud brick fortress of the Lōdīs at Āgra [*q.v.*] by Ḳāsim Khān (972-980s/1564-1570s). The fortification follows apparently the irregular outline of its predecessor. The overall symmetrical planning of imperial residences became only binding in Shāh Djahān's reign [see MAḤALL]. The gates and other fortificatory elements of earlier Indo-Muslim architecture [see BURDJ. iii] were brought to an unsurpassed grand scale and aesthetic refinement, not least by the stunning red sandstone veneer (Pl. XXIV, 2). Only a few structures remain in the Āgra Fort of "the 500 buildings in the wonderful designs of Bengal and Gudjarāt" of which Abu 'l-Faḍl speaks (cf. Nūr Bakhsh, *The Agra Fort and its buildings*, in *ASI, AR* [1903-4]). They seem to have been arranged in a bandlike succession of courtyards along the river front, a scheme which was preserved in Shāh Djahān's thorough reconstruction (pl. XXVIII, 1).

The rebuilding of the fort of Āgra was followed by the construction of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 1571-85; new plans in Petruccioli, 1988) [see also HIND and MAḤALL], Akbar's architectural response to the absorption of Gudjarāt into the Mughal empire. The imperial complex is arranged in echelon formation on the east-west axis. Its irregular layout seems to reflect traditions of Rādjpūt residences. Along this axis, three main functional areas can be identified—the courtyard of public audiences, the semi-official area between the "Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ" and the "Khʷābgāh", and the *zanāna* with "Djodh Baʾī's palace" in its centre. The architectural synthesis draws here from its diverse sources (Gudjarāt and the greater Gudjarāt-Mālwā-Rādjasthān tradition, the ornamental style of the Dihlī sultanate, Central Asia) what was most suitable for a monumental building programme in sandstone whose affinity with wood favoured the integration of forms derived from timber architecture. Dominant is the influence of Gudjarātī sultanate architecture, which provided in itself a model for a successful synthesis of pre-Islamic Hindū and Djayn building traditions (Koch, 1988a; eadem, *Arch. forms*).

The time of the construction of Āgra and Fatḥpūr Sīkrī coincides with the foundation of Akbar's fortress-palaces at Djawnpur (973/1566), Lāhawr, Adjmēr, Allāhābād and Atak Banāras on the Indus [*q.vv.*] (989/1581). According to Ḳandahārī (42), the city (*shahr*) of Lāhawr (which must have included the fort) was completed before 1580. The reconstruction of the Lāhawr Fort by Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān left very little of Akbar's structures [see LĀHAWR]. The fortified quadrangle of Akbar's palace at Adjmēr (978/1570) [see MAḤALL] stands out for the symmetry of its plan (O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, pl. 26); within Akbarī fortress-palaces it represents a reserve of *zanāna* courtyard buildings. Its wings made by rows of vaulted chambers enclose a pavilion on a rectangular ninefold plan with pillared verandahs (Pl. XXIV, 1) anticipating the later Ṣafawid Hasht Bihisht at Iṣfahān. The *zanāna* enclosure (now walled in by later military structures) in the fort of Allāhābād (991/1583) is modelled on the same pattern. Its central pavilion, the "Rānī kī Maḥall" (according to Abu 'l-Faḍl Akbar's *khilwatgāh-i khāṣṣ*, private retiring room), enriches the imperial pavilion type of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī by the superb pillaring of the surrounding verandah (Pl. XXV), and by the exchange of the inner rectangular hall for a block on nine-fold plan (Koch, *Architectural forms*).

Mosques. The mosques of Akbar's period show the same variety of styles [see also MASDJID. H. II. B. The monuments. Mughal empire]. The earliest phase continues local traditions while merging them with Tīmūrid ideas, such as the Khayr al-Manāzil at Dihlī [*q.v.*], one of the first mosques of the reign, built by Akbar's wet-nurse Māham Anga opposite the Purānā Ḳilʿa in 969/1561-2.

The one-aisled three-bayed mosque of the Dihlī Sultanate is adapted by the Mughals and continues to be used as "quarter mosque" (mosque of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Nabī, 983/1575-6, combined with a courtyard, see *ASI*, Memoir ix [1921]) or as funerary mosque in tomb complexes ("Afsarwālā" Mosque, 1560-7, Pl. XXI, 2; Naqvi, 16; for examples at Lāhawr see Chaghatai, 1976). One of the first mosques commissioned by Akbar is entirely in the Tīmūrid idiom. It is in the *dargāh* of Shaykh Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjmēr (*ca.* 1570; Pl. XX, 1; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. tr., ii, 511; see also Sarda, 87). It combines the prayer hall of the Humāyūni Kačpura Mosque (with a towering *pīshṭāḳ* preceding a high, narrow, domed *miḥrāb* chamber) with a court formed by arcades of dome-covered bays corresponding in height and shape to the low aisles of the prayer hall. The original architectural decoration is obscured by a heavy layer of whitewash.

Akbar's Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (*ca.* 976-81/1568-74) is the first of the giant courtyard "mosques now typical of Mughal cities" (Pl. XX, 2). Like the imperial residences, this imperial *djāmiʿ* was the place for a great Akbarī synthesis. The scheme of a great courtyard mosque with pillared *īwān* and *riwāḳ* reflects in a general way the Arab archetype. Its immediate source is Indian Sultanate architecture (for plans, see Petruccioli, 1988, figs. 258 A, D, E).

Public and utilitarian buildings include *kārwānsarāʾīs*, wells, bridges, *ḥammāms*, bazaars and stables. A masterpiece of Mughal engineering is Munʿim Khān's bridge at Djawnpur [*q.v.*] (976/1569). From the early 1570s particular emphasis

is given to public works along the highways, such as wells, reservoirs, and *kārwānsarāʾīs*, a programme based on the "spade work" of Sh̲er Sh̲āh Sūrī. The imperial pilgrimage road from Āgra to Ad̲j̲mēr is lined at regular intervals with stations for imperial use (W. Finch, in *Early travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. W. Foster, London 1921, 148 f.), wells and small *mīnārs* functioning not only as milestones but also as hunting memorials of the emperor since they are studded with horns of his game. They represent a smaller form of Akbarī hunting towers which were set up in imitation of Iranian models, i.e. the "Hiran Mīnār" at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, the "Čor Mīnār" at Dihlī or the Nīm Sarāʾī Mīnār, Bengal (see A. Rabbānī, *"Haran Munāra" at Sheikh̲ūpura (Punjāb) and some problems connected with it*, in *Armug̲h̲ān-i ʿilmī: Prof. Md. Shafīʿ presentation volume*, ed. S.M. Abdullah, Lahore 1955, 181-99). The typical plan of the Mug̲h̲al *kārwānsarāʾī* (usually termed *sarāʾī*) which emerges at this time (Sarāʾī Čhāttā, Sarāʾī Čhaparghat) has not varied much in later periods (pioneering study of I.A. Khan forthcoming in *Indian Historical Review*). The plan is uniform in principle. It consists of a square or rectangular compound made of wings of unconnected tiny closet-like rooms (*ḥud̲j̲ra*) with a narrow porch (the Mug̲h̲al "*īwān*"), a scheme which was also used in the *riwāḳ* of mosques functioning as *madrasas* (K̲h̲ayr al-Manāzil at Dihlī, D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī). In the centre of those wings which are not pierced by gates is a block of larger rooms for the use of higher-ranked persons. The corners are fortified with towers which may contain larger apartments, *ḥammāms*, or store houses.

The *ḥammāms* of the period are best represented by those of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (see above); they constitute what is probably the largest surviving concentration of *ḥammāms* dating from a single period and in a single place in all of Islamic architecture (for plans, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 131).

The bazaars consist of open streets lined by wings made of the same elements as the *kārwānsarāʾīs*, namely *ḥud̲j̲ras* and "*īwāns*"; their centre may be taken by a crossing with four gates called *čār sū* (Āgra Fort, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī). Monserrate reports a bazaar in the citadel of Lāhawr with a high-pitched timber roof (*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*, in *ASB Memoirs*, iii/9 [1914], 622).

D̲j̲ahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27).

General considerations. After the phase of architectural syncretism under Akbar, there follows with D̲j̲ahāngīr's reign a period of transition and experimentation which has as yet not received due acknowledgement. Selected ideas of the previous periods were now partly developed into formal extravaganzas of no future, partly brought to very influential solutions. Typical of the period are highly decorated surfaces of buildings (exterior and interior); the walls are often deeply paneled by a framework of bands. Architectural decoration is characterised by a plethora of materials: the familiar sandstone carving (which attains a new refinement), white marble, stone intarsia, painted stucco and tile work. The favourite motif, regardless of the technique, is the *čīnī k̲h̲āna* ("china room"). Figurative representations are also popular, in particular wall paintings "drawne from Europe prints (of which they make accompt heere)," (P. Mundy, *Travels*, ii, ed. R.C. Temple, London 1914, 215). Vaults show intricate stucco patterns.

Tombs. Several of these features appear already in the first building enterprise of D̲j̲ahāngīr after his accession, the now traditional construction of his father's mausoleum in a classical *čār bāg̲h̲* at Sikandra near Āgra [*q.v.*; see also HIND. vii], (dated 1022/1613; Pl. XXVI, 1). The overall concept of the tomb is at the same time retrospective and unorthodox—a congenial response of sepulchral architecture to the great architectural synthesis of the mosque and palace projects of the deceased. The tomb combines the Tīmūrid-inspired vaulted masonry trend—represented by the podium (housing vaulted bays and a vestibule with painted plaster decoration) and its high *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳs* (decorated with stone intarsia producing the effect of tile work)—with the trabeate indigenous sandstone mode represented by the receding storeys of pillared galleries.

The design of Akbar's mausoleum was without direct follower, though the contemporary tomb of K̲h̲usraw's mother Sh̲āh Bēgam at Allāhābād (died in 1605; see Z.A. Desai, *Inscriptions from the Khusraw Bagh. Allahabad* in *Epigraphia Indica. Arabic and Persian Supplement* [1961], 64-8) bears a clear family relationship: its two solid receding storeys are crowned by an open pillared *čhatrī* (Pl. XXVI, 2). The principle of setting a group of individual super-structures on a massive podium remains a definite trend in D̲j̲ahāngīrī sepulchral architecture, culminating in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla at Āgra [*q.v.*], 1036-7/1626-8.

Of the tomb types inherited from the previous period, the Gud̲j̲arāt-derived tomb type with a central block and a (lower) ambulatory verandah remains in fashion (tomb of Bahāʾ al-Dīn at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 1019/1610-11; the tomb of Mak̲h̲dūm Sh̲āh Dawlat at Manēr, 1025/1616, see Kuraishi, 61-6; tomb of Iftik̲h̲ar K̲h̲ān at Čunār with massive, tunnel vaulted verandahs). The cube-shaped Dihlī type of tomb (which in Akbar's period was taken up for instance by the tomb of Atga K̲h̲ān, 974/1566-7, at Nizamuddin, Dihlī, see Hasan, 31 f.) continues to be used. Important examples are the mausoleum of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān [*q.v.*] at Dihlī (d. 1036/1627) which incorporates a nine-fold plan, and those in the K̲h̲usraw Bāg̲h̲ at Allāhābād: the tomb of Sulṭān Nit̲h̲ār Bēgam, sister of K̲h̲usraw (1034/1624-5) and that of K̲h̲usraw (d. 1031/1622; Pl. XXVI, 2) (see above). A new form is that of a flat-roofed arched hypostyle hall composed of domed bays demarcated by pillars (piers) arranged in a grid pattern (tomb of Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōka (d. 1033/1623-4 [*q.v.*]) at Nizamuddin, Dihlī (see Hasan, 34-5).

Mosques. Related tendencies appear also in the mosque architecture of the period. The "Patthar Masd̲j̲id" at Srīnagar (1620s), sponsored according to tradition by Nūr D̲j̲ahān, has three aisles (parallel to the *ḳibla* wall), each one consisting of nine bays demarcated by cruciform piers and coved ceilings or patterned vaults (for a plan, see Soundara Rajan, 8). Such arched halls foreshadow a definite trend of the mosque and palace architecture of Sh̲āh D̲j̲ahān. The compact masonry mosque of the Dihlī tradition embellished with Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid components is best represented by another mosque of female patronage, that of Maryam al-Zamānī at Lāhawr (1020-3/1611-4) [*q.v.*]. The courtly mosque architecture of D̲j̲ahāngīr's period bears thus the stamp of female patronage; the emperor himself did not sponsor any major mosque constructions.

D̲j̲ahāngīr's own projects were in the domain of palace and garden architecture. Most of these were however either altered or altogether removed by his son and successor Sh̲āh D̲j̲ahān who considered them as "old fashioned and of bad design" (*kuhnagī wa...bad ṭarḥī*, see Lāhawrī, i/2, 5 f, *et passim*). To the latter belong D̲j̲ahāngīr's additions to the palace of Āgra. The best picture of D̲j̲ahāngīrī palace architec-

ture can be obtained in the fort of Lāhawr [*q.v.*, also for a plan] (Pl. XXVII, 2) which Djahāngīr began to reconstruct after his accession. The final touch was given to the buildings between 1617 and 1620 by Djahāngīr's architect ʿAbd al-Karīm Maʿmūr Khān. He had recommended himself for this task by his successful adaptation of the palaces of the Mālwā sultans at Māṅdū [*q.v.*] for the stay of the court in 1617 (*Tūzuk*, i, 368, 375 f.).

Beside these additions to the palaces in the Mughal metropolises, Djahāngīr also constructed several country houses and hunting lodges. These include Shaykhūpūra near Lāhawr, a classical octagonal waterpavilion of the design of the "Shēr Maṅdal" in a tank (1015-30/1607-20; Pl. XXVII, 1; see A.N. Khan, *The Hiran minar and baradari Shaikhupura: a hunting resort of the Mughal emperors*, Lahore 1980), as well as the Čashma-yi Nūr near Adjmēr, completed in 1024/1615 (Sarda, 104-7).

Gardens. The emperor's main interest was here directed to the development of Kashmīr as a summer residence of the court. One of his first projects after his accession was the foundation of a garden around the springing of the Bhat (Djehlam) at Vērnāg. His visit in 1620 brought about a whole wave of garden constructions, among them the Nūr Afzā in the Fort of Harī Parbat, Ačabal (altered by Djahānārā between 1634 and 1640) and the lower garden, the Faraḥ Bakhsh of the famous Shālimār. The construction of the latter was put in the hands of Prince Khurram, the later Shāh Djahān (*Tūzuk*, ii, 142, 150-1, 173-4). The central feature of the Mughal garden at Kashmīr is a spring collected in a canal which forms the main axis of the garden. The layout takes advantage of the sloping hillside site for terraces, ponds, branch canals, and pavilions, sited along the water way [see also BŪSTĀN. ii].

The development of Āgra as a city of river-side gardens seems to have been given special attention in this period. Of some 33 gardens which Pelsaert lists with their names in 1626 (*Jahangir's India*, tr. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, 1925, repr. Delhi 1972, 2 ff.), about one-third was newly founded or rebuilt during Djahāngīr's time. This concerns particularly the river bank north of Iʿtimād al-Dawla's tomb, which includes the best preserved garden, not only of Āgra but of Djahāngīr's period altogether. It is the "Rām Bāgh", recently re-identified as Nūr Djahān's Bāgh-i Nūr Afshān, completed in 1621 (Pl. XXIX, 1; see Koch, 1986a).

The public works of Djahāngīr's period include the planting of trees along the highways from Āgra to Atak and from Āgra to Bengal, and the setting of *kōs* [see MISĀḤA. 2. India], *mīnārs* and wells along the road from Āgra to Lāhawr (*Tūzuk*, ii, 100). In 1620 Djahāngīr ordered the construction of small stations (*ladhīs*) along the route over the Pīr Pandjāl pass into Kashmīr (*Tūzuk*, ii, 178). A number of *kārwānsarāʾīs* were built during his reign. Nūr Djahān's *sarāʾī*, Nūr Maḥall in the Pandjāb (1620), has an entrance gate faced with sandstone, carved—true to the fashion of the period—with animal and human figures similar to those appearing in tile work on the outer wall of the Lāhawr Fort (Pl. XXVIII, 2). The architectural patronage of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān includes a still-existing *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*] system at Burhānpūr to bring water from the foothills of the Satpura Range to his now lost garden Laʿl Bāgh (Naik, 216-19).

Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58).

General considerations. Under Shāh Djahān, Mughal architecture reaches a new aesthetic and its classical phase. The architectural ideals of the period were symmetry as well as uniformity of shapes governed by hierarchical accents. The symmetrical planning of individual buildings and architectural complexes became even more binding than in previous periods. Bilateral symmetry was now given preference over centralised schemes, and uniformity was achieved by the reduction of the architectural vocabulary to a few forms (Pl. XXIX, 2). White marble or *čuna* (fine, highly-polished stucco) now replaced red sandstone as the preferred facing for buildings.

The planning of architectural projects was done by the collective effort of a court bureau of architects who worked under close supervision of the emperor, who already as Prince Khurram had shown himself "excessively fond of founding buildings and laying out gardens" (Kanbō, i, 108).

Tombs. Following the usual custom, Shāh Djahān, after his accession, built the tomb of his father at Lāhawr [*q.v.*] in one of the gardens on the opposite side of the Rāwī (1628-38; Pl. XXX, 2). The classical *čār bāgh* layout was combined with a *čawk-i djilaw-khāna* (forecourt) containing also a mosque. The peculiar shape of the mausoleum was dictated by Djahāngīr's wish to be buried under the open sky like his ancestor Bābur; consequently, his tombstone (*marḳad*) was set on a platform (*čabūtra*) which in turn was placed on a monumental podium (*takhtgāh*) with corner minarets (Kanbō, i, 11-12). The sepulchral architecture of Shāh Djahān and, indeed, of the Mughals, culminates in the famous mausoleum of Shāh Djahān's favourite wife Ardjumand Bānū Bēgam at Āgra [*q.v.*] (1041-52/1631-43; Pl. XXX, 1). The tomb derived its name from her title Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*] distorted by popular etymology to Tādj Maḥall. Comparable to some extent to Ottoman schemes, the tomb garden makes part of a larger complex; it is preceded on its southern side by a *djilaw-khāna* framed on both sides by courtyards for the attendants of the tomb (*khawāṣṣpūras*) and subsidiary tomb enclosures. Further south there followed a (not now preserved) complex divided by two bazaar streets crossing each other (*čār sū bāzār*) into four square (*kārwān*) *sarāʾīs* (*Romance of the Taj Mahal*, fig. 41); further south was a courtyard (*čawk*) with another bazaar and two more *sarāʾīs* (Kanbō, ii, 315 ff.). The layout of the tomb garden expands the typical Āgra river-side garden with a raised terrace (on which are placed the main buildings) combined with a lower *čār bāgh* to monumental scale.

Palaces. Another point of effort of Shāh Djahān's architectural patronage was palace and garden architecture. He reconstructed the palace in the fort of Āgra, made changes to the fort of Lāhawr [*q.v.*] (1628-34, and 1645) and built a new fortress-palace in his newly-founded city Shāhdjahānābād at Dihlī. He constructed several pleasure houses such as the pavilions of white marble on the bank of the Anā Sāgar lake at Adjmēr which vary the theme of the hypostyle hall (begun already under Djahāngīr, completed in 1046/1636) [for illus., see MAḤALL]. Shāh Djahān's building programme included also several hunting palaces (e.g. Bārī, 1637; E. Koch, *The hunting palaces of Shah Djahan*, forthcoming).

Fortress-palaces. The Āgra Fort presents us with the first official palace architecture of Shāh Djahān (1628-37; Pl. XXVIII, 1). The nucleus of his reconstruction consists of a complex of three courts: the great courtyard of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm*, its eastern wing forming the western portion of two smaller courts both facing the river Yamunā; the "Angūrī Bāgh" (residential quarters) [for illus., see MAḤALL] and the "Maččhī Bhawan" (treasury and

offices, Pl. XXIX, 2). All three courtyards are organised in a similar way and follow the scheme of the river-side garden of Āgra (for the individual buildings see MAHALL, for a plan, see Petruccioli, 1988, fig. 144/2).

The ideas of Āgra were brought into a rigid formal scheme in the palace of Shāhdjahānābād, 1048-58/1639-48 [see DIHLĪ, ii; for the individual buildings, see MAHALL] (for a pre-Multiny plan, see Petruccioli, 1985; for a pre-Mutiny panorama, see *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, fig. 252). Since it was a new foundation, the Shāhdjahānī ideal of bilateral symmetry could be realised almost unimpeded by earlier structures. The plan has the form of an oblong *muthamman baghdādī* extended by a wedge in the north to integrate the already existing small fort Salīmgaṛh into the lines of defence. The family members and nobles of Shāh Djahān were encouraged (also by financial help) to build their *ḥawēlīs* (courtyard houses) in the new city. Outstanding was here the complex of Djahānārā in the Čandnī Čawk, consisting of a *sarāʾī*, a *ḥammām* and her garden Ṣāḥibābād (Kanbō, iii, 37 ff.; cf. Blake, 158-9; for a sketch map, see DIHLĪ. ii, Fig. 3).

Gardens. Shāh Djahān's garden constructions include an addition to the Shālimār garden of Kashmīr in the form of another *čār bāgh* garden named Fayḍ Bakhsh (1043/1634) to the northeast of the earlier Faraḥ Bakhsh. Its central feature is a pavilion in the local black stone. Shāh Djahān's main garden foundation was the Bāgh-i Fayḍ Bakhsh wa Faraḥ Bakhsh or Shālimār garden at Lāhawr (1051-2/1641-2), inspired by its namesake at Kashmīr (and later imitated by its namesake at Dihlī). The earlier scheme of Kashmīr of two *čār bāghs* enthreaded along a central waterway is enriched at Lāhawr by a rectangular terrace which is inserted between them. The water supply was provided by a canal constructed by the Persian noble ʿAlī Mardān Khān who had defected to the Mughal court in 1638. His knowledge about architecture and engineering made him a welcome addition to the architectural counsel of Shāh Djahān.

Mosques. Shāh Djahān's enormous building programme included also a considerable number of mosques [see also MASDJID, H. II. B]—his was in fact the Golden Age of Mughal mosque construction. Shāh Djahān, who liked to appear as a renewer (*mudjaddid*) of Islam, commissioned or initiated the construction of more mosques than any Mughal ruler before him. In the mosque architecture of this period we can discern two main types which had become distinct already in Djahāngīrī architecture. The first, with massive prayer halls with *pīshṭāḳs* surmounted either by three or five domes, is used most conspicuously in the great city mosques, the *djāmiʿ masdjids*. The second type is based on the additive grid system of vaulted bays and may appear without *pīshṭāḳ* and outer domes. It was preferred for smaller mosques with a special imperial connotation (mosque in the Adjmer *dargāh* 1046/1636; palace mosques in the forts of Āgra and Lāhawr).

The series of great city mosques is initiated by that of Wazīr Khān at Lāhawr (1044/1634-5) and by Shāh Djahān's brick and tile Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Thaṭṭā [*q.v.*] (1054-68/1644-57; A.H. Dani, *Thatta*, Islamabad 1982, 190-7). The Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Āgra (completed 1058/1648), sponsored by the emperor's daughter Djahānārā (Pl. XXXI, 2; plan in A. Chaghatai, *Badshahi Masjid*, fig. 26b) enlarges the plan of the Wazīr Khān Mosque by doubling the bays of the wings of the prayer hall. The scheme is slightly altered in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Shāhdjahānābād [see DIHLĪ. ii] (1060-6/1650-6; Pl. XXXI, 1) intended as Shāh Djahān's counterpart to Akbar's Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Fatḥpūr Sīkrī (Koch, *Arch. forms*, 122), though in fact derived from the Āgra mosque.

Public buildings. Only scant remains survive of the great metropolitan bazaars, *ḥammāms* and *sarāʾīs* of Āgra and Shāhdjahānābād described by the historians of Shāh Djahān (ʿInāyat Khān, Eng. tr. 205-6, 531 *et passim*). The *sarāʾī* of Amānat Khān (the calligrapher of the Tādj Maḥall), 1050/1640-1, south of Amritsar, has two gates with remains of good tile mosaic (Begley, 1983, 173 ff.). The "palace" of Aʿẓam Khān at Aḥmadābād (1047/1637-8; J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad*, ii, London 1905, 58-60, pl. 58) was, according to its inscription, not only a *sarāʾī* but also a market (*ḳayṣāriyya*); the gate served apparently residential purposes for its founder.

Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707) and later Mughal architecture.

General considerations. The success of the architecture created under Shāh Djahān may be recognised from the fact that it affected not only the buildings of his immediate successor Awrangzīb but, in the long run, the whole of Indian architecture. Measured against the architectural patronage of his father, that of Awrangzīb has been somewhat underrated and, consequently, has been studied very little. He embarked on a considerable number of architectural projects; true to his *Weltanschauung*, his main interest was directed towards religious architecture and charitable institutions.

Palaces and gardens. Neither Awrangzīb nor any other of the later Mughals sponsored any major urban palace construction—Shāh Djahān's solutions proved to be binding ones. Awrangzīb did, however, add an exterior enceinte—a *shēr hadjī*—around the Āgra Fort in 1659-62 (Pl. XXIV, 2). Awrangzīb's foster-brother Muẓaffar Ḥusayn, entitled Fidāʾī Khān Kōka, constructed the gardens at Pindjawr near Čandigaṛh in the Mughal tradition of Kashmīr (Crowe *et alii*, 185-7).

Tombs. The mausoleum of Awrangzīb's wife Rābiʿa Dawrānī at Awrangābād (1071/1660-1; Pl. XXXIV, 1) is a smaller, free copy of the Tādj Maḥall. Awrangzīb's sister Rōshanārā (d. 1082/1671) is entombed at Dihlī in a flat-roofed *hasht bihisht* pavilion in the later Mughal idiom (verandahs with baluster columns and cusped arches). Otherwise, the Mughal imperial family reverted with their burials to the example set by the founder of the dynasty, Bābur. Neither Djahānārā nor Awrangzīb himself allowed any construction over their respective resting places in Nizamuddin, Dihlī (1092/1681, see Hasan, 16-18) and Khuldābād [*q.v.*] near Awrangābād. The later Mughals were buried either in the *dargāh* of Ḳuṭb Ṣāḥib at Mihrawlī, or in Humāyūn's tomb, or in the *dargāh* or Nizamuddin.

Mosques. The most impressive building of Awrangzīb's reign is the Bādshāhī Masdjid at Lāhawr (1084/1673-4; Pl. XXXII), the last of the series of the great *djāmiʿ* mosques in red sandstone. Deviating from the customary local facing with tile work, it echoes particularly the *Djāmiʿ* Masdjid of Shāhdjahānābād, but succeeds in conveying a more serene impression by its vast proportions and the quiet juxtaposition of red sandstone with white marble (domes, subtle intarsia decoration). The exquisite "Mōtī Masdjid"—Awrangzīb's afterthought to the Dihlī palace (1074/1663; Pl. XXXIII, 2)—copies Shāh Djahān's "Nagīna Masdjid" in the Āgra Fort almost literally. New is the exuberant floral décor in marble relief work which leads from the beginning of this trend under Shāh Djahān towards the florid style of

later Mughal architecture. The sensuous treatment of the mosque stands in strange contradiction to the unworldly taste professed by its patron—an indication that stylistic developments had begun to become independent of the patronage of the Mughal emperor. Other important foundations of Awrangzīb are the *djāmiʿ masdjids* of Mathurā (1071/1660-1) and Benāres (1087-8/1676-7). The *madrasa* and mosque of Ghazī al-Dīn Khān at Dihlī transposes the scheme of the Khayr al-Manāzil into the idiom of the period (Pl. XXXIII, 1). Remarkable is the tomb of the founder with its floral décor and *djālīs* carved out of sandstone.

Public works. In the first years of his reign, Awrangzīb enlarged the Mughal net of roadside accomodations by constructing *sarāʾīs* equipped with bazaars, mosques, wells and *ḥammāms* along the roads from Awrangābād to Āgra and from Lāhawr to Kābul. He also ordered the repair of older *sarāʾīs* and bridges as well as the renovation of mosques throughout the empire; the latter works were financed from his own establishment (Muḥ. Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, ed. Kh. Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, Calcutta 1868, 1084 f.).

The later Mughal style.

From the late 17th century onwards, there develops in India an architectural style which, although derived from Mughal architecture, became more and more independent of the Mughal court. The new influential patrons were provincial rulers who proclaimed their defiance of the Mughals by copying their lifestyle and architecture. Typical of this style is a florid ornamental mode with a preference for bulbuous shapes, as well as the increasing use of stucco. With regard to building types, Shāh Djahān's rooms decorated with mirror mosaic (*āyīna kārī*) produced numerous offspring: as "*shīsh maḥalls*" they had to give Mughal splendour to the palace of every petty ruler. By-and-by, the Mughalising fashion conquered the whole of India. It bloomed particularly under the patronage of the *nawwābs* of Awadh at Fayḍābād and Lakhnaw [*q.vv.*]. Characteristically, the most outstanding and best preserved example of the late Mughal style at Dihlī is the mausoleum of Ṣafdar Djang (1167/1753-4; Pl. XXXIV, 2), the second *nawwāb* of Awadh. It is the last great mausoleum in the classical Mughal tradition of a nine-fold plan set on a podium in a four-parterre *čār bāgh*. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, the influence of the Mughal style stretches from the wooden architecture of the Himalayan valleys (Kathmandu, Kulu) to Maysūr [*q.v.*] and Bangalore in Karnataka, and from the Sikh architecture in the Pandjāb to Murshidābād [*q.v.*] and Dhakā [*q.v.*]. Under British patronage, the Mughal fashion became a constituent element of the so-called Indo-Saracenic style. As a typical Indian style it found its way to England in the Indian revival (e.g. the country house Sezincote in Gloucestershire, *ca.* 1806; the Royal Pavilion and the Royal Stables at Brighton, 1803-32, Pl. XXXV).

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In the early phases, up to Shāh Djahān's reign, comments on architecture tend to be sparse, vague and unsystematic. An exception is Khwāndamīr (*Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, Pers. text ed. M.H. Ḥusayn, Calcutta 1940; Eng. tr. B. Prashad, Calcutta 1940). His description of Humāyūn's buildings cannot, however, be verified because they deal with ephemeral architecture and with no longer extant buildings. Translations of texts of Akbar's period treating architecture are assembled in *Fatehpur-Sikri: a source book*, eds. M. Brand and G.D. Lowry, Cambridge, Mass. 1985; of particular interest are here the first translations from Muḥ. ʿĀrif Ḳandahārī, *Tāʾrīkh-i Akbarī*, Pers. text ed. M. Nadwī, A.ʿA. Dihlawī and I.ʿA. ʿArshī, Rāmpūr 1382/1962. The best source on Djahāngīrī architecture is Djahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, Pers. text ed. S.A. Khān, Aligarh 1864; Eng. tr. A. Rogers, ed. Beveridge, 2 vols., 1909-14; repr. New Delhi 1968. Additional information can be found in other texts of Djahāngīr's period, for which see *Bibl.* to DJAHĀNGĪR. Some information about the architectural patronage of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān can be extracted from ʿAbd al-Baḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾathir-i Raḥīmī*, Pers. text ed. M.H. Ḥusayn, 3 vols., Cambridge 1910-31.

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From Awrangzīb's period onwards, information about architecture becomes again more sparse. The *Dīwān* of Luṭf Allāh Muhandis contains information about a family of architects who worked under Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb (partly tr. M.A. Chaghtai, *A family of great Mughal architects*, in *IC*, xi (1937), 200-9).

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8. Carpets and Textiles.

(a) *Carpets*.

The traditional floor-covering in India was the woven cotton *darī*, or the lightweight and easily-transportable floorspread of cotton, painted and dyed (see (b), below). The first pile-carpets to be imported into India, mainly from Persia, would have been *sad͟jād͟jid* [see SAD͟JD͟JĀDA], for the daily ritual of *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]. Emulating the life-style of Persian nobility, pile-carpets gradually came into secular use. Abu 'l-Faḍl (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, 55) confirms that the craft of pile-carpet weaving was introduced into India during Akbar's reign: "His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen who have produced many masterpieces. The carpets of Irán and Turán are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets.... All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. They are found in every town, especially in Agrah, Fathpur and Lahor...."

Early Mug͟hal carpets were close in style to those of Eastern Persia, but the warp was usually of cotton. Scholastic study of Indian carpets was born from the great exhibition of oriental carpets (mainly Persian and Turkish) in Vienna in 1891 (A. von Scala, 1891; C. Purdon Clarke (ed.), 1892-6). Our most complete information on Mug͟hal carpets woven in Lahore in the early 11th/17th century is from the collections of Amber palace, as recorded by Hendley (1906), compiled from notes, photographs and drawings which he assembled in 1892-3, while working at Jaipur; many bear inventory notes confirming that they had been at Amber since the period of S͟hāh D͟jahān. Most of the designs are of flowering plants, in colours on a red ground, the borders being of floral ornament on an indigo ground. Some show fauna and legendary beasts among the flowers. Hendley (p. 8) describes the layout of carpets for a *darbār*: "... The whole surface thus looks like a meadow covered with beautiful flowers, or a park or paradise in which beasts wander or birds fly amidst trees of every kind...."

Two large carpets commissioned in India in the early 17th century provide valuable dated evidence. The finest, the "Girdlers' carpet", was commissioned in 1631 by Robert Bell, a director of the East India Company, and also a member of the Worshipful Company of Girdlers of London, to whom he presented it in 1633. The field is filled with flowering plants in the mature Mug͟hal style; at the centre is the great coat-of-arms of the Girdlers' Company, and to either side, the coats-of-arms of Bell himself. It was probably designed as a table-carpet for the original Court Room table (see illustr. in BISĀṬ in Suppl., Pl. XVI, no. 18). The "Fremlin carpet", now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was commissioned by William Fremlin, who served in the East India Company between 1626 and 1644. The field is filled with flowering plants, beasts of prey and other fauna; the Fremlin coat-of-arms (invented by Fremlin himself) is emblazoned five times in the field, and repeated in the border.

Under an increasing volume of commissioned work, styles became more rigid, and by the 19th century, Indian carpet-weaving had become a competent commercial industry. In recent years, identifications and assessments are emerging through the cataloguing of museum and private collections, and of special exhibitions; but the gracious design, and imaginative conception of "a meadow covered with beautiful flowers, or a park or paradise ..." are unique to the early Mug͟hal period.

(b) *Textiles*.

If the weaving of pile-carpets in India was a 16th-century innovation, the history of Indian textiles is of far greater antiquity. India's particular renown lay in fine muslins; in richly-coloured cloths, painted and dyed (*kalamkārī*); and in fabrics ornamented with gold. Extensive documentary evidence exists in early and mediaeval Indian literature, and in the accounts of the early Arab geographers (Moti Chandra, 1960). Records of the first European travellers and traders confirm a flourishing trade in textiles from India to Persia and the Levant. The indigenous Indian techniques had evolved within the ancient social structure, each separate art being reserved within its own caste-communities, thus transmitting inherited experience from generation to generation. Tools were very simple; the craftsman relied upon his intimate understanding of natural materials, and above all, upon the dexterity of his hands.

Abu 'l-Faḍl's account (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 87-8) is of great significance: "His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Iráni, European and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. Skilful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture ... and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved ... and the imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries ...." It is further recorded (*Āʾīn* 32, p. 92): "In former times, shawls were often brought from Kas͟hmīr ... His Majesty encourages in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kas͟hmīr ...."

The most dramatic developments in India were in woven brocades and brocaded velvets (*ibid.*, 92). The weaving of *kimk͟hāb* (brocade of silk and gold), and of velvet, required a more sophisticated type of loom than was previously known in India. The main advances within the Mug͟hal imperial workshops were thus in equipment and in more orderly administration.

No textiles from Akbar's period survive, but the rich furnishing of the palaces, and the royal encampments (*Āʾīn* 21, pp. 53 ff.), are vividly portrayed in Mug͟hal paintings. During the reign of D͟jahāngīr, the somewhat formal style of early Mug͟hal floral ornament evolved a more graceful naturalism. Hangings of the S͟hāh D͟jahān period show exquisitely-designed flowering plants, perfectly placed within a foliated architectural framework. The delicate beauty of Mug͟hal dress fabrics is particularly striking in portraits of the S͟hāh D͟jahān period.

By the 18th and 19th centuries, the exotic yet dignified "Mughal style" had become the main visual image of Indian textiles (other than the ritual textiles of Hindu ceremonial, and the chintz made to European designs for the East India Companies of Europe). The Mug͟hal court custom of bestowing a

fine textile as a *khilʿa* [*q.v.*] accounts for the survival of rare pieces of exceptional quality.

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(b) Textiles. Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, *Āʾīn* 31, in ii, 88 ff., *Āʾīn* 32, 91 ff., and also *Āʾīn* 21, 53 ff.; J. Irwin, *Golconda cotton paintings of the early seventeenth century*, in *Lālit Kalā*, v, 11-48 and plates I-XX, New Delhi 1959 (all surviving examples discussed and illustrated); Moti Chandra, *Indian costumes and textiles from the eighth to the twelfth century*, in *Journal of Indian textile history*, v. (Aḥmadābād 1960), 1-32; R.A. and V. Krishna, *Banaras brocades*, New Delhi (Crafts Museum) 1966 (history, technique, design: excellent plates); J. Irwin and M. Hall, *Indian painted and printed fabrics*, Aḥmadābād 1971, 14-21 (early 17th-century hangings and floor-spreads), 32-5 (Mughal tent hangings, etc., 17th-18th centuries), 43-65 (19th-century textiles under Mughal influence) (many plates; bibl.); idem, *Indian embroideries*, Aḥmadābād 1973, 5-28 (court embroideries; many plates; bibl.); R.W. Skelton, *The Indian heritage*, 77-102 (textiles; many illustrated). (MARGARET HALL)

9. Painting and the applied arts.

i. *The pre-Mughal period*

The number of illustrated manuscripts identified as products of pre-Mughal India is small but increasing. Questions of date and origin are often matters of debate. The earliest evidence is indirect: literary reference to drawing is found in poems of Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] of 1301 and 1315; a dispersed *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw, though datable to the later 15th century, appears to reflect early 14th century style; from *ca.* 1370, Jain manuscripts borrow elements from an Islamic style possibly of Indjū type. An Indian origin is claimed for a handful of manuscripts of the earlier 15th century in versions of west Persian styles. A more markedly Indian character is found in a *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* and a *Lawr Čanda* (both Berlin, SPK), which are judged to be of *ca.* 1450-75 and from Djawnpūr or Dihlī (Delhi). A *Sharaf-nāma* (London, BL) made for Nuṣrat Shāh of Bangāla (Bengal) in 938/1531-2 is a later connection of this north-eastern group. From the late 15th century to the early 16th, an important group of manuscripts, in heterogenous styles with varying degrees of Indian influence, is attributable to Māndū [*q.v.*]:

ca. 1490 *Miftāḥ al-fuḍalāʾ* (London, BL)
ca. 1502 *Niʿmat-nāma* (London, IOL)
ca. 1502 (*ʿarḍ-dīda* 908/1502-3) *Būstān* (New Delhi, NM)
ca. 1508 (dated 14 Shaʿbān, certified 4 Shawwāl 914/26 January 1509) *ʿAjāʾib al-ṣanāʾiʿ* (London, BL)

Possibly also, *ca.* 1525-50 *Lawr Čandā* (Bombay, PWM).

ii. *Period of Humāyūn (1530-56)*

Bābur, founder of the Mughal dynasty (d. 1530 [*q.v.*]), is not known to have employed painters, though his interest in painting is attested. Humāyūn [*q.v.*], his son, must therefore tentatively be regarded as the founding patron of Mughal painting. In 949/1542, when a fugitive, Humāyūn was able to call a painter to record a bird (Djawhar, *The Tezkereh al-vakiāt*, tr. C. Stewart, London 1832, 43), and in the following year at the Ṣafawid courts of Sulṭāniyya and Tabrīz he evinced an interest in the acquisition of painters. These approaches bore fruit during Humāyūn's residence in Kābul, where he was joined in 1549 by two painters who were to be of great importance to the Mughal school, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī and Khwādja ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. These are said to have instructed Humāyūn in painting. Other painters acquired were Mīr Muṣawwir (father of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī), Mawlanā Dūst, Dūst-i Dīwāna (perhaps the same individual), Mawlanā Darwīsh Muḥammad and Mawlanā Yūsuf. A number of separate pictures survive from the Kābul period or the period immediately following the return to India in 1555; some bear attributions. They are in a direct continuation from the royal Ṣafawid style, though sometimes with the distinguishing mark in costume of a turban swathed round a conical cap. An important piece on cloth, *Princes of the house of Tīmūr* (London, BM), was worked over in the 17th century. A manuscript of Djamī's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* in a style of Bukharan type and of medium quality has a colophon in favour of Humāyūn's brother Kāmrān (blinded 960/1553 [*q.v.*]).

iii. *Early Akbar period (1556-79)*

Akbar [*q.v.*] is said to have received instruction from Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad after the return to India, though the process may have begun earlier. At the very outset of his reign drawing continues the Kābul style (Pl. XXXVI). A change—which may or may not have commenced in Kābul—then becomes apparent. The Ṣafawid style is transformed by influences from Hindu painting (especially contributions from the *Čawrapančāśikā* style to the early *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, and from European painting

(15th and 16th century manuscript style), with occasional contributions from Bukharan, Sultanate and Dakhānī (Deccani) styles. The evolving technique has passages of more painterly brushwork, and there are effects of volume and space. Scenes are filled with vibrant energy which must reflect the enthusiasm of the dynamic young patron. The royal studio is under the direction of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī until his departure to Mecca (probably 979/1571-2) and then under ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, but from now on the painters are predominantly Hindu; the names of Daswanth and Basāwan are encountered. The major project of the period is a *Ḥamza-nāma* (*Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*), in large format on separate sheets of cloth mounted on cardboard, which eventually comprised some 1,400 pictures. Probably produced from 1562-77, this is notable for the orchestration of turbulent compositions and for the dramatic portrayal of giant figures (Pl. XXXVII). Colour is strong but sometimes murky. The *Dārāb-nāma*, a romance, contains some pictures much influenced by European technique.
Principal works:

- *ca.* 1557 *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (private collection)
- *ca.* 1558-60 *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Cleveland, CMA)
- *ca.* 1563 start of *Ḥamza-nāma* (dispersed)
- 975/1567-8 *Gulistān* (London, BL)
- 976/1568-9 *Duwal Rānī u Khiḍr Khān* (*ʿĀshiḳa*) (New Delhi, NM)
- 978/1570-1 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (London, SOAS)
- *ca.* 1572 *Ṭilism-nāma* (Rampur, Raza)
- *ca.* 1577 completion of *Ḥamza-nāma*
- *ca.* 1579 *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Dublin, CB)
- *ca.* 1579 *Dārāb-nāma* (London, BL)

iv. *Middle Akbar period (1580-98)*

The middle period of Akbarī painting is complex: a great many works were produced and dating is incomplete. Subject matter is more serious in character. Akbar's religious and historical interests are reflected by translations of the Hindu epics (*Razm-nāma, Harivaṃśa, Rāmāyana*) and an Islamic history (*Tarīkh-i alfī*). Another major theme is the study of the place in history of his lineage and of himself (*Čingiz-nāma, Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya, Bābur-nāma, Akbar-nāma*). The third area of interest is the production of fine copies of the Persian classics; this comes to predominate in the 1590s at Lāhawr. In addition, a dossier of portraits of courtiers was compiled. Miscellaneous pictures for collection in albums [see MURAḲḲAʿ] include copies of European originals. A notable accession of European material occurred in 1580 when the first Jesuit mission brought seven of the eight volumes of the *Polyglot Bible* prepared by Christophe Plantin from 1568-72. Motifs from the engraved title pages were adopted in the painter's studio. Other pictures were brought by this and later missions.

Relatively free brushwork at the beginning of the period gives way later to a more minutely controlled manner, and colour becomes more harmonious and resonant. From the 1580s there is some use of *nīm ḳalam* (half colour). By the 1590s works of great luxury are produced. The style is more unified, though individual hands can be discerned. European influence has been well assimilated, especially in the depiction of recession in landscape. The dramatic physical action of earlier Akbarī painting is now matched by dramatic psychological action (Pl. XXXVIII). In some margins, traditional golden chinoiserie ornament is invaded by small figures in colour. Important observations on painting in the period are found in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, of Abu 'l-Faḍl, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873; 102, the scope of painting; 113-15, the current state of the studio, Akbar's theory of painting, and the most respected painters of the period. Numbers of painters up to some 60 might be employed on a large cycle; and it is not uncommon to find the production of a single picture shared, one painter charged with the composition (*ṭarḥ*), another with the execution/colouring (*ʿamal/rang āmīzī*), and sometimes a third for the finishing of faces (*čihra-nāmī*). Simpler work was produced for sub-imperial patrons.
Principal works:

- *ca.* 1580 *Shāh-nāma* single picture (Keir)
- 990/1582-3 *Gulistān* (London, RAS). Picture possibly 1590s
- *ca.* 1584-6 *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (Patna, Khuda Bakhsh)
- *ca.* 1584-6 (pictures dated 993 and 994) *Razm-nāma* with *Harivaṃśa* (Jaipur, CPM)
- *ca.* 1587 (*post*-late 1585) *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (Keir)
- 996/1588 (Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda/September) *Dīwān-i Anwārī* (New York, MMA)
- *ca.* 1588 *Harivaṃśa* (dispersed)
- *ca.* 1589 (presented Ādhar/November *ilāhī* 34) *Bābur-nāma* (*Wāḳiʿāt-i Bāburī*) (London, V&A)
- 997/1589 (28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/7 November) *Ramāyana* (Jaipur, CPM)
- *ca.* 1590 *Akbar-nāma* (London, V&A)
- *ca.* 1591 *Bābur-nāma* (Istanbul, Millet)
- *ca.* 1592 *Bābur-nāma* (London, BL)
- *ca.* 1592 *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (Rampur, Raza)
- *ca.* 1592-4 *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (dispersed)
- *ca.* 1593 *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* (Aga Khan)
- *ca.* 1593 *Bābur-nāma* (Moscow, SMOC, and Baltimore, WAG)
- *ca.* 1594 *ʿIyār-i dānish* (Dublin, CB)
- *Ilāhī* 39/1595 (23 *Bahman*/February) *Bahāristān* (Oxford, Bodleian)
- *Ilāhī* 40/1004/1595 (24 Ādhar/December) *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (London, BL, and Baltimore, WAG)
- *ca.* 1595 *Laylā u Madjnūn* (Oxford, Bodleian)
- *ca.* 1595 *Gulistān* illustrations (Cincinnati, CAM)
- 1004/1596 (27 Ramaḍān/25 May) *Čingiz-nāma* (Tehran, Gulistān)
- 1005 or 1006/1596-8 *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (Banares, BKB)
- *Ilāhī* 42/1597-8 *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusraw (Baltimore, WAG)
- *ca.* 1598 (picture *ilāhī* 42) *Bābur-nāma* (New Delhi, NM)

v. *Late Akbar period (1599-1605)*

For works *ca.* 1600-5, the patronage of Akbar or of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] is sometimes a matter of debate. It seems probable that an *Akbar-nāma* and two works of religious content were made for Akbar. Drawing and colour are refined. The religious manuscripts have simpler compositions and a contemplative air.
Principal works:

- *Ilāhī* 47/1602 (15 Ādhar/early December) *Djūg Bāshishta* (Dublin, CB)
- *ca.* 1603 (picture 12 Isfandārmudh 47/February 1603) *Akbar-nāma* (London, BL, and Dublin, CB)
- *Ilāhī* 49/1605 *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (London, BL)

vi. *Djahāngīr (1605-27)*

Already in the 1590s at Lāhawr, the then prince Salīm ordered close copies of the Christian subjects brought by the Jesuits. During his period of revolt at Allāhābād (1600-3), Salīm maintained a small studio which produced fine work. In the first years of rule there were additions to Akbarī manuscripts.

Throughout the reign, colour is exquisite, though latterly more restrained. Physical action is stilled, and emphasis is placed instead upon states of mind. In subject matter, ancient themes give way to the recording of the present. Fewer manuscripts were produced, and much work survives in the form of album pictures. Portraiture continues, and with it flourishes the depiction of daily events, both ceremonial and accidental (Pl. XXXIX). D̲j̲ahāngīr's interest in natural history elicits very fine pictures of animals and birds. The margins of folios, especially those of albums, may be richly decorated. From *ca.* 1616, and influenced by European Mannerism, allegorical paintings portray the emperor symbolically wielding the divinely derived royal power (Pl. XL). Various pictures now preserved in albums would have been intended as illustrations to the *D̲j̲ahāngīr-nāma*, a royal copy of which was presented in 1618.

D̲j̲ahāngīr prided himself on his connoisseurship in painting (*Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ii, A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, repr. New Delhi 1978, 20-1). The principal painters of the early years of the reign are Āḳā Riḍā, Manōhar (son of Basāwan, "Nādir al-ʿaṣr"), Dawlat, and Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. Others who would continue into the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān are Abu 'l-Ḥasan (son of Āḳā Riḍā, "Nādir al-zamān"), Bālčand, Bičitr, Bis̲h̲ndās, Gowardhan.

Principal works:

1011/1602 (Muḥarram/June-July) *Dīwān* of Ḥasan Dihlawī (Baltimore, WAG)
1012/1603-4 *Rād̲j̲ Kunwār* (Dublin, CB)
1012/1603-4 *Ḥāl-nāma* (Paris, BN)
1014/1605-6 Margins of *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (ex-Bute, London, BL)
1014/1605-6 *Būstān* (ex-Rothschild, private)
ca. 1605-10 *Kulliyyāt* of Saʿdī (Aga Khan)
ca. 1605-10 *Gulistān* (Baltimore, WAG, and dispersed)
ca. 1608-10 *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (London, BL)
1019/1610-11 (early pictures 1013/1604) *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (London, BL)
By 13/1027/1618 (presented 8 S̲h̲ahrīwar/August) *D̲j̲ahāngīr-nāma* (dispersed)

Albums: D̲j̲ahāngīr (Berlin, SPK); Muraḳḳaʿ-i Guls̲h̲ān (Tehran, Gulistān).

vii. *S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān* (*1628-58*)

Though a *Gulistān* and a *Būstān* were prepared at the outset of the reign—possibly as a gift to S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's son Dārā S̲h̲ikōh [*q.v.*]—the main output of painting takes the form of album pictures. Some albums have suffered dismemberment, and some are of late formation, thus dating of pictures must often be tentative. In the margins of album folios there is increasing use of flowers of semi-naturalistic "specimen" character which may derive from European herbals. Portraiture continues. S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, already painted in the reign of D̲j̲ahāngīr, is shown as a single figure, in courtly settings, and in allegories which celebrate the Tīmūrid dynasty. The princes are shown in more informal circumstances sitting in rapt contemplation of their women, or of the words of sages. Groups of non-royal figures, often holy men, are shown sitting, still and concentrated. Occasionally these pictures have a night background with European-derived *chiaroscuro* effects—a speciality of works by Payāg. The final major work of Mug̲h̲al patronage is a *Pād̲s̲h̲āh-nāma* of Lāhawrī of 1067/1656-7, whose illustrations may be in part earlier and later, and in which a resplendent formal manner is sometimes achieved (Pl. XLI). The colour and finish of painting in the period is magnificent.

Principal works:

1038/1628-29 (D̲j̲umādī I/December-January) *Gulistān* (Dublin, CB)
1039/1629 (Rabīʿ I/October-November) *Būstān* (London, BL)
ca. 1640 *Gulistān* (dispersed)
1067/1656-7 *Pād̲s̲h̲āh-nāma* (Windsor, Royal Library)

Principal albums: British Museum (London, ex.-Add. 18801); Dārā S̲h̲ikōh (London, IOL); Kevorkian (New York, MMA/Washington, FGA); Late S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān (dispersed); Leningrad (Leningrad, AS); Minto (Dublin, CB/London, V&A); Nāṣir al-Dīn (Tehran, Gulistān); Sulṭān K̲h̲urram (dispersed).

viii. *Later Mug̲h̲al painting*

Awrangzīb (1658-1707 [*q.v.*]) initially maintained some patronage and a few finely painted pictures show him in *darbār* or hunting. Later, he ceased to commission work, whether from the pressure of other concerns or from religious scruple. Painters sought other patronage from nobles or at other Muslim or Hindu courts. Work of the late 17th century presents a careful surface and, if the rendering of character is less profound than before, it is not lacking in dignity (Pl. XLII). Farruk̲h̲ Siyar (1713-19) and Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1719-48) [*q.vv.*] are painted in a harder mode. High Mug̲h̲al patronage then lapses until a revival from *ca.* 1800 which sometimes imitates 17th century work. From the second half of the 18th century derived styles were practised in Awadh (Oudh) at Fayḍābād (Faizabad) and Lakhnaw (Lucknow), and in Bangāla at Murs̲h̲idābād and Patna. Subjects include scenes of princely pleasure, portraits, and some Hindu themes. Emphatic use may be made of classical perspective. From *ca.* 1760, painting is occasionally for European patrons, and from *ca.* 1800 the "Company" style develops for this market in Kalkatta/Kalikātā (Calcutta), Dihlī and Āgra. A local style, possibly of pre-Mug̲h̲al origin, flourished in Kas̲h̲mīr in the 18th and 19th centuries.

ix. *The Dakhan*

Painting for the courts of the Dakhan is found from the second quarter of the 15th century onwards. It is generally comparable to the painting of northern India, but tends to be more marked by Persian influence, and has often a stylised, dreamlike quality.

x. *Applied arts*

The Mug̲h̲al achievement in fields of architecture and of textiles (see sections 7-8) is justly celebrated. Other applied arts were also brought to a superb level. The working of jade is particularly characteristic of the 17th and 18th centuries; it was used for cups, bowls, phials, hilts, *ḥuḳḳa* (hookah) bowls, *pāndāns* and spittoons. Rock crystal was also used, but to a lesser extent. Designs share themes with the architectural ornament of the period, a blending of motifs of lotus, acanthus and poppy. Most renowned is the white jade cup of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān of 1057/1647-8 (Pl. XLIII). In the later period, gems are often inlaid with golden settings. The hilts to daggers (*k̲h̲and̲j̲ar*) often terminate in animal heads. Weapons in general are highly ornamental and are often treated with inlays or surface *kūftgarī*. A specialised form is the *katār*, a dagger with a transverse grip for use in tiger hunts. A particular type of metalwork is *bīdrī*, associated with, but not exclusive to, Bīdār. A body of alloy is inlaid with gold, brass or silver and is then exposed to acid so that the ground of the design turns black and matt. Motifs often include "specimen" plants. A similar dark and light contrast is found in the decoration of boxes and chests of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl or ivory.

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10. Literature.

The Mug̲h̲al period marks the highest point in the development of Persian literature in India. Notwithstanding the Turkish antecedents of the Mug̲h̲al rulers, Persian, because of its cultural influence, received attention at the Mug̲h̲al court from the beginning. Its importance began to grow during the reign of Humāyūn (1530-56), particularly after the return of the emperor from his forced exile in Persia. Humāyūn's long stay in that country, and the help he received from the Persian monarch S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp in regaining the Indian throne from his Afg̲h̲ān foes, strengthened the ties of friendship between the Mug̲h̲al and Ṣafawid courts, and initiated a process of Persianisation that was to affect all aspects of Indo-Muslim culture under the Mug̲h̲als. By Akbar's time (1556-1606) the supremacy of Persian was firmly established and in 1582 it was declared the administrative language of the whole empire.

Though the Mug̲h̲al period represents a wide variety of literary activity, the most significant advances were made in its poetical output. In fact this period may be regarded as the golden age of Indo-Persian poetry, when the latter came to acquire new stylistic patterns and modes of thought. An important factor which contributed to the enrichment of Mug̲h̲al poetry was the influx of a number of gifted poets from Persia at this time. In contrast to the indifference of Ṣafawid rulers towards literary men, the fame and munificence of the Mug̲h̲al court held out the promise of rich patronage to men of letters. Thus throughout the 16th and 17th centuries India continued to provide a haven for Persian poets in their quest for recognition. The more fortunate of these poets succeeded in gaining entry to the imperial court, while others were patronised by nobles and provincial rulers.

The real flowering of Mug̲h̲al poetry dates from Akbar's time, which brought together many talented poets. Among the better known names who graced this period were G̲h̲azālī Mas̲h̲hadī (b. 933/1526-7, d. 980/1572-3), Fayḍī (b. 954/1547, d. 1004/1595-6 [*q.v.*]), ʿUrfī (b. 963/1555-6, d. 999/1590 [*q.v.*]), Naẓīrī (d. 1021/1612-13), Malik Ḳummī (b. 934/1528, d. 1025/1616 [*q.v.*]), and Ẓuhūrī (d. 1025/1615-16). G̲h̲azālī migrated to India around 960/1552-3, and was attached to K̲h̲ān Zamān ʿAlī Ḳulī K̲h̲ān (d. 974/1566-7), governor of D̲j̲awnpūr, before entering Akbar's court. When Akbar introduced the institution of *malik al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ* (poet laureate), G̲h̲azālī was the first to be appointed to that position. His personal and professional qualities are extolled in contemporary chronicles, and Abu 'l-Faḍl praises him for his poetical talent and style. Reports differ regarding the extent of his output. The British Library manuscript of his poems comprises less than 12,000 verses, which show G̲h̲azālī as a poet influenced by ethical and moral concepts and endowed with a felicity of expression.

Fayḍī succeeded G̲h̲azālī in 996/1587-8 as the poet laureate of Akbar. He was born in India, and thus differed from other notable poets, who came from outside. S̲h̲iblī Nuʿmānī places him alongside Amīr K̲h̲usraw (b. 651/1253, d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]) as the two individuals whom the critic regards as the most outstanding of the Persian poets born in India. According to contemporary sources, Fayḍī was the author of a large number of works. His poetical output is represented chiefly by his *Dīwān* and two long *mat̲h̲nawīs*, *Markaz al-adwār* ("Centre of circles") and the more

famous *Nal Daman*. The latter, based upon an episode from the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*, has been lavishly praised by none other than Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*], the most hostile critic of Fayḍī. The poet was a man of varied learning, and his poetry demonstrates his breadth of erudition and mastery of language. Among the verse forms employed by him, he excels in the *ghazals*, which are characterised by a beauty of expression and philosophical ideas.

The most famous poet of Akbar's period was perhaps ʿUrfī. He was originally a native of Shīrāz. On coming to India he enjoyed successively the patronage of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. *ca.* 974/1567), the court physician of Akbar, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (b. 965/1557-8, d. 1036/1626-7 [see KHĀN KHĀNĀN]). The strength of ʿUrfī's poetry resides chiefly in its boldness and creativity. These qualities are reflected vividly in his *ḳaṣīdas*, which constitute the basis for his fame. In these poems ʿUrfī provides a wide range of imagery. He employs non-traditional metaphors, similes and word compounds. His verse shows a penchant for self-praise, a feature reflecting his own natural conceit for which he was notorious in his circle.

The lyrical poetry of Akbar's time found its brightest exponent in Naẓīrī, who originated from Nīshāpūr. He was attached to the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, where he entered into frequent poetical contests with his more illustrious fellow-poet, ʿUrfī. Though he composed numerous *ḳaṣīdas*, his claim to distinction rests chiefly upon his *ghazals*, which express complex and varied feelings of love, and may be said to rival Fayḍī's *ghazals* in their refinement and eloquence. His compositions possess a rhythmic quality and a fondness for melodious metres. Among the classical poets, he seems to be inspired by Ḥāfiẓ, whom he imitates in several of his pieces.

Contemporaneous with the Mughal rule was the ʿĀdil Shāhī [*q.v.*] kingdom in the south whose rulers were generous patrons of poetry and literature. Among the poets who flourished in the ʿĀdil Shāhī court, the best known were Malik Ḳummī and Ẓuhūrī. Malik Ḳummī was the poet laureate of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II (1580-1627), and enjoyed the respect of his fellow-writers. Ẓuhūrī, with whom he collaborated on many occasions, was not only a poet of standing but also an effective prose writer. His well-known work in that medium is *Sih nathr* ("Three essays"). It constitutes the preface of *Naw ras*, a book of songs attributed to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. In poetry, Ẓuhūrī's chief contribution are his *mathnawīs*, the most famous of which is the *Sāḳī-nāma* ("Book of the cup-bearer") in praise of Burhān Niẓām Shāh (1508-53).

The flow of poets from Persia continued during the reigns of Djahāngīr (1605-27) and his successor Shāh Djahān (1627-58). The most eminent among Djahāngīr's poets was Ṭālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7), who served as the emperor's poet laureate. Ṭālib displays a spirit of inventiveness not unlike other leading poets of the Indian school who made determined use of new similes and metaphors for the sake of innovation. His *ghazals* are especially noteworthy for expressing an idealised and aesthetic conception of the beloved's beauty.

The period of Shāh Djahān's rule boasted a number of fine poets. These included Kalīm (d. 1061/1651), Ḳudsī (b. *ca.* 991/1583, d. 1056/1646), and Ṣāʾib (b. 1010/1601-2, d. 1088/1676-7). Kalīm was Shāh Djahān's poet laureate, a position he held from 1037/1627-8 till his death. His poems are conspicuous for their ingenious conceits and subtle ideas. In his *ghazals* he employs the illustrative technique (*mithāliyya*) with great effectiveness. His vocabulary occasionally contains words from Hindi, and there are references in his poems to trades and professions associated with the Indian environment. He has also devoted his talent to the writing of descriptive verse on simple, commonplace subjects.

Ḳudsī, who was a contemporary of Kalīm, has been wrongly quoted as Shāh Djahān's poet laureate. Some writers on poetry rank him equal to Kalīm, which is certainly an over-estimation of his creative abilities. However, his output is extensive and varied, and reveals a mastery of composition.

Ṣāʾib is generally regarded as the best Persian poet of the 17th century. During his stay in India he received much acclaim at the court of Shāh Djahān. He was a prolific poet whose verses are estimated in tens of thousands. His best work is represented by his *ghazals*, which are distinguished by their philosophical expression. He carried further the illustrative style and employed it extensively in his *ghazals*.

During the reign of Awrangzīb (1658-1707), the official patronage accorded to the poets came to an end, and the office of the poet laureate was abolished. However, the lack of patronage by the royal court was offset to some extent by the patronage given by members of Awrangzīb's household and some of his nobles. Thus Awrangzīb's daughter, Zīb al-Nisāʾ Begum, who was herself a poet using Makhfī as her pen-name, was a liberal patron of literary men. Similarly, Prince Aʿẓam (b. 1063/1653, d. 1119/1707), the third son of the emperor, supported a number of poets who were employed in his service. The best known poet of Awrangzīb's reign was Bīdil (b. 1054/1644-5, d. 1133/1720), in whose verse the Indian style of Persian poetry reached its culmination. His poetical output is voluminous and covers almost all forms of verse. He was the author of several *mathnawīs* which are indicative of his spiritual and ethical concerns. But it was in the *ghazal* that his literary prowess found its true expression. Bīdil's *ghazals* are characterised by a depth of thought and reflect his philosophical attitude. His verse is difficult to understand because of his habitual inclination towards abstraction of meaning.

From the 18th century onwards, Urdu steadily gained importance, replacing Persian as the medium of literary expression. Nevertheless, the continued influence of Persian as a part of Indo-Muslim culture was demonstrated in the emergence of many bilingual poets who composed both in Persian and Urdu. Ghālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]) was the most outstanding of these bilingual poets. His towering stature as an Urdu poet has somewhat overshadowed his contribution to Persian poetry which, according to him, was superior to his Urdu verse. There is no doubt that he was the last great poet of the Mughal period. He was associated with the court of Bahādur Shāh II (1837-58), with whose exiling by the British the history of Mughal India finally came to an end. Ghālib, in the beginning, was attracted to Bīdil's involved style, from which he could not extricate himself completely. However, he also turned towards the works of such poets as ʿUrfī, Naẓīrī, Ṭālib Āmulī, and Kalīm, assimilating the finest elements of Mughal poetry, and giving them a new life by the magic touch of his extraordinary genius. His best work possesses an intellectual content, and is marked by a polished style.

The Mughal period of Persian poetry brought to perfection a style which has been named *sabk-i Hindī* or Indian poetical style. The term was coined by the

Persians to describe a particular manner of writing, the evolution of which took place mainly in India. Where and how this style originated is a matter of dispute. It has been suggested that its incipient features may be traced in the poetry of Fighānī Shīrāzī (d. 923/1517 [*q.v.*]), from where it found its way into Mughal verse through the efforts of the incoming poets from Persia. The credit for introducing this style into Mughal poetry is given to ʿUrfī. It was progressively developed by poets such as Ṭālib Āmulī, Ṣāʾib and Kalīm until it reached its peak in the poetry of Bīdil with its complex and involved mode of expression.

The foremost feature of *sabk-i Hindī* is the exaggerated attention paid in it to the formalistic aspects of poetry. Basic to it are complexity and subtleness which depend not so much on *what* is said as *how* it is said. For its effectiveness it relies on new metaphors and similes, innovative word compounds, extensive use of certain poetical devices, particularly the illustrative technique, and the coining of new terms. Its main vehicle is the *ghazal*, which probably constitutes the most significant contribution of Mughal poetry. Whereas the traditional material of Persian *ghazal* lays a prominent emphasis upon the theme of love and its varied emotions, in the hands of the Mughal poets the content of the *ghazal* becomes more and more philosophically oriented. This philosophical tendency in the *ghazal* found vocal exponents in ʿUrfī, Fayḍī and Naẓīrī. As a by-product of the philosophical preoccupation of the poets, ethical and moral ideas also came to be increasingly articulated in the *ghazal*.

Although *sabk-i Hindī* was employed by poets in Persia, it never received very much approval from the native arbiters of poetic taste. On the other hand, it enjoyed a favourable atmosphere in Turkish and Tādjīk literatures. In the case of Turkish literature, its impact may be noticed in the development of Ottoman Turkish poetry in which ʿUrfī, Fayḍī and Ṣāʾib are counted among the chief foreign influences. It also found a hospitable soil in the literary climate of Central Asia, where it became a dominant feature of Tādjīk poetry after the 17th century.

Next to poetry, historiography and biographical writing occupy a distinguished place in the repertory of Mughal literature. The historical works produced during the Mughal period may be divided into three broad categories: universal histories, general histories of Muslim India, and specialised histories dealing with a particular dynasty. As in poetry so also in history, the real beginnings in Mughal historiography took place in the time of Akbar. The main universal history composed during this period is the *Taʾrīkh-i alfī*, or "Millennial history", which was prepared by a group of scholars on the orders of Akbar. It was supposed to cover the first one thousand years of the *hidjra*, although it actually ends with the year A.H. 997.

Significant among the general histories produced during Akbar's period are the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* and *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* covers the history of Muslim India from the Ghaznawids up to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign. It was written by Niẓām al-Dīn al-Harawī (d. 1003/1594 [*q.v.*]), who was in the service of Akbar for many years. Its importance may be judged from the fact that several contemporary and later historians have made extensive use of its material for their own works.

ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī's *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, which begins from the Ghaznawids and comes down to 1004/1595-6 of Akbar's reign, is notable for its treatment of historical details. Badāʾūnī's views are often biased, especially when dealing with religious matters which do not agree with his own orthodox beliefs. Thus his book contains a severe indictment of Akbar's religious non-conformism.

The *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, or *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta* as it is also called, deals with the Muslim rule in India until the early part of the 17th century. Its author, Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū Shāh, who used Firishta [*q.v.*] as his pen-name, was employed in the court of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II. His history is particularly useful for the information it provides regarding the Muslim dynasties of Deccan.

A large body of historical literature from the Mughal period consists of specialised accounts. One of the earliest examples of this kind is the *Tadhkira-yi Humāyūn wa Akbar* by Bāyazīd Bayāt. This work, which was undertaken in 999/1590-1, deals with the reign of Humāyūn and early years of Akbar. Another book, dating approximately from the same time, is *Tadhkirat al-wāḳiʿāt*, which is a narrative of Humāyūn's period of exile in Persia written by his personal attendant, Djawhar Āftābčī. The first two rulers of the Mughal dynasty form the subject of Gulbadan Begum's (b. 929/1522-3, d. 1011/1602-3) *Humāyūn-nāma*, in which the author, who was Humāyūn's sister, gives a sensitive picture of her family.

The most outstanding history of the Mughal period, and one of the greatest histories produced in India, is the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl (b. 958/1551-2, d. 1011/1602-3 [*q.v.*]). It is a detailed description of Akbar's life and the events of his reign. A complementary work by the same writer, entitled *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, gives a statistical survey of the administrative, social and cultural conditions of the empire, and includes a section dealing with the religious thought of Akbar. Abu 'l-Faḍl's writings have been criticised for their highly eulogistic description of the author's patron. Their value, however, lies in the wealth of information they contain regarding Akbar's period. Moreover, they are written in a style which became a preferred model for subsequent Mughal historians.

The premier dynastic account of Djahāngīr's period is the official history of his reign, entitled *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*. It was composed by Muḥammad Sharīf b. Dūst Muḥammad, better known by his title Muʿtamad Khān (d. 1049/1639 [*q.v.*]), and deals with the history of Mughal rulers from Bābur to Djahāngīr. The chief histories of Shāh Djahān's period consist of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhūrī's (d. 1065/1655) *Bādshāh-nāma* and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, which was completed in 1070/1659. Awrangzīb suspended the tradition of officially sponsored histories, perhaps because these kind of writings were regarded by him as a sign of ostentatiousness, incompatible with his austere nature. However, before the practice was abandoned, an official history of the first ten years of Awrangzīb's reign was compiled by Muḥammad Kāẓim (d. 1092/1681-2) under the title of *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*. Soon after Awrangzīb's death, Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿidd Khān (d. 1136/1724 [*q.v.*]) resumed the account where it had been left off in his book *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, completed in 1122/1710, bringing it down to the end of Awrangzīb's reign.

Biographies were commonly included in political histories, and historical works produced during the Mughal period often contain notices on the life of poets, scholars, theologians and other eminent men. Among the books devoted exclusively to the

biographical genre, pride of place must be assigned to Djahāngīr's *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, a work composed after the tradition of Bābur's autobiography. Djahāngīr wrote the account by himself till the seventeenth year of his reign, after which it was taken up by Muᶜtamad Khān, who described the next two years. The book presents a lively and fascinating picture of Djahāngīr's personality and character, and is written in a simple, unencumbered style.

The biography of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, who was a great patron of letters, is contained in ᶜAbd al-Bāķī Nihāwandī's (b. 978/1570, d. 1040/1632) book, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī*. The author, who was in the service of Khān-i Khānān, completed his work in 1025/1616. Besides Khān-i Khānān's biography, the book carries accounts of eminent figures and dignitaries. Especially useful for literary purposes are the biographies of poets who were attached to Khān-i Khānān's court and are described by the author on the basis of his personal knowledge.

One of the most valuable books of biographical literature is the *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] by ᶜAbd al-Razzāķ Awrangābādī, better known as Shāh Nawāz Khān (d. 1171/1758). It is an encyclopaedic work comprising notices on Mughal nobility from Akbar up to the time of the author.

A type of literature which gained prominence during the Mughal period was *inshāʾ* or epistolography. Representing the early specimens in this branch of writing are the letters of Abu 'l-Faḍl, which are noted for their easy style, different from the stiff and laboured diction of his historical works. The letters of his brother Fayḍī may also be cited for their simple and straightforward language. In later times, Hindus acquired special distinction in the art of correspondence because of their growing identification with the secretarial profession. Among them, Čandra Bhān Brahman (b. 982/1574-5, d. 1073/1663) and Munshī Harkaran occupy a conspicuous place. Brahman was employed as first secretary in the state chancery during Shāh Djahān's reign. In addition to his status as a major Hindu poet of Persian, he is also respected for his prose contribution. His letters constitute one of the factors for his reputation as a prose writer. Harkaran also flourished in the time of Shāh Djahān. He has left a collection of letters which was used in the schools for instructional purposes. Awrangzīb's age, though mostly undistinguished in the advancement of literature, nevertheless stands out for its promotion of the epistolographic art. Awrangzīb himself was a leader in this literary form, and his letters, of which there exist several collections, are an excellent testimony to his achievement.

The Mughal period witnessed a growth of translation activity directed towards the rendering of Indian literature into Persian. The translation movement, like other literary developments under the Mughals, started during Akbar's time. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, Akbar promoted the translation of Indian works into Persian because he felt that such undertakings would help in dispelling the ignorance which Hindus and Muslims shared towards each other. The works translated during Akbar's reign included the Sanskrit epics *Mahābhārata* (under the Persian title *Razm-nāma*) and *Rāmāyana*, the collection of tales entitled *Singhāsan battīsī*, translated by Badāʾūnī under the name *Nāma-yi khirad-afrūz*, Vyas's life of Lord Krishna entitled *Harīvansh* and *Atharva Veda*. The second important period of translation after Akbar is associated with the name of Dārā Shukōh (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]). The latter's interest in other religions besides Islam prompted him in his translation of fifty *Upanishads*, to which he gave the title of *Sirr-i akbar*. He is also credited with the translation of *Bhagavata Gīta*, otherwise ascribed to Abu 'l-Faḍl. Apart from the translations made by him, there were several works which were translated at his instance. Among them were *Gulzār-i ḥāl*; a translation by Dārā's secretary Banwālī Dās Walī of the Sanskrit drama *Prabhodha Čandra Vidya*; and the Persian rendering of *Yoga vāsishtha* by a courtier whose name is not recorded.

The dominant style of Mughal prose brings to mind certain resemblances with the prose trends in post-Mongol literature of Persia as represented by works such as *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf* by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh [see WAṢṢĀF] and *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī [*q.v.*]. More particularly, it suggests strong similarities with the florid and ornate prose style in Ṣafawid literature. In Mughal writing it appears in its mature form in the histories of Abu 'l-Faḍl, which are marked by pompousness and verbosity, and which set a pattern for most histories composed in succeeding periods. However, not everyone chose to favour this style. Among notable exceptions were writers such as Badāʾūnī, who made use of standard Persian as the medium of his history; Djahāngīr, who adopted a simple and flowing diction for his autobiography; and Dārā Shukōh, who employed a direct and unadorned way of writing for his translations and original works.

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11. Numismatics.

In his short but excellent little handbook *The coins of India*, Calcutta 1922, C.J. Brown has this to say of the Mughal coinage in general: "Considering it as the output of a single dynasty, which maintained the high standard and purity of its gold and silver for three hundred years, considering also its variety, the number of its mints, the artistic merit of some of its series, the influences it exerted on contemporary and subsequent coinages, and the importance of its standard coin—the rupee—in the commerce of today, the Mughal currency surely deserves to rank as one of the great coinages of the world." Many of the details in Brown's book are now out of date; but this general pronouncement is valid and valuable today.

Coins of Tīmūr are not known ever to have circulated in India—indeed, Tīmūr was more keen on taking coin away from India than bringing it in. But coins of his son Shāhrukh [*q.v.*] circulated freely in several countries during his forty-eight years' rule (807-55/1404-51), and are fairly well represented in Indian collections; they came to represent a type, and the name *Shāhrukhī* was applied by both Bābur and Humāyūn to silver coins of their own times. R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, iii, Oxford 1914 (hereafter *PMC*), pp. xlv, lxxv, calls these coins of Bābur and Humāyūn merely "thin dirhams of the Central Asian type"; but from the frequent reference to *Shāhrukhīs* in the *Bābur-nāma* and *Humāyūn-nāma*, as well as other works on the early Mughal period, there can be no doubt that these are the coins intended: thin silver plates indeed, with diameter 24-27 mm. and weight between 4.5 and 5 gms. (see S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, Calcutta 1923, 1-10). These coins, to judge from the number remaining, would have been far from sufficient to satisfy the demands for a working currency, and there is no doubt that coins of the late Dihlī sultanate, especially the Bahlūlīs and Sikandarīs of Bahlūl and Sikander Lōdī, long continued in circulation; the standard diameters of these coins, 17.8 mm. for the whole, 14 mm. for the half, are referred to in Akbar's time in definitions of measurement (see MISĀḤA. 2), and they are frequently referred to in the Mughal chronicles. The Sikandarī coins (of billon), commonly called *tanka* and valued at one-twentieth of a Mughal rupee, were even imitated in Akbar's coinage under the name of *dām*, but in copper (the Lōdīs were the last to use billon).

Even before Humāyūn's defeat and exile, Shīr Khān had assumed the throne in Bengal in 945/1538 as Shīr Shāh Sūrī [*q.v.*], and immediately set about remodelling the entire currency; since this was the immediate model of Akbar's currency and that of the later Mughals, we must consider it in some detail. From his homeland he would have been familiar with the systems of Bihār and Bengal, where gold was scarce, billon not used, and cowries often taking the place of the smaller copper pieces; he therefore adopted silver as the standard for his rupee (*rupayya* = "silver"), of a weight of the familiar Indian *tōlā*, 11.6638 gms., and an average diameter of 28 mm. His copper coins, called *paysā*, were one-fortieth the value of the rupee, varying in weight with the distance of the mints from the copper mines, from 19.5 to 21.3 gms.; halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths are also known. The silvers are well-shaped and well-struck, generally with the *kalima* on the obverse in a square or a circle, with the names of the four Orthodix Caliphs in the margins; the reverse bears Shīr's name and regnal titles, often with an attempt at "Shrī Shīr Shāhī" in the devanagari script, and (especially in the case of the later coins) an indication of the mint; over twenty mint-names in silver and copper are recorded, suggesting that coin was struck at the more important towns as and when they were added to Shīr Shāh's possessions, showing the extent of his authority—a further precedent for the Mughal coinage. Many of the earlier coins are mintless beyond the expression *djahān-panāh*, and it has been suggested that this refers to the immediate precincts of the sultan while on tour, as with the common Mughal mint designation of *urdū* "camp".

Of Humāyūn's second regnal period, 962-3/1555-6, there exist only a small number of specimens of the coinage, but these are now of the standard introduced by Shīr Shāh (Whitehead, *PMC*, p. xlv, remarks that Āgrā is not represented as a mint, but there is a coin of Humāyūn's of 963 with the legend *ḍuriba Āgrā* in the author's collection). Akbar's early coinage follows the same pattern in silver, slightly less in average weight than Shīr Shāh's, the obverse usually bearing the *kalima* in circle or square, with the names of the Companions in the resulting margins; the reverse bears the royal titles *Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar*, with the new expressions *bādshāh ghāzī*, date and mint; further expressions, in the earlier coinage, may appear in the margins, which later are dropped. A similar arrangement holds for the gold coins, usually of similar weight but smaller diameter. From about 985/1577, although the superscriptions remain much the same, the square shape is introduced, possibly inspired by the characteristically square coinage of Mālwā [see SIKKA], as examples are rare from the time of the pre-Mughal northern coinage, and from about the same time the legends of both obverse and reverse may be set on a decorative floral background, usually the arabesque [*q.v.*], on both round and square coins; before then there had even been a few coins, usually gold, of a *miḥrābī* shape. Fractions are not uncommon in the collections: half (*darb*), quarter (*čaran*), even tenth and twentieth, the smaller pieces in particular having been struck for the *nithār*, the silver (sometimes also gold) coin scattered at processions [see MAWĀKIB]; half-rupees are especially common from the Kābul mint.

After Akbar had promulgated his so-called "infallibility decree" in 987/1579 the superscription *allāhu akbar* first appears. Whitehead's comment (*op.cit.*, p. xx) that "the inference was that Akbar's person was divine ..." was a difficulty foreseen in Akbar's own time, and Akbar's own indignant repudiation of any intention of ambiguity is reported not only by Abu 'l-Faḍl but also by the generally hostile Badāʾūnī. See *The coin-legend* Allāhu Akbar, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 81-92. In Akbar's 29th regnal year, 992/1584, his new Ilāhī year was founded, its inception back-dated to 28 Rabīʿ II 963, the date of his accession; this was to be a solar year of 12 solar months, using the Persian names of the old (Sāsāni) Yazdagirdī era [see TAʾRĪKH], without intercalation; the month began when the sun entered each sign of the zodiac. Synchronism with Hidjrī dates is not obvious, but can be determined from references in the chronicles; see *The Ilāhī era*, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 11-40, in which there are copious examples and useful tables. Ilāhī years appear on Akbar's coinage from year 30, 993/1585, with an expanded superscription *allāhu akbar, djalla djalālahu*, which from the 36th year appears on the square gold and silver coins of the principal mints. At the same time Persian replaces Arabic on coin legends and in dates. From the 35th year the month name is also given. The coinage in gold becomes increasingly frequent, and besides the common gold piece (*muhr, ashrafī*), of no fixed value against the rupee but apparently exchanging at between ten and sixteen times the rupee-value, there were also 10, 25, 50 and 100-*muhr*, and even heavier pieces, struck rather as commemorative medals for favoured courtiers, or even as ingots for store in the treasuries; see *Gigantic coins*, in Hodivala, *op.cit.*, 53-80. Akbar's copper coinage is likewise of the type instituted by Shīr Shāh as his *paysā*; Akbar's version was called *dām*, thick and heavy but nevertheless well-struck (up to 20.73 gms.; double-*dāms* are not uncommon, also halves, quarters and eighths, both round and square, occasionally oblong; the double-*dām* is frequently called *ṭankā* on the coins themselves, the *dām nīm ṭanka*; the *dām* is worth, according to Abu 'l-Faḍl, one-fortieth of the rupee (the word *dām* is even now in common colloquial use for "money"). There is some confusion in nomenclature with the old *ṭankā*, the "coin of the realm" in the Dihlī sultanate [see DĀR AL-ḌARB and SIKKA], the *ṭānk*, a goldsmith's weight of three-elevenths of a *tōlā* or the lighter jeweller's weight of one-third *tōlā*, and small metal pieces called *ṭankī* issued only in Akbar's last five years from the north-western mints; it had been thought that these *ṭankīs* were simply jeweller's weights cast in metal (with mint and date), but it has been shown that they were current in the north-west (especially Kābul and Ḳandahār) and were introduced to provide fractional small coinage (see *Ṭankīs*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 103-14) (jeweller's weights were regularly of agate).

Akbar introduced also the practice of adorning some coins (only from three of his mints) with verse-couplets in Persian. The diversity of mints increased enormously in Akbar's time, reflecting the expansion of his empire; silver is known from at least 45 mints, copper from 64—at least 86 Akbarī mints altogether. The so-called "mint-marks" (103 are shown in *PMC*) are rather marks of individual mint-masters or coiners, and their significance seems to be no more than decorative. The earlier coins of Akbar, with the *kalima* set between the names of the four Companions, were a frequent source of fakes which were used, together with genuine coins, as talismans by devout Muslims. In Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, p. x, there is an elaborate (but far from conclusive) account of some of Akbar's coin-types, well summarised in *Abul Fazl's inventory of Akbar's coins*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 41-52.

Djahāngīr was even more of an innovator than his father, a "prince of moneyers" in the 11th/17th century as Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ had been in the 8th/14th, and in his time the Mughal coins reached their zenith. The floral or arabesque background to the legends is universal, and verse couplets—some commonplace, some of no mean poetical value—became the rule rather than the exception (sometimes helped by the coincidence that *djahāngīr* and *allāhu akbar* are numerically equal, each = 289 by *abdjad*); for some time, from the Āgrā and Lāhawr mints, the couplets might be changed every month. His coins are dated in regnal years, often with the Hidjrī year as well. From years 6 to 13 his Āgrā rupees were struck in the square and round forms in alternate months; from year 13 pictorial representations of the signs of the zodiac replace the month names, on gold as well as silver. Some pieces, possibly intended as gifts to favoured courtiers rather than as current coin, bear a nimbate portrait of Djahāngīr seated, wine-cup in hand; and between 1033/1624 and 1037/1627 the name of his empress Nūr Djahān [*q.v.*] is associated with his own in some issues. There are many small silver pieces, struck as *nithār* [*q.v.*], for scattering among the populace at weddings, processions and other public spectacles [see MAWĀKIB], to which Djahāngīr himself frequently refers in his *Tūzuk*; this seems to have been a pan-Asiatic custom, known in pre-Muslim India as well as in Iran and Central Asia (among the Čaghatays gold and silver almonds, walnuts and filberts were also so scattered; see Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, ed. and tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1902, text 27, 34, tr. 12, 112). Refs. to the chronicles in *Niṣārs*, in Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 177-85. For the large commemorative pieces see

Gigantic coins, in *op. cit.*, 53-80. Djahāngīr's coppers are well-struck but less innovative, and rarer (there was presumably ample copper coin of previous reigns still in circulation).

Shāhdjahān's coinage is profuse, with many minor variations of design; the names of the companions are restored to the obverse, and the reverse frequently bears Shāhdjahān's self-conferred title of *ṣāḥib-i ḳirān-i thānī*; but the inspiration which marked Djahāngīr's coinage is now lacking. Dating is still by regnal (Ilāhī) years as well as Hidjrī, verse-couplets are frequent, and the new mint Shāhdjahānābād reflects his new capital in the "Red Fort" in Dihlī.

Awrangzīb's issues, while well-struck, tend to be monotonous. The reverse of the golds and silvers bears the invariable inscription *sana ... djulūs-i maymanat-i mānūs*, with mint and regnal year, which becomes the pattern followed by his successors; the number of southern mints increases, as might be expected, with his long years in the Deccan (see 1. History, above). With his reimposition of the *djizya* [*q.v.*] he struck also a "legal dirham", *dirham sharʿī*, of about 2.88 gms. in silver (see Whitehead's note in *PMC*, ii, 437), in 1090/1679. The "gigantic coins" disappear, but small coin for the *nithār* is common.

The later emperors-fainéant maintained the Awrangzībī pattern of coinage without attaining anything of great distinction. Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*] did, however, produce from Lāhawr a *dirham sharʿī* in 1129/1717. But, with the resources of his treasury running low, he adopted the policy of farming out the mints, which proved to be disastrous; and thenceforth the autonomous and semi-independent rulers of the provinces struck their own coin, presumably with the nominal consent of Dihlī; thus the Rādjpūt states, after the mid-12th/18th century, especially in silver, were in frank imitation of the Mughal coinage, and since they bear the Mughal emperor's name it is often difficult to distinguish them except for their poorer quality. (It has been calculated that in the early 19th century there were at least 994 different gold and silver coins current in the country.) Coins in imitation of those of the Mughal emperors were issued, by licence, by the English (and French) East India companies, the French for some years from Arkāt, the English from various mints with an invariable regnal year: thus all Banāras coins bear the year 17, from Murshidābād 19, those of Farrukhābād 45, bearing the Mughal emperor's name but now becoming more European in style and fabric, with the mints having come under European supervision, the gold and silver coins even having a true milled edge. In the time of Shāh ʿĀlam, Lord Lake's victory over the Marāṭhās is commemorated in the coinage of Shāhdjahānābād/Dihlī for 1220/regnal year 47 by the usual legends being enclosed within a wreath of roses, thistles and shamrocks, an alien influence indeed! All these anomalies were eventually superseded by the British Imperial currency of 1835. For other imitations of the later Mughal currency, see SIKKA. For the working of the Mughal mints, see DĀR AL-ḌARB above.

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AL-**MUGHAMMAS**, the name of a valley near to Mecca, a short distance from the road to al-Ṭāʾif, cited, especially in old poetry, because the tomb of Abū Righāl [*q.v.*] was traditionally located there. The correct reading of the toponym is not however certain, with variation between al-Maghammas, al-Mughammis and al-Mughammas. The latter form seems to be the most plausible, for it denotes a spot covered with scrub and bushes in which it is possible to hide, and, according to a tradition, it was there that the Prophet would go aside to satisfy his needs of nature away from the sight of his fellow-citizens; in this case, he would have had to travel two-thirds of a *farsakh*, which makes this tradition seem somewhat doubtful.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 583-5; Bakrī, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 553; see also the *Bibl. to* ABŪ RIGHĀL, and Ḥarbī, *K. al-Manāsik*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 352-3, n. 3. (ED.)

MUGHĀRASA (A.), a legal term denoting a lease for agricultural planting, often treated by authors in parallel to the *musāḳāt* [*q.v.*], agreement for the payment of rent in kind, of which it is in some ways a particular kind, more favourable to the lessee. The commentators are silent about the juridical origins of this institution, and there is not the slightest mention of it in the Ḳurʾān or Sunna. Nevertheless, *mughārasa* is one of the most-used forms of contract. Under its terms, the owner of a piece of land charges a person with the planting of trees on it under a co-ownership basis, and in return, he agrees to grant the planter ownership of a predetermined proportion of the whole crop, as soon as the trees bear fruit or at the end of a period stipulated in the original contract. The lessee thus becomes an owner; and he can put an end to the common ownership by demanding a division of the land.

The actual planting may involve products which remain for long in the ground, such as date palms and olive trees; however, certain legal authorities allow *mughārasa* for cotton and saffron. The term envisaged must be fixed according to the work programme of the lessee. This is generally at the moment when the trees start to produce fruit or, if fruit trees are not involved, at the point when they reach a certain height. The fraction for which the lesser becomes a co-owner must be stipulated in the legal contract. It is only at the end of the stipulated contract that the lessee acquires rights, and until then, he has no claim on anything. However, if he dies before its end, his heirs have the right to continue the work until the end of the contract. In practice, it is recognised that the lessee can sell up to a third of his forthcoming "expectations".

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AL-**MUGHĀWIR** [see ALMOGÁVARES].

AL-**MUGHAYYABĀT** AL-**KHAMS** (A.) "the five mysteries, things concealed in the unseen", a technical term of Islamic theology. These are regarded as known to God alone as part of His pres-

fig. 1 Adjmēr, *dargāh* of Kh^{w}ādja Mu^{c}īn al-Dīn Čishtī, mosque of Akbar, *pīshṭāḳ* of the prayer hall, 1570s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1985)

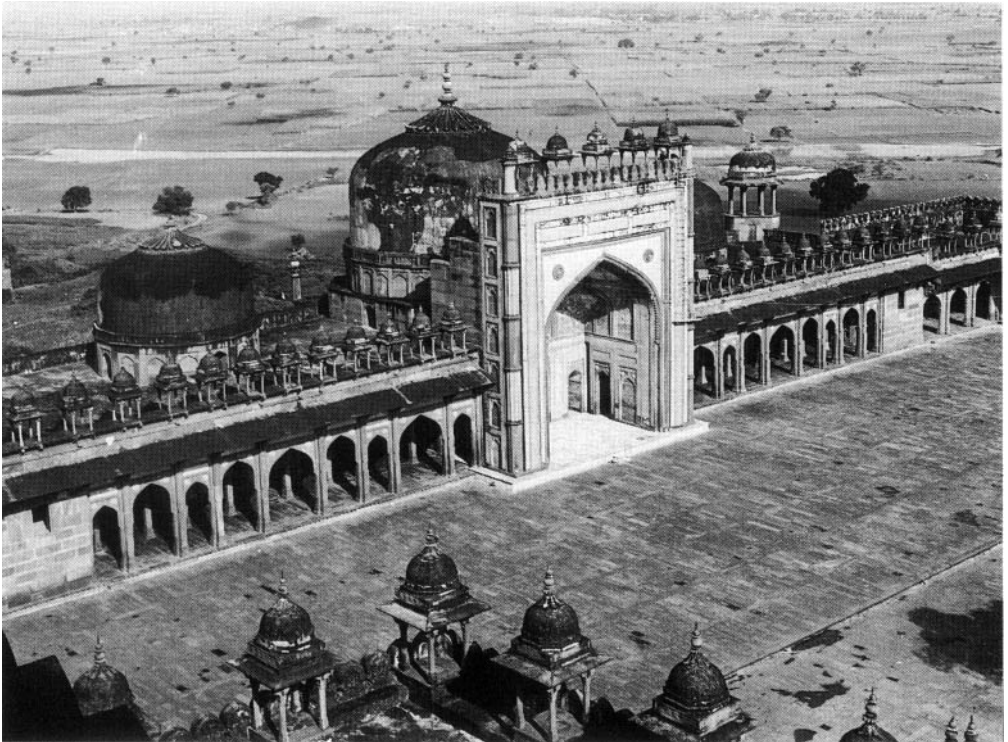



fig. 2 Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, Djāmi^{c} Masdjid, prayer hall, c. 976-81/1568-74. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

fig. 1 Dihlī, "Sabz Burdj", 1530s-1540s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1976)

fig. 2 Dihlī, mosque and tomb "Afsarwālā", 1560s. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

Dihlī, tomb of Humāyūn, 970-8/1562-71. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

Bayāna, Vidjayamandirgaŕh Fort, pavilion of Muḥammad, dated 940/1533-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1984)

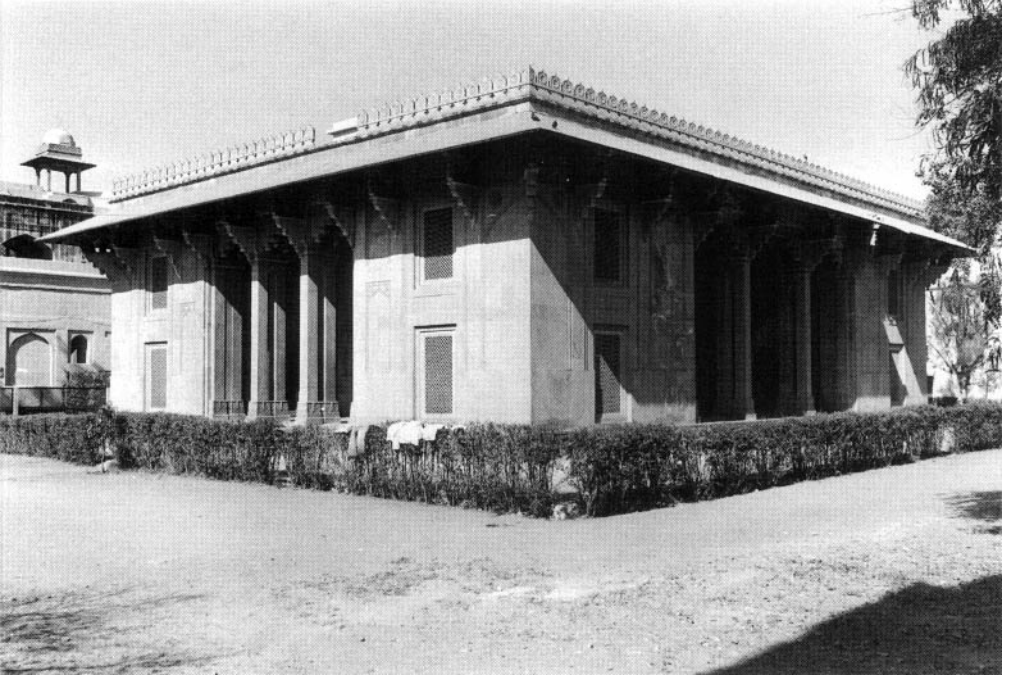



fig. 1 Adjmēr, fort of Akbar, central pavilion, 978-81/1570-3. (Photo: E. Koch, 1985)

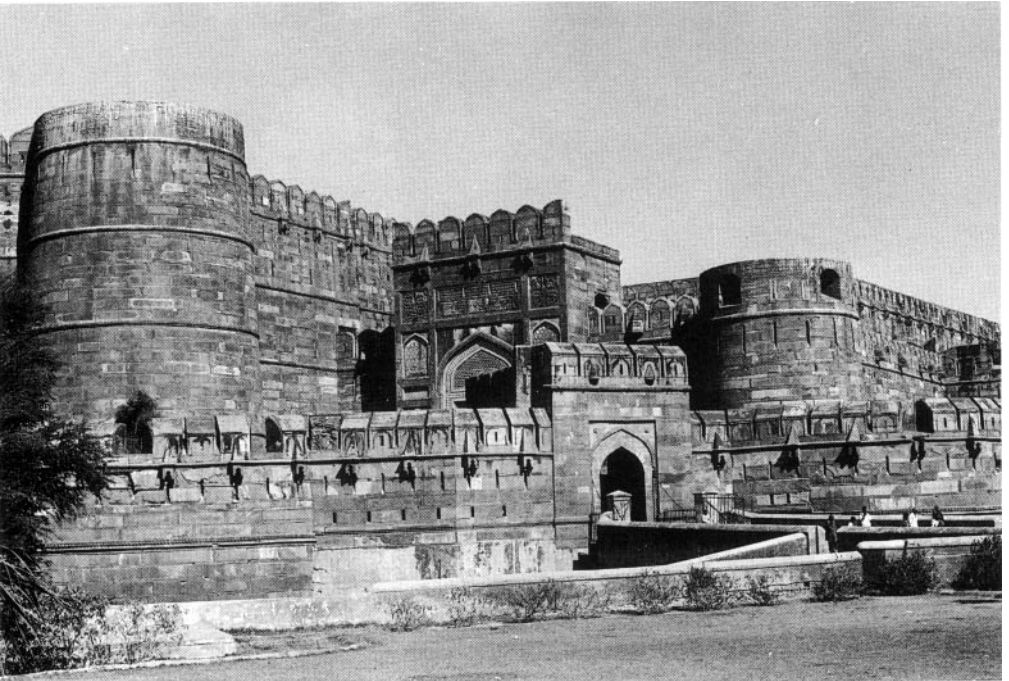



fig. 2 Āgra Fort, "Amar Singh" Gate (Akbarī Darwāza), probably 974/1566-7. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

Allāhābād Fort, "Rānī kī Maḥall", pillars of the verandah, founded in 991/1583. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

fig. 1 Āgra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, dated 1022/1613. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

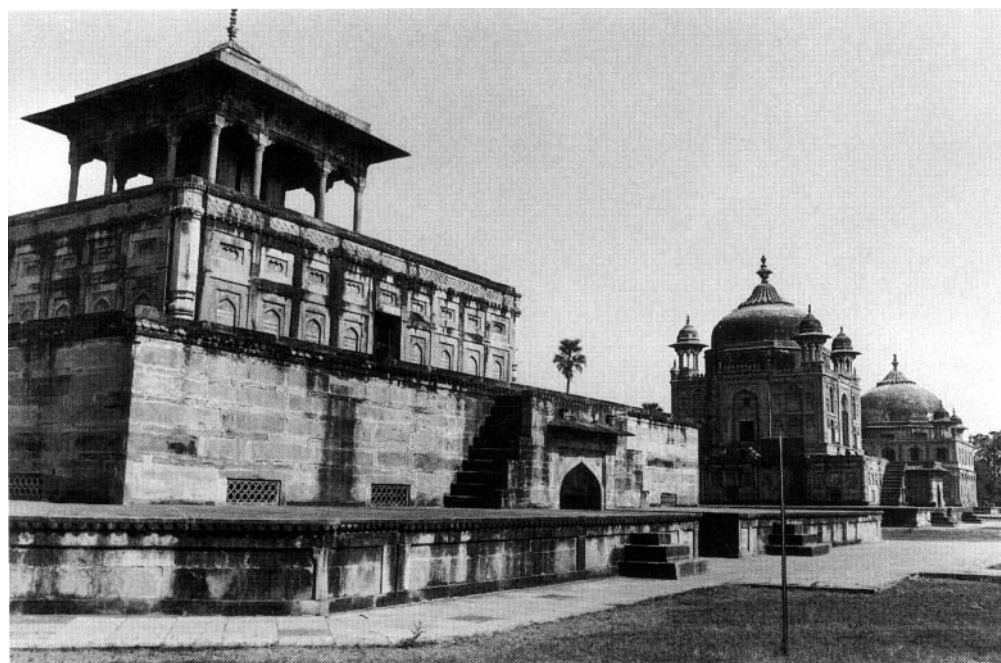



fig. 2 Allāhābād, Khusraw Bāgh, tombs of Shāh Bēgam (d. 1013/1605), of Sulṭān Nithār Bēgam (1034/1624-5) and of Sulṭān Khusraw (d. 1031/1622). (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

fig. 1 Shaykhūpūra near Lāhawr, hunting palace, 1015-30/1607-20 and 1043-4/1634-5. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

fig. 2 Lāhawr Fort, northern front. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

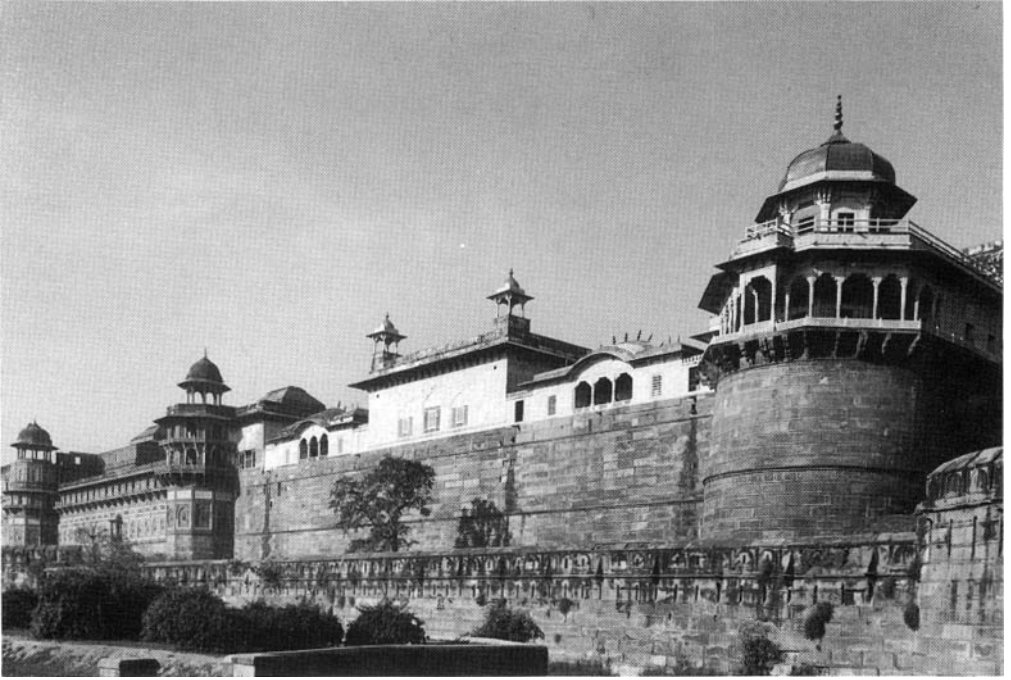



fig. 1 Āgra Fort, eastern front. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

fig. 2 Sarāʾī Nūr Maḥall, west gate, dated 1028-30/1618-20. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

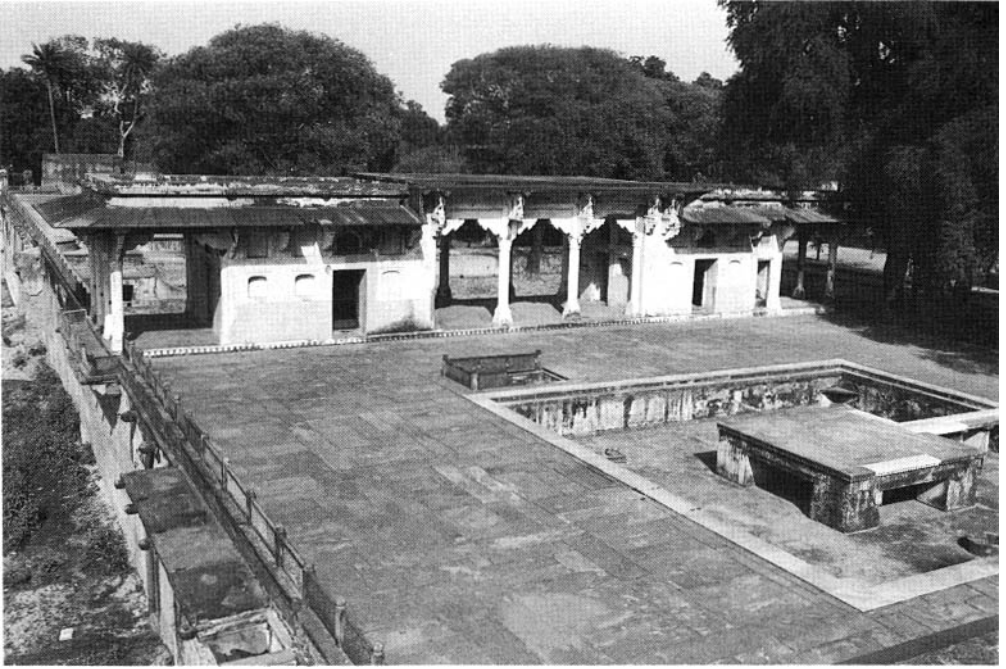



fig. 1 Āgra, "Rām Bāgh" (Bāgh-i Nūr Afshān), river-side terrace, northern pavilion, completed in 1030/1621. (Photo: E. Koch, 1982)

fig. 2 Āgra Fort, "Maččhī Bhawan", completed in 1046/1637. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

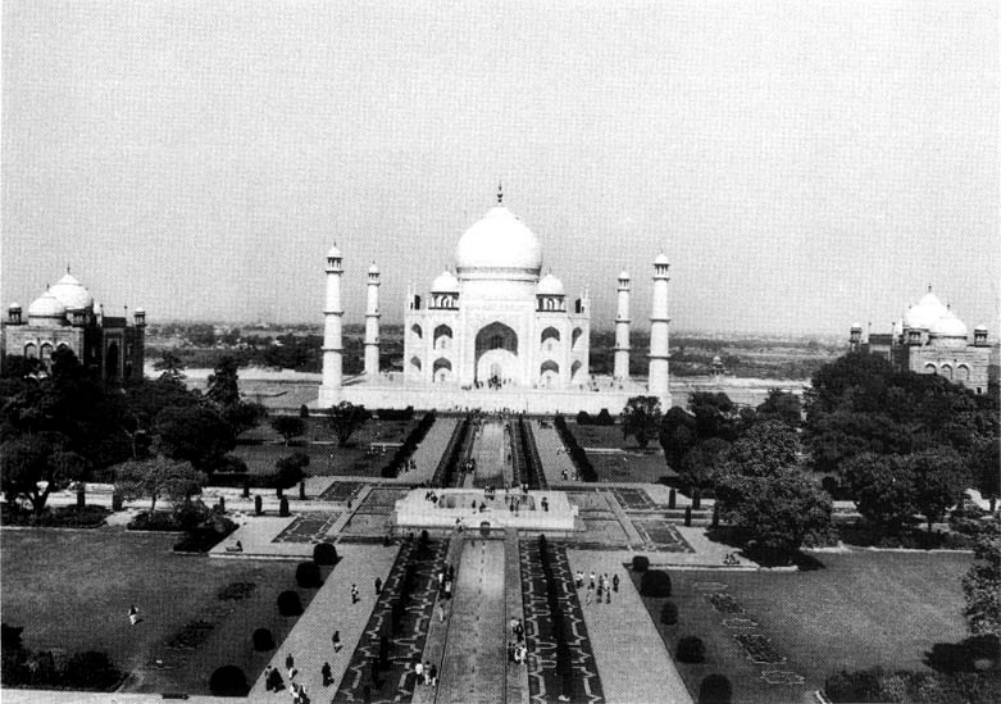



fig. 1 Āgra, Tādj Maḥall, 1041-52/1631-43. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

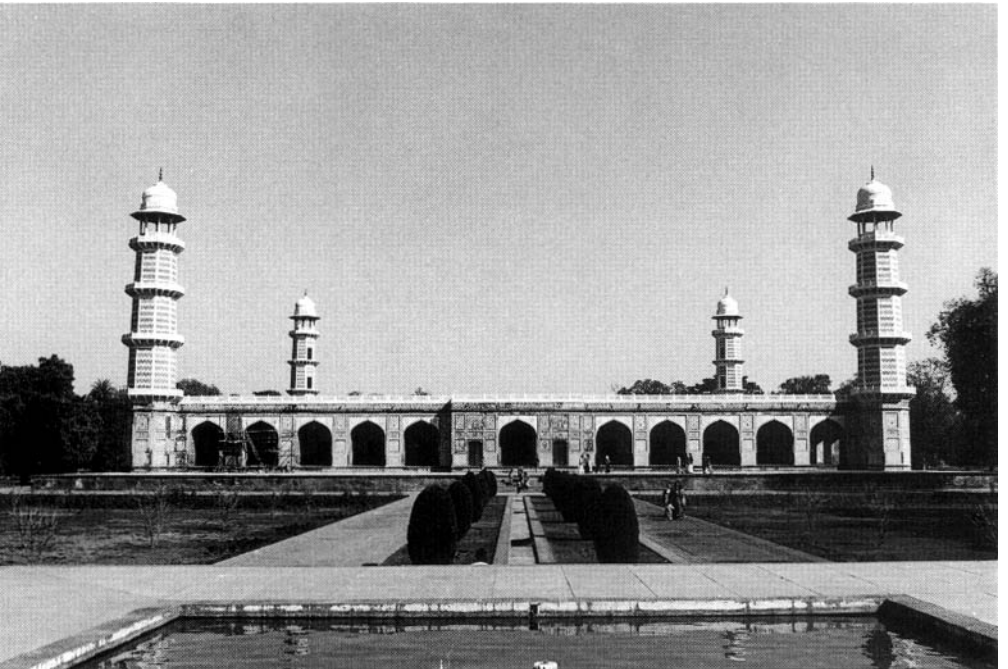



fig. 2 Lāhawr, Shāhdara, tomb of Djahāngīr, 1037-47/1628-38. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

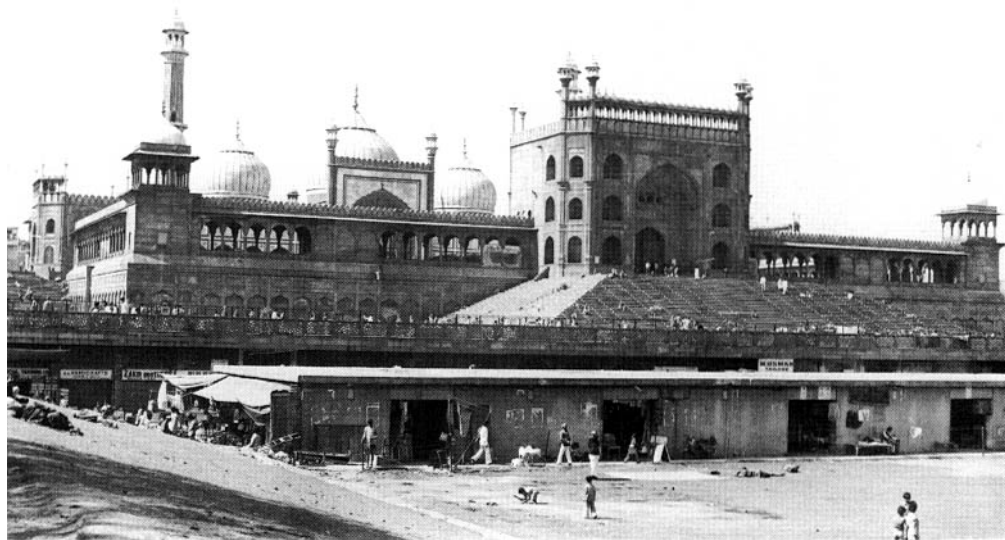



fig. 1 Dihlī, Djāmiʿ Masdjid, 1060-6/1650-6. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

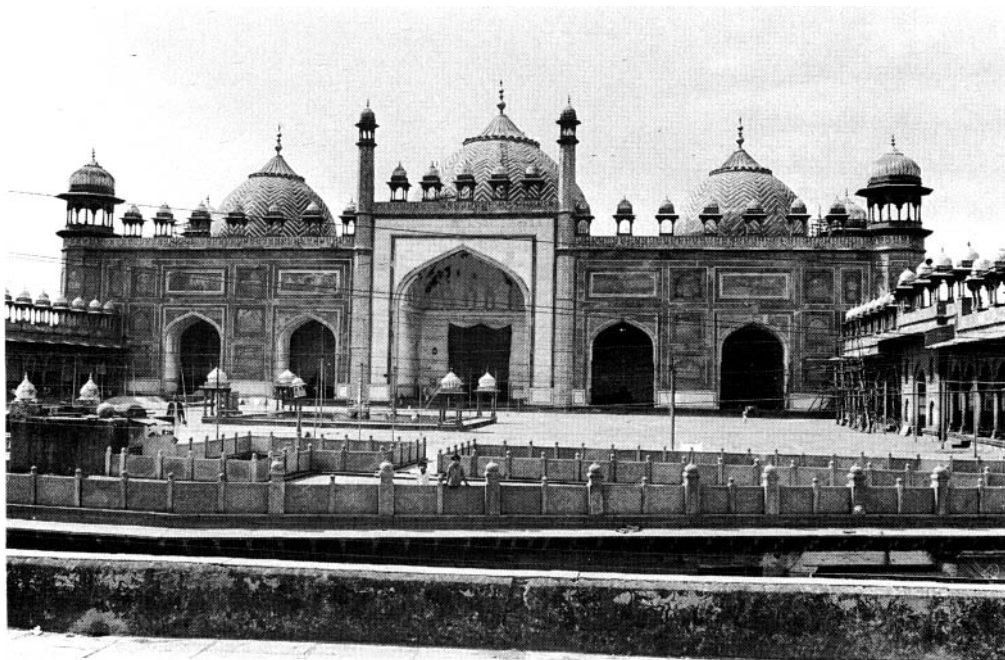



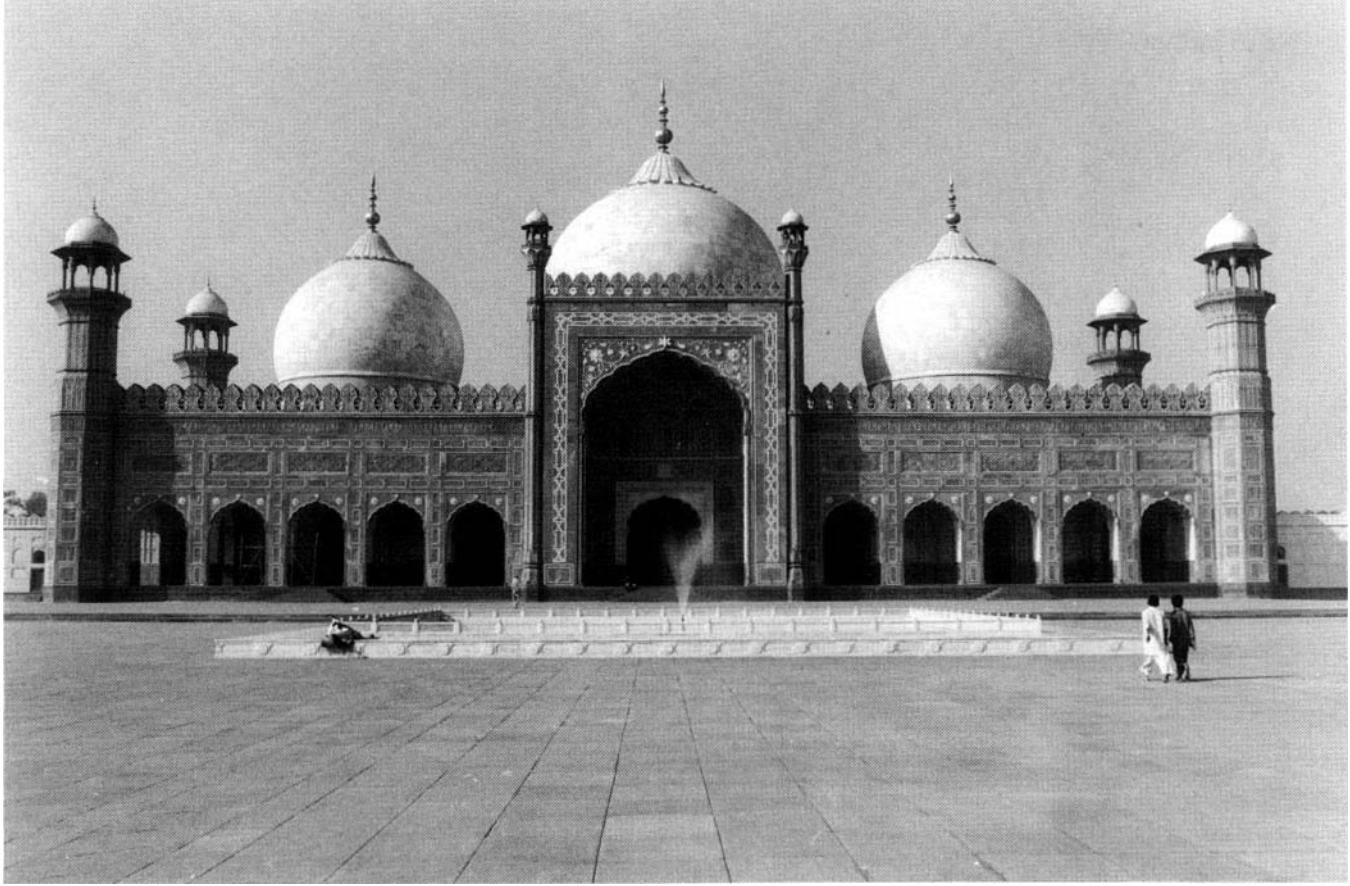
fig. 2 Āgra, Djāmiʿ Masdjid, completed in 1058/1648. (Photo: E. Koch, 1978)

Lāhawr, Bādshāhī Masdjid, dated 1084/1673-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

fig. 1 Dihlī, *madrasa*, mosque and tomb of G͟hāzī al-Dīn K͟hān, early 18th century. (Photo: E. Koch, 1981)

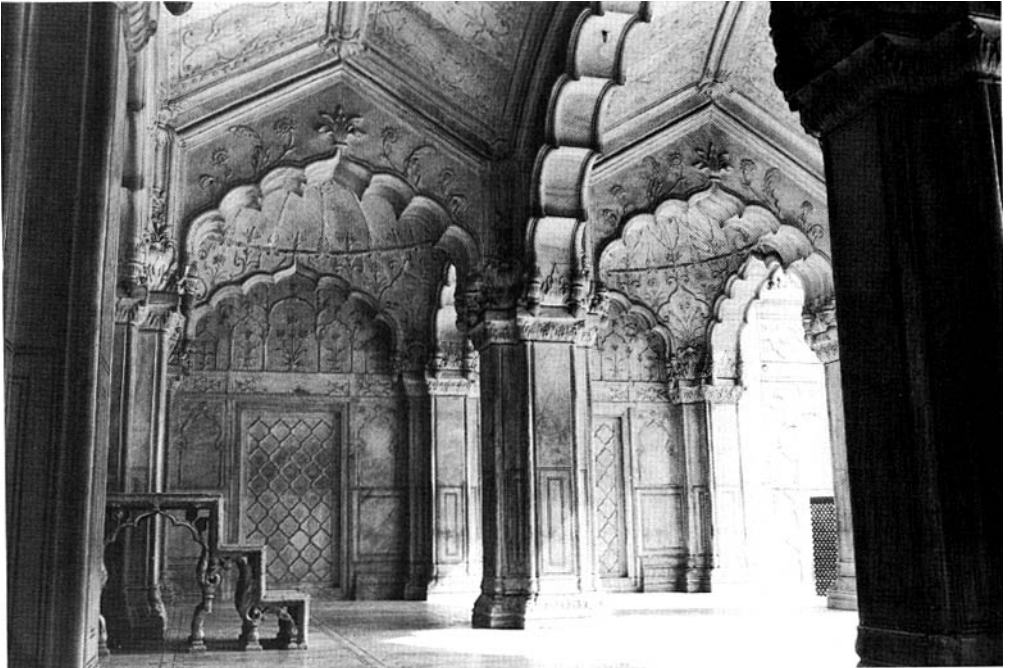
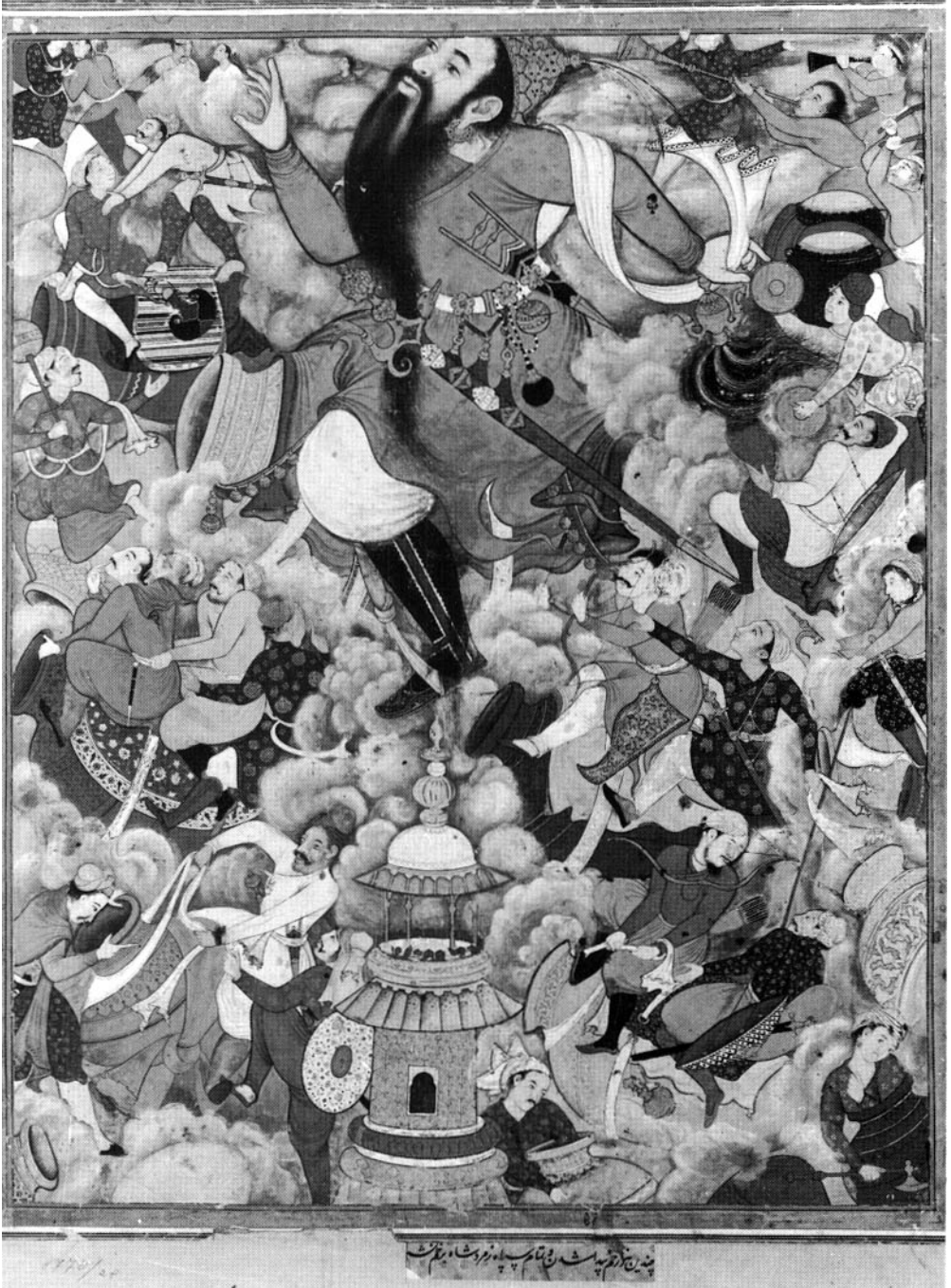
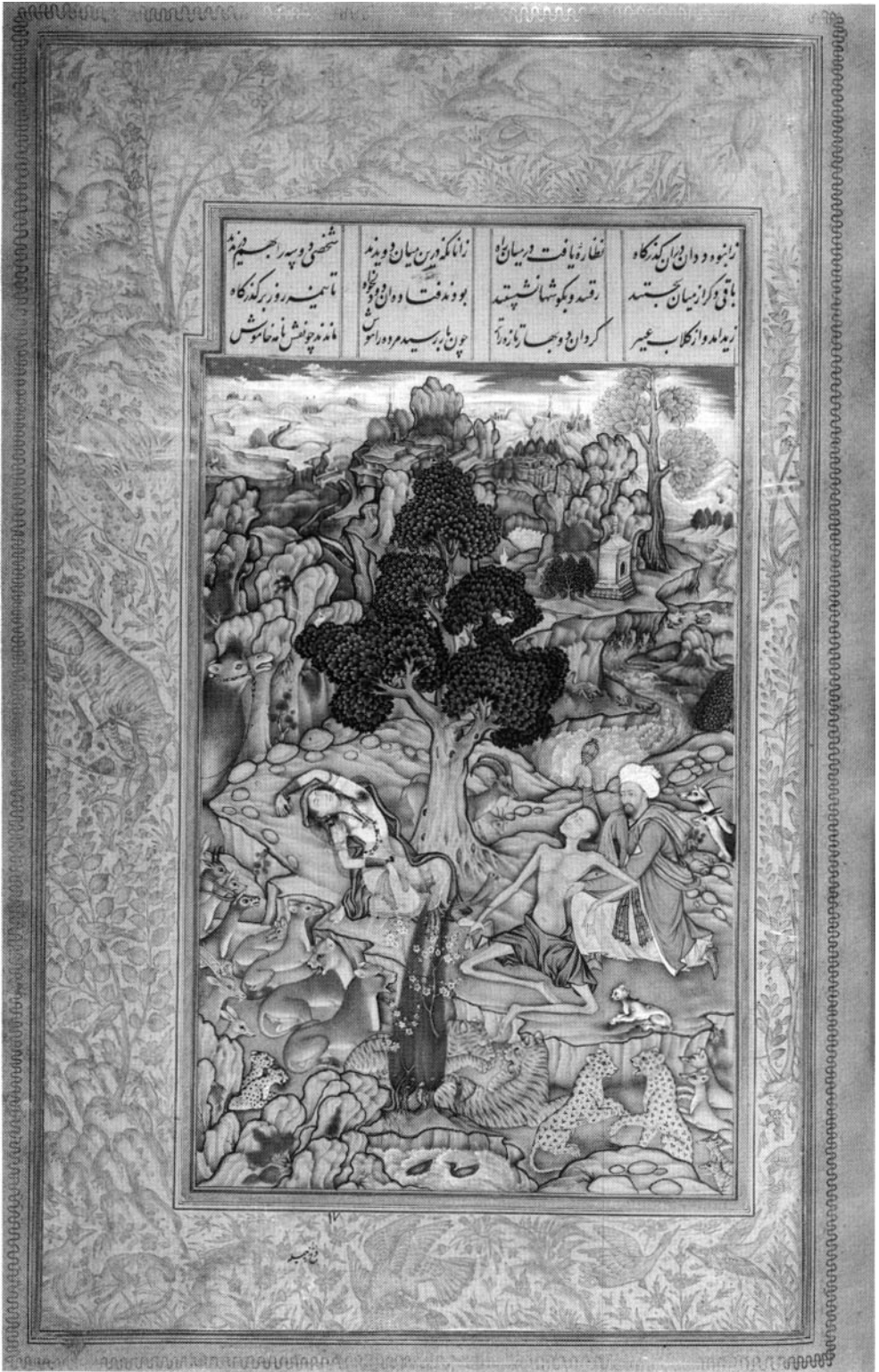
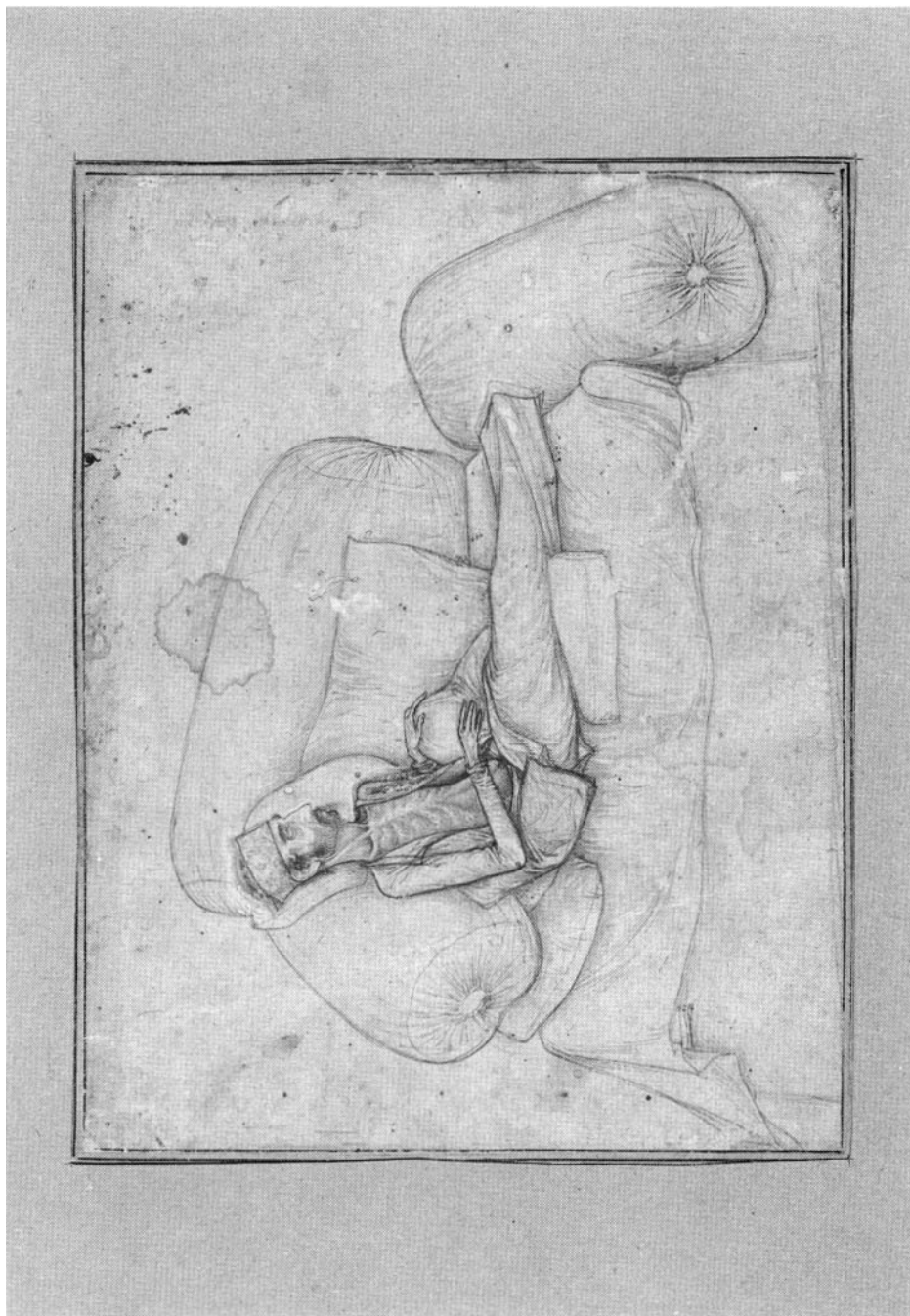



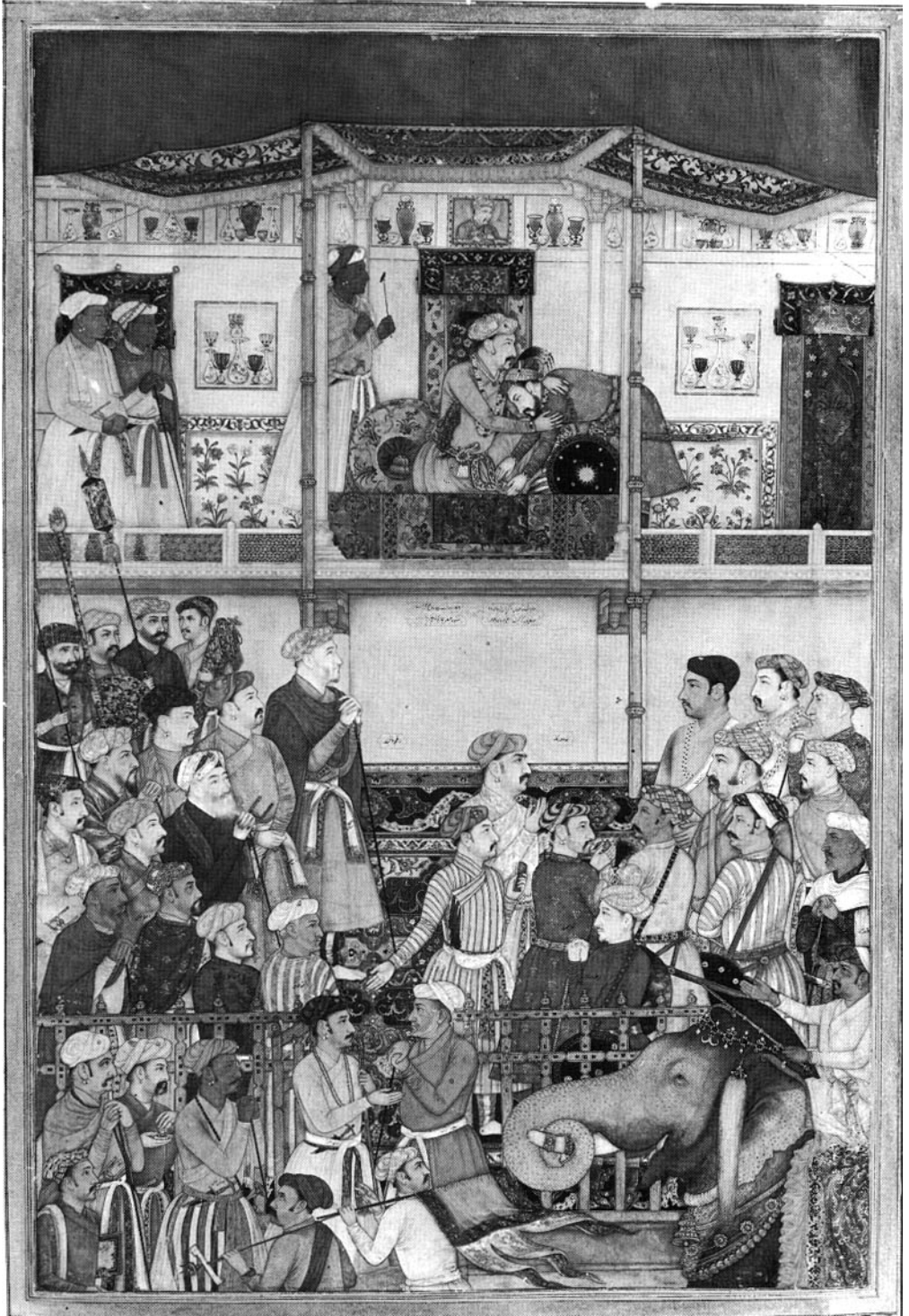
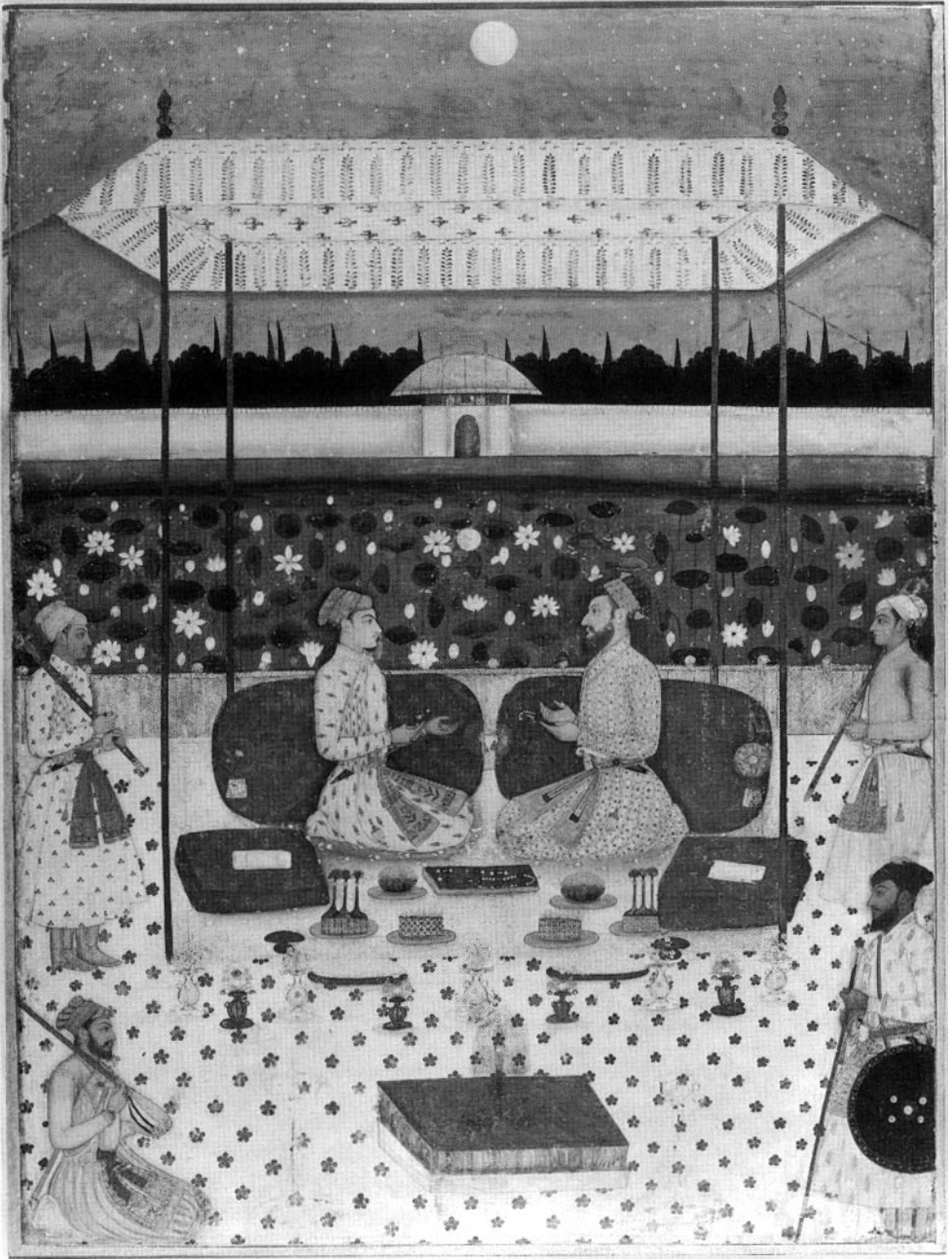
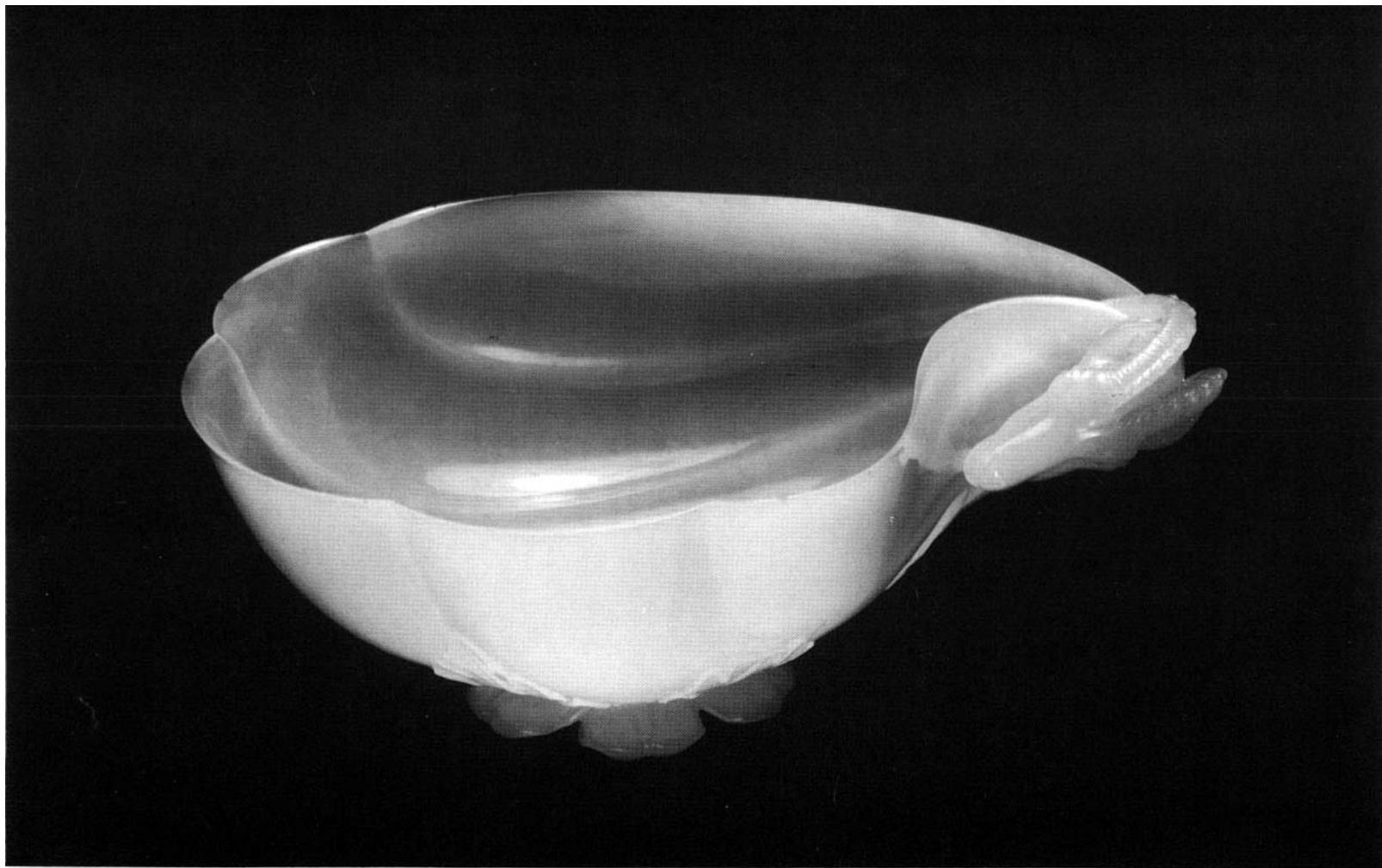
fig. 2 Dihlī Fort, mosque of Awrangzīb, prayer hall, 1074/1663. (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)

fig. 1 Awrangābād, tomb of Rābiʿa Dawrānī, 1071/1660-1. (Photo: E. Koch, 1982)

fig. 2 Dihlī, tomb of Ṣafdar Djang, 1167/1753-4. (Photo: E. Koch, 1986)

Brighton, Royal Pavilion, 1803-32. (Photo: E. Koch, 1980)

The arrest of Shāh Abu 'l Maʿālī (1556). ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, contemporary. Ouseley Add. 172, 17a. Courtesy of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The army of Zumurrud Shāh flies on jars. Probably by Basāwan, *ca.* 1575. Painting on cloth, 8770/28. Courtesy of Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

Laylā and Madjnūn faint on meeting. Farrukh Čēla in *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, *ilāhī* 40/1595, Or. 12208, 123a.
Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Library, London.

The dying ʿInāyat Khān (1618). Probably by Gowardhan, contemporary. Drawing, 14.679 (Goloubew collection, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund.) Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

D̲jahāngīr prefers a Ṣūfī *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* to kings. Bičitr, *ca.* 1616. Painting, 42-15. Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

<u>Kh</u>urram (later <u>Sh</u>āh <u>D</u>jahān) takes leave of <u>D</u>jahāngīr (1613). Bālčand in *Pād<u>sh</u>āh-nāma* of Lāhawrī, 1067/1656-7. HB 149, 43b (86). The Royal Library, Windsor Castle. By gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Grandees in converse on a terrace at night. *Ca.* 1680-90. Painting, AL 4940. By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Cup of Shāh Djahān. 1057/1647-8. White nephrite jade, IS 12-1962. By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

cience and foreknowledge of all aspects of nature and human acitivity (cf. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala 1955, 86 ff.; and AL-ḲAḌĀ᾽ WA 'L-ḲADAR). These are usually identified with the five things known to God as expounded in the Ḳur᾽ān, XXXI, 34: the hour of the Last Judgment [see AL-SĀʿA]; when rain will be sent down; what is in the womb (i.e. the sex and number of children); what a man will gain, of his sustenance, on the morrow; and when a man shall die.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): See G. Sale, *The Koran, ad loc.*; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, etc. 1980, 395, for other Ḳur᾽ānic parallel passages; and the classical commentators *ad loc.*, e.g. Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur᾽ān al-ʿAẓīm*, iii, 453-4. (ED.)

AL-**MUG͟HĪRA** B. **SAʿĪD** AL-BAD͟JALĪ [see AL-MUG͟HĪRIYYA].

AL-**MUG͟HĪRA** B. **S͟HUʿBA**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-T͟haḳafī, Companion of the Prophet who exercised various political functions under the Patriarchial Caliphs and the early Umayyads.

He belonged to the Aḥlāf section of the T͟haḳīf, and was a member of the clan of the Banū Muʿattib, guardians of the sanctuary of the shrine of al-Lāt [*q.v.*] in al-Ṭā᾽if, and nephew of ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd [*q.v.*], Companion and martyr. For having attacked and plundered some travelling companions during their sleep, he was forced to leave Ṭā᾽if, his native town, and came to Medina to offer his services to Muḥammad. The latter used him to attract the T͟haḳīf to Islam, and after the submission of Ṭā᾽if, sent him to this town to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt. In the caliphate of Abū Bakr, although he never succeeded in attaining to one of the great posts which were reserved for Ḳurays͟h, al-Mug͟hīra was able to keep a position in governing circles. ʿUmar, while under no illusions about his morals, appointed him governor of Baṣra. A scandalous incident temporarily interrupted his administrative career. He was accused of adultery. The evidence was overwhelming: instead of having him stoned, ʿUmar only dismissed him. Al-Mug͟hīra holds in tradition the record for marriages and divorces: the figures of 300, 700 and 1,000 are given. In the year 21/642, recalled to public life, he was appointed to the important governorship of Kūfa. His slave Abū Lu᾽lu᾽a [*q.v.*], who lived in Medina, assassinated the caliph ʿUmar. Under ʿUt͟hmān, al-Mug͟hīra retired to private life. In the reign of ʿAlī, he withdrew to Ṭā᾽if to watch the course of events. He went without having been invited to the conference of Ad͟hruḥ [*q.v.*]. In 40/660, taking advantage of the general confusion that followed the assassination of ʿAlī, by means of a letter of appointment from Muʿāwiya which he was accused of having forged, he took over the control of the annual pilgrimage.

The Umayyad caliph was able to appreciate at their true value auxiliaries of the stamp of al-Mug͟hīra, one of the chief *dāhiyas* of his time, the man "who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty"; "if (it was said) he were shut behind seven doors, his cunning would have found a way to burst all the locks." Of shocking morals, free from any attachment to the ʿAlid party, equally free from any claims to the caliphate, free from the jealousies of the Ḳurays͟h families, as well as the narrow-mindedness of the Anṣār clans, a member of the intelligent and enterprising tribe of T͟haḳīf, everything attracted Muʿāwiya's attention to him. In the year 41/661, this caliph appointed him governor of Kūfa, a region disturbed by the intrigues of the S͟hīʿa and the continual risings of the K͟hārid͟jīs. Al-Mug͟hīra succeeded in not compromising himself with the former; he was content to advise them to avoid any too striking outburst. Now nearly sixty, the able T͟haḳafī felt the unusual ambition of remaining where he was and of finishing his troubled career in peace and honour. This opportunist, who had come over to the Umayyads after cool calculation, felt little desire to sacrifice his own peace and leisure for the consolidation of the Umayyad dynasty; he was solely concerned with keeping on the right side of the sagacious Muʿāwiya. The sudden rising of the K͟hārid͟jī leader al-Mustawrid failed to disturb his equanimity. With remarkable cleverness, he was able to let loose against these rebels their born enemies, "the fine flower of the S͟hīʿa". Whichever was victorious, it could not fail to lighten his responsibilities. By setting them against one another he rendered harmless the most dangerous elements of disorder in his province. The crushing of the K͟hārid͟jīs enabled him to breathe freely.

Thanks to this combination of mildness and astuteness, and by knowing when to shut his eyes, al-Mug͟hīra succeeded in avoiding desperate measures against the people of ʿIrāḳ, who were a continual source of trouble, and succeeded in retaining his position. He was even regretted by his former subjects after he was gone. Not quite satisfied, Muʿāwiya thought of breaking this lieutenant of his who was playing a double game. Al-Mug͟hīra was always able at the opportune moment to provoke troubles which required the continuation of his services. In this way he prepared the return to favour of Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], destined to be his successor. He is also said to have disarmed the caliph's suspicions by suggesting the plan of proclaiming Yazīd heir-apparent. As the general situation had considerably improved in ʿIrāḳ and order prevailed, on the surface at least, the caliph left him in office till his death, the date of which is uncertain but which must be placed between 48 and 51 (668-71). Al-Mug͟hīra died of the plague at the age of about 70.

Bibliography: *Ag͟hānī*, xix, 97, 140-8; xvi, 2-3, xviii, 165, xx, 117, xxi, 281-4; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd al-g͟hāba*, iv, 116; Ṭabarī, i, 2426, 2481, 2530 ff., ii, 4, 8, 10, 16, 19-21, 36-9, 40, 42, 44, 61, 67, 86-88, 111-15, 173, 174, 181, 207; Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta᾽rīk͟h*, 11, 166, 186; idem, *Buldān*, 272, tr. Wiet, 71; Ibn Rusta, index; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 344; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *D͟jamhara*, Tab. 118 and Register, ii, 419-20; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, index; Yāḳūt, index; Maḳdisī, *K. al-Bad᾽ wa 'l-ta᾽rīk͟h*, index; Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 91, 92, 190, 250, 416, 448, iii, 251, vi, 330, 478, xiii, 233, 235; see also Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et le formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, index; H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Moʿawia Ier*, in *RSO*, iv (1912), 1-5 = *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 27-41. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-**MUG͟HĪRIYYA**, extremist S͟hīʿī sect named after its founder al-Mug͟hīra b. Saʿīd al-Bad͟jalī, a *mawlā* of K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, governor of ʿIrāḳ (105-20/724-38). Since K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī was a member of Bad͟jīla, al-Mug͟hīra is also called a *mawlā* of this Southern Arab tribe. Descriptions of him as a member of the Banū ʿId͟jl are probably the result of a confusion with another extremist S͟hīʿī heresiarch, Abū Manṣūr al-ʿId͟jlī [see MANṢŪRIYYA].

Al-Mug͟hīra is described as an old and blind man practising magic and jugglery about the time of his revolt in Kūfa in 119/737. He was a follower of the

Ḥusaynid Muḥammad al-Bāḳir until the latter's death *ca.* 117/735 and is accused of having ascribed extremist doctrine to him. After al-Bāḳir's death he backed the belief that the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) [*q.v.*] would come forth as the Mahdī. It was evidently at this time that Muḥammad's father ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan began secretly to foster expectations that his son would be the expected Mahdī, his name and father's name matching those of the Prophet, his ancestor. As Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh went into concealment from the authorities, the Mug͟hīriyya claimed that he was alive hiding in a mountain called al-Ṭamiyya located east of the route from al-Ḥād͟jir to Mecca. Until his appearance as the Mahdī, al-Mug͟hīra taught, the imāmate of the ʿAlids lapsed and he, al-Mug͟hīra, was the *imām*. As in his extremist doctrine he elevated the rank of the ʿAlid *imāms* to divinity, he claimed prophethood and taught that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh had given him from his mouth the holy spirit with which he was able to bring the dead alive and to heal the blind and the leper.

The circumstances of the revolt of al-Mug͟hīra reported in the sources are puzzling, since he is said to have had only six or seven companions, yet K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī is described as greatly frightened by the news. Al-Mug͟hīra's relationship with Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*], who is described as rebelling at the same time, or just before him, is also obscure. According to most accounts, al-Mug͟hīra was put to death by the governor for his extremist teaching rather than for sedition. His body was exhibited on a cross at the Ḳanṭarat al-ʿĀs͟hir in Wāsiṭ.

According to the Sunnī sources, the Mug͟hīriyya recognised D͟jābir al-D͟juʿfī [*q.v.*] as al-Mug͟hīra's successor, and after his death *ca.* 128/745-6, Bakr al-Aʿwar al-Had͟jarī al-Ḳattāt. The Imāmī sources consider D͟jābir al-D͟juʿfī a loyal follower of the *Imām* D͟jaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, and Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh describes Bakr al-Ḳattāt as the immediate successor of al-Mug͟hīra. When the Mug͟hīriyya later discovered that Bakr had been lying to them and was enriching himself at their expense, they deposed him and recognised al-Mug͟hīra's son ʿAbd Allāh as their *imām*. Nas͟hwān al-Ḥimyarī's account, according to which ʿAbd Allāh cheated them of their money, is probably mistaken.

After the failure of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh and his death in 145/762, some of the Mug͟hīriyya claimed that he had been a devil who had taken the shape of Muḥammad and that the real Muḥammad would still rise and rule the world. Others accepted his death and did not recognise an *imām* after him. The sect seems to have disintegrated soon after his death. The reliability of a report of Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh about a sect of the Mug͟hīriyya called al-Mahdiyya who recognised Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the Mahdī is open to doubt.

In al-Mug͟hīra's gnostic doctrine (which, he claimed, was based on his knowledge of God's Greatest Name and which relied on allegorical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān), God was described in human shape with members in the number and form of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. When God wanted to create the world, He spoke His Greatest Name which fell on His head as His crown. He wrote the acts of obedience and disobedience of mankind on His palm. As He grew angry about the acts of disobedience, His sweat produced two seas, one dark and salty, and the other bright and sweet. When He saw His shadow on the sea, He went to seize it. He created the sun from the eye of His shadow and wiped out the rest of it, saying "There must not be another god but me." Then He created the infidels from the salty sea and the believers from the sweet. First He created the shadows (*ẓilāl*) of mankind, beginning with Muḥammad and ʿAlī. He offered to the heavens, the earth and the mountains that they should prevent ʿAlī (from succeeding Muḥammad), but they refused. When He made the same offer to mankind, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar accepted. Al-Mug͟hīra is also described as having taught metempsychosis. Some sources accuse the Mug͟hīriyya of having practised strangulation of their opponents like the Manṣūriyya.

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(W. Madelung)

MUG͟HLA, modern Tksh. Muğla, a town of south-western Anatolia.

In Antiquity it was known as Mobolla or Mogolla; the Byzantine period has not left any traces either in Mug͟hla itself or its immediate environment. From the second half of the 7th/13th century onward, the area was conquered by the Turks and became the site of the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarï [*q.v.*] principality. This principality was centred upon Milas and Pečin (the latter settlement was finally abandoned in the middle of the 20th century and is today an important archeological site). Mug͟hla was sometimes the residence of minor Mentes͟he Og͟hullarï princes, and became the area's administrative centre only after the Ottoman conquest.

The Mentes͟he Og͟hullarï, on the defensive against their northern neighbours the Aydïn Og͟hullarï, in the 8th/14th century established political and commercial relations with the Venetian administration of Crete. In spite of Papal prohibitions, Venetian merchants sold metals to Mentes͟he, and received horses and slaves in return. On the Mentes͟he side, this trade was often handled as a monopoly controlled by the prince. Whenever the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarï were in a difficult political position, the Venetians exercised pressure to have the monopolies lifted, and finally succeded in having all import monopolies abolished except those concerning soap and wine. Venetian trade with the area was apparently curtailed after Sultan Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd (791-805/1389-1402) conquered the Mentes͟he principality and prohibited the export of grain, horses and timber. After Bāyezīd's defeat by Tīmūr (804/1402), the Mentes͟he Og͟hullarï were re-

established in their principality, and the area was fully incorporated into the Ottoman Empire only under Murad II (824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51). The oldest Ottoman tax register (*taḥrīr*) mentioning Mug͟hla was compiled under Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512). According to this document, the townsmen paid 4370 *aḳčes* as *iḥtisāb* and *iḥḍāriyye* taxes. In the year 923/1517 another tax register covering the province (*sand̲j̲aḳ*) of Mentes͟he was compiled, which records 591 adult males resident in Mug͟hla. About one-quarter of the town's taxpayers were probably recent immigrants from the countryside or were still engaged in agriculture even though resident in Mug͟hla, for in addition to their names, the register records whether they possessed farm land as *nīm čift* holders, *bennāk* or *ḳara(d̲j̲aba)*. This practice was normal in villages, but inapplicable to fully fledged townsmen. Mug͟hla was an administrative centre with a strong agricultural component, and has continued as a semi-agricultural market town down to the present day.

The town's most prominent inhabitant of the 10th/16th century was doubtless the lexicographer and Mawlawī dervish S͟hāhidī, who was a follower of Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi. The latter was a descendant of Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] and an active propagator of mysticism. Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi [*q.v.*] and his Mug͟hla disciple belonged to the antinomian, enthusiastic tradition within the order, and Dīwāne Meḥmed Čelebi travelled widely throughout Anatolia. S͟hāhidī ultimately returned to his native town where he probably wrote the *Guls͟hen-i asrār*, containing both his master's biography as well as his own (915/1544). He died in 957/1550. In the *waḳif* sections of various 10th/16th century registers, the *zāwiye* where S͟hāhidī propagated the Mawlawī order is described in some detail. The institution possessed lands and tax rights throughout the provinces of Mentes͟he and Ḥāmid (modern Isparta); but the inventory of Mentes͟he pious foundations compiled in 970/1562-3 shows the buildings as modest and partially in ruins. A mosque bearing the name of S͟hāhidī is still in existence. Another prominent dervish of the 10th/16th century was S͟hayk͟h Bedr al-Dīn, whose name became attached to another of Mug͟hla's mosques, as his adherents had made many donations to this sanctuary. Most of the donors gave a shop or else a small sum of money to be lent out at interest. Most of these donors were probably artisans, but the *s͟hayk͟h*, who was a disciple of S͟hayk͟h Wefā (d. 896/1490-1) had also gained the support of powerful men, who were impressed by the *semāʿ* meetings which he organised. S͟hāhidī had his reservations concerning the worldly successes of S͟hayk͟h Bedr al-Dīn, but admits that for a while, he was his disciple.

Even though Mug͟hla was remote from the more important caravan routes of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the town benefited from lively regional trade. Thus Mug͟hla's most substantial pious foundation, the mosque, *madrasa* and school founded by Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, was financed by 220 shops located in the Mentes͟he village of Mesevli. Some of these were used as storage places for salt from a nearby salt pan. In the neighbouring town of Ula, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn's foundation also received revenues from a hundred shops. Even though most of these shops were probably in use only for a limited number of weeks every year, trade in the province was lively enough to warrant the construction of a *k͟hān* in the market village of Yerkesiği near Mug͟hla.

Probably as a result of this activity, the population of the town increased toward the end of the 10th/16th century. While the taxpaying population of Mug͟hla had been 591 in 923/1517 and 474 in 970/1562-3, in 991/1583 625 adult males were recorded. As the number of tax exempt residents was probably low, 10th/16th century Mug͟hla must have been inhabited by only a few thousand people. Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Mug͟hla in 1083/1672, records 2,170 houses corresponding to about 10,000 inhabitants. But it is difficult to explain how this increase should have come about during the troubled conditions of the D̲j̲alālī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] rebellions. Ewliyā does not mention any craft industries, and the town did not possess a covered market, the "status symbol" of important Ottoman towns. Eleven primary schools and seven *madrasas* show Mug͟hla to have been more active on the cultural level than warranted by its size and economic importance.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, Mug͟hla experienced but limited growth: in 1903 population amounted to 10,215. The 1927 census, which followed upon a decade of war and the 1923 exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities, again showed a population of slightly over 10,000. Even in 1970, Muğla contained but 18,624 inhabitants (1975, 24,178; 1980, slightly over 27,000). Apart from 1923, the city experienced no drastic population change, and the "twenty families" making up the local élite also changed but gradually. Thus the "traditional" fabric of old-style residential areas was preserved, along with the urban innovations which Istanbul-appointed bureaucrats and wealthy minority merchants had introduced during the second half of the 19th century: houses with decorative façades oriented toward streets suitable for wheeled traffic, pre-planned squares and neighbourhoods, barracks, a clock-tower, elaborate school buildings and increased facilities for buying and selling. The entire core area of Muğla was declared an historical monument in 1984, and the touristic potential of Muğla province as a whole has encouraged conservation and restoration in the town.

Down into the 1960s and beyond, Muğla craftsmen survived due to poor roads, which allowed locally tanned leather and cotton and silk goods manufactured by cottage industries to compete with factory-produced goods. More important were changes in the rural hinterland. In the early 13th/19th century, intensified export of grain and forest products encouraged the formation of large holdings, mostly in the hands of Muslims but occasionally of non-Muslims as well. However by the early 1900s, tobacco and later cotton cultivation led to an increase in the price of labour. Family farms proved more effective, and most large landowners sold out and invested the proceeds in trade and communications. Many of these ex-landowners moved out of Mug͟hla, and the new local élite was more commercially oriented than its predecessor. This process was speeded up by the infrastructural investment of the 1950s. Grain cultivation receded, as more rapid means of communication encouraged the growing of fruit and vegetables for the large cities of Turkey. Olive cultivation expanded, particularly since Turkish law encourages the transformation of wild olive trees into cultivated ones by transferring trees newly made productive into the private property of the grafter. However, gaps in this law have allowed the alienation of coastal land for "wild" development as hotels and summer camps.

Due to inland location, Muğla has had only a limited share of the new investment opportunities characteristic of the coastal areas, and much urban activity is generated by the town's rôle as a provincial capital and educational centre; from 1982 onward,

Muğla has housed an extension of the Izmir-based Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi. Thus Muğla, in spite of its small size and relative isolation, is very open toward impulses coming from the larger cities, and the political climate resembles the latter more closely than is true of many other towns in this size category.

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(S. Faroqhi)

MUGHULISTĀN. [see MOGHOLISTĀN].

MUGHULṬĀY B. ḲILĪDJ B. ʿABD ALLĀH, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bakdjarī (from Bakdjara, in Anatolia) al-Ḥikrī (from Ḥikr, the quarter of Cairo where he lived) al-Ḥanafī (689 or after 690-762/1290 or after 1291-1361), famous Ḥanafī scholar who occupied the chair of *ḥadīth* in different colleges, such as the Ẓāhiriyya, the Muẓaffariyya Baybarsiyya, the Nāṣiriyya, etc. But Mughulṭāy remains a controversial personality, who provoked several polemics and stirred up protests from his colleagues and contemporaries because of certain of his writings, which were considered to be daring, concerning ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet's wife [*q.v.*]. About 100 works are attributed to him, the most important of which are the *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī; Dhayl al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif* and *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, a biography of the Prophet written as a commentary upon and criticism of al-Suhaylī's *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*. Brockelmann (who calls him Nāṣir al-Dīn) gives a list of Mughulṭāy's surviving works still in manuscript.

His son Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr (719-91/1319-89) followed in his father's footsteps, but did not achieve his reputation.

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(ABDELHAMID SALEH HAMDAN)

MUḤADDITH [see ḤADĪTH].

MUHĀDJIR (A.), literally, "one who migrates", has been applied to various groups in the course of Islamic history.

1. In earliest Islam. See for this HIDJRA and MUHĀDJIRŪN.

2. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands.

The function of the Turkish heartlands of Anatolia and Thrace as the refuge of Islam, *Islām-penāh*, became significant as Ottoman power declined and the Muslim populations of outlying territories became exposed to the imposition of unfavourable Christian administrations, notably through Russian expansion and national movements in the Balkans. The term *muhādjir/muhacir* continued to be used for refugees and the victims of the population exchanges in the early years of the Republic, but by 1933 was recommended for replacement by the neologism *göçmen*, which is free of religious associations and more appropriate to the new laic state. In effect, however, the association between Islam and Turkishness, and thence with Turkey, has continued to exercise a powerful effect, particularly in the Balkans, and the subsequent refugee movement has remained partly religious in motive. *Göçmen* was in turn replaced by *mülteci* for the Turkish refugees from Afghanistan accepted in 1982 (the proposed neologism *sığınık* failed to be accepted).

Earlier movements into the provinces of the Ottoman Empire reflect the progressive loss of influence in former vassal states and allied regions. After the Russian invasion of the Crimea in 1185/1771 and the treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1188/1774, an exodus of both Crimean Turks and Tatars began despite guarantees of the sultan's continuing religious authority in the region. This was primarily to Ottoman territory west of the Black Sea, notably the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] at the Danube delta and the valley of the Danube itself, and the Tundja and Maritsa [see MERIČ] valleys further south; the Tatars had helped found colonies there from 1603 onwards and were thus able to exploit their links in that direction. From an estimated population of 300,000, the Russian governor concluded that half had left between 1772 and 1783 (Fisher, in *Bibl.*, 75), and according to Pallas, 80,000 left in 1783 alone (Kläy, in *Bibl.*, 1974, 101). Following the adoption of the Crimea as a Russian province in 1783, many of the leading families and the deposed khān left with 8,000 more in 1783-4, and records at the Bāb-ı ʿĀlī show a total of 180,000 as having taken refuge by 1790, or 300,000 by 1800 (Kläy, 101, citing Seidahmet, and Gözaydın, in *Bibl.*, 71). Potemkin had in fact ordered all local "Tatars" from the mountains and steppe to be expelled in 1784 (A. Özenbaşlı, (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*), thus accepting only the town populations; a similar policy was pursued by Alexander II after the Crimean War and repealed

only in 1860, when a further 100,000 had left. According to official sources, another 141,667 emigrated in 1860-2, and 18,000 to 20,000 in 1891-3 (Gözaydın, 93). Gaspîralî Ismāʿīl Bey suggests a total exodus of a million or more by the beginning of this century. In 1944 the remaining Muslims were deported to Özbekistan and elsewhere in Central Asia, and despite their rehabilitation they have not been allowed back. Russian annexation of the Kuban steppes also effected the Noghay [*q.v.*], who ranged the pastures there and north of the Crimea. Initially, figures for emigration are combined with those for the Crimea. For the period immediately after the Crimean War they vary: according to Pinson (in *Bibl.*, 109), 210,000 to 230,000 left in 1855-62; according to Planhol (in *Bibl.*, 258), 100,000 in 1859-64; to Bennigsen (in *Bibl.*, 195), 46,000 in 1859-63; and to Gaspîralî Ismāʿīl Bey, 231,177 in 1860-2 from official sources (in *Bibl.*, 706-13). Both Noghay and Crimean Turks were dislodged from the Dobrudja by the Ottoman-Russian war of 1293-5/1877-8, so that some 10,000 had left northern Dobrudja alone in 1880-90, seeking refuge in inner Rumeli or Anatolia, though two out of three remained (Gözaydın, 97). The Ottoman government settled the refugees either in still poorly populated areas or where their presence might provide a stabilising influence on newly-settled nomads. Of 2,500 families of Noghay who founded a series of tribal settlements in the Ceyhan area in 1272/1855, only 50 to 60 households still remain; the rest either migrated elsewhere, or perished from a combination of bad water, malaria, or an inability to adapt to a hot, moist climate (Soysal, in *Bibl.*, 56, 60; cf. Eberhard, in *Bibl.*, 300). A similar fate awaited 90 families who founded Noghaylar village north of İslahiye, though a group of villages founded between 1275-1322/1858-1904 at sites chosen by the Noghay themselves northwest of the Tuz Gölü still thrives. The Crimeans settled mainly in western or central Anatolia, starting from Eskişehir, where 8-10 Tatar villages were founded before 1860 and 14 more *ca.* 1877. They too had difficulties in adapting to new conditions, though the intelligentsia quickly established themselves among the Ottoman élite. The advance of the Russians into the Caucasus led to the emigration of 80,000 Muslims between 1855-63. Circassians from Nikopsi arrived in Samsun and Istanbul in December 1863, and after the Russian ultimatum issued at Sochi the following spring, the great majority (80%) preferred to seek refuge under the Ottomans. By July 1864 a total of 236,718 had arrived at Trabzon, including 27,337 from Taman, 16,452 from Anapa, 61,995 from Novorossiysk, 63,449 from Tuapse, and 46,754 from Sochi and Kuban (Kanitz, in *Bibl.*, i, 309). Estimates of the full number who left vary from 400,000 to 595,000, an exact count being hindered by the large number of small vessels used, besides the officially-registered ships. Many died either at sea or from disease after their arrival at ports such as Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop and Varna. The Ottomans, apprehensive of the warlike character of these immigrants, chose to scatter them rather than allow a concentrated settlement in one mountainous area, as the British had, with offers of financial help, advocated for the building of a road from Trabzon to Erzurum. A plan was proposed to settle one Circassian family to every four Turkish families in designated areas. At the same time, their combative potential was in some cases exploited; thus many were sent to Uzun Yayla, where the Avshar had newly been constrained to settle, thus reducing the available pasture land and providing a balancing force to the tribesmen. Some 70,000 to 90,000 were sent via the Danube to set up Muslim colonies to countervail national movements in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Bosnia. After the Congress of Berlin of 1878, under an article of which the latter colonies were no longer allowed in Ottoman Europe, a second exodus took place, directed by the Ottomans towards the Levant, where they were again used as a defensive force of frontier farmers. A chain of settlements was established from ʿAmmān to Membidj/Menbidj (Minbey) in order to protect the strip of new agricultural territory against the Bedouin from whose pastures it had been reclaimed. These were of 80 to 200 families, each of which received 10 ha of land from the domains, *čiftlik* [*q.v.*], directly administered by the sultan, and from which only one-fifth of the harvest had to be surrendered to the crown. The foundation of these new settlements can also be seen as an attempt to avoid the clashes with local farmers which had resulted from the scattering of Circassians in Anatolia, and as a recognition of their loyalty. Of these settlements, including ʿAmmān, Djarash, Kafr-Kama and Menbidj, were placed on ancient but no longer inhabited sites. The furthest east was Raʾs al-ʿAyn, on the upper Khābūr, which had to contend with both Bedouin and Kurds. Of the 15,000 to 20,000 settled in southern Syria, in fourteen villages south of Ḳunayṭra, intended to check the refractory Druse of Ḥawrān [see DURŪZ], a thriving community survived until its expulsion by the Israelis in 1967. Elsewhere, despite their courage and relatively advanced agricultural methods, most Circassian villages were eradicated by the Bedouin: communities survive in Jordan, and at Khān Nāṣir and Menbidj (of 2,500 and 1,500 respectively in 1970). In Turkey itself, some communities, such as that in the Çukurova [see CILICIA], were decimated by the unsuitable climate, but almost 900 villages are known to survive even though their now well-integrated inhabitants have migrated in large numbers to the cities and to West Germany. The largest group of these extends from the provinces of Samsun (120 villages) and Sinop through Çorum, Amasya, Tokat (66), Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri (66) and Maraş to Adana (now 17) and Hatay; the second includes Sakarya province (71), Bolu (69), Kocaeli and Istanbul, and the third Bursa, Bilecik, Balıkesir (82) and Çanakkale. This distribution reflects not only Ottoman settlement policies but the arrival of large numbers by sea. The full population is estimated at about 1 million (Aydemir, in *Bibl.*, 47, 39-48); this includes, besides the true Adighe [see ČERKES], about 10% of Abkhaz [*q.v.*], and though some villages are of a single tribal group others are mixed. Both language and customs are actively maintained and fostered through Circassian societies; the tendency to assimilation to the Turkish majority (with a similar Sunnī background) is stronger in the cities. Ubīkh, however, has been relinquished in favour of Circassian majority languages in the locality concerned (the last fluent speaker lived in Bandırma in 1982). Of the other Muslim immigrants from the Caucasus, the Čečen [*q.v.*] and Ingush, at the core of the resistance to Russian conquest under the Imām Shamīl [*q.v.*], were subjugated in 1859; in 1865 almost 40,000 emigrated to Turkey, mostly via Kars, and a further wave coincided with the abortive revolt of 1877. It appears that the majority of these died out (*BSE*[1]), but some 9,000 could still be registered in 1973-5 by Aydemir in the 39 provinces which he surveyed, not including urban population (see *Bibl.*, ix, 1975, 42). Most of these were in Mardin province (3,000), Sivas (2,356), Muş (1,961) and Maraş (930), with smaller communities in Yozgat,

Kayseri and Erzurum. Groups of Ingush are reported in the towns of Beyşehir and Muş. Refugees from Georgia [see AL-KURDJ], including the Acar from the neighbourhood of Batumi and Ingilo from the east, migrated after the cession of Batumi to Russia in 1878, for fear of anti-Muslim reprisals; these were in fact realised after the Turkish raid on Batumi in 1915, when only 13% of the Georgians in the Çoruh valley are said to have survived. 52,000 formerly lived here, whereas the number of Georgian speakers listed in the 1965 census for Artvin province (though probably a marked undercount, like other figures for minority languages in Turkey) was only 7,698. Sizeable Georgian populations are listed by language for Ordu province (4,815), Sakarya (4,535), Bursa (2,938), Kocaeli (2,755), Samsun (2,350), Giresun (2,029), Bolu, Amasya, Balıkesir and Sinop, thus demonstrating a tendency to spread along the Black Sea coast to the western provinces. The Georgian language is still quite widely used, but the Hanefi community is so closely integrated with the Turkish majority that Magnarella (see *Bibl.*, 1979, 116) has referred to their "partial ethnic identity". As with the Circassians, almost all are bilingual. The full number may be over 80,000. Migrants from Daghistān [*q.v.*] include Avars, Lak, Dargwa and Lezghi, all speaking Caucasian languages, and the Turkic-speaking Ḳumuḳ [*q.v.*]. The former group arrived in 1865 and later (1874, 1892), and is now distributed in the provinces of Balıkesir (1482), Denizli (942), Tokat (904) and Istanbul (753) with smaller numbers elsewhere, to a total of 5,223 in the 39 provinces surveyed by Aydemir (*loc. cit.*) in 1975. The recognition of the particular ethnea is complicated by the use of *Lezgi* in Turkish to denote all Dāghistānīs; Moor (in *Bibl.*, xxii) has recently (1985) found that of those listed, only two villages in Balıkesir and one in Izmir were true Lezghi, the others being Avar, Dargwa, Dido and Lak. As with other minorities, exposure to education in Turkish and the media from the outside world is now threatening the use of these languages among the younger generation, though for many adults they are still the norm for ordinary conversation. A small number of Ḳumuḳ was identified primarily in Tokat (807) and Sivas (654) provinces and also further west in Çanakkale and Yalova (Aydemir, *loc. cit.*). Some of those in Tokat are known to have left the region of Temirhanşura in 1861, coming via Samsun, followed by others within three years. 3,917 Balḳar and Ḳaračay were also listed (*ibid.*), mainly in Konya province (2,000), Eskişehir (1,081), and Tokat (651). Most came from the Taberda region in 1905 when there was a rising against Russian domination. Others escaped the Soviet deportation of 1944 by remaining with German troops and thus reached Turkey. Azeri Türkmen from Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] left their homeland in 1813 after the Treaty of Gulistān; a group of Karabağlı villages is to be found south of Emirdağ in Afyon province, though their inhabitants are now Sunnī and have no distinctive dialect. After the Russian revolution of 1905, refugees from the Azeri district of Ḳazakh came to form a substantial part of the population of the town of Amasya. Ossetes who also fled in the 1860s now number 9,000 or more, with communities in Kars, Yozgat, Muş and elsewhere.

The Muslim population of Bulgaria amounted to *ca.* 30% of the whole in the mid-19th century and comprised beside the Tatars and Circassians already mentioned an element of pre-Ottoman Turks, the Gacal, from north of the Black Sea, the population of Turks built up during the Ottoman administration since 795/1393, Yörük pastoralists, and the Pomaks [*q.v.*], converted Slavs speaking Bulgarian; there were Alevi communities as well as Hanefis. The flight to the south occasioned by the Russian incursions of 1293/1877 was followed by a return of Muslims in 1880, but many, finding it impossible to regain what they had lost during the war, began to emigrate to Anatolia; the Pomak population appears to have been reduced to a third from 1893 to 1926. By 1900 Muslims made up only 17% of the total; the rate dwindled after 1900 and more left after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The Convention of Adrianople concluded in 1913 allowed for the exchange of population within a frontier zone 15 km wide, and 48,570 Muslims moved to the Ottoman side, though the outbreak of the First World War prevented completion of the arrangements. In 1925 a further convention guaranteed emigrants rights to the value of their former property and to the transfer of funds. From 1925-30 about 10,000 arrived from Bulgaria annually. The depression caused the flow to fall to *ca.* 1,400 a year from 1930-3, but it rose again to 24,968 in 1935, 20,542 in 1938 and 17,777 in 1939. The Second World War led to an abrupt decline to a minimum of 631 in 1945 (Kostanick, in *Bibl.*, 89-109, tab. 9 and fig. 1). From 1946-50 the Communist government discouraged emigration, which remained below 2,000 a year, but in 1950 it took advantage of the Muslim's resistance to collectivism of property, especially in the Dobrudja, and to assimilation by announcing on 12 August that 250,000 persons of Turkish descent would be expelled within 3 months; the immigrants registered rose to 52,185 with 102,208 in 1951. The Turks closed the border on 8 October because, for the second time, the Bulgarians had sought to expel Gypsies among the Turks. Under the legislation of 1934, Turkish immigrants received a two-roomed house, a stable, one decare of garden and 15-20 decares of farmland, with a year's supply of food, seed and fodder. Those arriving before 1940 were settled in the provinces of Izmir, Manisa, Aydın, Diyarbakır, Niğde and Sivas. The wave of 1950-1, recognised by Turkey as deportation rather than the agreed voluntary emigration, and enforced without observance of the Conventions, was accommodated under amendments of 1947 and 1953, distributing land according to its quality, though in practice the provisions could not be fulfilled, some families receiving only 2 decares. By March 1953 853,812 decares had been allotted to 16,542 families, and some 25,000 houses built for them; the majority were settled in existing villages, though about 50 new ones were built. *Göçmen* were given full title to the land on condition that they should not sell it for 25 years. Almost half were allocated to the Marmara region, a quarter to central Anatolia, a sixth to the Aegean and the remainder mostly to the north; a few were sent to Erzincan, Elazığ and Malatya, but none further east lest security be impaired. Some $11 million aid was received from international sources. Much of the rural part of this population has subsequently migrated to the cities. The total immigration from Bulgaria in 1923-80 reached 488,000. After a campaign of enforced assimilation from 1984, the Bulgarian government again resorted to mass expulsion in June 1989, without regard to legal rights; by 20 August, when Turkey halted the flow, the numbers had reached 300,000. The strain placed on Turkish resources, depressed economic conditions in Turkey, and the restoration of rights to Bulgarian Turks on 12 January 1990, led to the return of 100,000 by mid-February.

The population exchange arranged with Greece, already initiated in 1914 on the basis of religion, resulted in an estimated 400,000 Muslims coming to Turkey between 1921-8, of whom 355,635 were transferred compulsorily from Greek Macedonia and Epirus in 1923-6 after the Convention of 30 January 1923 signed at Lausanne. In Turkish statistics, all immigrants from the Balkans were then treated as one, totalling 463,534 in 1921-8; these include elements from Rumania and Yugoslavia besides Bulgaria. The immigrants were settled primarily on property abandoned by Greeks who had fled, that is, in Turkish Thrace (33%), the Marmara and Aegean regions (36%), the Mediterranean region (4%) and the province of Samsun (5%). This pattern of preference remains valid for the period 1923-60 as a whole, when migrants from Greece formed 33.9% of the total, from Bulgaria 31.1%, from Yugoslavia 22.4% and from Rumania 10%. A small flow continued from Western Thrace, exempt from the exchange, amounting to 7,753 in 1945-50 and 11,797 in 1950-8. The new communities often preserved language differences; thus in 1965 the census registered 27,226 speaking Bulgarian (Pomaks) and 51,452 speaking Serbo-Croat (from Bosnia and Serbia) as their mother tongue (almost certainly an undercount); they often remained religiously more conservative than the native population of Turkey. Even today, such Muhacır villages are readily identified and in some cases remain largely independent of their neighbours.

The presence of a Shīʿī Azeri minority in extreme eastern Anatolia is mainly attributable to the population exchanges of 1918-25, when they were expelled from the Armenian Republic: 25,000 arrived in Kars, especially in Iğdır sub-province, and others settled in Ağrı, Taşlıçay sub-province, and Erzurum, Şenkaya. Ḳarapapakh [*q.v.*] now living in Kars, Çıldır and Arpaçay sub-provinces, and in scattered villages elsewhere, came in part after the Treaty of Türkmenčay in 1828, in part in 1904 (*ca.* 100 households) and in part in 1921, after the Treaty of Gümrü. Von Hellwald reported the presence of 29,000 on Ottoman territory already in 1878.

The first group of Turkistanis to seek refuge came, in fact, from Tobolsk in Siberia: the descendants of two Özbek sayyids who had gone there in the 10th/16th century to promulgate Islam, they found that under increasing cultural pressure from Russia they could no longer fulfill this purpose, and about 100 families left their villages for the Ottoman lands in 1907, 30 more families joining them later. These Özbek-Tatars live in the single village of Böğrüdelik (Reşadiye/Özbek) in Konya, where they still speak their adopted Tatar dialect, maintain 90% endogamy, and retain their own traditions of music and verse. About 700 Uyghurs now live in Istanbul (Safraköy and Örnektepe), Adana, Izmir, and Kayseri (Yeni mahalle); they came from Sinkiang via Pakistan in the 1950s, with a second group via Afghanistan in 1968. Ḳazaḳs from the USSR first escaped via Afghanistan in 1952; the settlement allotted them at Ceylan Pınar in Urfa was unsuitable and they dispersed. Of the 15,000 Orta Djüz Ḳazaḳ who resisted the Communist take-over in Sinkiang from 1949, 350 succeeded in traversing the 4,800 km across the Taklamakan Desert and Tibet to Kashmir; there they remained from 1951-4, when they were accepted by Turkey as a group, with a remnant joining them in 1969. Some 600 families of the Kerey tribe, 65 of the Nayman and 15 Uwaḳ now live mainly in Istanbul (420 households), where they have established communities at Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu, Güneşsitesi (Kazakkent) and Safraköy, in Manisa (60) and at Altay Köyü in Niğde (65) (figures for 1980). Land granted to them in Kayseri proved infertile, and the groups there moved to Istanbul. Group consciousness remains strong and is recognisable in the communal choice of work in the leather crafts, where they now predominate, and the plastics industry. Lineage and language are still important, and efforts are made to resist acculturation. A third group of 70 households of the Ḳishi Djüz arrived from Afghanistan via Pakistan in 1982 and are now in Kayseri city. Some 20 households of Ḳirghiz were already established in 1980, most of them (12) at Akınköy in Şereflikoçhisar, Ankara. 310 families of the Teyit Ḳirghiz from the Wakhān Corridor who had fled to Gilgit following the Russian invasion in 1978 were accepted by Turkey in 1982 on their own condition that they should remain together as a group in a highland region (having previously been refused access to Alaska). They were transferred to Karagündüz Köy northeast of Lake Van, and subsequently to a settlement near Erçiş in 1986. Another group of 1,300 people is reported in Malatya. Their identity, derived from a single descent group, the İçkilik, is maintained by the presence of their *khān* Raḥmān Ḳul, though it is noteworthy that they brought with them some fifty religious texts, after having sold other possessions at Gilgit. The majority of the 4,351 Turkic refugees from Afghanistan to be granted asylum by President Evren in 1982 were Özbek. Some 280 families were already settled in Istanbul, and 50 in Adana in 1980; the new arrivals now reported as being in Hatay (172 households), and in rural Urfa (180 persons), with 60 families in industrial Gaziantep. Among the remainder was a relatively small group of Türkmen, mostly Ersarı, of whom 75 families are in Tokat city and 120 in a nearby rural settlement (Franz, in *Bibl.*, 67).

Migrants to Turkey are now treated in two categories: *serbest göçmen* or independent immigrants, arriving on their own, and *iskân göçmen* or immigrants to be settled through official assistance, usually brought in by groups. After a long period of only loosely organised official activity, a Department of Settlement and Tribes was established in 1913, to be superseded by a Ministry of Reconstruction, Exchange and Settlement to deal with the new conditions in 1923. In 1924 the responsibilities were transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, in a Department of Settlement, subsequently to the Ministry of Health and Hygiene, and then to the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1950 a General Department of Land and Settlement Affairs (*Toprak ve İskân İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü*) was formed under the Ministry of Works and Settlement (*İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı*). It was the latter which dealt with the first influx from Bulgaria, at first in cooperation with other ministries and later under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister's office; the processing of migrants was expedited by the Government's allowance of direct aid for a maximum of 27 days. Those settling with Government assistance were bound to settle where directed, whereas others were free. Under the legislation of 1934, non-Turkish immigrants were also bound to settle where directed, and were not allowed to form communities or associations of their own ethnos. The planned integration of immigrants has remained a matter primarily for those of Turkic speech and Muslim religion; it is nevertheless remarkable that many of those from even the earliest arrivals retain a discrete identity to this day.

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3. In Muslim India.

During the 20th century, the term has been used to describe those Muslims from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent who migrated from their homes in order to protect their religion and to safeguard their interests as Muslims: the first set of *muhādjirūn* left British India for Afghānistān during the upsurge of Pan-Islamic feeling in the early decades of the 20th century, while the second, far larger, group migrated to Pakistan after the partition of British India in 1947.

During the summer of 1920, at the height of popular support for the Khilāfat movement [*q.v.*], substantial numbers of Indian Muslims, mostly from Sind, Pandjab, N.W.F.P. and the United Provinces, migrated to Afghānistān. Their decision to leave was prompted by instructions from leaders, such as Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Bārī of the Firangī Mahal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], which gave the impression that they favoured *hidjra* from British India. Of great importance in mobilising support was the rôle of local religious leaders who played a large part in the practical organisation of the migration. In the province of Sind, for instance, local Ṣūfī saints or *pīrs* rallied their followers with speeches which strengthened rumours that the British had prohibited the study of the Ķurʾān

and had fixed Sunday as the Muslim day of prayer. Since many of the *muhādjirūn* placed implicit faith in the pronouncements of their *murshids* [*q.v.*], they were easily convinced of the need to save their religion as well as their own souls by undertaking *hidjra*.

At the same time, many of the *muhādjirūn* had little to lose by uprooting themselves. The vast majority of the 30,000 or so who made their way towards the Afghān border were poor cultivators or landless agricultural labourers. Amīr Amān Allāh of Afghānistān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who regarded the *hidjra* as an excellent opportunity to harass the British (with whom he was on bad terms), promised the *muhādjirūn* free land together with anything else which they might need. Thus, while the migrants were inspired by faith, many were also motivated by hopes of a better life. They sold what property they did possess in order to finance the journey and were helped by funds collected from Muslims who stayed behind.

The *hidjra*, however, ran out of steam. This was due in large part to the bad treatment which many migrants suffered both on their journey and after their arrival in Afghānistān. When the first batch arrived they did not receive the warm welcome which they had been expecting. Rather, they were greeted by harassment from local Afghān marauders who stole their property and kidnapped their women. In addition, the attitude of the Afghān government changed towards them. Once it learnt that the migrants were made up of the poorest elements of Indian Muslim society, it quickly lost enthusiasm for the enterprise and prevented any more *muhādjirūn* from crossing the border. Those who had already arrived received little help, and, possessing no resources of their own, were forced to return to India. The trek back was very difficult and great hardship was suffered. Within three months, nearly all had left Afghānistān.

The second migration followed the partition of British India in 1947 when millions of Muslims made their way to the new state of Pakistan, afraid of what the future might hold for them in an independent India under Hindu majority rule. For some, migration was the logical outcome of their support for Muslim separatist politics and the demand for Pakistan; for many others, it was motivated by self-preservation and the desire to escape the wave of communal violence which swept through large parts of northern India at the time of Partition.

Approximately seven million Muslims had migrated to Pakistan by the time of the 1951 census, but the process continued at a reduced rate well into the 1960s. The vast majority of migrants were peasants or agricultural workers, mostly from East Panjab, while a significant minority were urban-based professional and service families who came from the Muslim-minority provinces of the United Provinces and Bihar and princely states such as Hyderabad (Deccan) [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD] and Bhopal. In addition, a third group, which included many businessmen and industrialists, hailed from Gudjarāt and the area around Bombay. Thus, taken as a whole, these new arrivals were by no means an homogeneous group.

The bulk of the migrants settled in West Pakistan, attracted by its sparsely populated and expanding irrigation lands and by the presence of the country's capital at Karachi. They became concentrated in irrigated areas of southern Panjab and Sind, such as the canal colonies of Lyallapur (now Fayṣalābād) and Multān, and in larger urban centres such as Karachi and Hyderabad where better prospects for ready employment existed. But as the economic impact of the migrants was felt more keenly, locals resented their demands for food, homes, jobs and land. Competition increased, differences in language and culture assumed greater importance and mutual resentment began to replace kinder feelings.

In the Panjab, these differences were greatly reduced by the fact that most of the migrants who had settled there were themselves Panjabis; for Urdu-speakers, the group which came to be most popularly identified as *muhādjirs*, it was a different story. Over a million of them settled in Sind, where differences between their own cultural traditions and those of the local Sindhi population helped to create a gulf between the two communities. Whereas Sindhis resented what they saw as the preferential treatment of refugees, *muhādjirs* regarded it as just compensation for what they had left behind in India. There were, of course, some groups of *muhādjirs* who did relatively well in their new home: landlords from India used their influence to secure properties often larger than the ones they had owned in India; government officials often improved their rank and seniority; and graduates were able to secure employment relatively easily. But the bulk of migrants remained socially and economically insecure well into the 1950s. So-called settlement programmes proved inadequate, haphazard and badly-managed: as late as 1955, over half a million refugees were without proper shelter in Karachi alone. It was only in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with the extension of the canal system, the establishment of new colonies and satellite towns, and the growth of industry that refugee labour was gradually absorbed.

Many refugee associations sprang up to safeguard *muhādjir* interests, such as the All-Pakistan Mohajir Board, the All-Pakistan Muhajir Federation and the Muhajir Council which was organised by the Muslim League. One of their major grievances was the "usurping" of evacuee property by influential locals which seemed to be confirmed in a presidential ordinance in November 1956. Bitter protests followed, and in March 1958 a bill was passed by the National Assembly which enabled the central government to acquire evacuee property and dispose of it at the prevailing market value, giving refugee claimants preference over other bidders and placing the proceeds in refugee compensation pools. The following September, a second bill gave refugees proprietary rights to evacuee land and provided for the punishment of illegal holders.

During the 1960s, *muhādjirs* as a group became economically stronger. Pakistan's new industrial élite, for instance, was composed mainly of *muhādjir* and Panjabi interests. Similarly, ethnic biases crept into civil service recruitment and resulted in the development of a *muhādjir*-Panjabi bureaucratic élite which caused resentment along ethnic lines especially amongst Bengalis and, to a lesser extent, Sindhis. With the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, Sind became the main arena for clashes between *muhādjir* and non-*muhādjir* groups. In July 1972, following the successful passage through the Sind Assembly of a Language Bill which made Sindhi rather than Urdu the official language of the province, latent discontent burst into violence. On the one hand, Sindhis regarded *muhādjir* demands for the recognition of Urdu as symbolic of their determination to hold on to vested interests which they had acquired in the economic life of the province's urban areas. On the other hand, *muhādjirs* saw in the rejection of Urdu the negation of their identity and the sacrifices which they had made by migrating to Pakistan in the first place.

Demonstrations and riots took place, and demands

were made for a separate *muhādjir*-dominated Karachi province. Religio-political parties such as the Djamāʿat-i Islāmī, which had gained strong support amongst *muhādjirs*, played a leading rôle in the unrest. Under these circumstances, the government compromised by agreeing to a twelve-year period of grace in which Urdu-speakers could learn Sindhi. But resentment among *muhādjir* groups continued to be fuelled by the introduction and maintenance of quotas for education and employment which favoured candidates from rural, that is predominantly Sindhi, backgrounds, and disadvantaged those mainly Urdu-speakers from the towns and cities of the province.

The 1980s have seen the resurgence of provincial nationalism and the emergence of new political organisations representing particular ethnic interests. *Muhādjirs* have also begun to transfer their support from parties which have traditionally backed the concept of a common Pakistani identity to others such as the Muhadjir Quami Mahaz which place the interests of *muhādjirs* as a distinct ethnic group highest on their agenda. In the present climate of resentment against Panjabi domination, *muhādjir* organisations have gone some way towards patching up their differences with Sindhi and Baluchi ethnic groups and are now concentrating their resentment against those whom all regard as the real "intruders" in Sind.

Bibliography: For details about the *muhādjirūn* of 1920, see F.J. Briggs, *The Indian Hijrat of 1920,* in *MW* (April 1920), 164-8; M. Naeem Qureshi, *The Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-1924*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1973, unpubl., and idem, *The 'Ulama' of British India and the Hijrat of 1920,* in *Modern Asian Studies*, i (1974), 41-59; Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: religious symbolism and political mobilisation in India*, New Delhi 1982; while K.H. Ansari, *The emergence of Muslim Socialists and their ideas in India between 1917 and 1947*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1984, unpubl., and idem, *Pan-Islam and the making of the early Indian Muslim Socialists,* in *Modern Asian Studies*, iii (1986), 509-37, examines the process by which a handful of the *muhādjirūn* turned to socialism as a result of their experience of migrating. Little has been written specifically on the second group of migrants. For information, see general works on Pakistan's political development such as A. Tayyub, *Pakistan: a political geography*, Oxford 1966; Talukder Maniruzaman, *The politics of development: the case of Pakistan 1947-58*, Dhaka, 1971; and Khalid B. Sayyed, *Politics in Pakistan: the nature and direction of change*, New York 1980.

(SARAH ANSARI)

AL-**MUHĀDJIRŪN** (A.), the Emigrants, are primarily those Meccan Muslims who made the *hidjra* or emigration from Mecca to Medina either just before Muḥammad himself or in the period up to the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. The word *hidjra* [*q.v.*] implies not only change of residence but also the ending of ties of kinship and the replacement of these by new relationships. In the document known as the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4), which is an agreement "between the Emigrants and the Anṣār (the Muslims of Medina)", the Emigrants appear as one "clan" or kin-group entering into a federation with eight clans of the Anṣār. The Ḳurʾān (VIII, 72) states that "those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of God and those who have given shelter and help (that is, the Anṣār) are *awliyāʾ* of one another", and the term *awliyāʾ* (patrons or clients) means that there is a mutual duty of protection, even if it does not refer to the formal brotherhood or *muʾākhāt* [*q.v.*] which was in force for a time.

For the first sixteen months after Muḥammad's arrival in Medina, the Emigrants were almost entirely dependent on the hospitality of the Anṣār, except that one or two of them did some trading in the Jewish market. Groups of them went out on raiding expeditions against Meccan caravans, but achieved nothing until the expedition of Nakhla in 2/624 when they captured a small caravan. It was probably because of the difficulties of the Emigrants in this first period that there are several verses assuring them of God's favour: "those who have believed and emigrated and striven in God's cause have hope of His mercy" (II, 218); "those who have emigrated for God's sake after being wronged" will be lodged well in this world and also have the reward of the Hereafter (XVI, 41). Similar promises were made later after some had died or been killed (III, 195; XXII, 58). After the conquest of Mecca it was insisted that those who had believed and emigrated and fought in God's cause were in a superior position to those Meccans who had not accepted Islam until after the conquest (IX, 19-22). Once the expeditions had begun to bring in plunder, much of this went to the Emigrants, though the Anṣār were not denied a share (e.g. LIX, 8, 9, referring to the spoils from expelled Jewish clans).

The number of Emigrants in Medina continued to be added to. Especially after the failure of the siege of Medina in 5/627, men and women from Mecca went to settle in Medina. Some had been believers for a number of years, but had remained in Mecca when Muḥammad made his *hidjra*. Others, like Khālid b. al-Walīd and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, decided to throw in their lot with Muḥammad when they saw his increasing prosperity and the declining prospects for Mecca. When men from nomadic tribes became Muslims they were given a choice between the nomadic pledge (*bayʿa ʿarabiyya*) and the pledge of emigration (*bayʿa hidjra*); in the former case they remained with their tribe, while in the latter they settled in Medina and became *muhādjirūn*. Muḥammad encouraged these last because they increased the strength and importance of his "clan" of Emigrants and also provided additional participants for the raiding expeditions which were a prominent part of his policy.

In course of time, to be a *muhādjir* conferred a certain dignity of status. When the Muslims who had taken refuge in Abyssinia around 615 to escape from persecution eventually came to Medina in 7/628, they were regarded as having made a *hidjra* to Abyssinia, and so as *muhādjirūn*. After this, those who had gone to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca in time to join the original *hidjra* claimed that they had two *hidjras* to their credit (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 79, l. 8; viii, 205 foot). The status of *muhādjirūn* was conferred by treaty on the nomadic tribes of Muzayna, Aslam, Khuzāʿa and perhaps others, although they continued a nomadic life in their tribal grounds (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 24, 25, 38; etc.).

Not surprisingly, there was sometimes friction between the Emigrants and the Anṣār. One occasion was on the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ in 5/627, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], the leader of the Hypocrites, seems to have made remarks about the stronger driving out the weaker when they returned to Medina—remarks reported in the Ḳurʾān (LXIII, 8). Back in Medina, Ibn Ubayy joined in the "affair of the lie (*ifk*)" against ʿĀʾisha, but in a confrontation with him Muḥammad gained the support of most of the Anṣār. On Muḥammad's death, the Anṣār wanted one of themselves, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, to become head of the community of Muslims, but firm action by ʿUmar led to the general acceptance of Abū Bakr as *khalīfa*.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Muhādjirūn*, Anṣār; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index, s.v. Emigrants, *hijrah*. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

MUḤAKKIMA [see KHAWĀRIDJ; TAḤKĪM].

MUḤĀL [see MANṬIḲ].

MUHALHIL [see IMRŪ' 'L-ḲAYS].

AL-**MUHALLAB** B. **ABĪ ṢUFRA**, ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-AZDĪ AL-ʿATAKĪ, Arab general of the 1st/7th century and founder of an influential family [see MUHALLABIDS].

According to Abū ʿUbayda, al-Muhallab's father was a Persian weaver from Khārak who migrated via ʿUmān to Baṣra, where he gained acceptance as an Azdī thanks to his military valour (Yāḳūt, ii, 387; Ibn Rusta, 205 f.; cf. also *Aghānī*[3], xx, 75; M. Hinds (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiii, 187 n.). Most sources accept him as a genuine Azdī, and some even present him as a *sharīf* (e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396). Abū Ṣufra was among the ʿUmānīs who settled at Tawwadj before being transferred to Baṣra, where he arrived with his sons in 36/656 and where ʿAlī allegedly invested him with the *riyāsa* of Azd (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2699; al-ʿAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 121-5; cf. M. Hinds, in *Iran*, xxii [1984]); but in fact neither Abū Ṣufra nor al-Muhallab ever held the *riyāsa* of Azd in Baṣra. It was as a soldier rather than a tribal leader that the latter rose (J.G. Wilkinson, in G.H.A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies in the first century of Islamic society*, 141 f.; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 39-40).

Al-Muhallab was born in *ca.* 10/632 and presumably began his military career with his father at Tawwadj. He is credited with operations in the Ahwāz area under ʿUmar and ʿAlī (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Nadwī, xiii, nos. 15672, 15677; al-ʿAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 126), and is said twice to have campaigned in Sīstān, first in 33/653-4 and next in 42-4/662-5, when he reached Sind and adopted the Indian custom of cropping the tails of horses (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396, 432). Thereafter he campaigned in Khurāsān. He first went there under al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī in 50/670, returned under Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in 56/676, and yet again under Salm b. Ziyād in 61-4/681-4 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 109, 178, 393-4; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411; Narshakhī, *T.-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 41-3). Salm b. Ziyād appointed him deputy governor there on his departure, though in the event Abd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī took over; and when al-Muhallab left in his turn, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān by Ibn al-Zubayr, but was prevented from going there by the Baṣrans, who made him take charge of the war against the Azāriḳa instead (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 489, 583 ff.; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, v, 311, vi, 10 ff.). This task was to occupy him, on and off, for the next thirteen years [see AZĀRIḲA]. He had cleared the environs of Baṣra and al-Ahwāz by 67/686-7, when Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] required his participation in the campaign against al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] at Kūfa. The conquest of Kūfa accomplished, Muṣʿab appointed him governor of Mawṣil, the Djazīra, Armenia and Ādharbāydjān, with the task of protecting ʿIrāḳ against the Umayyads and clearing it of the remaining Khashshābiyya [*q.v.*] who held out at Nisibis (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 50). Muṣʿab's successor, Ḥamza, reappointed him to the war against the Azāriḳa; but Khālid b. Abd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Malik's first governor of ʿIrāḳ, dismissed him from the command and appointed him to the *kharādj* of al-Ahwāz instead. In 74/693-4 he was reappointed by ʿAbd al-Malik himself, but the death of Bishr b. Marwān [*q.v.*], the new governor of ʿIrāḳ, in the same year, caused most of the Kūfan and Baṣran troops to desert, so that it was not until 75/694, when al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] arrived, that al-Muhallab could resume the war in earnest. The Azāriḳa were once more forced to withdraw from Khūzistān to Fārs and from there to Kirmān, where they entrenched themselves at Djīruft [*q.v.*] and eventually split into two, Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [*q.v.*] leading his followers to Ṭabaristān while ʿAbd Rabbih stayed with the rest at Djīruft, to be defeated by al-Muhallab in 77/696. It was in the course of these campaigns that al-Muhallab introduced iron stirrups in replacement of the traditional wooden ones, which could not bear a man's weight (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 675; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Süleymaniye, Reisülkuttap, no. 598, ii, 69; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 23).

In 78/697-8 al-Muhallab was rewarded with the governorship of Khurāsān. He campaigned in Kish, remained loyal to al-Ḥadjdjādj during the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], and died in 82/702 (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1082-3) or 83/703 (e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 400). His son Yazīd succeeded him in office.

Bibliography: According to al-ʿAwtabī, no book of any kind was written after al-Muhallab's death without saying something about him (*Ansāb*, ii, 141). This is only a slight exaggeration. For al-ʿAwtabī's own account, see M. Hinds (tr.), *An early Islamic family from Oman: al-ʿAwtabī's account of the Muhallabids*, Manchester 1991. For other information, see the indices to standard chronicles such as (in addition to those already cited) Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*. See also Ibn Saʿd, vii/1, 72, 94; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Ibrāhīm, iv, 144-225; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, tr. M. Gold, Rome 1976, 67-72; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, s.vv. "Abū Ṣufra", "al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ al-Thaḳafī"; al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra"; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, v, no. 754. For some of the coins struck by al-Muhallab, see J. Walker, *Arab-Sasanian coins*, London 1941, 113-15; H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, index. For modern studies, see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927; idem, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien,* in *Abh. G.W. Gött.* N.S. v, 2 (1901), 32 ff., Eng. tr. Amsterdam 1975, 55 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, index; S.M. Yusuf, *Al-Muhallab-bin-Abī-Ṣufra: his strategy and qualities of generalship,* in *IC*, xvii (1943); idem, *Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra,* in *IC*, xix (1944); idem, *Al-Muhallab and the poets,* in *IC*, xxiv (1950); M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970. See also the Bibl. to MUHALLABIDS. (P. CRONE)

AL-**MUHALLABĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD, Arab geographer, about whom it is only known that he died in 380/990 after having dedicated to the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (365-86/975-96) [*q.v.*] a work which came within the category of those called *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*] and which actually bore this title but which is generally cited under that of *al-ʿAzīzī*.

Although this work has not yet been rediscovered, it was already possible to get an idea of its contents thanks to several later authors who utilised it and took from it items of information, usually very brief ones (see in particular Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* [57 citations], Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān* [135 citations] and al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* [69 citations]. However, one can get now an idea of the author's method, since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid discovered in 1957, in a

Yemeni ms. of the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, 14 folios of this *K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, mainly on Jerusalem and Damascus; he has made this available, edited, completed and accompanied by a list of the terms of civilisation and an index of the proper nouns contained in it, in *RIMA*, iv/1 (1958), 43-72. The passage on Damascus was reprinted by this same author in his book *Madīnat Dimashk ʿind al-djughrāfiyyīn wa 'l-raḥḥālīn al-muslimīn*, Beirut 1967, 80-6.

Like other treatises in this category, al-Muhallabī's work contained information about itineraries and distances, as well as on the coordinates, history, population, economy and the physical aspect of towns described in a more or less summary fashion. A. Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 278, justly noted that it was Yāḳūt's main source for information on the land of the blacks, and it may not be without interest to note that Yāḳūt, i, 242-3, borrows from al-Muhallabī information, in part legendary, about a town called Aksintillā (?), situated to the south of Ifrīḳiya and governed by a member of the Berber tribe of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], who may possibly have given their name to the Hoggar massif [see AHAGGAR].

Bibliography: In addition to the works selected, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941, ii, 1665; Renaud and de Slane, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, Paris 1840, 22; V. Minorsky. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 477; J. Devisse, in Robert and Devisse, *Tegdaoust*, Paris 1970, 122; A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, i, 309-12 and index. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUHALLABĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD b. Hārūn, born in Baṣra in Muḥarram 291/Nov.-Dec. 903, celebrated chief minister and vizier 339-52/950-63 to the Būyid *amīr* of ʿIrāḳ Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. He stemmed from the famous Arab Muhallabī family of Baṣra [see MUHALLABIDS] as a descendant at six generations' remove of the Umayyad commander and governor al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] (see genealogical table in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 11).

In 334/945, when Muʿizz al-Dawla was marching on Baghdād, he sent al-Muhallabī in advance to negotiate with the caliph, and on 27 Djumādā I 339/11 November 950, al-Muhallabī was appointed chief minister. He was given the supreme command in the war with ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [see MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA] and had brought him into a very precarious position, when he himself fell into an ambush and could only save himself with difficulty, whereupon Muʿizz al-Dawla had to conclude peace with ʿImrān. In 341/952-3 the ruler of ʿUmān, Yūsuf b. Wadjīh, undertook a campaign against Baṣra; al-Muhallabī, however, anticipated him, occupied the town and defeated Yūsuf. In the same year, he fell into disgrace, but was able to retain his office and the good relations between Muʿizz al-Dawla and his vizier were restored. A few years later, Muʿizz al-Dawla equipped an expedition against ʿUmān and put al-Muhallabī in command. The latter set out in Djumādā II, 352/June-July 963, but soon fell ill and decided to return to Baghdād. He died en route on 26 Shaʿbān 352/19 September 963 and was buried in Baghdād. On his death, Muʿizz al-Dawla confiscated all his property, a measure which aroused general indignation. A son of his, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim al-Mufaḍḍal, is mentioned as carrying on the family traditions of administrative expertise in that in 357/968 he was secretary to the Būyid prince Iʿzāz al-Dawla Marzubān b. ʿizz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār in Baṣra.

Al-Muhallabī's position as chief minister in Baghdād in 339/950, the caliph al-Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*] being by now reduced to the position of a fainéant, is described by Miskawayh as comprising the *kitāba*, supreme direction of official correspondence, *tadbīr aʿmāl al-kharadj*, the collection of the land-tax, and *djibāyat al-amwāl*, the collection of non-canonical taxes; but this same historian states that it was not until 345/956 that he held the official title of vizier. In order to facilitate satisfaction of his Būyid master's growing need for money, various fiscal reforms of his are mentioned (see Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, 362, 367). He also had the task of enforcing in Baghdād the Shīʿī religious measures of Muʿizz al-Dawla, including the cursing of Muʿāwiya and the public celebration of the 10 Muḥarram or ʿĀshūrā mourning ceremonies; hostile measures of his against Ṣūfīs are likewise mentioned (Busse, *op. cit.*, 322-3).

But al-Muhallabī acquired great contemporary fame not merely for his vigorous effective career as both administrator and military leader, but also for his rôle as one of the several literary luminaries and maecenases in the employment of the Būyids [see e.g. IBN ʿABBĀD, AL-ṢĀḤIB; IBN AL-ʿAMĪD; and IBN SAʿDĀN in Suppl.]. His literary circle in Baghdād was frequented by the *ḳāḍī* and poet Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī, father of the author of the *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī [*q.v.*]; by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]; by the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim [*q.v.*]; by Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ]; and by the later chief *ḳāḍī*, Ibn Maʿrūf. Al-Thaʿālibī, who devotes a section of his *Yatīmat al-dahr* (ed. Damascus, ii, 8-23, ed. Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, ii, 224-41) to al-Muhallabī, including his own poetry and compositions, compares his *madjālis* with those of the Barmakīs. Like so many others of the Būyids' viziers and secretaries, he achieved especial fame as a literary stylist, and the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 134, tr. Dodge, i, 296) mentions amongst his works a collection of *rasāʾil*, epistles, and *tawḳīʿāt*, official decrees.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): 1. Primary sources: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ii, 123-98, tr. v, 127-213; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii, 180-94; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 337, 365, 368-9, 372-5, 405; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 124-7, tr. de Slane, i, 410-12; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, i, 353-7. 2. Secondary sources: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 230-1; Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwaihid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 169-70; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig. Die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, index.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUHALLABIDS (in Arabic, *al-Mahāliba*), kinsmen and clients of Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*], famed for their numbers and their remarkable role in early Islamic history. They rose to power in the service of the Umayyads even though al-Muhallab himself was once an adherent of Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] and though the family as such, especially the women, had strong Ibāḍī connections (Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, 63). They were crushed in 102/720, but staged a spectacular come-back under the ʿAbbāsids, having apparently exchanged their Ibāḍī for Hāshimite leanings in the meantime, and remained politically prominent until the reign of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] even though a fair number of them supported the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Ibrāhīm b. Abd Allāh [*q.vv.*]. They also produced a large number of men of culture (see IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA, AL-KARĀBISĪ, NIFṬAWAYH, AL-SUKKARĪ; *Aghānī*[3], xiii, 270 ff.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 93, 197, 278; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, xii, 501 ff.; etc.), plus a rebel leader of the Zandj (Popovic, *Révolte des esclaves en Iraq*, 77), and a famour vizier of the Būyid periode [see AL-MUHALLABĪ, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan].

(i) Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, began his career under the auspices of his father, participating in his campaigns against the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil, passim*) and also in Khurāsān, where he succeeded to the governorship on his father's death in 82 or 83/701-2. In 85/704 al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] dismissed him in favour of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Yazīd, who was soon replaced in his turn by Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*]. Other Muhallabids holding office outside Khurāsān were also dismissed (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1182), and all were jailed, several of them being subjected to the torture customarily employed to make ex-governors disgorge their spoils. Yazīd escaped from jail and sought refuge in Palestine with the future caliph Sulaymān, who obtained protection for him and his family against al-Ḥadjdjādj. On his accession in 96/715 Sulaymān appointed him to ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, and it was now Yazīd's turn to torture and extract money from the family of al-Ḥadjdjādj. But in 97/715-16 he departed for Khurāsān, leaving Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the *mawlā* of Tamīm, in charge of ʿIrāḳī taxes (an unusual arrangement). He campaigned in Djurdjān (Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 80) and boasted of the immense amount of wealth he had taken, only to be dismissed by ʿUmār II in 99/717 and asked to pay the *khums*. Once more he thus found himself in jail, and once more he managed to escape, getting out shortly before ʿUmār's death in 101. He went to Baṣra in the hope of securing the release of various members of his family held by the Baṣran governor, seeking pardon for himself from the new caliph Yazīd II; but when the governor failed to collaborate, he raised a revolt (Gabrieli, *La rivolta dei Muhallabiti*, in *Rend. Linc.*, ser. vi, xiv [1938]). He repudiated Yazīd II, and, according to al-Balādhurī, called for the enthronement of *al-riḍā min banī Hāshim* (Gabrieli, 215), though the family had not given evidence of Hāshimite sympathies before. According to a late Christian author, he claimed the caliphate for himself (Mārī b. Sulaymān, *Akhbār faṭārikat kursī al-mashriḳ*, ed. Gismondi, 65). But he is more commonly said to have called for the Book of God and the *sunna* of the Prophet, in conjunction with ʿIrāḳī freedom from Syrian troops and the end of the policies associated with al-Ḥadjdjādj (Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 61, 64-5), though he had been himself a protégé (and brother-in-law) of al-Ḥadjdjādj and the first to use Syrian troops in Khurāsān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1209; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, n. 260). But opportunistic though the rebellion was, it provided the embryonic Yemeni faction with its first martyrs: al-Kirmānī, the leader of the Khurāsānī Azd at the time of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, used vengeance for the Muhallabids as one of his shibboleths (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1858). Yazīd was defeated by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] at ʿAḳr in Ṣafar 102/August 720; he himself was killed, and his supporters fled to Sind (where Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab had recently been governor), only to be caught and killed or sent to Syria for execution. Their property was confiscated, and some 4,000 water buffaloes of theirs were transferred to al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] along with their Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 168, 367, 369, 441; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355).

(ii) The fortunes of the Muhallabids at large in the Umayyad period followed those of al-Muhallab and Yazīd. In the Second Civil War, al-Mughīra b. Abī Ṣufra, or his son Maʿn, broke ranks by joining the pro-Umayyad Djufriyya (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 799; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv b, 157 f.), while Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra commanded the Baṣran Azd against the Azāriḳa at Dūlāb before al-Muhallab's arrival (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 147; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 89). But al-Mughīra ended up in al-Muhallab's army along with his sons Maʿn and Bishr (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 691; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, ed. Ibrāhīm, iv, 198 f., 201, 223) and Sabra b. Nakhf b. Abī Ṣufra was in the service of Yazīd (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1110). Numerous sons of al-Muhallab also participated in their father's Azraḳite campaigns (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 694 f., 699 and *passim*). Of these, ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab stayed in ʿIrāḳ to head the *shurṭa* in Baṣra, where he fought on al-Ḥadjdjādj's side against Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] at Maskin (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1100, 1182; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv a, 59; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Zakkār, 410; the so-called letter of Ibn Ibāḍ to ʿAbd al-Malik may have been addressed to him (Cook, *Dogma*, 57 ff.)). Most of the rest went to Khurāsān to profit from al-Muhallab's appointment there, being dismissed along with Yazīd and coming back into offices of various kinds when Yazīd was reinstated. Practically all of them joined Yazīd's revolt, along with other relatives, and almost all were killed (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 442; al-ʿAwtabī, *Ansāb*, ii, 149 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 356, 372 f.; cf. Gabrieli, 208 n., for the cousins who stayed out of it).

(iii) After this bloodletting, the Muhallabids were quiet for a while, but not for long. A son of Yazīd's by the name of Marwān resurfaced as a mutinous soldier in the Umayyad army in Sind (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 389). Another son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, joined the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] in 127-9/744-7 and passed on to the ʿAbbāsids thereafter, being killed in Mawṣil in 133 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1978 f.; iii, 74; al-Azdī, *T. al-Mawṣil*, 107, 155; *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 378). A grandson, Abū Saʿīd b. Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd appears as a member of Abū Muslim's army in Khurāsān on the outbreak of revolution (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 337); later he served in Egypt (al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, 103). Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab vented his anti-Umayyad feelings by joining the Yamaniyya, on whose behalf he became governor of al-Ahwāz in the Third Civil War, and subsequently joined ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, but unwittingly spoilt his chances of passing on to the ʿAbbāsids by having the future al-Manṣūr flogged for non-delivery of taxes, an act for which he was to be executed after the revolution (Crone, in Bosworth *et alii* (eds.), *The Islamic world. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 106). Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab rebelled on behalf of the Hāshimiyya in Baṣra, along with Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] and other Muhallabids, in return for the governorship of that city in 132/749-50. Though he did well under Abu 'l-ʿAbbās and al-Manṣūr, he (or his son) nonetheless surrendered Baṣra to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh when the latter rebelled on behalf of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145/762-3. He was also the murderer of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, index; idem, *Futūḥ*, 367; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 413, 454; idem, *Buldān*, 252; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 373). ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād b. al-Muhallab also joined Ibrāhīm, along with his son ʿAtīk and one of his nephews (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370).

(iv) The most prominent Muhallabids of the ʿAbbāsid period were descendants of Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra and Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab.

ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḳabīṣa b. Abī Ṣufra, known as Hazārmard, may have joined the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 338 f.; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, iii, 4). He governed Baḥrayn for Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, and Baṣra for both the latter and al-Manṣūr. In 142/759-60 he became the first of several Muhallabids to govern India, where he stayed till

151/768 (though cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 236) and allegedly protected the son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, exchanging his black colours for white in the process (thus al-Ṭabarī, iii, 360 ff.). In 151/768 he was nonetheless appointed to North Africa, where he fell in action against Ibāḍīs in 153/770 and was followed by a string of Muhallabid governors. A daughter of his married an ʿAbbāsid prince (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, index; *Aghānī*[3], xx, 79, 84; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 448; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 134).

Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab joined the Hāshimiyya in ʿIrāḳ (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 138 [but cf. *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 378], 183; *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 352 f.). He governed Ādharbaydjān on behalf of the future al-Manṣūr, and Egypt in 144-52/761-9, moving on to North Africa in 154/771 or 155/772 as successor to his relative ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (above); he died there in the reign of al-Rashīd (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 111 ff.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446, 465, 496; al-Azdī, 217-18 [wrong order]; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 247, 249; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 135; he is credited with a governorship of Sind in Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370).

His son Dāwūd b. Yazīd briefly succeeded him as governor of Ifrīḳiya, but lost control and was replaced by Rawḥ b. Ḥātim (below; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 496). Dāwūd governed Egypt in 174-5/790-1 (al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 133 f.) and was appointed to Sind in 184/800 where he died in 205/820-1 leaving his son Bishr as his successor (cf. Pellat, in *Logos Islamikos ... Studia islamica in honorem G.M. Wickens*, ed. R.M. Savory and D.A. Agius, Toronto 1984, 22 ff.). Al-Maʾmūn accepted Bishr in return for a million *dirhams* per annum, which he soon failed to deliver, though he was not ousted till 216/831 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 649, 1044, 1098, 1100, 1105; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 494, 532, 557 f.; al-Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445; cf. also al-Iskāfī, *Lutf al-tadbīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, 60-2). Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim was likewise governor of India (and Makrān and Kirmān) at some stage according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370. For other descendants of Yazīd b. Ḥātim, see al-Azdī, 310; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 851 ff.

Rawḥ b. Ḥātim b. Ḳabīṣa b. al-Muhallab joined the Hāshimiyya in Baṣra in response to overtures made by Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*] to him and Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 355 f.; al-Azdī, 117), participated in the siege of Wāsiṭ and married a daughter of the *dāʿī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Azdī. He campaigned in Ṭabaristān in 142/759-60 and was appointed to Kūfa (or Sind) in 159/776, to Sind in 160/777, to Baṣra in 166/782-3 and to North Africa in 170/786-7, where he succeeded Yazīd b. Ḥātim (above) and died in 174/790-1 (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 447, 479, 496; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 230; Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 134).

His son al-Faḍl (or al-Mufaḍḍal) briefly governed North Africa, where he was killed in 178/794, whereupon the Muhallabids were expelled from the province (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 630; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 496; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370). Another son, Dāwūd, was accused of *zandaḳa* in 166/782-3, but soon freed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 517; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 370).

Bibliography: Numerous books were written on the Muhallabids, including some by the Muhallabids themselves (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 106, 118, 121 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 308; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1355-7, xiii, 100). These are all lost, but information on the family is to be found in most works dealing with the first centuries. In addition to those cited, see in particular the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*. For modern works, see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927; J. Hell, *al-Farazdaḳ's Lieder auf die Muhallabiten*, in *ZDMG*, lix (1905) and lx (1906); G.C. Miles, *Some new light on the history of Kirmān*, in *The world of Islam. Studies in honor of Philip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 91-5 (on Yāzīd's coins); M. Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 76; H. Mason, *The role of the Azdite Muhallabid family in Marw's anti-Umayyad struggle*, in *Arabica* xiv (1967); F. Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate 132/750-170/786*, Baghdād 1969; N.T. al-ʿAbbūd, *al-Mahāliba wa-dawruhum ḥattā 'l-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*, Baghdād 1979; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, London 1981, 82-3, 190-2; G.R. Hawting, *The first dynasty of Islam*, London 1986, 73-7; R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987.

(P. Crone)

MUḤAMMAD, the Prophet of Islam.

1. The Prophet's life and career.
2. The Prophet in popular Muslim piety.
3. The Prophet's image in Europe and the West.

1. The Prophet's life and career. Belief that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God (*Muḥammad*[un] *rasūlu 'llāh*) is second only to belief in the Oneness of God (*lā ilāha illā 'llāh*) according to the *shahāda* [*q.v.*], the quintessential Islamic creed. Muḥammad has a highly exalted role at the heart of Muslim faith. At the same time the Ḳurʾān and Islamic orthodoxy insist that he was fully human with no supernatural powers.

That Muḥammad was one of the greatest persons in world history in terms of the global impact of the movement he founded cannot be seriously questioned. How did his extraordinary success occur? One answer is theological: God chose Muḥammad as His Prophet and was directly responsible for his triumph over polytheism and evil. Another is based on historical and other empirical evidence: Muḥammad had remarkable leadership skills and a charismatic personality that enabled him to attract other strong leaders who were firmly committed to him, and together they were responsible for the early success of the Muslim community. These two views of Muḥammad—one as the ideal person, the exemplar for Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxis, and the other as the historical person, who first appears as a somewhat shadowy figure whose early life is little known, but who then gradually emerges into the light of history—are not necessarily incompatible, but they involve two separate inquiries, each pursuing its own path of investigation, each following its own methods of analysis. While the theologian and other believers seek to understand the role of God acting through the Prophet, the historian seeks the measure of the man himself. The theological answer is obvious and indisputable for the believer, but, if taken alone as the explanation of the Prophet's success, it runs the risk of diminishing Muḥammad's greatness as a man by making him a mere agent of divine action. The purpose of the first section of this article is to seek the historical Muḥammad.

I. THE HISTORICAL MUḤAMMAD

A. The Sources

The sources for the life of Muḥammad fall into overlapping categories that call for a variety of methods of analysis. By far the most trustworthy source, but at the same time the most difficult to utilise as a historical source, is the Ḳurʾān [*q.v.*], most if not all of which is contemporary with the life of Muḥammad. A characteristic feature of this unique

work is that it responds constantly and often candidly to Muḥammad's changing historical circumstances and contains a wealth of hidden data that are relevant to the task of the quest for the historical Muḥammad, although any use of the Ḳurʾān as a historical source is clearly ancillary to its primary purpose and main functions in Muslim life. Historians and biographers of Muḥammad past and present have only begun to tap this rich source, which requires specialised knowledge and a variety of historical and literary critical methods in order to reach sound conclusions and plausible hypotheses.

The earliest attempts to report events of Muḥammad's life could hardly be called biographies in the modern sense. They include what are called *maghāzī* [*q.v.*] works that treat Muḥammad's military expeditions and campaigns, which from an early date were merged with *sīra* [*q.v.*] works that sought to preserve stories about the Prophet, *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] writings that sought to preserve traditional interpretations of verses of the Ḳurʾān, and eventually *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] accounts that sought to preserve sayings of and about Muḥammad. Early works in all of these categories contain what can be classified as *mutawātir* (handed down successively) or *mashhūr* (well-known or widely known) material that was transmitted by oral tradition for generations before it was written down. None of these types of writings in its early forms, including the *maghāzī* and *sīra* works, had as its purpose the recording of the life of Muḥammad. Each report or story must thus be evaluated in terms of its purpose, and as many versions of the same story and similar stories as possible need to be consulted, since most of the accounts occur in numerous, often widely differing forms.

The most widely used sources for the life of Muḥammad, in addition to the Ḳurʾān, date from the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Islamic era. Among these the most highly respected is the *Maghāzī* or *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768), which is not extant in its original form, but has been preserved in at least two recensions, one by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) that is widely used, and another by Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/814-15) that exists only in manuscript form (for a description and summary of the contents of Yūnus's recension, see Alfred Guillaume, *New light on the life of Muhammad*, Manchester n.d.). We also have extensive quotations from Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, including sections that Ibn Hishām and Yūnus b. Bukayr omitted, in historical works that cover much more than just the life of the Prophet. Among these the most valuable is the *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa ʾl-mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922-3), which contains other material on the life of Muḥammad, notably reports from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/712-13), a very early source (cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 180-2). Alfred Guillaume has provided an English translation of an attempted reconstruction of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, produced largely by translating what Ibn Hishām reports from Ibn Isḥāḳ, adding quotations from the latter that are included by al-Ṭabarī (mainly the material that Ibn Hishām omitted) and placing Ibn Hishām's comments on Ibn Isḥāḳ's work in the back of the translation in a section called "Ibn Hishām's Notes" (pp. 691-798). These page numbers suggest that Ibn Hishām's comments constitute about 15% of his recension of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work, but it should be kept in mind that he may have omitted this amount or more of the original. After Ibn Isḥāḳ's work the sources most widely used are the *Maghāzī* by al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822-3), which is often criticised by Muslim writers who claim that the author is unreliable, and the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr* by al-Wāḳidī's secretary, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/844-5), who appears to be more highly respected than his employer. See *Bibl.* for editions and translations of these works. Other useful sources for the life of Muḥammad include the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Muslim (d. 261/875), and the *Musnad* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855).

B. Muḥammad in Mecca

1. *His early life*

The very first question a biographer has to ask, namely when the person was born, cannot be answered precisely for Muḥammad. We have no certain chronological data for the Meccan period of his life. His activity in Medina covered approximately ten years, from the Hidjra [*q.v.*] in 622 A.D. until his death in 632. Most of the sources say his activity as a prophet in Mecca also lasted ten years, but there is considerable difference of opinion on this question. A statement in a poem ascribed sometimes to Abū Ḳays b. Abī Anas and sometimes to Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, no. 19) says that his prophetic activity in Mecca lasted "ten and some years". Muḥammad's biographers usually make him 40 or sometimes 43 years old at the time of his call to be a prophet, which, taken with the statements on the length of the Meccan and Medinan periods of his prophetic activity and his age at the time of his death, would put the year of his birth at about 570 A.D. When, however, tradition says that he was born in the "Year of the Elephant" (alluded to in sūra CV) this cannot be accepted, since Abraha's attack on Mecca must have taken place considerably before 570. There is better reason to believe that he may have been born later in the 570s. Since the traditional accounts differ widely and also contain elements that are clearly based on later legend, it is best to leave open the question of the year of Muḥammad's birth. For the period of his life before he came forth as a religious reformer the Ḳurʾān has only the indefinite expression *ʿumr*, in sūra X, 16: "I lived among you an *ʿumr* before it", where the term is usually interpreted "a lifetime" and could just as well mean 35 as 40 or 43 years.

The name "Muḥammad" is reported to have occurred previously among the Arabs (e.g. Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, 6 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 111 f.) and therefore need not be regarded as an epithet adopted later in life by the Prophet. It should be noted, however, that the brief section on such persons given by Ibn Saʿd has the heading, "Account of those who were named Muḥammad in the days of the *djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] in the hope of being called to prophethood which had been predicted", which indicates the tendentious nature of some of these accounts. The fact that the sources say frequently that in his youth Muḥammad was called Amīn, a common Arab name meaning "faithful, trustworthy", suggests the possibility that this could have been his given name, a masculine form from the same root as his mother's name, Āmina. The name Muḥammada for women occurs several times in the Syrian *Book of the Himyarites*.

As to Muḥammad's descent several old poems (e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, no. 25; Aʿshā in Ibn Hishām, 256; cf. also on Djaʿfar: Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 21; Kaʿb b. Mālik in Ibn Hishām, 800; on Ḥamza: Ibn Hishām, 630; on Abū Lahab: Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 217) support the statement of tradition that he belonged to the Banū Hāshim [*q.v.*], apparently one of the better class families of Mecca (cf. Ibn Hishām, 539, 821), which was related to the Banū Muṭṭalib (Ibn Hishām, 536). On the other hand, the Meccan enemies of the Prophet say in sūra

XLIII, 31 that they would believe in him more readily if he had been "one of the prominent men of the two cities" (Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif). The Hās͟him family in any case could not compare with the most prominent families such as the Mak͟hzūm and Umayya [*q.vv.*]. What is recorded of the needy circumstances of Muḥammad and some of his relatives suggests that the Banū Hās͟him were not prosperous during his early lifetime. His father, who is said to have died before the Prophet's birth, is quite a colourless figure in the sources. His name ʿAbd Allāh is perhaps only a later improvement on a polytheist name (see the names of his brothers below). Muḥammad's grandfather is called S͟hayba or ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The connection between these two names is as obscure as is their relationship to the Banū S͟hayba (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 94, ii/1, 124) and the often mentioned family of Muṭṭalib (Ḥassān b. T͟hābit, no. 184; Ibn His͟hām, 230, 536). On his mother's side he had connections, which are not entirely clear, with Medina. We know little more that is definite about his ancestry, since most of what is related is heavily influenced by later legend. The first tangible historical figures among his relatives are his uncles: Abū Ṭālib [*q.v.*], whose name was ʿAbd Manāf, al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], Ḥamza [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā [see ABŪ LAHAB].

In the well-known Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā, a personal passage addressed to the Prophet, the Ḳurʾān affirms that Muḥammad grew up as an orphan (XCIII, 6). Little else about his early life is known. The sources contain many colourful stories with settings from before his birth up to the time of the Hid͟jra. These accounts are important historical sources for understanding early stages in Muslim perceptions of the Prophet, which developed rapidly well beyond his portrayal in the Ḳurʾān, but they have little value as sources for the historical Muḥammad (as distinct from the Muḥammad of Muslim faith). As Birkeland has shown, the story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast, which occurs in a variety of forms set in different parts of his lifetime (e.g., Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 96 f.), is a later exegetical materialisation of XCIV, 1 (*The Legend of the opening of Muhammed's breast*, Oslo 1955). It would also be wiser to set aside Muḥammad's alleged trading journeys into Syria, said to have occurred when he was a child under the care of his uncle Abū Ṭālib and later in the service of his future wife, K͟hadīd͟ja [*q.v.*]. The sources contain several versions of each of these stories, all of which have as their central theme predictions or affirmations regarding Muḥammad's future prophethood. Some of the versions of the story of the "first journey" involve a Christian monk named Baḥīrā [*q.v.*] (Ibn Isḥāḳ as reported in Ibn His͟hām, 115-17 and in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1123-6; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 76 f., 99-101), while others say Abū Ṭālib stopped at two convents where the unnamed "master of the convent" at each affirmed Muḥammad's future prophethood and insisted that the boy's father could not be living (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 98 f.). The main theme of most versions of the story of Muḥammad's "second journey to Syria" is the same as the first, that is, affirmation or announcement by a Syrian Christian monk, in this case named Nasṭūr, that Muḥammad will be a prophet (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 101 f.). It is curious that most modern biographers of Muḥammad depict this story as something of a test of his business skills and as an episode that serves largely as a prelude to an account of his marriage to K͟hadīd͟ja, since this is not a major theme of the story and does not even occur in some versions. In the form in which these stories are given they have distinctly apolegetic themes. Equally little confidence is to be placed in the story of the part said to have been played by Muḥammad in rebuilding the Kaʿba (Ibn His͟hām, 122-6; Ṭabarī, i, 1134-9; with an interesting variation in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 93 f.). Verse 8 of Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā may allude to Muḥammad's marriage to the wealthy widow, K͟hadīd͟ja: "Did He not find you poor (*ʿāʾil*) and then enrich [you]?" Muḥammad and K͟hadīd͟ja are said to have had four daughters, who played various roles in the early history of Islam, and several sons all of whom died in infancy (Ibn His͟hām, 121). Except for the names of some of his children the sources tell us virtually nothing about Muḥammad's life from the time of his marriage to K͟hadīd͟ja, when he is said to have been 25 years old, until shortly before he began to have visions and hear mysterious voices, when he is said to have been 40 or 43.

2. *His emergence as a religious reformer*

Because of the nature of the sources and the complexities involved in interpreting them, questions concerning Muḥammad's emergence as a religious reformer are among the most difficult to answer. That he originally shared some of the religious conceptions of his milieu is in every way the most natural assumption. The verse in Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā between the two cited above asks Muḥammad: "Did He not find you going astray (*ḍāllan*) and then guide [you]?" (XCIII, 7). It is the plural form of this same crucial word, *ḍāll*, that occurs at the end of the well-known Fātiḥa, the prayer that serves as the first sūra of the Ḳurʾān: "Guide us on the straight path ... not that of those who go astray (*al-ḍāllīn*)." Further support for this assumption is found in other verses of the Ḳurʾān, such as XLII, 52: "You did not know what the Book or belief was", and in the *Sīra* reports that Muḥammad gave a polytheistic name, ʿAbd Manāf, to one of his sons (who, however, could simply have been named after Muḥammad's uncle and guardian who is better known by his *kunya*, Abū Ṭālib [*q.v.*]) and that two of his daughters were married to sons of his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (Abū Lahab [*q.v.*]), who is consistently said to have been an ardent defender of polytheism. One of the clearest examples of traditional Arabian beliefs that Muḥammad retained after he began speaking publicly as a prophet of the God of the Jews and the Christians involves the *d͟jinn* [*q.v.*], who are mentioned frequently in Meccan portions of the Ḳurʾān. He was certainly influenced by the manner of the old Arab, *d͟jinn*-inspired (*mad͟jnūn* [*q.v.*]) soothsayers and their peculiar form of speech called *sad͟jʿ* [*q.v.*], with its mysterious oaths and rhymed prose (see KĀHIN, ḲURʾĀN, at vol. V, 421 f.; also *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 36 ff.; Blachère, *Litt.*, 222; and M. Zwettler, *The Oral tradition of classical Arabic poetry*, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 157 ff.)

Mecca with its sanctuary must have been a sanctified place in Muḥammad's eyes even before it was connected with Abraham and Ishmael, for the Ḳurʾān accepts it as such from an early stage in his public recitations (XXVIII, 91; XXVIII, 57; XXIX, 67; CV, 1 ff.; CVI, 1 ff.). He must have accepted the sacrifices offered there (CVIII, 2), and his followers took part in the ancient Meccan pilgrimage rituals before he combined them to form the great Islamic Ḥad͟jd͟j [*q.v.*]. A fascinating verse that reveals the uncertain state of the old rituals before Muḥammad's Farewell Pilgrimage is II, 158, which seems to answer a question put to the Prophet: "Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among the landmarks (*s͟haʿāʾir*) of God, so there is no fault in circumambulating them for those who make a pilgrimage to the House [the Kaʿba] or perform an *ʿumra*." This verse gives permission for Muḥammad's followers to perform the ancient *saʿy*

before it acquired an Islamic meaning and was made obligatory for Muslims performing the Ḥadjdj. (For the customs and most likely meanings of the rituals involving al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in Muḥammad's time, see SAʿY.)

What one can deduce in this way from the Ḳurʾān about Muḥammad's development is supplemented in an important way by tradition, according to which he was not alone in his search for a monotheistic religion. Various individuals are named who, dissatisfied with the old Arab polytheism, were seeking a more intellectual faith (cf. Ibn Hishām, 143-9). One in particular, Khadīdja's cousin, Waraḳa b. Nawfal [*q.v.*], who is mentioned in several interesting stories about Muḥammad in the *Sīra* literature, most likely played a larger role in the rise of Islam than is acknowledged in the sources. In addition there are the Ḥanīfs [*q.v.*] of whom the traditions have preserved only a very hazy picture, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt whose poems often have points of contact with the Ḳurʾān, which would be of great importance if they could even in part be regarded as genuine [see also MUSAYLIMA].

To what extent Muḥammad was influenced by the various monotheistic ideas and movements that existed in Arabia in the early 7th century A.D. is difficult to determine. What is certain is that something happened that transformed his whole consciousness and filled him with a spiritual strength that decided the whole course of his life. He felt himself compelled to proclaim the revelations that were communicated to him in a mysterious way. Caetani has argued that Muḥammad's emergence as a religious reformer developed gradually and involved extended periods of meditation and reflection, referred to in the *Sīra* literature as *taḥannuth* (cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 44). Islamic tradition, on the other hand, also relates other stories, some involving the archangel Gabriel, that give the impression that Muḥammad had a sudden "prophetic call" at some precise moment in his life. Several verses in the Ḳurʾān, such as XLIV, 1-4, XCVII, 1, and II, 185, have been interpreted in such a way as to support this latter view (cf. Ibn Hishām, 155), but these verses are ambiguous and in fact contain no clear reference to a first revelation.

The traditional stories that identify either sūra XCVI, 1 ff. or LXXIV, 1 ff. as the first revelation are highly suspect for several reasons. These stories interpret one or the other of these passages as the original command from God to Muḥammad to begin reciting the revelation or warning the people. At the same time tradition claims that there was a *fatra* ("pause") of three years between the time he received these "first revelations" and the time he began his public ministry. Taking these two claims together would mean that Muḥammad waited for three years before carrying out the divine command. (For more substantive arguments based on a critical analysis of the history of the text of the Ḳurʾān, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 78-88; Watt, *Mecca*, 46-9.) This alleged *fatra* has not been fully explained and remains somewhat of an enigma. The concept of a *fatra* of three years in the revelations may have originated in the attempts of Muḥammad's biographers to construct an exact chronology of his life out of the conflicting reports of his age at the time of certain key events and of the lengths of his Meccan and Medinan periods of prophetic activity. One must also reckon with the possibility that the very earliest revelations were not written down or memorised by Muḥammad's followers and thus have been lost.

The Ḳurʾān gives only a few hints about the manner of these inspirations. Perhaps the wrapping up (LXXIII, 1; LXXIV, 1) refers to a preparation for the reception of the revelations in the manner of the old Arab *kāhins*. We are taken further in an indirect way by the often recurring accusation of his enemies that Muḥammad was *djinn*-possessed (*madjnūn* [*q.v.*]), a soothsayer (*kāhin* [*q.v.*]), or a magician (*sāḥir*), for they show that in his moments of inspiration he made an impression similar to those figures well known in ancient Arabia. The graphic descriptions of his condition in such moments may be regarded as genuine, since they are unlikely to have been invented by later Muslims. These mysterious seizures must have afforded to those around him the most convincing evidence for the superhuman origin of his inspirations. Whether he had such experiences before he began to see himself as a prophet of the God of the Jews and the Christians and, if so, how long he had had these experiences remains uncertain. The *Sīra* accounts that affirm that at first Muḥammad did not recognise these experiences as indications that he was being called to be a prophet may be an example of historical foreshortening or telescoping, i.e. reducing into a short time span what in fact lasted for a much longer period.

3. *His public ministry in Mecca*

Probably over a period of several years a new world of ideas began to fill him to an ever increasing extent, until he was finally compelled with irresistible force to come forth and proclaim them. Parts of the Ḳurʾān that exemplify Muḥammad's early public recitations exhibit a passionately excited inspiration that is rarely matched in later parts of his career. These early recitations are based not on a dogmatic conception of monotheism but on a strong general moral and religious appeal, which, however, was bound in Muḥammad's circumstances in Mecca to lead to a breach with the polytheists. Key themes in these early recitations include the idea of the moral responsibility of man who was created by God and the idea of the judgment to take place on the day of resurrection. To these are added vivid descriptions of the tortures of the damned in the hellfire and the pleasures of the believers in Paradise. Another major theme of Muḥammad's early preaching, before the onset of strong opposition from the powerful merchant families of Mecca, involves the signs of God in nature that should convince people who will take the time to reflect that there is a power greater than man's, and that the wise will acknowledge this power and cease their greed and suppression of the poor. There is also a stress on the wonders of everyday life, especially the marvellous phenomenon of man (cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 62-72).

The religious duties that the Ḳurʾān imposed on Muḥammad and his followers during the Meccan years were simple and few in number: one should believe in God, appeal to Him for forgiveness of sins (XXIII, 1-11), offer prayers frequently, including long night vigils (XI, 114; LXXIII, 20; cf. LXXVI, 25 f.), assist others (especially those who are in need), free oneself from the love of delusive wealth and—what is significant for the commercial life of Mecca—from all forms of cheating (XXVI, 182 f.; cf. LV, 7-9), lead a chaste life, and not expose new-born girls to die in the desert, a barbarous custom that was sometimes practiced in Arabia in Muḥammad's time (for reasons of poverty according to VI, 151 and XVII, 31). These are some of the qualities of the truly pious person who in the Ḳurʾān is sometimes called a *muslim* (LXVIII, 35; XXI, 108, etc.) sometimes a *ḥanīf* (X, 105; XXX, 30; XCIII, 5; cf. VI, 79 and the article), but more frequently simply a believer (*muʾmin*).

At first Muḥammad met with no serious opposition and in not a few cases his preaching fell on fruitful soil. In the words addressed to Ṣāliḥ in sūra XI, 62 we may find a hint that Muḥammad had at first aroused considerable expectations among the Meccans. In addition to Khadīdja, who is consistently said to have been the first believer, and several men including Abū Bakr, the manumitted slave Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Zubayr b. al-ᶜAwwām, Ṭalha b. ᶜUbayd Allāh, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf, Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, and Muḥammad's cousin ᶜAlī [*q.vv.*], who are also said to have been among the early followers of Muḥammad, the sources mention a number of other converts in Mecca, the majority of whom appear to have been young or of no great social standing, while the well-to-do and influential held back (XIX, 73; XXXIV, 31 ff.; LXXIII, 11; LXXX, 1 ff.; for a detailed analysis of the social standing and the tribal affiliations of the Meccan converts, see Watt, *Mecca*, 88-96). This became still more the case when the full consequences of Muḥammad's preaching became clear, that is, when he openly attacked the polytheism of his native town. Up until this point most Meccans appear to have had little interest in devotional meetings, and thus had been rather indifferent to Muḥammad's activities.

He was only gradually led to attack on principle the gods of Mecca (see Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings*, 734-43). The Meccan sanctuary, he said, belonged to the one true God, "Allāh", whom the Meccans also recognised as the High God (XXXI, 25; XXXIX, 38; XIII, 12 where "Allāh" is the lord of the Kaᶜba) and he will protect and bless his sanctuary, if they submit to him (XXVII, 91; XXVIII, 57; XXIX, 67; CVI, 1 ff.). Meccan merchants then discovered that a religious revolution might be dangerous to their fairs and their trade. That this was the salient feature of their resistance to Muḥammad is evident from the fact that the Ḳurʾān frequently endeavours to calm the fears of the Ḳuraysh on this point. The merchants of Mecca tended to have conservative attitudes about religious beliefs and practices, and they let their animosity to Muḥammad's new and fantastic ideas be known, particularly regarding belief in a physical resurrection of the dead.

Muḥammad's strength lay in the consciousness that he lived in a higher intellectual world that was closed to the polytheists and that he proclaimed ideas, "the equal of which neither men nor *djinn* with combined efforts could produce" (XVII, 88). Very pertinently he often points to the lack of logic in his enemies, when they recognise "Allāh" as the real true God but will not draw the logical deductions from this. But even his most crushing arguments rebounded from the impregnable wall of their prejudices that were based on their material interest. This circumstance now began to influence the matter of his preaching in a very remarkable way. When his opponents mocked him because the divine judgment threatened by him did not come (XXXVIII, 16; LXX, 1 ff.) he began to describe in an increasing degree how the contemporaries of earlier prophets had met them with incredulity and had therefore brought on their heads dreadful punishments (Bell-Watt, 127-34). That this threat of terrestrial punishment was not part of the earliest revelations is evident from the fact that Muḥammad's preaching, according to the already mentioned credible tradition, at first gave no offence, and indeed this feature is lacking in the sūras that appear to be the oldest.

The new religious ideas that Muḥammad proclaimed are associated in the Ḳurʾān with the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*), an expression that refers to the Jewish and Christian communities. That Muḥammad was conscious of this association is clear from the repeated statements in the Ḳurʾān that emphasise the agreement between its teachings and those of the Jews and the Christians. In a significant passage, sūra X, 94, the Ḳurʾān even challenges Muḥammad's opponents to consult the People of the Book for irrefutable evidence of the truth of his message: "If you are in doubt about what We have revealed, ask those who read the Book before you." During the Meccan years it is quite evident that Muḥammad had no thought of founding a new religion. His task was only to be a "warner" (*nadhīr* [*q.v.*]) (LI, 50; LXXIV, 2; LXXIX, 45; LXXX, 11; LXXXVIII, 21 ff.; and Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 41 ff.), charged with the task of informing the Arabs, to whom no prophet had been sent before (VI, 157; XXVIII, 46; XXXII, 3; XXXIV, 44; XXXVI, 6), that the day of judgment was approaching. This warning, which previously was not directly accessible to the Arabs, was now proclaimed as a clear Arabic recitation (*ḳurʾān ᶜarabī*) so that Muḥammad's people could be saved from the divine wrath. The Jews and Christians must thus also testify to the truth of his preaching (X, 94; XVI, 43; XXI, 7; XXVI, 197; XXVIII, 52, etc.), since the same revelation had been sent down to them previously.

It is in this context that the meaning of the often discussed term *ummī* [*q.v.*] is best understood. As applied to Muḥammad in sūra VII, 157, the term appears to mean "one who has not previously been given the Book of God" and is the antithesis of the People of the Book, that is, those who already had versions of the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*) in their own languages. Muḥammad was the *ummī*-prophet only during the period before he began to prepare a written scripture for his community (see AL-ḲURʾĀN, at 403-4). This interpretation does not affect the question as to whether or not Muḥammad was able to read and write, except as the term might have had connotations of his inability to read the Jewish and Christian scriptures (see Wensinck, in *AO*, i/1, 191). As a merchant he must have had some knowledge of reading and writing Arabic. In a key passage on this question, XXV, 4-6, Muḥammad's opponents are quoted as saying that "he has written down" (*iktataba*) "stories of the ancients ... that are recited to him morning and evening", and the Ḳurʾān (in verse 6) does not deny this accusation, but simply affirms that what Muḥammad was reciting had been inspired by God. It was only in later theological circles that the term *ummī* acquired the now common meaning, "illiterate", as scriptural evidence for the doctrine of the miracle of Muḥammad's reception of the revelation from God through Gabriel (cf. AL-ḲURʾĀN, at 403; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 14; Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and, for comments on the European literature on the meaning *ummī* and its plural form *ummiyyūn* in the Ḳurʾān, Paret, *Kommentar*, 21 f.).

Traditions record at great length the persecution and ill-treatment that Muḥammad and his followers suffered at the hands of the Meccan polytheists (e.g., Ibn Hishām, 205-7). These reports play a significant role in several episodes that are presented in the *Sīra* literature as major events in the life of Muḥammad in his Meccan period, but are unfortunately more or less obscure and may be interpreted in various equally uncertain ways. In addition to the inevitable differences in the biographical sources, one other key factor makes it difficult to reconstruct with any confidence the main stages in Muḥammad's life before

the Hidjra. While the Ḳur'ān refers frequently to major events in the life of Muḥammad and the Muslim community that occurred in Medina after the Hidjra, often treating these events in some detail, it is virtually silent on the episodes that the *Sīra* reports as major events in Muḥammad's Meccan years. In light of the fact that the Ḳur'ān responds constantly and candidly to Muḥammad's historical situation (see K. Cragg, *The event of the Qur'ān*, London 1971, and Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 15-52), its silence on these allegedly major Meccan events is significant.

One example involves the various accounts of the emigration of some of Muḥammad's followers from Mecca to Abyssinia. Ibn Sa^cd reports and discusses two separate events: "the first *hidjra* to Abyssinia" (i/1, 136-8) and "the second *hidjra* to Abyssinia" (i/1, 138 f.). He says that most of the emigrants in the first group returned to Mecca before the Hidjra to Medina, while most of the second group were still in Abyssinia at the time of the Hidjra, so that when they left there they went directly to Medina. Ibn Hishām (205-17) speaks of only one migration of Muslims from Mecca to Abyssinia, as does al-Ṭabarī (i, 1180-4), who, after discussing the circumstances and giving the names of the first ten to go, concludes his account by saying: "Then Dja^cfar b. Abī Ṭālib emigrated, and after that there was a steady stream of Muslims." These accounts agree that persecution in Mecca played a major role in Muḥammad's decision to suggest that a number of his followers seek refuge among the Christians in Abyssinia. Watt (*Mecca*, 109-17) has shown, however, that the episode was far more complex than is suggested by the traditional accounts. He concludes that there is reason to believe that some sort of division within the embryonic Muslim community played a role and that some of the emigrants may have gone to Abyssinia to engage in trade, possibly in competition with prominent merchant families in Mecca. According to the well-known letter of ^cUrwa (preserved in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1180 ff.) most of these emigrants returned to their native town when Islam had become strengthened by the accession to its ranks of a number of individuals of position in Mecca, such as ^cUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] (Ibn Hishām, 224-31) and Muḥammad's uncle, Ḥamza [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1187 f.).

At the same time there is a quite different story on their return to Mecca that has been much discussed. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 1192-6) relates that Muḥammad was reciting Sūrat al-Nadjm (LIII) on an occasion when a number of Meccan polytheists were present "in the mosque" [?] and that when he came to the names of three of their favourite deities, al-Lāt, al-^cUzzā and Manāt [*q.v.*] (who are mentioned by name in what are now verses 19 and 20), Satan "cast on his tongue" two short verses: "These are the high-flying ones (*gharānīḳ*, lit. "cranes") / whose intercession is to be hoped for." Taking these verses to mean that Muḥammad had accepted their goddesses as divine beings whose intercession with God (who for them was a High God) was effectual, the polytheists who were present prostrated with the Muslims when the Prophet came to the last verse of the sūra, which says "So prostrate yourselves before God and serve him." According to the story this led to a general reconciliation between Muḥammad and the Meccans, and the Muslims who had migrated to Abyssinia began to return home. By the time they arrived, however, the archangel Gabriel had informed Muḥammad that the two *gharānīḳ* verses were not part of the revelation, but had been inserted by Satan. The returning Muslims thus had to make arrangements for clan protection before they could re-enter Mecca.

This curious story, which is also found in Ibn Sa^cd (i/1, 137 f.) but not in Ibn Hishām and presumably not in Ibn Isḥāḳ, is rejected by most Muslims as a later invention. Most European biographers of Muḥammad, on the other hand, accept it as historical on the assumption that it is inconceivable that later Muslims could have invented it (e.g., Watt, *Mecca*, 103). This reason, however, is in itself insufficient. The story in its present form (as related by al-Ṭabarī, al-Wāḳidī, and Ibn Sa^cd) cannot be accepted as historical for a variety of reasons given in AL-ḲUR'ĀN, at 404. This does not rule out the possibility of some historical kernel behind the story. It is possible that this story is another example of historical telescoping, i.e. that a situation that was known by Muḥammad's contemporaries to have lasted for a long period of time later came to be encapsulated in a story that restricts his acceptance of intercession through these goddesses to a brief period of time and places the responsibility for this departure from a strict monotheism on Satan. This interpretation is completely consistent with what is said above regarding Muḥammad's gradual "emergence as a religious reformer" and with evidence from the Ḳur'ān that a strict monotheism arose in stages over an extended period of time during Muḥammad's Meccan years (cf. Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings*, 736-43).

It is just as difficult to elucidate another episode of the Meccan period, the story of the boycott of the Banū Hāshim. Muḥammad's whole position during his struggle with the Meccans was made possible only by the support given him by his own family, the clan of Hāshim. Most members of the family chivalrously fulfilled their duty in this respect, even though only a few of them believed in his prophetic call. His uncle, ^cAbd al-^cUzzā [Abū Lahab] appears to be the only influential member of the family who staunchly opposed him. This opposition became so severe that Abū Lahab came to be perpetually damned in the Ḳur'ān along with his wife in sūra CXI. It would thus not be unnatural in itself for the Meccans in the end to attempt to make the whole family innocuous without bringing on themselves the guilt of bloodshed by an open attack. The part of the story, however, that tells how they forced the Banū Hāshim to withdraw into their own part of the town and pledged themselves to refrain from intermarriage or commerce with them is probably much exaggerated. That the effort finally failed in its primary objective is conceded by the story itself. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Khadīdja's fortune may have suffered considerably from Muḥammad's obligations to his needy followers and from the enmity of the influential merchant princes. Here again the Ḳur'ān is silent on an episode that the *Sīra* presents as a major event in Muḥammad's life, and we are left with more questions than answers.

4. *His last years in Mecca before the Hidjra*

The sources are somewhat fuller for the major events during Muḥammad's last years in and around Mecca before the Hidjra, although late tendentious historiography has coloured much in the traditions. According to ^cUrwa's account, Muḥammad did succeed in winning a few notables in Mecca (including probably ^cUmar) for his teaching, after the emigration of a number of his followers to Abyssinia. On the whole, however, his attempt at a religious reform of his native city must be regarded as having failed. When his wife Khadīdja and his uncle and guardian Abū Ṭālib died within a short period of time, his position gradually became more and more hopeless. He could now have consoled himself with the thought that he had done his duty as a "warner" and could regard

it as the will of God that his people were not to be saved (cf. X, 99; XLIII, 89). But the consciousness of being a chosen instrument of God had gradually become so powerful within him that he was no longer able to sink back into an inglorious existence with his objective unachieved. He then made an attempt to establish himself in Ṭāʾif, but according to the reports this effort failed and indeed brought him into physical danger. After this unsuccessful journey to Ṭāʾif, the *Sīra* accounts say he obtained protection from a Meccan man named Mutʿim b. ʿAdī, who is said to have taken the discouraged prophet under his wing, thereby providing safety so he could re-enter his native city. (This report is corroborated in a poem by Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 88.)

It is at this low point in Muḥammad's life that some *Sīra* accounts place the famous Night Journey and Ascension. Ibn Saʿd relates his versions of the *miʿradj* [*q.v.*] (i/1, 142 f.) and then the *isrāʾ* (i/1, 143-5) as two separate events that occurred after Muḥammad's visit to Ṭāʾif. He even gives exact dates for these two events, saying that Muḥammad's Ascension to heaven from near the Kaʿba ("between the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* and *Zamzam*") occurred "on the night of Saturday, 27 Ramaḍān, eighteen months before the Hidjra", and that his Night Journey from the sanctuary in Mecca to the sanctuary in Jerusalem (*bayt al-muḳaddas*) occurred on "the seventeenth night of [the last] Rabīʿ I before the Hidjra". As is well known, in later tradition these two stories came to be combined into one. It should also be noted that other *Sīra* accounts place these events at different times in Muḥammad's prophetic career. Ibn Hishām reports accounts of the Night Journey first (263-8) and then the Ascension to heaven (268-71), and he places these accounts before the deaths of Khadīdja and Abū Ṭālib. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 1157-9) includes only the story of Muḥammad's Ascension from the sanctuary in Mecca to "the earthly heaven", where Gabriel led the Prophet through each of the seven heavens, "and then he took him to Paradise", where Gabriel picked up a handful of "its earth" and it had the fragrance of musk. Al-Ṭabarī places this story before the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, between his account of Khadīdja becoming "the first to believe in the Messenger of God" and his account of "the first male to believe in the Messenger of God". Eventually these two events were combined so that the terminus of the Night Journey was the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where Muḥammad led the earlier prophets in a performance of the *ṣalāt*, made his Ascension to heaven from the raised stone protrusion that is now enclosed within the famous Dome of the Rock, and then Gabriel and Muḥammad returned to Mecca, completing the Night Journey. It is Muḥammad's association with the Temple Mount in this two-part story that makes Jerusalem the third holiest city, after Mecca and Medina, for Muslims [see AL-ḲUDS and AL-MASDJID AL-AḲṢĀ].

Despite the harsh reception he received in Ṭāʾif, but possibly buoyed by the Ascension experience, if indeed it occurred at this time, and even if it was a vision or a dream (for we know that personalities such as his can have emotionally powerful vision and dream experiences), Muḥammad persevered in his search for a new sphere of activity outside of Mecca. The large number of tribes who came to Mecca for the spring and fall fairs and market days and also to perform the pilgrimage rituals at the Kaʿba provided excellent opportunities for Muḥammad to attempt to arrange for a new home for himself and his followers. After several unsuccessful negotiations he found favourable soil for his hopes with some men from Yathrib (later called Medina). The fact that he had relations there may have made the task of reaching an agreement easier. Fortunately we know something about conditions in Medina just before the rise of Islam, but our knowledge is still meagre and much of importance is still conjectural. We may safely assume that the large number of Jews who lived there had contributed towards making the Arab population somewhat familiar with monotheistic ideas (cf. Ibn Hishām, 178; Wensinck, *Jews of Medina*, 6-38; and Newby, *Jews of Arabia*, 49-77).

There is however no question that the Medinans did not so much want to attract an inspired preacher to themselves as to get a political leader, who could readjust their political relations, which had been shattered in recent tribal conflicts that culminated in the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*]. The responsibility Muḥammad contemplated was awesome, for it would mean his taking responsibility for the safety and welfare of his followers, who would be breaking the links that bound them to their tribes and families. Muḥammad would have to assume not only the immense responsibilities of a tribal chief, in relation to his followers who would emigrate with him, but also the challenge of settling disputes among largely unknown tribes who had longstanding grievances among one another.

With this we are faced with one of the most difficult problems in the biography of Muḥammad, the double personality that he presents to us so clearly in the sources. The inspired religious enthusiast, whose ideas mainly centred around the coming last judgment, who had borne all insults and attacks, who only timidly touched on the possibility of active resistance (XVI, 126) and preferred to leave everything to God's intervention, now with his migration to Medina enters upon a secular stage and at one stroke shows himself a brilliant political genius. The decisive point however is that the Medinans would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties if they had not been much impressed by his abilities in this direction.

After Muḥammad had entered into relations with some Medinans who had come as pilgrims to Mecca in 621, the latter began to spread Islam in their native town along with men whom he had sent there, and thus he was able after a preliminary conference in al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] to conclude at the pilgrimage next year (622) at the same place a formal agreement with a considerable number of Medinans, in which they pledged themselves and their fellow-citizens to take him into their community and to protect him as one of their own citizens, which, as later history shows, was also to hold for his Meccan followers if they moved to Medina. Tradition, and no doubt rightly, mentions here only the promise of the Medinans to take Muḥammad under their protection, without any further obligations.

These negotiations, which could not remain unknown to the Meccans, produced great bitterness, and a second *fitna*, as ʿUrwa says, began for the believers, which would have confirmed them even more in their determination to migrate to Medina. They are reported to have slipped away in large and small groups, so that finally only Muḥammad and Abū Bakr, with the latter's servant, were left. (Other accounts, possibly Shīʿī, say ʿAlī also remained in Mecca until the last moment.) That the Prophet did not go with the others was most likely part of his plan to keep the Hidjra as unobtrusive as possible. Just how successful the Meccan leaders could have been if they had wanted to prevent the departure of Muḥam-

mad and his followers is difficult to say. It seems most likely that at the time of the Hidjra the Meccans did not see Muḥammad as a threat to them whether he was in Mecca or in Medina. The traditional story, which in any case is embellished with later legendary details, that has Muḥammad and Abū Bakr remaining in Mecca until all the other Muslims had safely left and then hiding out in a cave may have some support from the well-known verse in the Ḳurʾān that begins "If you do not help him (Muḥammad), yet God has helped him already when the unbelievers (of Mecca) drove him forth with a companion, and the two of them were in the cave when he (Muḥammad) said to his companion (Abū Bakr): 'Do not be afraid, for God is with us' " (IX, 40). On the other hand, since this verse is so ambiguous without the interpolations, it is just as feasible that the story about the Prophet and Abū Bakr hiding out in a cave is a later exegetical materialisation of this Ḳurʾānic verse.

C. Muḥammad in Medina

The year of the great migration, Hidjra [*q.v.*], of the Prophet and his followers from his native town of Mecca to Yathrib [*q.v.*], later called Medina (from *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet"), was with good reason chosen as year 1 of the Islamic calendar, for it marks the beginning of the ten-year period in the life of Muḥammad when he led in the establishment of a new religious community that in a remarkably short time developed into one of the great civilisations of world history. According to the usual calculation, he arrived in Ḳubāʾ, a suburb of Medina, on 12 Rabīʿ I 1/24 September 622. The tasks that awaited him called for extraordinary diplomatic and organising skills, and he demonstrated that he was in every way equal to the challenge.

1. *The initial political situation*

At first Muḥammad could rely with confidence only on those who had emigrated with him from Mecca, the so-called Emigrants (*muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*]). These ardent followers, who maintained their support of Muḥammad and their belief in his cause during the difficult Meccan years, came to have a special rank among the Muslims. Some Medinans accepted Islam before Muḥammad arrived there, but they formed only a small portion of the inhabitants of the Prophet's adopted city. Slowly at first and then in larger numbers the Medinans adopted Islam. Those who became Muslims during Muḥammad's lifetime, called Helpers (*anṣār* [*q.v.*]), also came to have a special rank within the community second only to the Emigrants. Among the Arab tribes of Medina, Muḥammad encountered direct opposition only from a few families, such as the Aws Allāh. There were others who did not oppose him openly, but accepted the new relations reluctantly. Among these a particularly troublesome group gathered around a man of the Khazradj tribe named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], who managed to let slip away every occasion on which he might have successfully weakened Muḥammad's position. A further danger lay in the fact that an old and bitter feud between the two main Arab tribes of Medina, the Aws and the Khazradj [*q.vv.*], continued and could have broken out into the open at any time.

In addition to the Arab tribes of Medina there were a number of Jewish groups, the most prominent being the so-called *kāhinān*, i.e. the tribes of al-Naḍīr and Ḳurayẓa (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 216; Ibn Hishām, 660). Among the other Jewish groups the Ḳaynuḳāʿ tribe appears to have been the most important. These three Jewish tribes played a significant part in Medina because of their wealth and the support they had among the Jewish colonies in Khaybar [*q.v.*] and other settlements to the north. During his first year in Medina Muḥammad devoted considerable attention to the Jewish inhabitants there in the hope that as native Arabic speakers they would accept his claim to be God's one true prophet to the Arabs. His relations with any Christians who may have been in Medina (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 133) can only be surmised from references in the Ḳurʾān. After it became clear that the Jews in Medina were not going to accept Muḥammad's claim to prophethood, the Ḳurʾān gives the impression that his opinion of the Christians also gradually deteriorated (V, 82; LVII, 27).

Muḥammad's task was to form a united community out of these heterogeneous elements. The first problem to be tackled was how to procure the necessary means of subsistence for the Emigrants, who for the most part were without resources of their own. This difficulty was alleviated at least temporarily through an arrangement by which Muḥammad ordered a relationship of "brotherhood" to be created between each Emigrant and a man of Medina [see MUʾAKHĀT]. Sūra XXXIII, 6, dating from some time after the battle of Badr, is usually interpreted as abolishing this "brotherhood" arrangement, at least in matters of inheritance (cf. Ibn Hishām, 344-6; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 1). A more significant factor in the termination of these early arrangements in Medina may have been the formal agreement established between Muḥammad and all of the significant tribes and families. Fortunately, Ibn Isḥāḳ preserved a version of this very valuable document, usually called the Constitution of Medina. This version appears not to date from Muḥammad's first year in Medina, as is sometimes claimed, since it reflects the later, strained relationship between the Prophet and the Jewish people of the settlement. It reveals his great diplomatic skills, for it allows the ideal that he cherished of an *umma* (community) based clearly on a religious outlook to sink temporarily into the background and is shaped essentially by practical considerations. It is true that the highest authority is with God and Muḥammad, before whom all matters of importance were to be laid, but the *umma* as portrayed in the Constitution of Medina included also Jews and polytheists, so that the legal forms of the old Arab tribes were substantially preserved (cf. R. Serjeant, *The* Sunnah Jāmiʿah, *pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the* taḥrīm *of Yathrib: analysis and translation of the documents comprised in the so-called 'Constitution of Medina'*, in *BSOAS*, xli [1978], 1-42). The provisions stipulated in this document appear to have had little practical importance. It is nowhere mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, although some commentators interpret sūra VIII, 56 as referring to it. In any case, it was soon rendered obsolete by the rapidly and radically changing conditions in Medina.

2. *Establishing a theocracy in Medina*

Evidence of Muḥammad's political wisdom and personal determination to establish his position as God's one true prophet to the Arabic-speaking people is seen in his early endeavours in Medina to attract the Jewish people there to his cause by adopting some features of their worship and customs. For instance, he made the tenth of Muḥarram a fast day for Muslims, apparently a one-day twenty-four hour fast, like Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) that the Jewish community observes on the tenth of Tishri (in the Jewish calendar). That this temporary Islamic practice, which apparently was kept for only one year, was based on the Jewish custom is seen clearly even in its name, *ʿĀshūrāʾ* [*q.v.*], derived from the Aramaic and used by some Jews in Arabia for Yom Kippur (cf. Watt, *Medina*, 198 f. for a brief discussion of the major

Arabic sources). The Jewish practice of having three daily prayer rituals appears to have been a factor in the introduction of the Islamic midday *ṣalāt*, referred to in sūra II, 238 as "the middle prayer ritual" (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā*), which was added to the morning and evening *ṣalāt*s kept by Muḥammad and at least some of his followers in Mecca before the Hidjra. The Islamic weekly community worship service in the early afternoon on Fridays, which may have been instituted before Muḥammad's arrival in Medina, was most likely influenced indirectly by the Jewish "day of preparation" for the Sabbath, which begins on Friday evenings at sundown. Friday in Medina during Muḥammad's time was thus the main weekly market day when the largest number of Muslims from the surrounding areas came to town, providing an ideal time for the Islamic weekly congregational worship service (cf. Ibn Saᶜd, iii/1, 83, and S.D. Goitein, *The origin and nature of the Muslim Friday worship*, in *MW*, xlix [1959], 185 = *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 113).

Whether the adoption of the Jewish practice of facing north towards Jerusalem when performing the daily prayers, a practice that was discontinued after Muḥammad's first year in Medina, was part of his campaign to win the Medinan Jews to Islam is uncertain, since the statements about the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] of the Muslims in Mecca before the Hidjra differ. It is unlikely that Muḥammad and his followers faced towards the Kaᶜba in Mecca before the Hidjra, since it would then be difficult to explain how the varying stories about the Muslim practice there could have arisen. If Muḥammad and his followers did use Jerusalem as their *ḳibla* before the Hidjra, this practice need not necessarily mean a borrowing from the Jews, since this direction of prayer was used also by other groups in the Near East, such as the Ebionites and the Elkesaites (cf. H.J. Schoeps, *Jewish Christianity* (1969); Tor Andrae, *Mohammed*, 100 ff.) In Mecca the Muslims may have turned to the east like some Christian groups, or they may have had no *ḳibla* at all. The Ḳurʾān is silent on this crucial point in the life of Muḥammad and the rise of Islam. The balance of probability is in favour of the assumption that the Muslim use of the Jerusalem *ḳibla* during Muḥammad's first year in Medina was just one among several temporary practices that appear to have been adopted as part of the Prophet's attempt to win over the flourishing Jewish community there.

If some writers have seen in the immediate construction of a place of prayer (Ibn Hishām, 336) an imitation of the Jewish synagogues, Caetani has with weighty reasons argued that this was not a building definitely assigned to the worship of God, since the alleged *masdjid* was also used for all kinds of secular purposes, because in reality it was simply the courtyard (*dār*) occupied by Muḥammad and his family, while the assemblies for regular worship were held on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.* and AL-MADĪNA]. On the other hand, the so-called "mosque of opposition" (*masdjid ḍirār*), mentioned in sūra IX, 107 (see below), does seem to have been an actual building recalling the Jewish synagogue.

In spite of these overtures to the Jews in Medina, it soon became obvious that Muḥammad's goal of winning them over was not going to be realised. Although they may have cherished lively expectations (Ibn Hishām, 286, 373 f.) they were not willing to recognise an Arab as the long-awaited Jewish Messiah, and Muḥammad soon had reason to lament that only a few among them believed in him (sūra III, 110). In particular, the lack of agreement between what he recited as the Book of God, said to be identical with the Book previously sent down to the prophet Moses, and what the Jews in Medina knew of their scriptures aroused Jewish ridicule and thus brought him into an unfortunate position. His conviction of the divine origin of his mission and his position among the believers would not allow him to believe he was mistaken regarding the identity of the versions of the Book of God sent down to Moses, Jesus, and now to him. At the same time, he had too often appealed to the testimony of those to whom the Book had been sent down previously, the People of the Book, to be able to ignore this criticism. The issue was resolved to the satisfaction of the Muslims by the assertions in the Ḳurʾān that the Jews had received only a portion of the revelation (IV, 44; cf. III, 119) and that even this included a number of special laws adapted to an earlier age (IV, 160; VI, 146; XVI, 118). Still he challenged them to produce their scriptures (III, 93; cf. III, 181 ff. and IV, 46). Muḥammad's Jewish opponents in Medina were then accused of concealing from him parts of their holy scriptures (II, 42, 146, 159, 174; III, 77, etc.) and even of fabricating verses and then claiming they were in their scriptures (II, 59; IV, 46; V, 13, 47; VII, 162; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 96). He also came to believe that the Christian scriptures did not preserve the actual message and teachings of the Prophet Jesus [see TAḤRĪF].

Still Muḥammad was not thinking any more than before of founding a new religion, but only of restoring the true religion proclaimed by the prophets from the beginning. On this point a distinction needs to be made between religious beliefs and later theological formulations on the one hand, and the conclusions reached by modern historical and sociological research. For instance, in traditional Muslim belief Muḥammad is the "last and greatest of the prophets", a concept that is most likely based on a later interpretation of the expression "seal of the prophets" (*khātam al-nabiyyin*) that is applied to Muḥammad in sūra XXXIII, 40. Also, he is regarded not as a "founder" but as one who confirmed and restored the true, ancient monotheist faith that was established by the prophet Abraham. It should not be surprising that it was at the very time when these concepts were being proclaimed by the Ḳurʾān, during the early years after the Hidjra, that historians see the emergence of a new religious community and tradition founded by Muḥammad, a man of extraordinary perception and skills. In particular, the opposition of the Jews of Medina to Muḥammad appears to have had a significant impact on the shaping of Islam, for it was precisely at that time and apparently in direct response to the Jews' rejection of him that the nascent Muslim community took on a pronounced national character through the adoption of various elements from ancient Arabian worship. This decisive change in the course of Islam occurred in the second year of the Hidjra (July 623-June 624), and was signaled by the much discussed "change of the *ḳibla*" from Jerusalem to the ancient sanctuary of the Kaᶜba in Mecca, which is treated at some length in the Ḳurʾān (II, 142-50). Muḥammad's native town thus became the centre of true religion, the focal point for the daily prayer rituals and the much desired object of the annual pilgrimage, adopted in theory fairly early in the Medinan years, but not performed as an Islamic ritual until the Prophet's last years. At the same time Muḥammad was emancipated from the ridicule and protestations of the religious communities that he regarded as having been founded by his self-proclaimed models, Moses and Jesus.

This nationalisation of Islam gave Muḥammad a certain legitimation and broadened his authority as he came forward as the restorer of the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*) that had been distorted by the Jews and Christians. Abraham, claimed by Jews and Christians alike as the progenitor of their faith, now became the great *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*] and first *muslim* ("a person fully surrendered to the one true God"), in contrast not only to the polytheists but now also to the People of the Book: "Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian; he was an upright person, a *muslim*, and he was not one of the polytheists" (sūra III, 67; cf. II, 135; III, 95; VI, 161, and XVI, 123, all of which, contrary to some traditional views, appear to date from the early Medinan years; see Bell-Watt, 99, 119). Abraham and his son Ishmael, regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs, were then said to have founded the Meccan sanctuary and the rites celebrated there (II, 125 ff.; XXII, 26 ff.) and it was Muḥammad's task to restore the ancient rites to their original monotheistic state, since they had been corrupted by the polytheists. Whether this identification of Abraham as the first monotheist (an idea that met with opposition from the People of the Book according to sūra III, 65) originated in the context of Muḥammad's dispute with the Jews in Medina or was already in existence, for example among Arabicised Jews, remains uncertain. One point that can be accepted, contrary to modern defenders of the traditional dating and interpretations of the relevant verses of the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Fazlur Rahman, *Major themes of the Qurʾān*, Minneapolis 1980, 142 f.), is that it is highly unlikely that Muḥammad was acquainted with the idea of the connection between Abraham and the Kaʿba before the Hid̲j̲ra since this relationship occurs nowhere in the numerous Meccan passages that treat the significance of the Kaʿba.

At the same time that these important developments were occurring in Islamic rituals, Muḥammad's personal position was being gradually changed by the altered conditions. According to the already mentioned Constitution of Medina, all important matters were to be laid before God and His Messenger. It thus became a fundamental duty of the believers to be obedient to God and to Muḥammad (III, 132; IV, 13 f., 59 [where it is added: "and to those among you who have to exercise authority"]; V, 92; XXIV, 52, 54), and those who are disobedient are threatened with the tortures of hell (IX, 63). Alongside of the required belief in God now appeared "belief in His Messenger" (XLVIII, 9; LXIV, 8 etc.). God is his protector, as is Gabriel; and the angels are at his disposal (LXVI, 4).

3. *The accounts of Muḥammad's expeditions*

The elevation of Mecca to be the centre of Islam imposed on Muḥammad a new task that he surely foresaw. When visiting the holy places in and around Mecca became a duty of the Muslims, it became inevitable that some way would have to be found for them to gain entrance to the sacred territory from which they were excluded (XXII, 25 f.). Since some peaceful agreement appeared most unlikely, the result was the inevitable necessity of forcing admission to Mecca. The Prophet also had an account to settle with the Meccans, for by expelling him they had triumphed over him in the eyes of the world and the punishment repeatedly threatened upon them, partly in the form of the stereotyped retribution of the godless in the "punishment stories", had not materialised. This led to a new divine command, referred to in the *Sīra* literature as "permission to fight" the polytheists. The Helpers had pledged themselves to defend Muḥammad only if he were attacked, and the merchants of Mecca were not inclined to oblige him by initiating hostilities. The Emigrants had not pledged to fight, and it went very much against their feelings as Meccans to fight members of their tribe and blood relations. How much their resistance vexed Muḥammad can be seen in the Ḳurʾān where vigorous reproaches are made against his followers in this connection (II, 216; XXII, 38 ff. etc.).

After he had sent different men with small armed forces who did not succeed in encountering the enemy, Muḥammad sent some of his followers to Nak̲h̲la [*q.v.*] (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 423-7; Watt, *Medina*, 5-9), where they succeeded in capturing a caravan. One of the Meccans was killed, however, and, although possibly unplanned, the fighting took place during the month of Rad̲j̲ab, one of the sacred months in which all fighting was forbidden. The rich plunder was taken to Medina, where in the meanwhile a storm of indignation had broken out. The people eventually accepted the tragedy, after being calmed by the revelation of II, 217.

The success of this coup had such an effect in Medina that not only the Emigrants but also a number of Helpers offered their services when Muḥammad appealed for followers in Ramaḍān 2 A.H. in a new raid, which he himself was to lead. He had learned that a rich Meccan caravan was on its way south from Syria and he decided to ambush it at Badr [*q.v.*]. The very cautious Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who was leading the caravan got wind of his plan, however, and sent messengers on a swift journey to Mecca for help. By the time the force of Meccans arrived and camped near Badr, the caravan had reached Mecca safely by following a diversion route along the coast. The angered Meccans, under the leadership of Abū D̲j̲ahl [*q.v.*], one of the most prominent men of Mecca, had an army that is said to have been three times the size of Muḥammad's forces, said to have been about 300 men, and he was unwilling to let the opportunity of properly chastising his troublesome enemy escape. Soon after the Meccans camped near Badr, Muḥammad arrived with his men, expecting to meet Abū Sufyān's helpless caravan. When the Muslims and their supporters discovered that the caravan had escaped and that a military confrontation with the Meccans and their allies was imminent, they were filled with fear (VIII, 5 ff.; cf. the continuation of ʿUrwa's account in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1284 f.). The Prophet, however, saw in the encounter a portentous dispensation of God, who wished to force the polytheists into battle. Muḥammad's charisma and remarkable power of suggestion were able to inspire his men so that they completely routed the far more numerous enemy. A number of the Meccans, including Abū D̲j̲ahl, were slain and several, including Muḥammad's uncle, al-ʿAbbās, were captured as prisoners and taken to Medina. Muḥammad had two of them, al-Nadr and ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ, put to death, while the others were held for ransom (Ibn His̲h̲ām, 457-61).

The battle of Badr, which might seem small and insignificant from a modern perspective, must be judged in light of the conditions of Muḥammad's time. See the observations by Doughty (*Travels*, ii, 378) and Glubb (*Muhammad*, 179 ff.), both of whom knew the country well. This battle became of the utmost significance for the history of Islam. Muḥammad saw in the victory a powerful confirmation of his belief in the one true God (VIII, 17, 65; III, 123; cf. Kaʿb b. Mālik, in Ibn His̲h̲ām, 520 f.) and in his own call. Also, because the commercial city of Mecca

enjoyed such great prestige in Arabia, anyone who was able to defeat its forces in battle was bound to attract all eyes to himself. He therefore displayed even greater energy and was able to utilise the advantages he had won. After completing the arrangement for ransom for the Meccan prisoners, Muḥammad began to besiege the Jewish tribe of Ḳaynuḳāʿ in their forts. The Munāfiḳūn [*q.v.*] did not dare to oppose him seriously by openly supporting the Ḳaynuḳāʿ, and the other Jewish groups left their co-religionists in the lurch (cf. LIX, 14) so that this first Jewish tribe was forced to leave their longtime home in Medina and move north to other Jewish settlements.

In order to protect himself and his followers from attacks from other foes in the northern part of the Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*], Muḥammad at this time adopted a plan that is a further proof of his outstanding political ability. He concluded alliances with a number of Bedouin tribes in which the two parties pledged themselves to assist one another. (For examples of two such treaties made by Muḥammad, along with a brief analysis and references to the Arabic sources, see Watt, *Medina*, 362-5.)

In the year 3/624-5 Muḥammad continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans so that the Ḳuraysh finally saw the necessity of taking more vigorous measures and revenging themselves for Badr. An army said to number 3,000 men was equipped and set out for Medina with much display under the leadership of Abū Sufyān, who was clearly the most prominent leader in Mecca after the death of Abū Djahl at Badr. Although several of his followers advised Muḥammad to make his defence within the Medinan settlement, he decided to go out with his forces, which at the last moment were much reduced by the departure of the Munāfiḳūn, and took up a position on the lower slopes of the hill of Uḥud [*q.v.*]. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Meccans, the fighting at first went in favour of the Muslims, until a number of archers who had been placed to defend his flank left their position, against Muḥammad's express orders, to pursue some of the Meccan fighters who appeared to be retreating. This at once enabled the keen military strategist, Khālid b. al-Walīd, to secure a superior position on the slopes of Uḥud. The tables were now turned and many of the Muslims began to flee, especially when the rumour spread that the Prophet had fallen (cf. sūra III, 144). In reality he was only wounded and escaped with a few faithful followers through a ravine on the south side of the hill. Fortunately for him, the Meccans were unwilling to follow up their victory and, thinking that Muḥammad had been punished enough and their honour had been reestablished, they turned quietly back to Mecca. The Prophet was thus saved from the worst, but he had to lament many fallen friends including his uncle, Ḥamza. His newly acquired prestige naturally suffered. With all the eloquence in his power he endeavoured to raise the morale of his followers by exhortation and censure alike (cf. Ibn Hishām, 592-606, and sūra III, 118 f., 139-60, 165-80). In this strategy he succeeded since the expected negative consequences of his setback at Uḥud did not materialise in Medina.

Some of the Jews in Medina who had taken no part in the fighting made no secret of their delight at his misfortune. It was thus all the more necessary to make an example, and a second Medinan Jewish tribe, the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, obliged Muḥammad by providing justification for his action against them. Tradition imputes all sorts of crimes to them, but their actual offences are difficult to determine. The Ḳurʾān says simply that they defied God and his Messenger (LIX, 4). After a siege of several weeks (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1850) they were expelled from Medina and forced to immigrate to Khaybar and other Jewish settlements in the north. They left behind them their weapons and their gold and silver as a rich booty, the distribution of which on this occasion Muḥammad reserved for himself (LIX, 6 ff.).

While Muḥammad was endeavouring to restore his weakened authority, a new and threatening storm came upon him and Medina from Mecca. The Ḳuraysh, whose caravans were being continually harassed by him (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 16 f.) and who were urged on by the Jews of Khaybar, recognised that the victory at Uḥud had not seriously weakened Muḥammad's position, and they realised the necessity of occupying Medina, which they had then neglected to do. Conscious of their slight military skill, being city merchants with little experience in warfare, they negotiated vigorously with various Bedouin tribes and thus raised a large army—said to have been about 10,000 men—with which they set out against Medina some time in the year 5/626-7. The varying accounts of the season of the year (sometimes said to have been a month after the barley harvest, sometimes during cold winter storms, the latter in agreement with sūra XXXIII, 9; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 14) could be reconciled only by the unlikely assumption that the siege lasted for a considerable length of time.

The advance of this imposing army produced great consternation in Medina, which was further increased by the vacillating attitude of the Munāfiḳūn and by the discovery, or perhaps only the suspicion, that the Jews were conspiring with the enemy (XXXIII, 10 ff., 26). Muḥammad in order to strengthen the defences had a trench (*khandaḳ*, a Persian word) dug in front of the unprotected parts of the settlement (Ibn Hishām, 670). Nowhere does Ibn Isḥāḳ in the recension by Ibn Hishām attribute the idea of building the trench to Salmān the Persian (al-Fārisī). According to other accounts, however, this trench is said to have been a Persian military tactic suggested to Muḥammad by Salmān (e.g. Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 47). Modest as these defences must have been, they imposed a sufficient deterrent upon the enemy, who had little experience in such military tactics, and the siege gradually dragged on. Muḥammad used the time for secret negotiations with the Ghaṭafān and cleverly stirred up distrust among his opponents. When weather conditions became unfavourable the besieging forces lost heart and gradually began to retire, so that the last effort of the Ḳuraysh to defeat Muḥammad by force came to nothing.

For one group among the inhabitants of Medina, the largely uneventful "War of the Trench" became a bloody tragedy. Hardly had the Meccans and their allies retired than the Prophet declared war on the last Jewish tribe of any size in Medina, the Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*], and began to besiege their forts. Once the Jews realised the seriousness of their predicament, they no doubt hoped to escape under terms similar to those of the Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, especially since their allies, the once powerful tribe of Aws, were very actively trying to induce Muḥammad to clemency. This third Jewish tribe, however, was not to be allowed the leniency shown to the other two. According to one account given by Ibn Hishām, all of the men, numbering between 600 and 900 according to the varying accounts, were beheaded in compliance with a judgment given by Saʿd b. Muʿādh [*q.v.*] of the tribe of Aws, and "the property was divided [among

the Muslims] and the women and children were taken as captives" (689 f.). In another account Ibn Hishām says "The Messenger of God ordered that every adult [male] of Banū Ḳurayẓa be killed ... and then he divided the property, wives, and children of Banū Ḳurayẓa among the Muslims" (692). Tradition endeavoured to put the responsibility for the massacre of the Ḳurayẓa on Saᶜd b. Muᶜādh (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 167), who asserts Saᶜd's sincerity), but there are various indications that it was the Prophet himself who was responsible for the decision. The expulsion or elimination of these three Jewish tribes brought Muḥammad closer to his goal of organising an *umma* strictly on a religious basis. Some Jews from other families were, however, allowed to remain in Medina (cf. Ibn Hishām, 895; al-Wāḳidī/Wellhausen, 264, 309, 393; Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 133).

The failure of the Meccan siege of Medina and the elimination of this last major Jewish tribe became one of the main turning points in the life of Muḥammad and the rise of the Muslim community. From about six months after his arrival in Medina, when he sent out the first Muslim raiding party under the command of his uncle Ḥamza, until the time of the Meccan failure in their siege of Medina, Muḥammad dispatched a steady stream of raiding parties against Meccan caravans (see Watt, *Medina*, 339-41, for a complete list and for references in Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī/Wellhausen). This practice ceased after al-Khandaḳ and the elimination of the Ḳurayẓa (about a year before Muḥammad agreed to a ten-year truce with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiya), and the Prophet turned his major attention towards the north.

Muḥammad led two of these expeditions himself, one against the Banū Liḥyān, early in the year 6 A.H. (mid-627 A.D.), which ended without any fighting, and the more famous expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ, which is of interest for several reasons. It was on the return trip to Medina on this latter expedition that the celebrated adventure involving ᶜĀʾisha [*q.v.*] occurred that might have cost her her position as a wife of the Prophet except that Muḥammad received a revelation (XXIV, 4-5, 11-20) that exonerated her. More significantly for the early history of Islam, the ᶜĀʾisha affair gave rise to a serious conflict within the ranks of the leaders of the Emigrants and also caused a breach between the Emigrants and the Helpers that continued well into the period after Muḥammad's death. The political upheaval that arose after the raid on the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ might explain why this is the one significant expedition led by Muḥammad on which the sources present widely differing opinions regarding its date. Ibn Hishām (725) states explicitly that this expedition occurred in the eighth month (Shaᶜbān) of the year 6 A.H., after Muḥammad's raid on Dhū Ḳarad (sometimes called the raid of al-Ghaba), usually listed as his nineteenth personal expedition (see, e.g., Ibn Hishām, 972 f., and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1575). Ibn Saᶜd (ii/1, 45), on the other hand, following al-Wāḳidī (Wellhausen, 175 ff.) states just as clearly that the expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ took place in Shaᶜbān of the year 5 A.H., after Muḥammad's raid on Dūmat al-Djandal that is usually listed as his fifteenth expedition (Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, *locc. cit.*). This discrepancy serves as just one example of the difficulty or impossibility of reconstructing a precise chronology of the life of Muḥammad even for the well-documented Medinan period.

Towards the end of the year 6 A.H., Muḥammad thought that his position in Medina was so firmly established that he could risk a step that would bring him nearer to his desired goal. He and the Emigrants were still excluded from Mecca and its holy places, but through contacts in Mecca, including probably his uncle al-ᶜAbbās [*q.v.*], he knew that attitudes towards him in his native city were gradually becoming more favourable (cf. XLVIII, 25; LX, 7). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda of the year 6 (March 628) he gave orders to his followers to provide themselves with sacrificial animals and undertake a pilgrimage (an *ᶜumra* [*q.v.*]) with him to Mecca, saying that in a vision God had promised him fulfillment of this long-held goal (XLVIII, 27). In Mecca many were inclined to meet his wishes but the belligerent party was still strong enough to get a body of armed men sent to meet him and prevent him from entering the town. He therefore encamped at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] where he began to negotiate with some leaders of Mecca. When these discussions failed Muḥammad sent ᶜUthmān, who was protected by his family connections, into the town as his representative. When ᶜUthmān did not return after several days, a rumour that he had been murdered spread among the Muslims. The situation became critical and Muḥammad dropped all negotiations, collected his followers under a tree, possibly one long held sacred, and made them swear to fight for him to the last, which nearly every man did with enthusiasm (XLVIII, 10, 18).

A short time later a number of Meccans arrived with ᶜUthmān and offered a compromise according to which the Muslims would return to Medina without fulfilling their goal that year, but the Meccans promised to allow Muḥammad and his followers to perform an *ᶜumra* the following year. He agreed to the proposal and also concluded a ten years' truce with the Ḳuraysh, further promising to return to the Meccans any of their dependents who sought refuge in Medina. Some of Muḥammad's followers who had been determined to force their claim and perform the pilgrimage rituals inside Mecca that year became angry when they heard the conditions to which the Prophet had agreed. Muḥammad calmly ordered the sacrificial animals brought with them to be slain, which was to have been done at an *ᶜumra* in the town (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *maḥill*), and had his hair cut, and by his authority forced his grumbling followers to do the same. Only later did they discover that the so-called Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya represented a brilliant act of diplomacy on the part of Muḥammad, in that he had induced the Meccans to recognise him as an equal, had concluded a peace with them that promised well for the future, and had gained the admiration of many Meccans by incorporating their ancient religious rituals into his nascent religion. There is also evidence that a number of the leaders in Mecca were ready to abandon their polytheistic practices and adopt monotheism.

At the beginning of the year 7/628-9 Muḥammad and those who had pledged themselves to him under the tree at al-Ḥudaybiya received ample compensation for the unfulfilled *ᶜumra* by the capture of the fertile oasis of Khaybar that was inhabited by Jews. This was the first actual conquest by the Prophet, and on this occasion he instituted a practice that set the precedent for future terms involving Jews or Christians who accepted the rule of the Muslims: he did not put the people to death or banish them but let them remain as tenants, as it were, with the stipulation that they had to pay a tribute (later called the *djizya* [*q.v.*]) every year. This expedition, which also brought the Jewish colonies of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā into his power, made the Muslim community wealthy for the first time (XLVIII, 18-21).

At about this time (the exact dates are given variously in the sources) tradition puts the despatch of letters from the Prophet to Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*] the governor of Alexandria, the Negus of Abyssinia [see AL-NADJĀSHĪ], Heraclius the Byzantine emperor, the Persian king, and a number of others, in which he demanded that they adopt Islam (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1560-75). In the form in which these letters have come down to us they cannot be accepted as authentic, since they contain details that reflect a later period in the rise and power of Islam. Even if we disregard certain details that could have been inserted later, the substance of these letters hardly deserves the faith most people have put in them (see, for instance, M. Hamidullah, *Six originaux des lettres du Prophète de l-Islam*, Paris 1985). It is very unlikely that so sober a politician and diplomat as Muḥammad would have engaged in so presumptuous a venture before the conquest of Mecca. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that he sent letters to surrogates of the Byzantine and Persian emperors who lived on the northern fringes of the Arabian peninsula and also in the Yemen, and it can be accepted without hesitation that he maintained correspondence with the Negus of Abyssinia.

While it is true that passages of the Ḳurʾān that date from Muḥammad's Medinan years do go beyond the earlier concept that he was sent as a prophet to the Arabs, even those verses that are so often cited as proof that he regarded his mission as universal hardly hold up to close scrutiny, but require a broader interpretation than their literal meaning. It is very doubtful that Muḥammad ever thought of the socioreligious community he founded in Medina as a universal religion, as is assumed for example by Nöldeke (*WZKM*, xxi, 307), Goldziher (*Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 25 = *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, 27 f.) and T. W. Arnold (*The preaching of Islam*, 27-31). The conclusions reached by Snouck Hurgronje (*Mohammedanism*, 48 ff.) and H. Lammens (*Études sur le règne du calife Moʿāwia*, i, 422) are much more consistent with the evidence from the Ḳurʾān. (For a close analysis of the relevant verses of the Ḳurʾān and references to other European literature on this issue, see Welch, *Muhammad's understanding*, 47-51.)

At the height of his power Muḥammad never demanded from Jews or Christians living in the Arabian peninsula that they should adopt Islam. He was content with political subjection and the payment of tribute. The soundest conclusion is thus to reject in their present form those stories that assert that Muḥammad sought to convert to Islam the Byzantine and Persian emperors and other great rulers outside of Arabia, and to seek the real historical basis in negotiations of a more political nature, e.g. with the friendly Muḳawḳis of Egypt who is said to have been the person who gave to Muḥammad Māriya the Copt [*q.v.*], who bore him a son named Ibrāhīm who unfortunately died as an infant just a few months before Muḥammad's death. On the other hand, the character of the genuine letters of the Prophet to the Arab tribes changed at this time, for he was no longer content with a purely political agreement but, relying on his now consolidated power, he also demanded that they should adhere to his religion, which involved performing the *ṣalāt* and paying *zakāt* (cf. Ibn Saʿd, 1/ii, 15-38). In his eagerness to win the Arab tribes to Islam, Muḥammad is even said to have given the Djudhām [*q.v.*] on the Syrian coast a respite (*amān*) of two months after which they were to decide (see Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 82 f. and Watt, *Medina*, 108 ff.).

Late in 7 A.H. (early 629 A.D.) Muḥammad performed the "fulfilled pilgrimage" (Ibn Hishām, 788-90), actually simply an *ʿumra* involving rituals at and near the Kaʿba within the sanctuary (now the Sacred Mosque) of Mecca, that was part of the agreement in the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya. For him, having been driven out of his native city almost seven years before, it must have been a time of great satisfaction to be able to visit Mecca as the acknowledged lord of Medina. One important task Muḥammad accomplished while in Mecca was a reconciliation with his family, the clan of Hāshim, sealed through marriage with Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith [*q.v.*], a sister of the wife of the Prophet's uncle, al-ʿAbbās, who was currently chief of the clan. Some of the sources allege that even before this time al-ʿAbbās had become a secret ally of Muḥammad. Also of great significance for the later history of Islam, a few of the most important Meccans, such as the military genius Khālid b. al-Walīd and another military man almost his equal, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.vv.*], who later conquered Egypt during the caliphate of ʿUmar, became Muslims. These men in Mecca must have recognised that Muḥammad was the man of the future in Arabia and they openly joined him. Muḥammad's uncle al-ʿAbbās and Abū Sufyān, the most prominent leader in Mecca at that time, took another tack, endeavouring through secret negotiations to prepare in the most favourable way for the inevitable surrender of Mecca.

In the meanwhile Muḥammad continued his military expeditions. His forces suffered a serious reverse in the first considerable effort to extend his authority over the Arabs on Byzantine soil in Transjordania, when at battle at Muʾta [*q.v.*] Muḥammad suffered the loss of his beloved adopted son, Zayd b. Ḥāritha [*q.v.*], who had been given command of a force said to have had 3,000 men. Also killed at this disastrous battle against the Byzantines at Muʾta was another potential leader within the early Muslim community, Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], ʿAlī's brother who had only recently joined the Muslims in Medina after remaining in Abyssinia with Muḥammad's followers who had moved there from Mecca almost fifteen years earlier and remained (on Muʾta see Ibn Hishām, 791-802, where a number of poems on this battle are given). Despite the defeat at Muʾta, several Bedouin tribes began to see some of the advantages they would procure by joining Muḥammad, and even some of the large tribes such as the Sulaym [*q.v.*] voluntarily adopted Islam and placed themselves under the Prophet's banner.

Much against the advice of Abū Sufyān, the belligerent party in Mecca decided to support one of their client clans, the Bakr [*q.v.*], against the Khuzāʿa [*q.v.*], who were allied to Muḥammad. This, according to the custom among the Arabs at that time, was seen on both sides as breaking the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya, freeing Muḥammad to attack Meccan caravans or even the city itself. In Ramaḍān 8/ December 629 he set out at the head of an army of Emigrants, Helpers and Bedouins. The news produced considerable anxiety in Mecca where the number of those who wanted to fight shrank daily so that the more prudent now could take control. Abū Sufyān, who went out with several others (including the Khuzāʿī Budayl b. Warḳāʾ who was a friend of the Prophet's), met Muḥammad not far from the town, paid homage to him and obtained an amnesty for all the Ḳuraysh who abandoned armed resistance (cf. ʿUrwa, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1634 f.). Thus the Prophet was able to enter his native city practically without a struggle and almost all its inhabitants adopted Islam. He acted with great generosity and endeavoured to win

all hearts by rich gifts (*ta'līf al-ḳulūb*, a new use of the alms; cf. IX, 60, and AL-MUʾALLAFA ḲULŪBUHUM). He demanded only the destruction of all idols in and around Mecca. Sūra CX and XLVIII, 1 f. seem to capture some of the exaltation with which this victory filled Muḥammad. It is striking that both of these unusually touching passages mention the forgiveness of Muḥammad's sins after declaring that God has given him a clear victory (*fatḥ*), suggesting that in some way the fulfillment of one of Muḥammad's major goals, the peaceful surrender of his native city, served as a direct sign that God had forgiven him all his sins (cf. CX, 3 and XLVIII, 2).

Muḥammad had no time to rest upon his laurels, for soon after the surrender of Mecca the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] tribes in Central Arabia began preparing for a decisive fight and the town of Ṭāʾif, which was closely associated with Mecca, was still unsubdued. Muḥammad's forces fought the Hawāzin and their allies at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] on the road to Ṭāʾif. At first the Prophet's forces seemed threatened with a fatal disaster, mainly because of the unreliability of a number of the new converts, but then some of his followers succeeded in recalling the fugitives and routing the enemy (IX, 25 f.). On the other hand, his inexperienced troops were unable to take Ṭāʾif with its defences. It was almost a year later, after Muḥammad's successful expedition to Tabūk [*q.v.*] with nearly 30,000 men, that the people of Ṭaʾif finally accepted their fate and sent emissaries to Medina to surrender to the Prophet and adopt Islam. After raising the siege on the well-fortified city of Ṭāʾif early in 630, Muḥammad returned to al-Djiʿrāna to supervise the distribution of the booty of Ḥunayn. The Helpers, who as soon as Muḥammad entered Mecca had expressed the fear that he would take up his residence again in his native town, became very indignant about the rich gifts that he made to his former opponents in order "to win their hearts", while they themselves went empty-handed (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, no. 31), but he spoke so kindly to them that they are said to have burst into tears and declared themselves satisfied (see Watt, *Medina*, 73-7).

The characteristic feature of the year 9/630-1 in the memory of the Muslims was the many embassies that came to Medina from different parts of Arabia to submit to the conqueror of Mecca on behalf of their tribes (cf. CX, 2). In the autumn of that year, Muḥammad made up his mind to conduct a campaign against northern Arabia on a considerable scale, probably because the defeat at Muʾta required to be avenged if he were to maintain the respect he had so far earned. Also, the Ghassānid king was reported to have adopted a hostile attitude towards Muḥammad and his followers (cf. Ibn Hishām, 911; Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bābs* 78, 79). Somewhat surprisingly to Muḥammad after the Muslim victory at al-Ḥunayn, but probably also influenced by their defeat at Muʾta, his appeal for followers met with little support. The Emigrants as well as a number of Bedouins held back and even among his devoted followers there were some who put forward all sorts of objections, for instance the fear that a campaign so far away in the burning heat would be difficult and potentially hazardous (cf. IX, 45, 81-90, 98 ff.). Muḥammad seems to have faced considerable opposition in Medina at this time (IX, 58-82, 125), so that he had to have recourse to his earlier method of intimidation and his words recall in a remarkable way the period of passion in Mecca (e.g. IX, 70, 128 f.).

In spite of all opposition, Muḥammad was able to carry through with his grand plan. When, however, after great hardships the 30,000 Muslims and their allies reached Tabūk, on the frontier with the land of the Byzantines, the campaign was indecisive (Ibn Hishām, 894-906). Muḥammad's prestige had, however, become so great by this time that the petty Christian and Jewish states in the north of Arabia submitted to him during his stay in Tabūk, e.g. the Christian king Yuḥannā in Ayla [*q.v.*], the people of Adhruḥ [*q.v.*] and the Jews in the port of Makna. The Prophet is said to have stayed in Tabūk for ten nights (Ibn Hishām, 904). Khālid b. al-Walīd also occupied the important centre of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] during the Tabūk expedition (Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 119 f.).

4. *The period from Tabūk to Muḥammad's death*

Unfortunately we do not know how the matters that were rapidly coming to a head in Medina actually developed; but we may safely assume that the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, which took place not long after the expedition to Tabūk, must have contributed to slacken the tension. These years showed a marked increase in the prestige of Muḥammad in regions outside the area immediately surrounding Medina. With Mecca in his hands there was a noticeable inclination among the Bedouins in several places to submit to the will of the conqueror of this town in order to be safe against his attacks and to have a share in his rich booty. This was the case for example regarding the group of tribes of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 51 f.) with portions of the great tribe of Tamīm and the neighbouring Asad [*q.vv.*] (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 39-41) and further north with the Bakr and Taghlib [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 55). Even in regions so far away from Medina as Baḥrayn (Bahrain) and ʿUmān (Oman) within the Persian sphere of influence (see Watt, *Medina*, 131 ff.) and among the chiefs of South Arabia, the new teaching and order of things penetrated and found ardent followers in some places. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the representations of the historians, from which it appears as if all the people in these lands adopted Islam. Caetani has shown that these accounts are not in keeping with reality and that it was only little groups that submitted, while there was a not inconsiderable number who rejected the Prophet's demands. See Watt, *Medina*, 78-150, for a discussion of the major tribes in areas surrounding Mecca and Medina and also those farther to the north and south, along with an appraisal of the extent of Muḥammad's success in winning over the major tribes of Arabia and, in some cases, the motives, whether political, social or religious, for the tribes' alliances with Medina.

In addition to the Jews who had already felt his strength, there were also a considerable number of Christians and some Zoroastrians [see MADJŪS] in the eastern and southern districts of the Arabian peninsula, who posed a problem of a different sort for Muḥammad. While in the earlier teachings of the Ḳurʾān Muḥammad is presented only as God's prophet to the Arabic-speaking people, this situation changed in the later Medinan years. Sūra IX, 29 ff., for example, includes the Christians and the Jews among the polytheists, who gave God a son and honoured men as lords beside God. In contrast to such utterances, V, 82 mentions the Christians very sympathetically because they, unlike the Jews, showed kindness towards Muḥammad and were not arrogant. Christian priests and monks are mentioned in particular; a more negative appraisal is given in LVII, 27, and yet the Christians of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] are said to have received preferable treatment by Muḥammad (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 84 f.). Tor Andrae

explains these apparent inconsistences by pointing to the differences between the Monophysites and the Nestorians, saying that the former aroused his unqualified displeasure by their Christology, while the latter, who were then predominant in the Persian sphere of influence, attracted him much more (*Mohammed the man and his faith*, 89-93).

On the other hand, statements in the Ḳurʾān about the Jews gradually become more severe after Muḥammad's first year in Medina, and passages dating from near the end of his lifetime appear to make little distinction between those Jews and Christians who rejected his prophethood. As People of the Book, however, who are assumed to worship the one true God, they were allowed to retain their religion if they recognised the political suzerainty of the Prophet by paying a tax (*d̲j̲izya* [*q.v.*]). If they did not pay the *d̲j̲izya* they were to be fought without mercy. The memory of the agreement between Muḥammad's recitations and the beliefs of the People of the Book that was emphasised in the earlier parts of the Ḳurʾān must have contributed to this inconsistent treatment of the groups that were coming under Muḥammad's control. In addition, there was the fact that treating the Jews and Christians as tax-paying tenants and allowing them to practise their religion, as had already been done at K̲h̲aybar, was much more practical for the Muslims than fighting them till they gave in.

A further favourable settlement with the "People of the Book" was that believers were allowed to marry their daughters and to eat food prepared by them (sūra V, 5). According to a report in Ibn Saʿd (i/2, 19) Muḥammad included the Zoroastrians among the "People of the Book" in a letter he sent to a group of them (called Magians) in Had̲j̲ar. Muslims were forbidden, however, to marry their women and eat meat killed by them. This extended application of the expression "People of the Book" does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. With these exceptions, the Prophet approached nearer to his objective of forming an *umma* on a strictly religious basis, for the inhabitants of a number of parts of Arabia were now actually bound together by religion, at least in the eyes of Muḥammad. The old differences between the tribes with their endless feuds, their blood-vengeance and their lampoons that continually stirred up new quarrels, were supposed to disappear, and all believers were to feel themselves brethren (IX, 11; XLIX, 10). There was to be no distinction among believers except in their degree of piety (XLIX, 13).

This very rapid extension of Muḥammad's sphere of influence through various types of treaties and other agreements naturally led to situations in which the new "converts" had little knowledge of the teachings and practices of Islam. Alongside the older adherents, who were really inspired by Muḥammad's recitations and whose faith had been tried by privations and dangers, there were now many new converts who had been gained mainly by political alliances, sometimes inspired by fear of Muḥammad's growing power. In spite of the teachers sent out to them there could be no question of any immediate deep-seated religious conversion among these Arabs. How the old Arab spirit continued to flourish among them unweakened is shown, for example, by the boasting and abuse in the poems included in Ibn His̲h̲ām (934 ff.). The Ḳurʾān itself in XLIX, 14, states clearly that the newly converted Bedouins were far from the true faith: they could say that they had adopted Islam, but they could not say that they were yet true believers.

Instructions on religious beliefs and practices that constitute such a major theme of the early Medinan parts of the Ḳurʾān gradually gave way in striking fashion to social and political regulations in later parts of the Ḳurʾān, when the Islamic sphere of influence was spreading so rapidly. Finally, all was prepared and at the end of the year 10 (March 632) Muḥammad was able to carry through the first truly Islamic pilgrimage (the "Farewell Pilgrimage" or the "Pilgrimage of Islam"), which became the standard for all time. The regulations regarding the various ceremonies of the annual Great Pilgrimage appear only in fragments in the Ḳurʾān, forcing pilgrims to depend for their proper performance on the Ḥadīth collections and various Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ manuals that are prepared by the leaders of each *mad̲h̲hab* [*q.v.*]. The modern form of the main rituals is undoubtedly based on what the Prophet laid down on this memorable occasion [see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲]. The Farewell Pilgrimage is said to have included an address, of which somewhat variant versions have been handed down, that marks the culminating point in his career. His feelings at that time are probably expressed in God's words in sūra V, 3: "Today I have perfected your religion, and completed my favours for you and chosen Islam as a religion for you." There is therefore a touch of the dramatic in the fact that his life ended just a few months later.

That Muḥammad did not foresee how soon death would take him can be seen in the fact that only a month before his death he began preparations for a great expedition to Transjordania that he intended to lead himself. In the end he placed the expedition, said to have numbered about 3,000 men, under the command of the young Usāma [*q.v.*], apparently in order to avenge the death of his father Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a, Muḥammad's adopted son and long-time companion. Several of the leading Muslims complained to Muḥammad regarding his choice to place an army with so difficult a mission under the command of such a young man, but the Prophet was determined to allow Usāma the opportunity to avenge the Muslim defeat at Muʾta, which also took the life of Muḥammad's cousin, D̲j̲aʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

In several parts of Arabia the appearance of rival "prophets" provoked disturbances at about this time [see AL-ASWAD, ṬULAYḤA and MUSAYLIMA]. Then Muḥammad suddenly fell ill, presumably of the ordinary Medina fever (al-Farazdaḳ, ix, 13); but this was dangerous to a man physically and mentally overwrought. He rallied a little but then died on the bosom of his favourite wife, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, reportedly on 13 Rabīʿ I of the year 9 (8 June 632). Only this date suits the statement in Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit (no. 133) and all traditionists that it was a Monday. He left no legal successor, so that the leaders within the inner circle of his followers were obliged to choose a leader in the traditional manner among Arab tribes. The young Ibrāhīm, whom the Coptic slave Māriya bore to him, probably early in 630, had died earlier in 632. It is said that Muḥammad was buried under the dirt floor of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's apartment (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1817; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 57 ff., 71).

The great difficulty that the modern biographer of Muḥammad feels on every page is this, that the real secret of his career, the wonderful strength of his personality and his power of influencing those around him by suggestion, is not recorded in the early sources and indeed could not have been, since the early, devout Muslim biographers proceeded with the assumption that his great feats and extraordinary successes were not the acts of a man, but were supernatural proofs that the Prophet was acting in the service of God. From the Ḳurʾān, it is true, one becomes

acquainted with his earliest remarkable inspirations that continue to bring awe to the pious just as they no doubt did when Muḥammad first recited them. Also, his eminent political gifts seen so often during the Medinan years are obvious to modern historians. Who could doubt that the commander at the battle of Badr or that the negotiator at Ḥudaybiya was a man of intellectual superiority and extraordinary diplomatic skill? These insights into Muḥammad's genius that are unmistakable in the sources are, however, only isolated flashes. For the most part we have to read the essentials between the lines.

The really powerful factor in Muḥammad's life and the essential clue to his extraordinary success was his unshakable belief from beginning to end that he had been called by God. A conviction such as this, which, once firmly established, does not admit of the slightest doubt, exercises an incalculable influence on others. The certainty with which he came forward as the executor of God's will gave his words and ordinances an authority that proved finally compelling. His real personality was revealed quite openly with its limitations: his human strength and his knowledge were limited; the ability to perform miracles was denied him; and the Ḳurʾān speaks quite frankly of his faults (XXXIV, 50; XL, 55; XLVII, 19; XLVIII, 1 f.; LXXX, 1 ff.; IX, 43). Later tradition made the very revelation of the Ḳurʾān, the inimitable speech of God (*kalām Allāh*), to a supposedly illiterate Arabian orphan his sole miracle. This belief contains in itself the assumption that Muḥammad was fully human, without supernatural powers. The Ḳurʾān repeatedly says that he was a man like any other, and several times reiterated to his followers that he would die when his time came (XXXIX, 30; XXI, 34 f.; III, 144). It was exactly this point about the Prophet that left his later devout followers dissatisfied, so that quite early, driven no doubt in part by their disputations with Christians, they wove around the person and life of the Prophet a network of superhuman features (see 2. below).

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(F. BUHL-[A.T. WELCH])

2. The Prophet in popular Muslim piety. A visitor listening to a good *ḳawwālī* in the Indian subcontinent or attending a *mevlût* (*mawlūd*) party in Turkey will always be impressed by the deep and loving veneration shown to the Prophet of Islam. Stories about him, his life and his intercession have permeated popular Muslim thought and poetry everywhere, and although Muḥammad never claimed to have performed any miracle, traditional folk poetry, be it in the mountains of Čitrāl or in West Africa, in Turkey or in Indonesia, indulges in extensive description of his marvellous attributes and actions.

Some miracles are inspired by Ḳurʾānic expressions. The "Splitting of the moon" (sūra LIV, 1) forms a favourite topic of poets, especially in India. There, even the conversion of one King Farmāḍ at the Konkan coast is attributed to his having witnessed how the moon was split; after realising that this event had happened that very night in Mecca, he converted to Islam. A 19th-century miniature from the Hindu court of Kotah still shows this miracle. Even more important for popular mystical trends is the Ḳurʾānic term *ummī* which was given to the Prophet and interpreted as "illiterate". The conviction that the Prophet had to be illiterate in order to remain an immaculate vessel for the "inlibration" of the Divine word in the Ḳurʾān is central to Muslim piety. The folk mystics then extended this concept by claiming that it is enough to know only the *alif*, because this first letter of the alphabet contains the meaning of the four sacred books, and similar to the *ummī* Prophet, the true mystic is simply a vessel for divine inspiration. That is why whole groups of Turkish folk singers in the late Middle Ages adopted the soubriquet *ummī* (e.g. Ümmī Kemāl, Ümmī Sinān).

Perhaps the most beautiful elaboration of a Ḳurʾānic remark about the Prophet is found in the concept of *raḥma* (sūra XXI, 107). In Oriental countries, rain is often called *raḥmat* "mercy", and from this it was only one step to imagine the Prophet as a rain cloud dispensing blessing and stretching from Istanbul to Lucknow or whichever cities the poet had in mind (a 19th-century Balūčī poet enumerates 141 places where his mercy is operative, beginning with England!). The finest examples of this imagery come from Indo-Muslim poetry. Thus the Sindhi poet Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1752) uses the concept of the cloud of mercy most ingeniously in his *Risālō* to show how the Prophet's coming revives the dead hearts, just as rain revives the seemingly dead earth. Mīrzā Ghālib's (d. 1869) *Abr-i gawharbār* "The jewel-carrying cloud" in honour of the Prophet is another good example of this imagery.

A favourite of high and popular piety is the Prophet's *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] which is described in ever-increasing details by poets in Turkey, India, and Africa. The story offered innumerable possibilities to sing of the radiant Prophet on his swift mount Burāḳ. In the course of time, Burāḳ became a kind of protective symbol, so that nowadays numerous representations of this creature with a woman's head and a peacock's tail are found on the rear of trucks in Pākistān and Afghānistān, as if Burāḳ were to carry the driver as safely through the rugged roads of the Hindūkush as he once carried the Prophet into the Divine Presence. On such pictures, Muḥammad appears today usually as a white cloud or rose above the saddle, while former artists showed him in full, though usually with his face covered.

Other miracles have no basis in the Ḳurʾān, but belong to the general folk tradition. The Prophet's washing water was filled with *baraka*, charismatic power, he performed miracles connected with food (like milking Umm Maʿshar's barren sheep) and the pebbles in his hand and the doors and walls of the house greeted him. Trees bowed before him, and a cloud protected him from the sun. But perhaps the best-known story telling of love of inanimate things for him is that of the *ḥannāna*, the "sighing" palm trunk on which Muḥammad used to lean while preaching; when the first *minbar* [*q.v.*] was built and the old piece of wood was no longer needed, it began to sigh intensely because it missed the touch of the Prophet's hand.

His relationships with animals are often described, whether it be Abū Hurayra's cat which killed a venomous snake to save the Prophet's life and was

therefore caressed by him (that is why cats never fall on their back), whether wolf and lizard attested his prophetship or whether the gazelle spoke. The story of the gazelle was a favourite with popular poets; in Sindhi alone, 13 versions of this story have been noted down. According to it, Muḥammad found a trapped gazelle who was longing to feed her kids; sending her off, he himself entered the trap to bail her out. The plight of the faithful animal and the amazement of the infidel hunter offer a wonderful topic for touching ballads.

It is remarkable how many stories and concepts trickled down from high mystical circles to the folk level, even as far down to lullabies. The Divine saying *lawlāka* "But for thy sake I would not have created the spheres", makes many singers call Muḥammad simply "the lord of *lawlāk*"; the idea of the primordial light that was the first thing created is reflected in many songs, and legends tell of his "shadowless" presence. Legends about his birth "when the whole world was filled with light" abound, and from early times onward the day was celebrated by illuminations. To listen to stories or poems about his birth (*mawlūd*) [see MAWLID, MAWLIDIYYA] is considered most meritorious. Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] sings, around the year 1300, in Anatolia that those who recite *mawlūds* will be called on Doomsday to enter Paradise immediately, and similar ideas are expressed in Swahili *mawlūd* poems. This goes together with the firm belief in the Prophet's intercession (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]), a privilege granted to him during his heavenly journey when he was promised in the Divine Presence that he would be allowed to intercede for his community. Therefore it is often told that Muḥammad will appear on Doomsday with his green flag (the *liwāʾ al-ḥamd*, "flag of praise") and call out *ummatī ummatī* "My community!" while all other humans ask only help for themselves. Descriptions of this scene are frequent in popular ballads from early times.

One way to secure his intercession is to recite the *ṣalawāt sharīfa* (or *durūd*) for him, the blessing formula mentioned in sūra XXXIII, 56. The *ṣalawāt* has developed in popular piety to the most important formula besides the *shahāda* and the *basmala*, and many people will not begin their work unless they have uttered the *durūd*, which often is used also as a *dhikr* formula. It is believed that the Prophet is present in meetings devoted to the recitation of blessings for him, and some pious people claim to have been visited by the Prophet who "wanted to kiss the mouth that blesses him". In folk tradition, the humming of the bees is interpreted as their uttering the *ṣalawāt*, and in countries as far apart as mediaeval Anatolia and Sind one says that honey becomes sweet when the bees hum the *ṣalawāt* while entering the beehive. Likewise, the human heart will become sweet when following this custom. The conviction that the Prophet is indeed alive and can visit those who are devoted to him leads to the custom of addressing him in the second person during *dhikr* meetings; many stories tell how he stretched out his hand from his *rawḍa* in Medina to greet or to vindicate some of his descendants. Even more, the fact that there are so many relics of the Prophet's hair in various places leads some people to believe that his hair can grow and multiply because he is fully alive. He can therefore also appear in dreams to console, exhort, or inform his friends, and since Satan cannot take on his shape, these dreams are always true.

The numerous songs and stories told and retold among the people serve to establish a personal relationship with the Prophet, and this very warm feeling is something few outsiders realise. The Prophet appears like the venerable elder member of the family who should be obeyed and imitated; the clinging to his *sunna* has (or had) nothing abstract to it, but expressed this feeling of belonging to his spiritual family. Connected with this relationship is the custom of naming boys after the Prophet, for according to a tradition, everyone by the name of Muḥammad will be called to enter Paradise. In order not to spoil the *baraka* of this name, it is often vocalised differently, such as Meḥmed in Turkey, Mūḥ in North Africa, or else the child is given another name of the Prophet (who has 99 *asmāʾ sharīfa*, corresponding to the 99 names of God). Among these names *Muṣṭafā, Aḥmad* (cf. sūra LXI, 5), *Ṭāhā, Yāsīn* as well as *Munīr, Sirādj, Muddaththir*, etc., are often used. For one knows:

> Your name is beautiful, you yourself are beautiful, Muḥammad,

as Yūnus Emre says. Thus descriptions of his overwhelming beauty and kindness occur frequently; he may be addressed, as often in Sindhi poetry, as "bridegroom" or simply as the "sweet prince", *miṭṭhā mīr*.

This devotion to Muḥammad on the mystically-tinged popular level seems to intensify in the course of the centuries, and the poets would express their wish to be a dog at his threshold or claim that they were not worthy of singing his praise even though they might have cleansed their mouth with rose water a thousand times. They dreamt of visiting his *rawḍa* in Medina (there is a whole genre of popular poetry in the various regional languages expressing their longing for the Prophet's city), and despite the reminders by some theologians that not the Prophet but the Ḳurʾān is the veritable centre of Islam, the devotion to him was, and in most cases still is, the strongest binding power among Muslims, in whichever way they may interpret his role: as the trustworthy intercessor or as the primordial light, as gentle friend of humans and animals or as political leader of his community, as "cloud of mercy" or as the seal of prophethood who united in himself the stern, law-giving character of Moses and the loving kindness of Jesus to become the model for humanity in general. Iḳbāl has voiced the general opinion about the position of the Prophet in his daring verse in the *Djāwīd-nāma* (1932):

> You can deny God but you cannot deny the Prophet.

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3. The Prophet's image in Europe and the West.

A. *The image in the Latin Middle Ages*

In the learned, Latin circles of the Middle Ages in Europe (*ca.* 800-1400 A.D.), a remarkable amount of concrete data about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad was known and available. (In the following we have limited ourselves exclusively to these; Islam as a religion is left aside, although the separation cannot always be maintained.) Even if the knowledge about Muḥammad's life which is at the disposal of an historian of Islam in our days is taken into account, it might be maintained with some justice that a historically reliable life of the Prophet, in its essential features, could have been written in mediaeval Europe when based on a selective choice of the correct knowledge then available. The main themes of the following section are the characterisation of the knowledge about Muḥammad in mediaeval Europe, remarkably precise to some extent, and the answer to the question why it was yet completely impossible to compose an objective life of the Prophet.

First there follows here a survey of the concrete

knowledge about Muḥammad's life (until *ca.* 1400). The time of his life and work could be fixed quite accurately on the basis of the respective data of the reigning period of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. By classifying the Islamic Prophet within the genealogical line "Hagar/Ismael", there was at least an accord with the self-evidence of Muslim genealogy. (The fact that the latter too was a fiction, is a matter of secondary importance here.) About Muḥammad's milieu, Arabia, the following information was after all available: a lack of political structures; warlike, predatory activities considered characteristic for the way of life; a manifold idolatry as religious expression (i.e. the essential marks of Arabian tribalism); and also the settlement of Christian and Jewish groups in Arabia. As for Muḥammad's pre-prophetic period, it was known that Mecca was his native town, that he grew up as an orphan with foster-parents, that his kindred was not connected with the important ones in Mecca, that Mecca itself was active in trade and that in this context Muḥammad's first wife was Kh̲adīdj̲a, which fact, among other things, led to extensive journeys. Mediaeval tradition was also aware of possible contacts, during such journeys, with *homines religiosi*, who transmitted to the later Prophet elements of monotheistic religiosity, such as the Baḥīrā story or his contact with "seekers after righteousness (*ḥanīfs*)", known in Muslim tradition; these contacts were likewise considered as forming the connection with the themes of the Old and New Testaments of later Ḳurʾānic revelations.

Muḥammad's comparatively late call was known as such, as was the fact that he experienced it as having taken place partly under strong physical or psychological pressure, and that he perceived Gabriel as the transmitter of divine messages. The knowledge that Muḥammad was conscious of being an exclusive transmitter (*missus, nuntius, legatus, apostolus*) of divine orders, of being purely human, not endowed with supernatural powers (no miracles), and finally also of being illiterate (*ummī*) corresponds with historical reality. About the general character of the divine revelations (only this can be discussed here), correct knowledge had been collected, together with numerous fictions: apart from parallels with Old and New Testament traditions, it was known that monotheism (i.e. the explicitly hostile opposition against the surrounding polytheism) played a central role; that judgement would be passed about reward or punishment at a coming Day of Judgement; that the divine precepts also dealt with matters of this world (the Ḳurʾān is therefore often indicated as *lex*).

Muḥammad's initial failure in Mecca, generally known as such, could be specified with correct details: only a few followers (a certain number of names are given here); assessment by the Meccans that he was a "magician" or was possessed, endeavours on their part to "buy him off" from his divine assignment; his short-lived temptation through the so-called "Satanic Verses"; the temporary emigration of a part of the Muslims to Ethiopia. The fact that it was necessary for the Prophet to migrate to Medina (even the older name Yat̲h̲rib, in various forms of transcription, may appear here) was also known, as were his ultimate successes there and his intensive warlike activities to conquer the Meccans, successful in the end, and to subdue and oust the Jews of Medina. There was even some correct information circulating about the Prophet's alleged "polygamy", such as about ʿĀʾis̲h̲a being Muḥammad's most important consort during the Medina period, including the temporarily rife rumours about her infidelity; also about the delicate Zaynab/Zayd/Muḥammad affair and its reflection in the Ḳurʾānic revelation. Finally, Muḥammad's ascension to heaven (*isrāʾ* or *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]) and a number of details corresponding with Muslim tradition about this, were also known; correct statements about the occurrence of his death and further circumstances surrounding it could be made: the Prophet's quite human (painful) death in ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's care, his unpretentious burial, ʿUmar's refusal to believe that he was dead and the danger that the Muslim community might disintegrate after the Prophet's death.

This certainly impressive knowledge of mediaeval Europe about the life of the Islamic Prophet (the preceding enumeration, by the way, does not claim completeness) should, however, be assessed in its historical context, i.e. put in perspective. With this, the quality of that knowledge is lost almost completely, even if, on its face value, it may appear as positive since we are dealing in a historiographical way with unfamiliar material. In this context, three aspects have to be considered and explained.

1. The knowledge presented here has been brought together during a very extended course of time and partly along extraordinarily tortuous paths. The single elements of knowledge, increasing gradually, were recognised as "true" and given preference over other "tarnished" information by the first authors only, but not by their later followers. Moreover, the fact that at first fragments and later complete knowledge was at hand, did not in any way entail general diffusion and availability. Hence not one of the mediaeval authors who tried to describe the life of Muḥammad, rendered the state of knowledge which was theoretically possible at any given time; how much correct information appeared at any time in a writer's representation depended more or less on chance.

2. Correct information about Muḥammad's life obviously originated ultimately from genuine Islamic sources. But it was spread in Europe by non-Muslim transmitters, who had lived in the Islamic environment for a longer period of time or permanently (and almost without exception were versed in Arabic). However, as non-Muslims under Islamic domination or in Islamic surroundings, they were, as a rule, not concerned with the diffusion of an objective, let alone a positive, image of Muḥammad. Consequently, in both the selection and the transmission of "true" elements of Muḥammad's biography their emphasis is distant if not polemical.

3. Already coloured in a mildly negative way, the correct assertions about the life of the Islamic Prophet then reached the studies of Christian authors, who were not only complete outsiders to Islam but also intent on using their pens to completely disqualify Islam and thus the Prophet in the first place. With this, these assertions were used selectively and mainly in so far as they were suitable for polemics, which went as far as scornful malignity. Occasionally, these assertions were also changed accordingly, but they were above all interwoven with fictitious elements in such a way that they were often divested completely of their historical value. The most different *mixta-composita* of this kind became for a long period the basis of the image of Muḥammad in Christian Europe.

The general assertions given under 2. and 3. have to be illustrated and specified in the following by concrete data about the most important authors and the dominant motives of the mediaeval Muḥammad biographies. First we shall deal with the transmitters and the transmission of the biographical material.

The essential starting-points for the traditions

about Muḥammad which were circulating in the European Middle Ages were Byzantium, on the one hand, and the Christians in Spain living under Islamic domination (*mustaʿribūn* or Mozarabs [*q.v.*]) on the other. The Oriental Christians, as well as the Crusaders, resident for a longer period in the Orient, do not seem to have contributed much material. Of the Oriental Christians it was above all the very early John of Damascus (7th-8th century) who left distinct traces; from the circles of the Crusaders, William of Tripoli (13th century) should be mentioned in the first place. Through Sir John Mandeville (14th century), who based himself on the latter's material, it found a really wide diffusion. The well-founded Byzantine knowledge about Muḥammad and early Islam became known in the West through Anastasius Bibliothecarius (9th century), who copied the *Chronographia* of Theophanes (8th-9th century). As has been shown recently, Theophanes had access to early Islamic-Arabic tradition (however acquired).

The most important source for information about Muḥammad, however, was without any doubt Spain. Already in the 9th century, Eulogius of Cordova, the central figure of the Mozarabic martyrdom movement (forming a front against the ruling Islam as well as against conforming fellow-Christians), had recorded biographical details about Muḥammad in his polemic against Islam; they do not however seem to have become known outside southern Spain. On the other hand, the appropriate notes in the *dialogi* of Petrus Alphonsi or Pedro de Alfonso (11th-12th century), a Spanish Jew who was converted to Christianity, found wider diffusion. The famous "Toledo-Cluny collection" owes its origin to the deliberate intention to gain the most comprehensive knowledge of Islam (including the Prophet). This collection had been ordered by Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Cluny (first half of the 12th century) to be translated in Toledo in order to bring about an extensive refutation of the Islamic religion on a solid basis. The treatises *Liber generationis Mahumet*, *Doctrina Mahumet* and *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* from this collection, which, as is well known, also contained a Latin translation of the Ḳurʾān, have certainly been important for the later image of Muḥammad in Christian Europe. The most considerable influence, however, seems to have been that of the treatise *Epistola Saraceni* or *Rescriptum Christiani*, the translation from Arabic of a polemic (*risāla*) which is dated before the year 1000 and composed by an Oriental Christian (?), whose name ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. the name of his Muslim opponent ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hās̲h̲imī) is undoubtedly a pseudonym. The corresponding passages in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (13th century) are above all based on this translation. Altogether, in the 13th century there originated then those writings which finally completed in essence the whole knowledge of the European Middle Ages and which—apparently by always going back directly to Arabic-Islamic sources—transmitted a remarkably wide spectrum of correct information: the *Quadruplex reprobatio*, whose author remains obscure, and the writings concerning Islam of Petrus Paschasius or Pedro Pascual, of Ricoldus de Monte Crucis or Ricoldo da Monte Croce (going back ultimately to a text written in Arabic by a Mozarab, known in Latin as *Contrarietas elfolica*), of Ramòn Martì, and of Ramòn Lull or Raimundus Lullus.

Just because of its considerable popularity, mention should finally be made of the "Corozan legend", which describes Muḥammad as a great magician in connection with his marriage to a lady from the country "Corozan"; this legend appears for the first time in Hugo of Fleury (beginning of the 12th century).

We shall deal now with the most important motives and groups of motives which decisively marked the image of Muḥammad in the European Middle Ages and fixed it afterwards for a long time (with offshoots until today).

With very few exceptions, the concept of the mediaeval biography of the Islamic Prophet was dominated by a single tendency, namely to prove that Muḥammad, in the way he had lived and acted, could not have been a prophet, that his alleged divine revelations consequently were man's work and that Islam at the very most is an abstruse heresy of Christianity. Made subservient to this basic concept, there appear in the mediaeval Muḥammad biography four kinds of motives, which may perhaps be characterised as follows:

1. Authentic accounts which—hardly or not at all changed—were, according to the mediaeval Christian concept, already as such sufficient to disqualify Muḥammad as a Prophet.
2. Authentic accounts which by a little shift of emphasis and/or by inserting them into a false context of history or argumentation, unmasked Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet.
3. Motives which ultimately are based on authentic material but which hardly permit one to recognise this connection because they have been garbled by being shortened, enlarged or contextually placed so as to serve a polemic argumentation (these manipulations can also be found in various combinations or all together).
4. Pure fiction (not very often found).

When we follow Muḥammad's course of life in outline, while characterising the main motives, his origin and conditions of life should be mentioned as the first important group of motives. Muḥammad and his contemporaries, the *Saraceni*, are descendants of the Dondi maid's (Hagar's) son Ishmael, for whom already in the Bible (Gen. 16,12; 21,13) an extensive but wild and warlike posterity is predicted. It was not difficult to apply this Ishmael filiation, already used by Isidore of Seville and Bede for a (negative) representation of the *Arabes* or *Saraceni*, in a polemical way against Muḥammad: as a descendant of a rude, barbarically warlike people, who had neither government nor law and who moreover practised an unrestrained polytheism, he was not exactly predestined to prophethood. Add to this his own low status in his tribe, to which his "illiteracy" could be added as an aggravating and fitful epithet. This quality of *ummī*, which in the Islamic tradition formed a solid argument in favour of the divine origin of the Ḳurʾānic revelations, thus in the West—where it was known since about 1100—almost served the opposite aim. Being of humble origin in several respects, surrounded by polytheists and, on top of that, "illiterate", Muḥammad could evidently easily be misled. To this are linked the manifold versions of his intercourse with doubtful *homines religiosi*, who passed on to him, in his ignorant naivety, heretical Christian and/or Jewish doctrines as the true religion, a main primary motive which—linking up remotely with Islamic traditions—apparently had already reached the West through John of Damascus. As seducers of this type there appear the Arian-Nestorian monk Sergius or Baḥīrā (taken directly from Muslim tradition), and also anonymous heretics, who had been forced to flee to the fringes of the Christian oecumene and could only be up to their tricks with the help of Muḥammad. The genuine Islamic motive, according

to which Muḥammad's prophethood is confirmed by exponents of pre-Islamic religions (who see prophesied signs as being fulfilled by Muḥammad), is turned by the very same people into a seduction to prophethood of the ignorant Saracen. Seducer and seduced in the end could, incidentally, melt into one and the same person. The abstruse motive of Muḥammad being a Christian cleric, even a cardinal, who through ambition had become an apostate and had fulfilled his aims by founding a new sect, must thus have come into being. For the rest, the entire group of motives of "Muḥammad being seduced by dubious figures" is the context for the view, predominantly represented in the learned mediaeval West, that Islam is a Christian heresy, while the representation of Muḥammad as part of the pantheon of a polytheistic Islam is a persistent element of the "popular" image of Islam in the Middle Ages.

Muḥammad's origin from humble conditions, in combination with the knowledge about his marriage to Khadīdja, active in trade (and thus rich), could also be used polemically in another direction: having suddenly become familiar with the so far unknown possibilities of wealth (i.e. social influence), Muḥammad was seized by an unrestrained striving for power, which in the end brought him to work his way to be a ruler by means of alleged prophethood. Thus the mediaeval traditions about Muḥammad's experience of his call and his early preaching are dominated by the fact that his transition to prophethood is both proved and qualified as based on deception. The motives used in this can amount to (guiltless) self-deception, but the tendency to make Muḥammad appear as a deceitful imposter is predominant. The self-deception is generally depicted as pathological: endeavours of the Ḳuraysh, which had been transmitted, to interpret Muḥammad as a magically-possessed person (*madjnūn*) or also Islamic traditions relating the Prophet's fainting fits (*ghushiya ʿalayhi* and other such expressions) in connection with the revelations in this context, produced welcome material for the image of a Muḥammad who was psychologically ill—the term "epileptic" was a particular favourite—who considered his delusions as divine announcements. By using another motive, it was also maintained that he experienced the instructions of his heretical teachers as messages of the archangel Gabriel (Sergius being somehow identical with Gabriel). The most favourite theme, however, seems to have been that of Muḥammad the impostor. Driven by ambition and eagerness for power, and/or provided with magical qualities (this again was an element of Islamic—and Ḳurʾānic—tradition, the Ḳuraysh see in Muḥammad a magician (*sāḥir*)), Muḥammad conjures up a divine assignment for prophethood before the Saracens and seduces them into submission under an allegedly divine "law", which in reality, however, is the legalisation of his own power and personal desire, cloaked in a religious guise. In this view, the (in themselves positive) contents of the Ḳurʾān, such as the summons to strict monotheism, the warning of the Day of Judgement and the command to give alms, lose their proper value; they degenerate into suitable tricks of an impostor. His alleged ascension to heaven (*isrāʾ* or *miʿrādj*) is of course also deceit. These already highly imaginative and imagination-nourishing details of the Islamic tradition, known in the Middle Ages, seem to have had a fascination for the mediaeval authors. However, that Muḥammad was a hypocrite and an imposter is above all evident from the fact that he was not able to work wonders, especially as the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition themselves emphasise this explicitly. The purely human qualities of the Prophet, so essential for Islamic theology, constituted for the mediaeval Christian the most conclusive counter-argument, repeated and varied again and again, against Muḥammad's prophethood, and were simply the proof of his being a charlatan.

As for Muḥammad's time in Medina, the mediaeval polemic against him is marked above all by two groups of motives: his conduct of war and his sexual life, both not worthy of a prophet anyhow. Measured by the Christian exhortation to peace, a founder of religion who declared warlike activities to be religiously meritorious—as is again shown extensively by the Ḳurʾān and the Islamic tradition—and who called his followers to battle and acted as commander himself, could not be acceptable. Razzias, with the pseudo-prophet in person as *princeps latronum* in the vanguard and shamefully declared to be according to God's directions, were inspired rather by pursuit of power and lust for booty.

Much more, however, than in Muḥammad's positive attitude about war, mediaeval authors were pruriently interested in his sexual life, a central theme already transmitted to Europe by John of Damascus. Many mediaeval representations give the impression right away that the real centre of life and the most important *movens* of the Islamic Prophet had been his excessively strong sexual urge. It is not necessary to enter here into the details of the mediaeval polemic against Muḥammad *in sexualibus*. In any case, the emphasis given to this matter shows that it does not seem unfounded to think that the Christian Middle Ages, prudish and extraordinarily restrictive in sexual matters, could give themselves a somewhat free verbal rein by anathematising an anti-hero. By mediaeval standards, the genuine Islamic information about Muḥammad's attitude, and that of his followers, towards women and marriage (having become known gradually), was already sufficient by itself to provoke great indignation and denial. Polygamy legitimised by the Ḳurʾān; Muḥammad's special rights in this respect; the suspicion of infidelity against ʿĀʾisha, Muḥammad's favoured wife; the Zaynab affair vindicated by a Ḳurʾānic revelation; the sensual paradise which finally awaited the believers; all these represented already by themselves enormities and became a welcome basis for imaginative and hedonistic adornments. The polemic against the lascivious lifestyle of the *immunditiae totius amator* or also *carnalibus vitiis totus brutalis* often went a step further: the alleged prophethood and the so-called "divine revelations" mainly served to legitimise Muḥammad's abnormal sexual needs (and those of his followers): this was pure blasphemy indeed.

The last group of motives consists of the mediaeval descriptions of Muḥammad's death. In this context also, correct knowledge could be useful for polemics, like the quite normal human death, which did not correspond to the representations of the demise of a holy man, even of a prophet, and Muḥammad's death in the arms of ʿĀʾisha, a detail which was gratifying to sexual polemics. Other motives originated from contaminations, such as the fact that Muḥammad expected an ascension to heaven (*miʿrādj*) which did not however occur, or the epilepsy motive was applied again, now as the cause of death. Finally, information according to which Muḥammad died of a drinker's delirium (the Islamic prohibition of wine being in the background) is a malicious fiction, as are also those reports which say that his dead body was torn to pieces by dogs and/or pigs (these animals being certainly known as the most unclean for Islam).

This summary may have made it clear that any

single group of motives might in fact already have sufficed to disqualify Muḥammad as a prophet. If all polemic elements are added up, the image arises of a monstrous anti-prophet, whose doctrine and the religion built upon it automatically lack any truthfulness. (A. NOTH)

B. *The image in mediaeval popular texts and in modern European literature*

1. Popular texts of the Middle Ages

(a) *Heroic epic and Crusaders' epic: Muḥammad as god*

The knowledge of Muḥammad's life as known in Latin theological texts is at first hardly reflected in popular literature. Muḥammad (in French: *Mahon, Mahomés, Mahun, Mahum, Mahumet*; in German: *Machmet*; in Old Icelandic: *Maúmet*) is first mentioned in the 12th-century genre of the *Chanson de geste*; next to *Tervagan* (German *Tervigant*), *Apollin* (German *Appollo*), *Jupiter* and others, he is represented as an idol, whose image the Saracen warriors take with them into battle; after a defeat they throw it among the dogs and pigs or into the river or also trample on it (e.g. *Chanson de Roland, ca.* 1100, v, 2590 ff.; the German *Rolandslied* of the cleric Konrad, second half of the 12th century, v, 7135-41; *Historia Karoli et Rotholandi* of Pseudo-Turpin, middle of the 12th century). Like Christ or God the Father with the Christians, he is implored for help by the Saracens, but is shown as being ineffective (e.g. *Chanson de Roland*, v, 3640-7). Muḥammad also appears as an idol in the anonymous *Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, in which the resistance against the Saracens in Southern France is treated thematically. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Willehalm*, as well as his imitators Ulrich von dem Türlin in his history preceding the *Willehalm*, and Ulrich von Türheim in his *Rennewart*, represent him likewise as an idol. Muḥammad also remains one of the heathen gods in the epics of the Crusades (Richard le Pèlerin and Graindor de Douai: *La Chanson d'Antioche* (*ca.* 1180): *La Conquête de Jérusalem (ca.* 1180), *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon* (*ca.* 1200) and in *Saladin*, which belongs to the cycle of the Second Crusade. When the fighting of the Christians against the Saracens emerges as a theme to be treated, Muḥammad is still in the 13th century considered as god or as idol, e.g. in Stricker's *Karl der Große* (*ca.* 1230), in the Old Icelandic *Karlamagnus saga* (end of the 13th-beginning of the 14th century), and in the *Partonopier und Meliur* of Konrad of Würzburg (*ca.* 1277). Since the origin of the *Chansons de geste* is to be considered as close in time as well as in intentional connection with the first Crusades (1096-9, 1147-9, 1189-92), it seems obvious to suppose that this coarsely-counterfeited representation of Muḥammad as god and of Islam as polytheism conceals a polemic intention. The popular texts aimed at a much larger public, one which was not trained in the subtle argumentation of the theologians. If these texts were to be successful, they had to adapt themselves to the imaginative powers, to the social, political and religious interests of this public. Since here a much more eye-catching resistance against the foreign religion was necessary than was the case with the discourses of the theologians addressed to the specialists, the reproach of polytheism and idolatry was above all apt to discredit the foreign religion in the eyes of the Christians. Though the Christians were likewise reproached by the Muslims of being idolaters because of the dogma of the Trinity, it is not likely that their representing Muḥammad as an idol was a conscious retort against the criticism of polytheism.

In English literature, Muḥammad appears as an idol in *Mary Magdalene* from the Digby cycle. On the other hand, in his *Piers Plowman* (1362, 1373-4, 1394) William Langland takes over the representation of Muḥammad as a renegade cardinal, and in John Lydgate's *The Fall of the Princes* (1438), Muḥammad is represented as an heretic and false prophet in the story *Off Machomet the false prophete.*

(b) *Romantic biographies of Muḥammad*

It was only after the middle of the 13th century that romantic representations of Muḥammad's life appear: for the *Roman de Mahom* of Alexandre du Pont (1258) the poem *Otia de Machomete* of Walter of Compiègne (middle of the 12th century) was the model. As his informant, the narrator refers to a Muslim converted to Christianity and represents Muḥammad as someone in bondage. Through his cleverly contrived marriage to the widow of his former master, he not only attains his freedom and wealth but also knows how to cover up his epileptic attacks as phenomena accompanying visitations of angels and to pose as a new messenger of God's will through deceitful machinations.

Based on Arabic sources and, apart from one sentence in the foreword, free from Christian evaluations, is *L'eschiele Mahomet*, an Old French translation of the Latin *Scala Mahomete* and composed after 1264. The *Scala* itself, composed before 1264, is a translation of the (lost) *Escala de Mahoma* (between 1260 and 1264), which in its turn had been translated from Arabic into Spanish at the order of Alphonso X. The sources of the original Spanish text are the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrāḏj̱*. Woken up by the archangel Gabriel, Muḥammad begins his journey on the mare Alborak and sets out for Jerusalem, where he is honoured by the resurrected prophets. With the help of a ladder guarded by angels, he reaches the hereafter and visits the seven heavens accompanied by Gabriel. In the eighth heaven he meets with God, Who orders him to make his people fast 40 days per year and to worship God 50 times a day. After the return to the seventh heaven and a stay in a white, mysterious land, the journey leads to the seven paradises, where Muḥammad receives from God the Ḳurʾān and is ordered to make his people worship God 50 times a day and to fast 60 days every year; at Muḥammad's request the number of prayers is reduced to five per day. After consultation with Moses, Muḥammad also obtains from God a reduction of the fast to 30 days. Through the description of Gabriel and a personal view from a safe distance, Muḥammad learns about the seven classes of the subterranean hell which await the sinners. Gabriel also informs him about the construction of the cosmos, about the end of the world and the Last Judgement. With the order to announce to his people what he had seen, Gabriel accompanies him back to Jerusalem, from where he returns on the mare Alborak to Mecca to his still sleeping wife Omheni. He relates his experiences to her and, against her warnings, to the Ḳurays̱hites. The latter believe him only after he, enabled to do so through a vision, foretells to them how their caravan which is returning from Jerusalem is organised.

Again more committed to Latin Christian polemics are Brunetto Latini's *Livre dou Tresor* (composed before 1267, enlarged after 1268), in which Muḥammad is represented as a former monk and cardinal, and Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where Muḥammad finds himself, together with ʿAlī, among the sowers of discord and the schismatics, being lacerated by devils again and again (Inferno, canto 28). The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob de Voragine (composed 1250-80 in Italy, translated into German from the middle of the

14th century) stands also in this tradition. Here the motive of the renegade priest who assists Muḥammad in obtaining power with the help of a trained pigeon, which picks seeds from his ear (cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*), is combined with the story of Sergius (cf. Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*): the Nestorian (or Jacobite) monk Sergius functions as Muḥammad's secret counsellor, and he passes off his instructions as orders of the Holy Ghost. Falsified Christian doctrines came into the Ḳur'ān through the intermediary of Sergius.

(c) *Travel accounts of the Later Middle Ages*

Finding himself likewise in the tradition of the Latin Lives of Muḥammad, John de Mandeville again takes up a series of well-known motives in ch. 1,44, of his travel account (middle of the 14th century; Latin, German and Dutch translations date from the end of the same century): the door which arches higher at Muḥammad's entrance; the marriage to Khadīdja notwithstanding his lowly origin; his epilepsy, which he presents as visitations by the angel; his descent from the tribe of Ishmael; the murder by his companions (imputed to him) of his eremitic counsellor while he sleeps intoxicated; and his interdiction of the pleasure of drinking wine, are all connected with this. The travel account of Johannes Schiltberger (latter third of the 15th century), in which his own readings are mixed with stories he himself had heard in the Orient, depicts, without polemic value judgements, Muḥammad's poor childhood and the prediction of a Christian priest who recognises in Muḥammad, because of a black cloud floating over him, the prophesied founder of a new religion, which is to press hard upon the Christians. The priest also recognises Muḥammad's rise to become a great scholar, an effective preacher and a mighty caliph (ch. 46).

2. Modern times

(a) *Anti-Islamic tendencies*

At the beginning of modern times, popular literature also admits altogether, with respect to Muḥammad, the fabulous characteristics and degrading judgements of the Christian theologians. It is true that Luther, in the commentary of his translation of the *Confutatio Alcorani* of the Dominican friar Richard (1540), goes so far as to see the Antichrist in the Pope rather than in Muḥammad because the latter attacks the Christians in a recognisable way and from the outside, but for the rest he adopts the prejudices transmitted since a long time and labels Muḥammad among other things as the devil's son. The Muḥammad biographies of the 17th century, in accordance with the Christian tradition, impute to him sectarianism, robbery, indiscriminate warfare and whoring. Thus Michel Baudier (1625) and Ludovico Maracci (1696-8), who, within the framework of his Ḳur'ān translation, does however try his best to arrive at some degree of impartiality. Using Islamic sources, Jean Gagnier wrote a Muḥammad biography (1732) which is a polemic against Boulainvilliers and a denigration of Islam.

For a longer time even than in France and Italy, the image of Muḥammad as an impostor and a destroyer who is driven by ambition and avidity lasted in England. Occasionally he is represented as the Antichrist or at least compared with him, as by Alexander Ross in the preface of the English Ḳur'ān translation of 1649, as well as in his work *A View of all the religions of the World* (1653). Muḥammad figures as a heretic in the anonymous writing which appeared *ca.* 1653 *Apocalypsis, or the Revelation of Certain Notorious Advances of Heresie*. The old legendary features are also repeated in *The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Prophet of the Turks, and Author of the Alcoran* (*ca.* 1653). In his *First State of Muhametism, or an Account of the Author and Doctrine of the Imposture* (1678), Lancelot Addison for the first time sets historical facts against the fabulous motives. He draws them partly from Arabic sources and partly from Hottinger's *Historia ortientalis* (see below), but his intention is to fight any heresy. Muḥammad appears again as an impostor in Humphrey Prideaux's *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet* (1697), for a long time the most influential work, which still produces its after-effect in the *Life of Mohammed* (1799) by an anonymous cleric (see below). Most of the English authors of the 18th century stay with Prideaux's judgement, such as David Jones (*A Compleat History of the Turks*, 1701), Simon Ockley (*The History of the Saracens*, 1708-18), the anonymous author of *Four Treatises concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Mahometans*, 1712 and Edward Upham (*A History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1829), who admires however the perseverence with which Muḥammad pursues his aims. A new wave of apocalyptic interpretations of Islam and thus of Muḥammad is to be noted in England in the 19th century with the Rev. Samuel Bush (*Life of Mohammed*, 1830), the Rev. Samuel Green (*Life of Mahomet*, 1840), borrowing heavily from Bush, and William Sime (*History of Mohammed and his Successors*, 1873). The Sergius legend is taken up again by Walter Savage Landor (*Mahomet and Sergius*, 1829).

Even travel accounts perpetuated denigrating representations of Muḥammad, such as George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*, in which Muḥammad is represented as a leader of mercenaries who, in order to compensate for his low birth, pretends to have become a leader through a divine call. In his *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (1638), Sir Thomas Herbert takes up Muḥammad's representation as the Antichrist, while John Pitts, a sailor who had been abducted by pirates, forced to convert to Islam and had finally returned to England, depicts Muḥammad as an ordinary and depraved impostor in *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (1731)), just as is done by James Bruce (*Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 1790).

In spite of numerous new initiatives for a more positive view, the discrediting representation of Muḥammad continued until more recent times. Friedrich Bodenstedt, for instance, in his *Liedern der Mirza Schaffy* (1851), makes Muḥammad appear as an ominous destroyer and a "prophet of murder" and thus puts him in contrast to the otherwise cheerfully and hedenistically described way of life in the Orient. Paul Edmund von Hahn, in his narrative *Mohammed, der Prophet* (1931?) takes as his theme the disparity between Muḥammad's doctrine and his actions.

(b) *Texts pointing towards a less biassed view*

The way to a somewhat less biassed view of the Prophet is paved for the first time in Latin with the representation of Muḥammad by Guillaume Postel in his *De orbis terrae concordia* (first half of the 16th century) and by Jean Bodin in his *Heptaplomeres* (middle of the 16th century). After the decline of the Turkish threat to Central Europe from the beginning of the 17th century, the endeavour to establish an image of Muḥammad which also did justice to Islamic tradition clearly increases. This attitude is shown by J.H. Hottinger in his *Historia orientalis* (Zürich 1651), although he still borrows many Christian prejudices. Pierre Bayle (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1697), Adrianus Reland (*De religione Mohammedica libri II.*, Utrecht

1705) and the English Orientalist George Sale in the *Preliminary Discourse* to his English translation of the Ḳurʾān (1734) go still further. As was the case with Jean Gagnier (see above), Reland's representation of Muḥammad is marked by the intention to weaken the polemically-inspired comparisons of Protestant belief with Islam.

The first biography of Muḥammad which combined an endeavour towards historical accuracy with a positive appreciation of Muḥammad's personality and of Islam, was *La Vie de Mahomet* by Boulainvilliers (published posthumously in London, 1730). Boulainvilliers described Muḥammad as a man of genius, a great lawgiver, a conqueror and monarch, whose doctrine is characterised by justice and tolerance. A positive image of Muḥammad is also secured by Leibniz in his *Theodizee* (1710), because the Prophet did not deviate from the "natural religion". In his *Essai sur les moeurs* (1756), as well as in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), Voltaire appreciated Muḥammad as a conqueror, lawgiver, ruler and also as a priest. Influenced by Boulainvilliers's representation, he emphasised Muḥammad's greatness and even saw in him an advocate of tolerance. Voltaire's positive judgement, expressed in his *Essai*, found its way to Turpin's biography of Muḥammad in three volumes (1773-9). This was then admitted by the English historian Edward Gibbon (*History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, 1776-87), who in his valuation hesitated, however, between condemnation and respect. In his Bampton Lectures 1784 (*To confirm and establish the Christian faith, and to confute all heretics and schismatics*), Gibbon's contemporary and fellow-countryman Joseph White considered Muḥammad as a swindler, to be sure, but he acknowledged his magnanimity (though calculated), seen in the release of prisoners. While Nathan Alcock, in *The Rise of Mahomet accounted for on Natural and Civil Principles* (1795), represented Muḥammad as an impostor deceived by his own fantasies, and explained his success by the fact that he adapted his doctrine to the climatic and social conditions of his land, Godfrey Higgins (*An Apology for the Life and Character of the Celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohamed, or the Illustrious*, 1829), emphasised Muḥammad's uprightness and denied that ambition and cupidity had been his motives. Thomas Carlyle went even further in his *The hero as Prophet. Mahomed: Islam*, a lecture delivered in 1840. He attested Muḥammad's uprightness, justice, magnanimity and personal modesty, adduced the marriage to Khadīdja as an argument against the reproach of sensuality and ambition and justified the use of weapons to defend religion.

Savary's Ḳurʾān translation, published in 1783, was accompanied by an informative biography of Muḥammad, which endeavoured to be unbiassed and testified to the growing interest of the Enlightenment in comparative religion, just as was done in Pastouret's *Zoroastre, Confutius et Mahomet*, an academic paper published in 1787.

Jacob Morder's fragment *Mohammeds Reise ins Paradies*, published in 1785, dealt with the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj*. In his *Ideen zur Philosophie und Geschichte der Menschheit* (1791), Herder saw the Prophet as marked by influences exerted on him by his kinship, his time and the religions around him, as a despiser of idolatry, but also as someone endowed with an ardent fantasy which favoured his self-deception.

Historical greatness and personal performance are valuated by a series of dramas about Muḥammad in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Karoline von Günderode's dramatic sketch *Mahomet oder der Prophet von Mekka*, published in 1804, by using selected historical details, described Muḥammad as a faultless and magnanimous human being, whose consciousness of his mission, based on feelings, makes him into a symbol of the individual whom God has taken hold of. The Orientalist J. von Hammer-Purgstall also based his historical play *Mohammed oder die Eroberung von Mekka*, published in 1823, on the historical tradition, without however falling into romantic idealisation, as had been Günderode's case. Franz Kaibel (*Muhammed*, 1907) mixed historical and biographical elements with the fictitious into a drama with a positive tendency, while Margarete von Stein's *Mohammed* (1912) represented Muḥammad as a self-assured prophet with a magical-mystic belief, who felt himself as above the law.

In narrative poetry, too, the life of Muḥammad was more than once represented in Germany during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries. In Eduard Duller's short novel *Mohammed* (1844), the historically-attested was amalgamated with the invented into a historicised narrative with an admiring tendency. The novel on Muḥammad by Klabund, composed in 1917, whose source is the *Life of Muḥammad* by Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and in which Muḥammad preaches a rebirth of the soul through spirit, justice and goodness, also belongs to the series of representations tending to the glorification of Muḥammad. In Adalbert Schäffer's novel *Die Rose der Hedschra* (1923) Muḥammad appears as being above all human weaknesses. Positive traits also prevail in poems which have Muḥammad's life as their theme, as an epigram by Haug (1803) and in poems by Friedrich Rückert (1868), C.B. Büttner (1894), Martin Greif (1909) and Adolf Huber (1909), today altogether forgotten. In his poetic cycle *Mahomed und sein Werk* (1848), G.Fr. Daumer emphatically set Muḥammad's greatness and his religion, which considered terrestrial gratification as a preliminary stage of celestial enjoyment, against the Christian religion, which is criticised for its disdain of this world.

(c) *The life of Muḥammad as a vehicle of literary expression*

In 1742 Voltaire's tragedy *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* was performed in Paris, but closed after three performances under pressure of the clergy. Even the censorship perceived that the religious fanaticism, deceit and hypocrisy, exemplified by the figure of Muḥammad, was in fact aimed at the Christian clergy. In the series of representations of Muḥammad which came into existence since the beginning of the 18th century, Voltaire's drama, translated by Goethe in 1799, stands out most among those which aimed neither at a condemnation of Muḥammad as inspired by Christianity, nor at a historically-justified description, but which made use of the figure in order to exercise veiled criticism against their own society, to set a far-away utopia against it, to gain a licence for describing behaviour which is considered to be offensive in the own cultural field, or to take as a theme the conflict between genius and human weakness. To this series belonged at an earlier stage the comedy *Arlequin Mahomet*, performed in 1714, in which Harlequin takes Muḥammad's name, lands in Baṣra with a flying sack bought from Boubékr and uses the authority, usurped as an alleged prophet, to assist a Persian prince get the princess worshipped by the latter. Whilst Harlequin plays here the role of match-maker, disguised as Muḥammad, some chivalrous novels use Muḥammad as a pretext licentiously to represent amorous adventures, such as *Les amours de Mahomet écrits par Aiesha, une de ses femmes* (anonymous, 1750), and further, the *Histoire secrète du prophète des turcs,*

traduite de l'Arabe of Lausselin (1754), apparently republished in 1781 under the title *Mémoires secrètes et aventures galantes de Mahomet, tirées d'un manuscrit trouvé dans la bibliothèque du Chérif de la Mecque.*

In 1778 Henry Brooke adapted Miller's translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet*, already published in 1744, and gave the piece a happy ending. Influenced by Prideaux (see above), an anonymous cleric, in his *Life of Mohammed* (1799), described Muḥammad as a discreditable monster and thus saw him as a negative example.

Goethe's plan of a *Mahomet* drama (cf. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, III, 14) was only realised in the poem *Mahomets-Gesang*, in which Muḥammad's divinely-inspired genius is represented in the image of a continuously increasing, all-sweeping stream. Goethe's idea to exemplify by Muḥammad's figure "what influence a genius has over people through character and spirit ... and how it wins and loses at this" (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, III, 14) has been taken up again in some dramas of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Here emphasis is laid either on the inward conflict between the Prophet's duties and his human feelings and weaknesses (Georg Christian Braun, *Mahomeds Tod*, 1815; Franz Nissel, *Mohammed*, 1858; Adolf Schafheitlin, *Mahomet*, 1892) or on the corruption to which the purity of the doctrine is exposed because of the resistance of the world (Otto von der Pfordten, *Muhammed*, 1898). Philipp Ludwig Wolff (*Mohammed, ca.* 1855) saw himself as a critic of fanaticism in the tradition of Voltaire's *Mahomet* drama, but tried to stick more closely to the historical facts. Ferdinand von Hornstein (*Mohammed*, 1906) was also occupied with the problem of fanaticism, but approched it psychologically and saw in the inspired believer's autosuggestion the basis of his sweeping power. While Ernst Trampe in his tragedy *Muhammed* (1907) represented Muḥammad as a human being upon whom prophethood is forced and who, having taken it up against his will, develops into an unscrupulous and calculating theocrat, Friedrich Wolf, in his *Mohammed*, written in 1917 under the influence of the First World War, published in 1924 and designated as an oratorio, represented the Prophet as an ascetic and radiant apostle of non-violence, whose aim was the fraternisation of mankind and the reconciliation of nations.

In narrative poetry, too, the conflict between purity of will and human weakness is exemplified in the figure of Muḥammad, as in Ida Frick's *Mohammed und seine Frauen*, a trilogy published in 1844 which describes Muḥammad's transition from a prophet, conscious of his mission, to a human being injured by envy, mistrust and doubt, who, out of vengeance and hedonism, becomes a robber and in his feelings for his wives has to fight with passion, jealousy and lust.

The Lives of Muḥammad were made instrumental for various purposes in lyrical poems. In his *Miscellaneen*, published in 1794, Friedrich Bouterwek represented Muḥammad's work as a religious fight and heavenly promise. In his poem *Posaune des heiigen Krieges aus dem Munde Mohammeds, des Propheten* (1806), J. von Hammar-Purgstall used the figure of Muḥammad as an example of courage in battle and self-sacrifice. Karoline von Günderode, in her *Mahomets Traum in der Wüste* (1804), elucidated the Prophet's purification from doubt concerning his mission. This was also done by Adalbert von Hanstein in his poems about Muḥammad, published in his collection *Menschenlieder* (1887). A romantically exalted image of the ageing Muḥammad was depicted by Victor Hugo in *La légende des siècles* (I, III: *L'islam*. 1. *L'an neuf de l'Hégire*; 2. *Mahomet*) (1859). Here, Muḥammad appears as a wise, ascetic old man, susceptible to what is beautiful in people and nature and not alien to human weakness.

Chronology

ca. 650-750	John of Damascus: *De Haeresibus liber*
8th c.	Theophanes Confessor: *Chronographia*
787	Synod of Nicaea (Nicaenum II), dealing with and anathematising the *Mahometis Superstitiones* as a heresy
middle 9th c.	Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *Chronographia tripartita* (in which is taken up Theophanes's *Chronographia* and the chapter on Muḥammad)
9th c.	Niketas Byzantios: *Confutatio Alcorani*
9th c.	Eulogius of Cordova: *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum, PL*, 115, col. 859
10th c.	Raoul Glaber: *Historiarum libri quinque*
ca. 1064	Embricho of Mainz: *Vita Mahumeti*
ca./after 1100	Guibert of Nogent: *Gesta Dei per Francos*
ca. 1100	*Chanson de Roland* (Muḥammad as an idol)
before 1111	Sigebert of Gembloux: *Chronicon*
before 1120	Hugo of Fleury: *Historia Ecclesiastica*
before 1127	Fulbert of Chartres: *Historia Hierosolimitana*
before 1133	Hildebert of Tours: (distichs: *Life of Muḥammad*; title?)
1143	Petrus Venerabilis: letter to Bernard of Clairvaux (in which a *Life of Muḥammad, PL*, 189)
1137/1155	Walter of Compiègne: *Otia de Machomete*
1160/70	the cleric Konrad: the *Chanson de Roland* (Muḥammad as an idol)
1169-84	William of Tyre: *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*
before 1164	Gotfried of Viterbo: *Memoria Seculorum*; *Liber universalis*
12th c.	*Reprobatio quadruplex*
1204/1209	Arnold of Lübeck: *Chronica Slavorum* (in which is Gerhard of Strassburg's account of his journey to Saladin at the order of Frederic I, 1175)
ca. 1211	Wolfram of Eschenbach: *Willehalm* (Muḥammad as an idol)
before 1256	Jacob of Vitry; *Historia Hierosolimitana*; *Gesta Dei per Francos*; *Orientalis et Occidentalis Historia*
around 1256 (??)	Latin translation of the *miʿrādj*: *Scala de Mahomete*
1258	Alexandre du Pont: *Le Roman de Mahom*
middle 13th c.	Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda Aurea* (in which is the *Life* of S. Pelagius)
before 1264	Vincent of Beauvais: *Speculum historiae*
after 1264	French translation *Eschiele Mahomet* (on Muḥammad's *miʿrādj*)
1267	Ramón Llull: *Libre del gentil e los tres savis* (three wise men, a Christian, a Jew and a Muslim, praise their own religion before a heathen, each full of respect for the others; each of them is convinced that the heathen will convert to his religion; open end)

1273	William of Tripoli: *Tractatus de statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudo-propheta et eorum lege et fide* (dependent on this: Mandeville; Schiltberger (via Mandeville?))
2nd half 13th c.	Ricoldus de Monte Crucis
1270-80	Conrad of Würzburg: *Partonopier und Meliur*
ca. 1278	Thomas Tuscus (= of Pavia): *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*
before 1300	Petrus Pascual: *Sobre la seta mahometana; Contra los fatalistas mahometanos*
1307-21	Dante: *La divina commedia* (Muḥammad (and ʿAlī) maimed in the ninth circle of hell, cf. *Inferno*, canto 28)
middle 15th c.	Nicholas of Cusa: *Cribratio Alchoran* (= "sifting of the Ḳurʾān")
1460	Enea Silvio Piccolomini (= Pius II): *Epistola ad Mohametem* (Letter to the Turkish sultan Meḥemmed II on Islam and Christianity)
after 1482	Michael Christan: German translation of the *Epistola ad Mahometem Pii II.*

Modern times

France

1625	Baudier
1714	*Arlequin Mahomet* (comedy)
1730	Boulainvilliers: *La vie de Mahomet.* Biography published in London (attempt to reach historical accuracy with positive evaluation of Islam)
1730	Abbé Charte-Livry: *Jupiter et Mahomet*, in *Dialogues critiques et philosophiques*
1731	(Anonymous) *Parallèle entre Mahomet et Moyse le Grand* (pseudo-Muslim letter to a rabbi)
1732	Jean Gangier: *Vie de Mahomet* (directed against Boulainvilliers; depicts Muḥammad after Islamic sources, but with negative evaluation)
1741 Lille	Voltaire: *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomed le Prophète.* Tragedy
1742 Paris	Dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV, who thanked with the papal benediction. First representation in Lille 1741; closed in Paris in 1742 after three performances; politico-clerical protest
1750	(Anonymous) *Les Amours de Mahomet écrits par Aiesha, une de ses femmes*
1754	Lausselin: *Histoire secrète du Prophète des Turcs, traduite de l'Arabe*; republished in 1781 under the title *Mémoires secrètes et aventures galantes de Mahomet, tirée(?)s d'un manuscrit trouvé dans la Bibliothèque du Chérif de la Mecque*
1756	Voltaire: *Essai sur les moeurs*, in which Ch. VI, *De l'Arabie et de Mahomet*; Ch. VII, *De l'Alcoran et de la loi musulmane* (based on Boulainvilliers)
1758	(Anonymous) *Mahomet et Mandarin.* Dialogue
1762	*Le cousin de Mahomet ... histoire plus que galante*
1763	Voltaire: *Remarques de l'Essai* (in which Ch. IX, *De Mahomet* (Muḥammad's greatness recognised; the comparison with Cromwell in the matter of fanaticism is in favour of Muḥammad as far as the latter's work is concerned)
after 1756	Voltaire: *Lettre civile et honnête à l'auteur malhonnête de la critique de l'histoire universelle de M. Voltaire, qui n'a jamais fais (?) d'histoire universelle le (?) tout au sujet de Mahomet*
1773	Turpin: *Vie de Mahomet*, 3 vols.
1859	Victor Hugo: *La Mort de Mahomet.* In *La Légende des siècles* (I). Therein: III. *De l'Islam.* 1.*L'an neuf de l'Hégire* (on Muḥammad's death). 2. *Mahomet*
1867	L. Lefloch: (*Mahomet*). Tragicomedy
1890	Henri de Bornier: *Mahomet.* Drama (not staged because of diplomatic complications with the Turks)

Spain

??	Comedia de los Milagros de Mahoma
1680	Francisco de Rojas y Zorillo: *El falso profeta Mahoma* (put on the Index by the Inquisition)

Italy

1698	Ludovico Marracci: *Refutatio*

German-speaking area

1540	Luther: Translation of the *Confutatio Alcorani* by the Dominican friar Richard
1542	Cnustin: *Von geringem herkommen, schentlichem leben, schmehlichem ende, des Türckischen Abgots Machom und seiner verdamlichen und Gotzlesterischen Ler, allen fromen Christen zu disen geferlichen zeiten zur sterckung und trost im glauben an Jesum Christum*
1773	Goethe: *Mahomets Gesang*
1785	Jacob Morder: *Mohammeds Reise ins Paradies. Ein Bruchstück*
1779?/1802	Goethe: *Mahomet* (after Voltaire)
1802-03	C.V. (= Venturini): *Mahommed, Abul Cassem der grosse Prophet von Mekka. Ein Seitenstück zur natürlichen Geschichte der (?) grossen Lehrer von Nazareth.* Copenhagen
1804	Karoline von Günderode: *Mahomets Traum in der Wüste.* Poem
1805	idem: *Mahomed, der Prophet von Mekka.* Drama
1806	J. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Die Posaune des Heiligen Krieges*
1815	G. Christian Braun: *Mahomeds Tod. Tragödie*
1823	J. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Mohammed oder die Eroberung von Mekka. Historisches Drama*
1844	Ida Frick: *Mohammed und seine Frauen. Roman*
1848	G.F. Daumer: *Mahomed und sein Werk.* Cycle of poems.
1852	(Anonymous) *Mohammed. Tragödie.* Bern
1853	Ed. Duller: *Mohammed der Prophet.* Historical novel
1855	Severus: *Mohammed.* Drama. Berlin
1859	Orientalis (pseudonym of M. Wassermann): *Das Mädchen von Chaibar. Roman aus dem Leben Muhammeds*
1860	Philipp Heinrich Wolff: *Mohammed. Tragödie in 5 Akten*
1868	Ludwig Rüben: *Mohammed*
1892	A. Schafheitlin: *Mohammed. Religiös. Drama in 5 Aufzügen.* Zürich
1896	Franz Nissel: *Mohammed der Prophet. Fragmente.* Drama. Stuttgart

1898 Otto von den Pfordten: *Mohammed. Dramat. Gedicht.* Heidelberg
1899 M. von Hanstein: *Achmed der Heiland. Eine epische Dichtung*
1906 F. von Hornstein: *Muhammed. Drama in drei Akten.* Stuttgart
1907 F. Kaibel: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1907 E. Trampes: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1912 M. von Stein: (*Mohammed*) (Drama)
1917 Klabund: (*Mohammed*) (Novel)
1924 F. Wolf: (*Mohammed*) (Drama, expressionist)
1926 A. Schaefer: *Die Rose der Hedschra* (Story, expressionist)
1931 P.E. von Hahn: (*Mohammed*) (Story)

English-speaking area
1362/1378-79/1393 William Langland: *Piers Plowman* (Muḥammad as a renegade cardinal)
1438 John Lydgate: *Off Machomet the false prophete* (In *The Fall of Princes*)
1610 (?) George Sandys: *A Relation of a Journey begun An.Dom. 1610*
1638 Sir Thomas Herbert: *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (Muḥammad as Antichrist)
1649 Alexander Ross: *A Needful Caveat or Admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the Alcoran* (Introduction to the English translation of the Ḳur᾿ān)
1653 idem: *A View of all the Religions of the World*
1653 (Anonymous): *Apocalypsis, or the Revelation of Certain Notorious Advances of heresie* (from the Latin by John Davies)
1653 (?) *The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Prophet of the Turks, and Author of the Alcoran*
1678 (Anonymous): *First State of Muhametism, or an Account of the Author and Doctrine of the Imposture*; 1679; appears in 1679 as Lancelot Addison: *The Life and Death of Mahumed*
1697 Humphrey Prideaux: *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet*
1701 David Jones: *A Compleat History of the Turks*
1708-18 Simon Ockley: *The History of the Saracens*
1712 *Four Treatises concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Mohametans* (preceded by a Life of Muḥammad)
1720 *Miscellanea Aurea, or the Golden Medley* (in which is a Life of Muḥammad, directed against Prideaux, who is not named; defence of Muḥammad against the reproach of deceit)
1731 John Pitts: *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of The Mohammetans* (London)
1731 English translation of Boulainvilliers's *Life of Muḥammad* (1730)
1734 George Sale: *Preliminary Discourse* (to the Ḳur᾿ān translation)
1735 *Reflections on Mohammedanism and the Conduct of Mohammed. Occat(?)sioned by a Late Learned Translation and Exposition of the Koran or Alkoran*
1744 English translation by Miller of Voltaire's drama on Muḥammad
1778 Henry Brooke: *The Imposter* (Drama; revision of Miller's translation of Voltaire's drama on Muḥammad)
1784 Joseph White (Arabist in Oxford): *To confirm and establish the Christian Faith; and to confute all heretics and schismatics*
1788 Edward Gibbon: *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (with a ch. on Muḥammad)
1790 James Bruce: *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*
1795 Nathan Alcock: *The Rise of Mohamet accounted for on Natural and Civil Principles* (published posthumously)
1799 (anonymous cleric): *Life of Mohammed* (uses Prideaux)
1799 Robert Southey (and Coleridge): *Mohammed* (unfinished poem in hexameters)
1808 Robert Southey: *Chronicle of the Cid*
1829 Edward Upham: *A History of the Ottoman Empire*
1829 Godfrey Higgins: *An Apology for the Life and Character of the Celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohammed, or the Illustrious*
1829 Walter Savage Landor: *Mahomet and Sergius* (dialogue in prose)
1830 Rev. Samuel Bush: *Life of Mohammed*
1840 Rev. Samuel Green: *Life of Mahomet*
1840 Thomas Carlyle: *The Hero as a Prophet. Mahomet: Islam* (Lecture given in London; published afterwards)
1843 William Coke Taylor: *History of Mohammetanism and Its Sects*
1850 George H. Miles: *Mohammed the Arabian Prophet*, Boston
1873 William Sime: *History of Mohammed and His Successors*
1890 Hall Caine: *Mahomet.* Drama (not staged because of diplomatic complications with the Turks)

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(TRUDE EHLERT)

MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABBĀS [see ḲĀDJĀR].

MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABD ALLĀH [see IBN AL-ABBĀR; IBN AL-KHAṬĪB; IBN MĀLIK].

SAYYIDĪ/SĪDĪ **MUḤAMMAD III b. ʿABD ALLĀH**, fifth ruler (1171-1204/1759-90) of the Moroccan dynasty of the ʿAlawids [see ʿALAWĪS] and one of the most remarkable.

Born in 1134/1722, he received a traditional education at the court and, in 1159/1746, his father, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] appointed him viceroy (*khalīfa*) at Marrakesh, where he was to make a lasting impression with his construction activities and which he was virtually to make his capital, without however neglecting the other cities of Morocco. Harassed by hostile tribes before being in a position to consolidate his power and to impose his authority, with a view to putting an end to a period of instability which affected the south as well as the rest of the empire, he was obliged to take refuge at Safi (Aṣfī [*q.v.*]), where he succeeded in gaining the support of the local population and thereby facilitated his return to Marrakesh. After 1161/1748, he had the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to his father in restoring him to his throne at Meknès [see MIKNĀS], although the latter had been deposed in his favour. On the death of his father, on 27 Ṣafar 1171/10 November 1757, he was proclaimed ruler at Marrakesh in an atmosphere of popular enthusiasm and began a reign of more than thirty years, a period of serenity marred only by an attack mounted against the capital by insurgents in 1185/1771, a serious fire which destroyed part of the city in 1192/1778 and an abortive act of defiance on the part of his uncle Mawlāy al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl, who declared himself independent in the Tafilalt in 1198/1783-4; the activities of his son and successor Yazīd [*q.v.*] nevertheless clouded the last years of his reign (see Zayānī-Houdas, *passim*). Having reorganised the army, he was in a position to recover Mazagan [see AL-DJADĪDA] from the Portugese in 1182/1769, but he was unable to remove from Spanish domination either Ceuta [see SABTA] or Melilla [*q.v.*], which remain Spanish enclaves to this day. He fortified the port of Safi, constructed those of Faḍāla [*q.v.*, currently al-Muḥammadiyya] and Casablanca [see AL-DĀR AL-BAYḌĀʾ] and, after 1179/1765, founded the town of Mogador [see AL-ṢAWĪRA]. He was responsible for construction activities in other cities of Morocco, notably Fās, where he repaired the ruins and provided new buildings including an aquaduct and a *madrasa* (see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 88, 134, 266). At Marrakesh, he restored the *ḳaṣaba* and built his own palace (al-Manshiya) in addition to numerous mosques and *madrasas* and planted gardens and olive-groves, such that the metropolis of southern Morocco owes a large proportion of its buildings to the great ʿAlawid sovereign (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 474-511 and index; idem, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, index).

On the internal level, away from operations of *djihād* aimed at recovering places occupied by foreign powers, he was mainly concerned with justice and with fiscal and monetary matters, and it may be said that he cured the empire of the decay which had accumulated under his predecessors and that he had the support of the populace in pursuing his objectives (the list of his viziers, secretaries, *ḳāḍīs* and regional authorities may be found in Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 403-4, 405-6). In external politics, he took pains to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Europe and the East in the attempt to lessen the effects of the piracy [see ḲURṢĀN] which was rife in the Mediterranean, and he worked to obtain the release or the ransom of Muslim prisoners. In 1179/1766 he authorised al-Ghazzāl [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to negotiate an exchange of captives and, in 1182/1768, he sent him to Algiers to initiate a reciprocal repatriation of Algerian and Spanish prisoners; the mission to Spain is described in a *Riḥla* (ed. A. Bustānī, Tetouan 1941). His secretary, vizier and ambassador Ibn ʿUthmān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] conducted three missions abroad on his behalf: the first (1193/1779) to Spain with the object of consolidating amicable relations with this country and discussing the issue of Algerian prisoners; the second (1196/1782) to Malta and Naples to ransom yet more prisoners; the third (1200-2/1785-8) to Istanbul to put an end to the unrest provoked by Turkish troops on the Algeria-Morocco frontier. (On the treaties signed during this period, see the articles cited in the art. IBN ʿUTHMĀN; also J. Caillé, *Les accords internationaux du sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah.*) Finally, al-Zayānī (1147-1249/1734-1833 [*q.v.*]), who served as negotiator with all the rebellious Berbers, was entrusted, in 1200/1786, with the task of bearing letters and gifts to the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I; he left a detailed account of the vicissitudes of his journey (*al-Turdjumāna al-Kubrā*; ms. at Rabat). The previous year, Sīdī Muḥammad had sent a generous consignment of gifts intended for the inhabitants of Mecca and of various other regions of the Islamic East.

As regards religion, he was a pious man who respected the obligations of Islam, drinking no alcohol and not smoking; he did not, however, allow himself to be dominated by the *fuḳahāʾ*, whom he protected and with whom he held meetings at Marrakesh in the course of which judicial questions were discussed. He advocated a return to tradition and to study of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* with the aid of the works of scholars of the Middle Ages; he showed himself sympathetic towards the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], and an impression of his tendencies may be gained through a perusal of the programme of studies of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] which he instituted by a decree of 1203/1788 (see Ibn Zaydūn, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, Rabat 1356/1937, 60; idem, *Iḥyāʾ al-ʿulūm*, in *Madjallat al-Maghrib*, v [1355/1936], 8; cf. M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 211-12). He instructed the professors to teach only the canonical versions of traditions (al-Bukhārī and Muslim in particular), studies of Mālikī *fiḳh* such as the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn [*q.v.*], the *Muḳadimma* of Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*], the *Risāla* and the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*]; he determined the list of the commentaries on the *Mukhtaṣār* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] which were to be used, then recommended the *Ikhtifāʾ*

of al-Kalaʿī [*q.v.*], the *Sīra* of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [*q.v.*], the *Tashīl* and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*]; in the context of rhetoric and literature, the syllabus comprised the *Īḍāḥ* of Khaṭīb Dimashkī [see AL-KAZWĪNĪ], the *Muṭawwal* of al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], the *Dīwāns* of six pre-Islamic poets, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], not to mention the classical dictionaries. The sultan submitted his curriculum to the scholars of Egypt, sending them a questionnaire in which spaces were left for replies. This dynamic individual also took an interest in pedagogy and he is the author of a treatise entitled *Mawāhib al-Mannān bi-mā yataʾakkad ʿalā ʾl-muʿallimīn taʿlīmuh li ʾl-ṣibyān* and of a *Risāla fī Manhadj al-taʿlīm*. He also compiled collections of *ḥadīths*, wrote epistles embodying his religious beliefs and edited an anthology of poems, the *Tarwīḥ al-ḳulūb*; although Höst says of him in his *Histoire de l'empereur du Maroc Sidi Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh* (extract from the unpublished translation by M. Pollack in G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, 247) that he "had little regard for so-called intellectuals, philosophers and poets", it was during his reign and at his instigation that Ibn al-Wannān [*q.v.*], whose father had previously resided at the court, composed his celebrated *urdjūza, al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, which is "a résumé of the traditional culture of the Arabs" (Hadj-Sadok). In addition, his religious fervour, allied with a predictable conservatism, did not prevent him appreciating dialectal poetry, composing it himself occasionally and encouraging its dissemination [see MALḤŪN].

Physically, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was, according to Höst, tall, swarthy, of dignified bearing, sober, frugal, relatively chaste in that he had sired no more than some ten children although hundreds of wives belonged to his harem, strict without being cruel, but parsimonious and aware of the need to husband his resources in order to accomplish the task of rebuilding the country which he had set himself.

He died on 27 Radjab 1204/11-12 April 1790 near Rabat and, his death being initially kept secret, it was possible for him to be buried in the imperial palace of his city.

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MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** B. AL-ḤASAN AL-MUTHANNĀ B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, called **AL-NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA**, "the Pure Soul", ʿAlid rebel, together with his full brother Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr at Medina in 145/762-3.

He and Ibrāhīm had, according to al-Wāḳidī, been brought up as future rulers, and Muḥammad was called al-Mahdī by his father. As early as the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, the two sectarians al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī and Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*], who did not recognise Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], endeavoured to make propaganda for him. When signs of the imminent collapse of Umayyad rule became apparent after al-Walīd's death, ʿAbd Allāh's family by his command paid homage to Muḥammad, with the exception of al-Bāḳir's son Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. Wider circles also recognised him as the legitimate heir, including the Muʿtazilīs, who in those days had a distinctly ascetic character. Abū Djaʿfar, later the ʿAbbāsid caliph, was at this time attached to this school, and it is several times recorded that he was among those who paid homage to Muḥammad. This is in itself by no means improbable and well explains his hostile attitude to him, although it remains remarkable that Muḥammad nowhere, even in his polemical letters to him, refers later to this important fact. The Umayyad governor Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] also thought of joining him when he was besieged in Wāsiṭ in 132/750, but dropped the matter when he received no answer to his letter.

When finally the ʿAbbāsid Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in the same year won the caliphate and ousted the ʿAlids, the two brothers disappeared and showed thereby that they would not recognise him. There now began for them a period full of adventure and danger, especially after Abū Djaʿfar became caliph in 136/754. They went secretly from place to place to gain adherents; nowhere could they feel safe from the caliph, but the people were on the whole favourably disposed to them and at least would not betray them. In this way they reached not only Baṣra and Kūfa but even went as far as al-Sind via Aden; as a rule, however, they stayed in Arabia, most securely among the Djuhayna, in whose territory lay the hill of Raḍwa, which so often appears in the history of the ʿAlids. The caliph was very uneasy at the continued lack of success of his search for them; more and more angrily he demanded of his governors in Medīna that they should be produced and he dismissed several in rapid succession, when they appeared, perhaps not without reason, ineffective and lukewarm in their efforts. He himself took very active steps, but with as little result. On his pilgrimage in 140/758, he had Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's father thrown into prison because they would not betray their place of concealment, and on a later pilgrimage (144/762), the same fate met the sons and grandsons of al-Ḥasan, ʿAbd Allāh's brother. They and ʿAbd Allāh were taken to Kūfa, treated most brutally, and thrown into prison, where most of them died. The same thing happened to Ibrāhīm's father-in-law Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a descendant of ʿUthmān, whose head the caliph sent to Khurāsān with a certificate on oath that it was the head of the ʿAlid Muḥammad, in order to intimidate his followers there. Shortly before this (Ramaḍān 144/December 761), he finally found a governor after his own heart, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, who conducted the search with the necessary vigour. But he was soon able to save himself the trouble for in Radjab 145/November 762, Muḥammad appeared in Medina and began the rebellion, while his brother Ibrāhīm went to Baṣra to do the same. It is not clear whether

they did this because, in Muḥammad's opinion, the time was ripe or whether they were forced by circumstances to hasten their plans. In any case, the enterprise was not sufficiently prepared, for although they had a large number of followers in Kūfa, Baṣra, Egypt (where, however, Muḥammad's son ʿAlī was arrested by the ʿAbbāsid governor), in Khurāsān and even in Sind (to which another son ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashtar was sent), there was no question of any organisation, and, as so frequently, the enthusiasm for the ʿAlids was like a fire of straw which blazes up quickly but dies down soon. In Medina, where Riyāḥ was completely taken by surprise, Muḥammad in keeping with his character acted with great mildness; he opened the prison, forbade all bloodshed and was content with arresting Riyāḥ. The best elements in the town came over to him after the jurist Mālik b. Anas [q.v.] declared invalid his oath taken to the ʿAbbāsids; Mecca also surrendered to the new ruler. The outbreak of the revolt was really a relief to Abū Djaʿfar for he had now, as he said, enticed the fox out of his hole. He hurriedly left Baghdād, with the building of which he was busy, and went to Kūfa, the point of danger. With keen instinct he saw that the weak point of the rebellion lay in Medina which must be attacked first, for in this remote spot there was a lack of materials of war and the roads thither could easily be barred. But he first of all offered a complete amnesty to Muḥammad, which however only led to a characteristic exchange of letters, in which one reproached the other with the weaknesses of his family. He then sent his relative ʿĪsā b. Mūsā against him with 4,000 men, with instructions however to settle the matter peacefully if possible. His arrival had a sobering effect upon the Medinans, of whom a number seized the opportunity to get out of their difficult position. Muḥammad, however, remained undismayed. He rejected the well-meant advice of several men to abandon Medina as an insult to the town, but left his people free to stay with him or not. He trusted in Allāh "from whom victory comes and in whose hand the matter lies", and imitated all that the Prophet had done in his time in romantic fashion. For example, he restored the ditch which the Prophet had dug round Medina when it was besieged by Ḳuraysh; he used Muḥammad's sword, and his battle-cry was the same as that at the battle of Ḥunayn; even the old single combat before the battle proper was revived. The result in these circumstances was easily foreseen. ʿĪsā, after offering a free pardon in vain for a few days, laid a few doors over the ditch, entered the town and began a battle in which Muḥammad's supporters became fewer and fewer in numbers until their leader finally fell (Monday, 14 Ramaḍān 145/6 December 762). Muḥammad's head was cut off and sent to the caliph. For an analysis of the revolt and its aftermath, see IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH.

Muḥammad is described as tall and strong with a very dark skin, on which account the caliph sardonically called him *al-Muḥammam*, the "Blackened". He was rightly called "the pure soul" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 200) for his gentle character, but does not seem to have been the equal of his brother Ibrāhīm in intelligence and learning.

After his death and the failure of Ibrāhīm's parallel rebellion in Baṣra and lower ʿIrāḳ, Muḥammad's sons and brothers scattered to various of the remoter parts of the Islamic lands. Of his sons, ʿAlī fled to Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh to Sind and al-Ḥasan to Yemen; of his brothers, Yaḥyā fled to Daylam [q.v.] but eventually fell into the hands of Hārūn al-Rashīd, by whom he was imprisoned and then died in mysterious circumstances, while Idrīs fled to Egypt after the failure of the rebellion of his nephew al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan [q.v.] at Fakhkh and thence made his way to Morocco, where he founded the Idrīsid state [see IDRĪS I].

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(F. BUHL)

MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN, called by his British opponents "the Mad Mullah", the local Somali equivalent of the Sudanese Mahdī.

This Somali *shaykh* was born in 1250-1/1864 (or, according to Djāmaʿ ʿUmar ʿĪse, in 1272-3/1856) near the watering-place of Bōhotle in the north-east of the present Somali Democratic Republic. He belonged to the Ogādēn clan, which inhabits the region of the same name in the disputed area of Eastern Ethiopia-Western Somalia, but lived with the Dulbahaute clan where his grandfather had settled. Muḥammad received a traditional religious training and early manifested signs of extreme piety and religious zeal. In furtherance of his Islamic studies he travelled to Harar, Maḳdishū and, according to some sources, as far as the Sudan. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1311-12/1894, where he joined Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ's Ṣāliḥiyya *ṭarīḳa*. On his return home, he began to preach the puritannical message of this order, and soon encountered resistance from the established Ḳādiriyya and the British consular régime on the western Somali coast. This rebuff, combined with the irritant of Christian mission activity and increasing Ethiopian military pressure in the Ogādēn, led Muḥammad to proclaim a *djihād* against the Christian intruders. The major opening engagement in the ensuing holy war, which dragged on until 1338/1920, took place at Jigjiga in the Ogādēn, where a large force of "Dervishes"—as Muḥammad's followers called themselves—stormed the recently-established Ethiopian post.

During 1321-2/1904, with fitful Ethiopian rapport and Italian compliance, four major British expeditions were mounted against the Dervishes. Although not decisively defeated, the Dervishes prudently withdrew to Mijerteynia in the north of Italian Somalia and signed a peace treaty (the "Illig Agreement") with the Italians. By 1325-6/1908, the Dervishes had recovered their strength and renewed their campaign with increasing ferocity during the first World War until their final defeat by a concerted air, sea and land operation in 1920. Sayyid Muḥammad, as the Dervish leader styled himself—having never claimed the title Mahdī—died amongst his own clansmen in the Ogādēn in December 1920 at the age of fifty-six. Paradoxically, the end of this guerilla war waged to free Somalis of foreign domination found the British, Ethiopian and Italian colonisers more firmly entrenched than they were at the start.

While Sayyid Muḥammad sought to unite his countrymen in defence of their freedom irrespective of their clan allegiances, he inevitably drew heavily upon

traditional kinship and marriage ties in forming alliances. He was bitterly opposed by the Ḳādiriyya, whose leader in southern Somalia was assassinated by a party of his Dervishes. His strongest support came from his own kin among the Dārōd, while the western Isḥāḳ clans, more firmly under British influence, never fully rallied to his call and indeed denounced him as a tyrant and fanatic. All, however, recognised his qualities as the leading Somali poet of his epoch and admired his brilliant command of Somali rhetoric. Sayyid Muḥammad left behind no theocratic organisation, but left instead a legacy of patriotism which inspires Somalis to this day.

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(I.M. Lewis)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD ALLĀH** b. Ṭāhir Dhi 'l-Yamīnayn, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Ṭāhirid governor of Baghdād.

Born in 209/824-5, Muḥammad in 237/851 was summoned from Khurāsān by the Caliph to Baghdād and appointed military governor (*ṣāhib al-shurṭa*) in order to restore order in the chaos then prevailing. In spite of the great power of the Ṭāhirids, who ruled Khurāsān with considerable autonomy, although they nominally recognised the suzerainty of the caliph, his task was by no means a light one. After al-Mustaʿīn had ascended the throne (248/862), he confirmed Muḥammad in his office and also gave him the governorship of ʿIrāḳ along with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In the following year troubles broke out in Baghdād and Sāmarrā. The Arabs were defeated by the Byzantines, and the rage of the people was turned against the caliph. The vizier Uṭāmish, however, finally succeeded in restoring order with the help of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bughā the Younger.

The ʿAlids also gave the government trouble on several occasions. A descendant of ʿAlī named Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar rebelled in Kūfa and drove out the governor of the town. After he had routed an army sent against him by Muḥammad, he was attacked by the ʿAbbāsid general al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl while another division took him in the rear, and he finally fell in the battle (Radjab 250/August 864). Another ʿAlid, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], had more success. Two prominent men in Ṭabaristān, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Ṭāhirids, appealed to him in 250/864, and very soon he was acknowledged as lord of the whole of Ṭabaristān. The Ṭāhirid governors of Rayy and Ḳazwīn were driven out and replaced by ʿAlids; Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khurāsān, a nephew of the governor of Baghdād, then sent an army against Rayy. The ʿAlid governor was defeated and captured and the town had to surrender, but again fell into the hands of the ʿAlids. When the former governor of Ṭabaristān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, invaded this province and conquered it completely, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd had to flee to Daylam, where he was defeated by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (251/865-6); after some years (257/870-1), however, he inflicted a defeat on the latter's troops in Djurdjān, and in 259/872-3 he again became lord of Ṭabaristān, where he founded an ʿAlid dynasty which lasted about sixty years.

Arabia also did not escape ʿAlid plots. A descendant of ʿAlī named Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf raised trouble there in 251/865, plundered Mecca and Medina and killed so many pilgrims that he received the epithet of *al-Saffāk*, "the Bloodshedder". There was also continual trouble in the capital. In Muḥarram of the same year/February 865, al-Mustaʿīn left Sāmarrā and went to Baghdād. Al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] was then taken by force from his prison in Sāmarrā and proclaimed caliph; he then appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad, later co-regent with the caliph al-Muʿtamid, as commander-in-chief in the war against al-Mustaʿīn and his governor. When all negotiations failed, the latter had to take to arms, but was defeated several times. Fighting took place in and around Baghdād with varying success during almost the whole year, while anarchy in the provinces increased; and when Muḥammad finally began negotiations with Abū Aḥmad, he was accused of treason, so that the caliph had to protect him against the troops who were furious with him. But when Muḥammad's friends told him that al-Mustaʿīn intended to sacrifice himself, he made peace with Abū Aḥmad. The caliph had reluctantly to confirm the treaty and abdicate in favour of his rival al-Muʿtazz (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 251/January 866), and the latter thereupon ascended the throne. Muḥammad died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 253/November 867.

Muḥammad achieved considerable contemporary fame as a scholar as well as a soldier and administrator. Not only was he himself a poet, some of whose verses are cited by such authorities as al-Shābushtī and al-Ṣafadī, and patron of the singer Ẓunayn, but he also related *ḥadīths* and had a lively interest in grammar and philology; prominent in the circle which he gathered round himself at Baghdād were such notable figures as al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 592, 602, 604, 608, 610-11, 613; Ṭabarī, iii, see Index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 255-6 = §§ 2940-1; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 43, 72-125; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, 304-5; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 403-4; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 283 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii, 379-90, 402; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*[3], 535 ff.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 119, 311-3; G. Rothstein, in *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, 165-6; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 68-9 = *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, no. II; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 102-3; R. Mottahedeh, in *ibid.*, 77-8.

(K.V. Zettersteen-[C.E. Bosworth])

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD al-ḲĀDIR al-KARDŪDĪ** [see al-kardūdī].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD al-MALIK** [see ibn ṭufayl; ibn al-zayyāt; ibn zuhr].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤĪM** [see ibn al-furāt].

MUḤAMMAD I b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN II**, caliph of Cordova [see al-andalus and umayyads of spain].

MUḤAMMAD III b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN** al-**MUSTAKFĪ**, caliph of Cordova [see al-andalus and umayyads of spain].

sayyidī/sīdī **MUḤAMMAD IV** b. **ʿABD** al-**RAḤMĀN**, ʿAlawid sovereign who reigned over Morocco 1276-90/1859-73.

Born probably around 1230/1815, he was appointed by his father, Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām [*q.v.*] as viceroy (*khalīfa*) in Marrakesh, where he was to continue to reside after his accession to the throne and to leave behind a certain number of buildings (but less than Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]). Memorable among them are the mausoleum erected in the cemetery (*rawḍa*) of Bāb al-Rubb, the conversion of the ʿArṣat al-Maʿāsh into a military quarter, the renovation of the large Agdal gardens, the construction of the fountain of Sīdī Bal-ʿAbbās, the mausoleum of the madman called Sīdī Aʿmārā and the gates of the Sūḳ al-Madjādiliyya or market of the makers of trimmings (see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, index).

In his capacity as *khalīfa*, he assumed command of the Moroccan troops who gave battle to Marshal Bugeaud, on the right bank of the Isly [*q.v.*], on the Algero-Moroccan frontier, on 14 August 1844, and suffered a defeat which opened the eyes of the Sharīfian authorities to the weaknesses of their army. The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who had taken refuge in Morocco, ceased from this time to enjoy the sultan's protection, and it was Sīdī Muḥammad who was instructed to outlaw him. Forced back again to Morocco by the French troops, the *amīr* was still pursued, and it was partly due to the attitude adopted towards him by the sovereign and his son that he decided to surrender to the Duc d'Aumale on 23 December 1847.

During the years that followed, the *khalīfa* of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had mainly to contend with the turbulent tribes of the Atlas who constantly harried Marrakesh. Favourable to peaceful relations with foreign states, he used to receive not only travellers but also agents attracted by the possibility of profitable commercial exchanges. Furthermore, he was surrounded by renegades and had welcomed more or less competent foreign technicians who were indispensable to him in order to ensure the proper functioning of the equipment whose use he had begun to understand and appreciate; as early as 1854, he had in particular tried out a threshing-machine. The policy of reforms which he advocated to revitalise the country could be applied more boldly during the first years which followed his accession.

This took place without difficulty on the death of his father, on 29 Muḥarram 1276/28 August 1859. Sīdī Muḥammad, who was then in Marrakesh, hastened to go to have himself recognised in Meknès and the principal towns of North Morocco, before contemplating his return to the capital of the South, where the situation was none too good. The rebellious tribes having invaded, pillaged and blockaded the town, Sīdī Muḥammad was nevertheless able, provisionally, to establish order, which remained precarious until the moment when he took measures to chastise the agitators, in particular the Raḥāmna whom he was about to destroy.

Meanwhile, he had in fact had to bring matters to a conclusion with the Spaniards. The latter, harried in Ceuta [see sabta] by the neighbouring tribes of the Rīf, launched a war against Morocco, the principal episode of which was the victorious campaign which brought the Spanish troops as far as Tetwan [see tiṭṭawin] on 5 February 1860; they stayed in the town despite the conclusion on 26 April following, under the auspices of Great Britain, which believed the Spaniards would reach Tangiers, of an agreement which was ratified on 26 May. This agreement recommended the assignment of a piece of supplementary territory to Ceuta and Melilla [*q.v.*], the concession of the enclave of Ifni [*q.v.*], the payment of a war indemnity of 20 million duros (the duro being valued at around five gold francs), the conclusion of a commercial treaty and the monopoly of Catholic missions by the Spanish Franciscans. Nevertheless, as Tetwan was to remain occupied until complete payment of the indemnity, Sīdī Muḥammad sent embassies to London and Paris in order to solicit the intervention of the governments with the Spaniards in order to obtain a diminution of the sum for payment. He had to take out a loan, which presented a problem owing to the prohibition against taking interest, regarded as applying as much to the borrower as to the lender; finally, capital and interest constituted a lump sum taken as representing the total amount of the loan. The convention signed on 24 October 1861 was ratified on 20 December following, and, on 2 May 1862, the Spanish troops left Tetwan. Meanwhile, the commercial treaty provided for in the agreement had been concluded on 20 November 1861 (on all these events, see J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, ii, 349 ff.).

The previous sultan had begun instituting an open-door policy, notably through the treaty signed with England in December 1856, which recognised freedom of commerce and adopted the principle of extra-territoriality (see Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 261 ff.), and through the declaration of 18 May 1858 with the Netherlands, which from then on enjoyed the advantages of the most favoured nation. At his accession, the new sultan sent to France one of his entourage, Idrīs b. Muḥammad al-ʿAmrāwī (d. 1296/1878), who narrated the incidents on his journey and set down his observations in a *riḥla* entitled *Tuḥfat al-malik al-ʿazīz bi-mamlakat Bārīz* (printed Fās 1327/1909). Thus he showed his desire to maintain good relations with the European powers, and actually, despite the difficulties generated by his conflict with Spain between 1860 and 1862, concluded several international agreements. On 4 January 1862, a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation was signed with Belgium; 19 August 1863 saw the conclusion of the Franco-Moroccan so-called Béclard Agreement, to which the United States, Great Britain, Sweden and Belgium adhered. This limited the right of protection which had sometimes been abused by the powers, but it also had unfortunate consequences for the ruler's freedom of action (see Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 395-409).

These agreements formed part of the policy of reforms that Sīdī Muḥammad wished to carry out. He had provided for this purpose a programme for revitalisation of the country which involved the creation of Moroccan enterprises in order to end the effective monopoly of foreign establishments, the undertaking of work to enlarge or improve the ports of Safi and Mogador, the erection on Cape Spartel of a lighthouse whose administration and upkeep were to give rise, on 31 May 1865, to an agreement with most of the European powers, the planting of cotton and sugar cane to diminish the imports of cloth and sugar, the creation of a paper factory in Mogador and the construction of a steam mill in Tangiers, not to men-

tion the setting up of a lithographic press in Fās. He was also occupied with reorganising the army and sent agents to Europe to buy arms and munitions, while developing the cartridge-making factory of Marrakesh.

He lived in peace with his neighbours, particularly with the French established in Algeria; a perfect entente was established with them after the battle of Isly and, independently of the diplomatic missions sent to France, for example, in the month of July 1865, an uncle of Sīdī Muḥammad visited Napoleon III in order to renew the relations of friendship between the two nations. The following year, the despatch of the *ḳāʾid* Manṣūr to Touat [see TUWĀT] did not sour their relations although the region was the subject of dispute between them. On the contrary, quite a number of French settled in Morocco and participated in its economic life.

From another point of view, an important event in the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad was the visit, in 1863-4, of Sir Moses Montefiore, President of the London Committee of British Jews, in an attempt to improve the lot of his coreligionists, which left much to be desired. Well-received by the sultan, he obtained in their favour the dahir (*ẓahīr*) of 5 February 1864 (see al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, Fr. tr. Fumey, ii, 256-8) which, without remaining a dead letter, did not, however, have spectacular results (on the Montefiore mission, see his *Narrative of a mission to the Empire of Morocco in 1863 and 1864*, London 1866; Th. Hodgkin, *Narrative of a journey to Morocco*, London 1866; see also Miège, *op. cit.*, ii, 564 ff.).

The reforms undertaken nevertheless encountered the hostility of conservative Moroccan circles, whose resistance to foreign penetration blocked several attempts. In addition, in February-March 1866, the sultan was almost carried off by a serious illness from which he recovered, thanks to the care of his doctor Ādarrāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Despite the reorganisation, carried out in 1862, of the collection of customs duties which provided a large part of the state revenues, financial difficulties accumulated; furthermore, natural disasters, leading to famine and epidemics, provoked in 1867-8 a serious economic and financial crisis which forced the ruler to proceed with an important monetary reform and to renounce the pursuit of the envisaged changes.

From the cultural perspective, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had received a traditional upbringing, nevertheless appears to have studied a little English and French, but his effort at modernisation did not extend to the field of public education and the University of al-Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*], where he suppressed the teaching of Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*); as he was fairly interested in the exact sciences, he sent a group of students to Egypt to learn mathematics. The press established in Fās first of all allowed the diffusion of grammatical texts, such as the *Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn Ādjurrūm [*q.v.*], and of *fiḳh*, such as the *ʿĀṣimiyya* of Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], numerous manuscripts of which were circulating in Morocco; then, up to a relatively recent date, several works of Moroccan and other authors. Finally, it was this sultan who urged Akansūs [*q.v.*] to write the history of the ʿAlawid dynasty, and also to produce *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, which stops in the middle of his reign, on 15 Shaʿbān 283/23 December 1866. This historian, who is also the author of a poem in praise of his sovereign, of a certain number of compositions in verse, epistles and writings of a religious character, is one of the most notable representatives of a literary activity that was rather restricted and directed towards the denunciation of customs contrary to Islamic orthodoxy and the pernicious influence of foreigners. Sīdī Muḥammad did not participate much in this literature, and contented himself with cultivating dialectal poetry [see MALḤŪN].

He died by drowning, on 18 Radjab 1290/11 September 1873, during a boating party on the Agdal basin in Marrakesh, and was buried in the mausoleum of Mawlāy ʿAlī al Sharīf which Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] had rebuilt; the tomb is covered by a *mḳābriyya* of marble engraved with an epitaph in verse (Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, iii, 577; G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, no. 173).

Bibliography: Apart from the works mentioned in the text, the essential works among the Arabic sources are, in addition to the *Djaysh* of Akansūs (lith. Fās 1336/1918), the *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās* of Ibn al-Zaydān (Rabat 1929-33, iii, 366-577), *al-Iʿlām bi man ḥalla Marrākush* (Fās 1936-9, v, 336-73) and the *Istiḳṣā* of Nāṣirī (Fr. tr. Fumey, in *AM*, x, 1907). The eye-witness accounts of travellers, residents and diplomats (such as A. Beaumier, J.H. Hay and Merry y Colom), as well as the archives of Morocco, France, Spain, etc., are especially important for the history of the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and all this documentation has been made use of by J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, Paris 1961 (the first volume of 234 pp. is entirely dedicated to the bibliography). We should note among the references L. Arnaud, *Au temps des mahallas ou le Maroc de 1860 à 1910*, Casablanca 1952, and should not forget the many works of J. Caillé on diplomatic history. Finally, it is useful to cite also some general works, such as H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca 1949-50, ii, 325-31); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens de Chorfa*, Paris 1922, index, and 405, on his viziers, secretaries and chamberlain); G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912* (Rabat 1966, index); M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide* (Rabat 1971, 313 ff.). (CH. PELLAT)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿABD** AL-**RAḤMĀN** B. ABĪ ʿAṬIYYA AL-**ʿAṬAWĪ**, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, minor poet of the ʿAbbāsid period, d. 250/864. A *mawlā* of the Banū Layth, which attached itself to Kināna, he was born and grew up at Baṣra. Before arriving at Sāmarrā, he had written no poetry. He seems to have received a double education: as a secretary, which enabled him to fill what were probably minor functions, and as a *mutakallim*, in which discipline he was said to be a disciple of Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*]. He is said to have been the first poet to speak about *kalām* in verse.

It is not known how he came to find the favour of the great personage who was to make his fortune, the Muʿtazilī chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Duʾād (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). Al-ʿAṭawī (sometimes al-ʿAṭwī) dedicated to him numerous eulogies and then elegies, but his star waned after the death of his protector. He is reputed to have been close also to ʿAlid circles.

This individual attracts very little sympathy: he is described as "living on very little, evil-smelling and dirty". He was addicted to drinking and wrote some bacchic poetry. Of his work, we only possess 30 pieces with a total of 309 verses. His occasional poetry is fairly mediocre and borrows the panegyric wording of the professional eulogists. He also wrote numerous short versified pieces held in honour and appreciated by the *kuttāb*.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* was collected together by Muḥ. Djabbār al-Muʿaybid, in *al-Mawrid*, i/1-2, Baghdād 1971; Brahim Najjar, *Mudawwanat al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḳillīn fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī al-awwal*, thesis,

Paris III 1984, unpubl., v, 169, and *La mémoire rassemblée*, Paris 1987, 204. Principal sources: *Aghānī*, Beirut 1956-7, xx, 143-50; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 377; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 395-6; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 180; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Abyārī and Ṣayrafī, 50-1, tr. Bosworth, 65; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 137. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 61; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 518, ix, 295. (J.E. Bencheikh)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿABD** al-**WAHHĀB** [see ibn ʿabd al-wahhāb].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR** [see al-manṣūr b. abī ʿāmir].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ BAKR**, a son of the first caliph, who was prominent in the opposition against the caliph ʿUthmān [*q.v.*] and who governed Egypt on behalf of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] for a time during the *fitna*. According to tradition he was born in the year of the Ḥidjdjat al-Wadāʿ or "Farewell Pilgrimage" (10/632), and he is further associated with this important event by the report that his mother gave birth to him beneath the tree where the Prophet entered *iḥrām* on that occasion. He belonged to the Ḳurashī clan of Taym b. Murra, while his mother, Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays, was of Khathʿam. Through her he had a uterine relationship with the descendants of Abū Ṭālib (she was taken in marriage by both Djaʿfar and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), and it is said that he was raised in the care and protection (*ḥidjr*) of ʿAlī (presumably after the death of his own father when Muḥammad would have been aged three). He was the father of the *faḳīh* al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad and thus had the same *ism* and *kunya* as the Prophet.

He is said to have first voiced his opposition to ʿUthmān in Egypt when he and Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa [*q.v.*] refused to campaign under the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*] and put forward a list of the caliph's "crimes". When the rebels from Egypt came to Medina to attack the caliph in 35/656, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr supported them (there are variant traditions as to whether he came from Egypt with them or was already in Medina). He was prominent in the opposition to the caliph to the extent that he is sometimes described as the *walī* of the killing, but, although he is shown as having physically maltreated ʿUthmān, he is never accused of having delivered the fatal blows himself. It is not really clear why he opposed ʿUthmān so strongly, unless it was simply a result of his own inclination towards ʿAlī (in some traditions he is associated with the latter during the events of the siege of ʿUthmān's house). One tradition shows his mother's sister urging caution upon him while he insists that he cannot forget what the caliph has done to him. Her question asking what he means, however, is left unanswered. Another tradition suggests that he was motivated by anger and jealousy (*al-ghaḍab wa 'l-ṭamaʿ*). Following the murder, Muḥammad supported ʿAlī, by whom he was sent to arouse support in Kūfa. He was with ʿAlī at the battle of the Camel [see al-djamal] and was entrusted with taking the captive ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*], his half-sister by his father, to Baṣra.

The final episode of his career and his life concerns his brief tenure of the governorship of Egypt on behalf of ʿAlī. This falls in the period between the Battle of the Camel and the conquest of the province by Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (*ca.* 38/658), but the chronology, causation and associated events are reported in a confused and contradictory manner in different traditions. Wellhausen discussed the material available to him in some detail in his *Das arabische Reich* and this was summarised by Fr. Buhl in his article on Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in *EI*¹. Among the material not considered by Wellhausen and Buhl, the traditions collected by al-Kindī in his *Wulāt Miṣr* are especially noteworthy. Wellhausen's conclusion—that it is generally impossible to select one tradition in preference to another and that together they illustrate the unreliability of the information about this early period—seems sensible. Taken together, the traditions portray Muḥammad's appointment and his policy in Egypt as alienating a group of neutrals, prominent among them Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj al-Sakūnī, who had opposed the rising against ʿUthmān but refused to throw in their lot with Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. These neutrals now made common cause with the ruler of Syria, and ʿAmr led an army into Egypt and defeated Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's forces at a place called al-Musannāt. He attempted to flee but was caught by Ibn Ḥudaydj and killed, his body being wrapped in an ass's skin and burned. When ʿĀʾisha learned of his fate, she refused to eat roast meat for the rest of her days.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. Istanbul Süleymaniye 597-8, ii, 496 (for his biography); v, ed. S.D. Goitein, index (for opposition to ʿUthmān); idem, *apud* G. Levi Della Vida, *Il califfato di ʿAlī secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-Aśrāf di al-Balādhurī*, in *RSO*, vi (1914-16), 427-507, esp. 497 ff. (for governorship of Egypt); idem, *Futūḥ*, 227; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 203-4, 226-7; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Leiden 1888, 160-1; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Ch. Pellat, iii, Beirut 1970, 87-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha, ²Cairo 1969, 173, 175, 196; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-65, i, 161, iv, 287-332, *passim*; Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 51, iv/1, 23, 28, v, 38, viii, 206-8; W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden 1966, index; Muṣʿab Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277; Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden and London 1912, 21, 26-31; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 59-62, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 94-8. (G.R. Hawting)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ BAKR**, founder of the Askia dynasty of Songhay [*q.v.*], generally known as Askia al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad and sometimes as Muḥammad Ture (Touré in French writings). His *nisbas*, al-Ṭūrī or al-Silankī, indicate that his paternal ancestry was Soninke, though his mother appears to have been Songhay and possibly a sister of his predecessor Sunni ʿAlī. Under the latter (reigned 869/1464-5 to 15 Muḥarram 898/6 November 1492) Muḥammad served as *Tondi-farma* or "Governor of the Rock", a province stretching across the Hombori-Bandiagara region south of the Middle Niger. On Sunni ʿAlī's death, while on campaign, his son Bukar or Bāru (Abū Bakr) Dāʿū was proclaimed ruler by the army in the field, but Muḥammad was able to raise sufficient troops in the western provinces of Songhay to challenge him. After an initial defeat, he was able to put his rival to flight following a battle near Gao on 14 Djumādā I 898/3 March 1493. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then assumed power with his capital at Gao, using *askia* as his regnal title.

The accession of Askia Muḥammad represented a victory for the more deeply Islamised non-Songhay populations of the western Middle Niger region who had been only recently subjugated and incorporated into the Songhay empire by Sunni ʿAlī. Under the new dispensation, Muslim scholars and holy men found favour at court, and the scholarly élite of Timbuktu, who had often suffered at the hands of Sunni

ᶜAlī, were the object of flattering attentions. At the same time, the Askia strengthened the administration of the western provinces by creating a new office, that of *Kanfari*, whose occupant, based at Tindarma near Lake Fati, appears to have been a viceroy for the entire western half of the empire. The importance of this office may be seen in the fact that when Askia Muḥammad left for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Ṣafar 902/October-November 1496, he appointed its first incumbent, his brother ᶜUmar, to rule in his stead.

This pilgrimage served to enhance the prestige of Askia Muḥammad both within Songhay and more widely among the Muslim rulers of the western and central *bilād al-Sūdān*. When he returned in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 903/July-August 1498, he was not only possessed of the *baraka* of a pilgrim, but through the good offices of the great Egyptian scholar Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] had obtained from the fainéant ᶜAbbāsid caliph in Cairo al-Mustamsik the authority to rule the "lands of Takrūr" (i.e. the West African Sahel, see ᶜUmar al-Naqar in *J. Afr. Hist.*, x [1969], 365-74) in his name. He marked his new-found Islamic legitimacy with two kinds of action. First, by assuming responsibility for the appointment of *ḳāḍī*s in the major Songhay towns, beginning with the appointment of Maḥmūd b. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt as *ḳāḍī* of Timbuktu in 904/1498-9. Secondly, with a series of *djihād*s against his non-Muslim neighbours (the first of which was against the Mossi of Yatenga in 904/1498-9) and a large number of campaigns designed to establish Songhay hegemony and Askia Muḥammad's authority as the caliph's deputy over Muslim-ruled states to the east and west of the nuclear empire carved out by Sunni ᶜAlī in the Middle Niger valley. Further sanction for these wars of expansion was provided by the visiting Tilimsānī *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*], who gave replies to a series of questions put to him by the Askia soon after his return to Gao. He ruled that *djihād* against oppressive Muslim rulers was both lawful and necessary, as was *djihād* against Muslims who failed to abandon pagan customs and beliefs and those who were "neglected" (*muhmalūn*), i.e. not having made an oath of allegiance (*bayᶜa*) to any Muslim *amīr*. The resulting acquisition of vast tributary territories and control of the major trans-Saharan trade routes laid the foundation of Songhay's prosperity during the 10th/16th century when it was ruled by a dynasty consisting of four sons, three grandsons and a nephew of Askia Muḥammad before the Saᶜdian conquest of 999/1591.'

By late 935/August 1529, however, Askia Muḥammad's energies were exhausted and he had lost his sight. His eldest son Mūsā therefore forced him to abdicate and himself seized power. Askia Muḥammad was confined to various royal residences and survived for almost another ten years, dying on 30 Ramaḍān 944/2 March 1538 aged a little over 90.

Bibliography: Two local histories chronicle his reign, the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saᶜdī, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898-1900, 71-81, and the *Ta'rīkh al-Fattāsh* begun by Maḥmūd Kaᶜtī and completed by his grandson Ibn al-Mukhtār, ed. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris 1913-14, 59-82. A brief account of his reign is given in Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-ḳarn al-ḥādī*, lith. Fez n.d., 74-5, quoting the now lost *Naṣīḥat ahl al-Sūdān* of al-Imām al-Takrūrī, while a short but valuable description of his court is given by a visitor to it, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī, see Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 471. Al-Maghīlī's replies to Askia Muḥammad's questions are edited and translated in J.O. Hunwick, *Sharīᶜa in Songhay*, Oxford 1985. See also S.-M. Cissoko, *Tombouctou et l'empire songhay*, Dakar-Abidjan 1975, 75-83; Hunwick, *Religion and state in the Songhay empire, 1464-1591*, in I.M. Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa*, London 1966, 296-315; idem, *Songhay, Borno and the Hausa states, 1450-1600*, in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*³, London 1985, i, 323-71; J.-P. Rouch, *Contribution à l'histoire des Songhay*, Dakar 1953 (Mém. de l'IFAN, no. 29), 191-9; E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8.

(J.O. Hunwick)

MUḤAMMAD b. ABĪ BAKR [see ibn ḳayyim al-djawziyya; ibn sayyid al-nās].

MUḤAMMAD b. ABĪ ḤUDHAYFA b. ᶜUtba b. Rabīᶜa b. ᶜAbd Shams, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (genealogy in the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 8), Companion of the Prophet born in Abyssinia, to which his father and his mother (Sahla bint Suhayl b. ᶜAmr) had emigrated (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā *et alii*, i, 322, ii, 369).

Following the death of his father in 12/633 at the battle of ᶜAḳrabā' [*q.v.*] against Musaylima [*q.v.*], the young orphan was brought up by ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān, a fact which makes all the more reprehensible the conduct which he was later to engage in. Sent to Egypt, he took part in the naval battle known as the Ghazwat Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, "the Battle of the Masts" [see dhāt al-ṣawārī in Suppl.], which probably took place in 34/654-5; then, for a reason which is unclear, he adopted a hostile attitude with regard to the caliph, took over the leadership of a group of dissidents and marched against ᶜUḳba b. ᶜĀmir al-Djuhanī, who was deputising for the governor, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*]. The latter had in fact made his way to Medina to give his report and in particular to inform ᶜUthmān of the conspiracies which his enemies were beginning to hatch against him; Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa expelled ᶜUḳba from Fusṭāṭ and took the functions of governor into his own hands (35/655). He then set about preaching revolt in an overt fashion, making capital out of various grievances held by the Muslims against the caliph. Forewarned, the latter sent to Egypt Saᶜd b. Abī Waḳḳās [*q.v.*] with the purpose of retrieving the situation, but the usurper and his supporters forced him to turn back, also resisting the return of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ.

It is Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa who is accused of having sent to Medina a contingent of 600 men, but although implicated among those responsible for the murder of ᶜUthmān, he was not personally involved, having been in Egypt at the time. When the news of this bloody episode (18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 35/17 June 656), became known, the supporters of the victim were determined to exact revenge. The army mustered initially in Ṣaᶜīd Miṣr routed the forces of Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa and inflicted a decisive defeat on them at the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān 36/February 657 at Kharibtā (see Yāḳūt, s.v.). Confirmed nevertheless by ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the post of governor, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa prevented Muᶜāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, who had come from Syria, entering Fusṭāṭ, but he was not slow to conclude an agreement with him, putting an end to the conflicts. Leaving the government of the country in the care of al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, he joined the hostages sent to Muᶜāwiya, who threw them into prison and returned to Syria. The prisoners succeeded in escaping, but, pursued by the *amīr* of Palestine, they were killed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 36/May-June 657. This marked the end of an adventure which had lasted some two years.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 104, 274;

Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 195, 272; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, in margins of the *Iṣāba*, iii, 341; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7767; Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 14-20; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 94-5; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 300; G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (= vol. iv of the *Histoire de la nation egyptienne* by G. Hanotaux), 29-30. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ 'L-ḲĀSIM** [see ibn abī dīnār].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ MUḤAMMAD** [see ibn ẓafar].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ 'L-SĀDJ**, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, son of Abu 'l-Sadj Dīwdād, an Eastern Iranian (not Turkish) noble from the region of Ushrūsana [*q.v.*] in Transoxania. For his early career, see the article sādjids.

After his rupture with the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh, he returned to Baghdād (276/889) and appears to have remained there (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2122) until his appointment as governor of Ādharbāydjān in 279/892. Though on his arrival he had entertained friendly relations with the Bagratid king of Armenia, Sembat (succeeded 891), after seizing Marāgha in 280/893, he made a first incursion into Armenia, but without success. At the same time, he had strengthened his position at Baghdād by giving his daughter in marriage to al-Muʿtaḍid's confidant, the general Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī. Having been rejoined by his *khādim* or eunuch, the general Waṣīf, who had defeated the Dulafid ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in al-Djibāl in 281/894-5 but did not succeed in annexing his territory, he made a second expedition into Armenia in 282-3/895-6, and captured Kars, Dwīn and Vaspurakan. Subsequently, he came to terms with Sembat, but his son Dīwdād remained as governor of Dwīn until Muḥammad's death. In 284/897-8 Muḥammad declared his independence, but finding himself unable to withstand al-Muʿtaḍid, made prompt submission, was pardoned, and in the following year was officially recognised as governor of Armenia in addition to Ādharbāydjān. About the same time, he appears to have adopted the title of al-Afshīn, which appears on his coinage, and which was evidently intended as a claim to descent from the old princely family of Ushrūsana [see afshīn and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. Pišina]. In 287/900 he made a further indirect attempt to extend his rule over the territories which were slipping from the grasp of the Ṭūlūnids by encouraging Waṣīf to seize Malaṭya and to apply to the caliph for investiture with the government of Cilicia. Al-Muʿtaḍid, however, learning that this was only a preliminary step towards the seizure of Diyār Muḍar by Waṣīf and al-Afshīn, put an end to their design by a swift and unexpected campaign against Waṣīf, who was himself captured. Al-Afshīn died a few months later (Rabīʿ I 288/March 901) at Bardhaʿa.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above and in the article sādjids, see Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 144-5, 196-200 = §§ 3283-5, 3335-9; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 238; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 250-1, tr. de Slane, i, 500; *Histoire de l'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI*, tr. J. St. Martin, Paris 1841, 132-3, 145-6, 153-9, 165-9, 173-8; M.F. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg 1874-6, i, 187-9, 193-6, ii, 428; R.R. Vasmer, *O mon'etakh sadjidov*, Baku 1927, 4-8; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1927, 116*-117*; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 179; W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 228-9. (H.A.R. Gibb)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ ʿUYAYNA** (= Abu 'l-Minhāl) b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, Abū Ḥarb al-Muhallabī, ʿAbbāsid official who was governor of Rayy under the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75); it is also known that the latter imprisoned him and imposed a fine on him (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 23).

This obscure individual merits attention only on account of the confusion created in the minds of authors and editors or commentators, on the one hand by the name (or surname, but not *kunya*) of Abū ʿUyayna born by two descendants of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], sc. his son, who was the father of this Muḥammad, and his great-grandson, son of the same Muḥammad; and concurrently the use of an appellative, Ibn Abī ʿUyayna, common to three persons, sc. Muḥammad and his two more eminent sons ʿAbd Allāh and Abū ʿUyayna. It is thus that ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, editor of the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiz, calls Muḥammad the poet Abū ʿUyayna (i, 50, 361) and makes ʿAbd Allāh the brother of his own father (iv, 84); in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* (v, 315) he commits the same error with regard to Abū ʿUyayna. It is true that the error is excusable, seeing that the author of *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xx, 19) made it before him, while being aware of his imprecision, reproducing soon afterwards a second genealogy, Abū ʿUyayna b. al-Mundjāb b. Abī ʿUyayna; this is also incorrect, given that al-Mundjāb is the name of a brother of Muḥammad.

A. Ghedira [see ibn abī ʿuyayna] has succeeded in removing this ambiguity in an article in *Arabica*, x/2 (1963), 154-87, and in distinguishing between the poetic activity of each of the two sons of Muḥammad (see *BÉO*, xix [1966], 85-132). In the first of these articles (155), he cites a number of examples of confusion which he subsequently sets about correcting. The author of the present article made the mistake of following the *Aghānī* in a passage of his *Milieu basrien* (171-3) where the father of the poet Abū ʿUyayna is called al-Mundjāb, and of proposing an identification of the poet with a certain Abū ʿUyayna mentioned in the *K. al-Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 132; tr. Pellat 209, 327). Another victim of this regrettable ambiguity is the author of the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, who calls Muḥammad (ii, 319-20) the poet Abū ʿUyayna.

Bibliography: Given in the article, with the addition of Ṭabarī, who mentions (ii, 1215, 1320, 1413) Abū ʿUyayna, son of al-Muhallab, in 98/717 and 107/726, also the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, who indeed shows Abū ʿUyayna among the numerous sons of al-Muhallab (Tab. 204) but does not take the genealogical table beyond this level. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤAMMAD b. **ABĪ ZAYNAB** [see abu 'l-khaṭṭāb].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AGHLAB** [see aghlabids].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AḤMAD** [see abu 'l-muṭahhar al-azdī in Suppl.; ibn al-ʿalḳamī; ibn iyās; ibn rushd].

MUḤAMMAD b. **AḤMAD** al-**ISKANDARĀNĪ**, Arab physician, hence referred to as *al-ṭabīb*, who is regarded as the first Ḳurʾān interpreter in modern times who discusses non-Arab occidental sciences in Ḳurʾān commentaries. In 1880 he published *Kashf al-asrār al-nūrāniyya al-Ḳurʾāniyya* in Cairo, a few years before the British occupation of Egypt. According to its title and subtitle, this book solves the Ḳurʾānic secrets of "celestial bodies, the earth, animals, plants and minerals".

In 1299/1881-2 he seems to have moved to Damascus, where he published in 1883 a second book entitled *Tibyān al-asrār al-rabbāniyya fī 'l-nabātāt wa 'l-maʿādin wa 'l-khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawāniyya* "The demonstra-

tion of the divine secrets concerning plants, minerals and the characteristics of animals". The use of the word *tibyān* in the title of this book should remind the reader of Ḳurʾān, XVI, 89, "We have sent down to thee the Book as an explanation (*tibyān*) of everything."

In both these books the author discusses questions that in a primary or secondary school would be designated as natural history. In these discussions, the author always makes a connection with verses from the Ḳurʾān. Nowadays, this brand of Ḳurʾān exegesis is called *tafsīr ʿilmī*, "scientific exegesis".

The apologetic character and political implications of *tafsīr ʿilmī* are made clear by a caption which al-Iskandarānī often puts above the sections of his *Tibyān*: "Would God have omitted to reveal to the people of His Ḳurʾān knowledge about...", a formula which then ends with the mention of some "Western" invention or discovery that has been instrumental in creating the Western superiority that temporarily made the establishment of foreign rule over large parts of the Muslim world a possibility.

Bibliography: Sarkīs, 438; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, Cairo 1962, iii, 163-4; J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 40-1.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN DJAWĀD AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ; IBN ʿARABĪ; IBN ʿASKAR; IBN BĀBAWAYH; IBN MUḲLA; IBN AL-ṬIḲṬAḲĀ; IBN WAḤSHIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** B. AL-ʿABBĀS, great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās and father of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr [*q.vv.*].

Muḥammad was an important figure in the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, but the sources are confusing and his rôle was embellished by later ʿAbbāsid historiography. He is said to have been only fourteen years younger than his father ʿAlī and had taken over the leadership of the family well before the latter's death in 118/736. It seems most likely that Muḥammad had become acquainted in Damascus with Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], and become his most promising pupil. During the reign of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) the family settled in al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] and it was here shortly before his death in 98/716-17 that Abū Hāshim is said to have delivered his famous testament which entrusted his followers to the leadership of the ʿAbbāsid family. Muḥammad's achievement seems to have been to translate this testament into reality. According to some sources, it was he who decided that al-Kūfa was unsuitable and that the centre of the *daʿwa* should be in Khurāsān. He never visited the province himself, but attempted to keep in touch through Bukayr b. Māhān in al-Kūfa. This was not entirely successful, as was shown when Khidāsh [*q.v.*] (executed *ca.* 118/736) clearly deviated from the accepted line. After Khidāsh's death, Muḥammad found Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī a more amenable leader. It seems to have been the failure of the rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 122/740 and especially the execution of his son Yaḥyā b. Zayd in Khurāsān in 125/743 which finally induced the leaders of the Khurāsānī *daʿwa* to accept fully the claims of the ʿAbbāsids. Muḥammad died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 125/August-September 743 before this was complete, and it was left to his son Ibrāhīm to assume effective control of the movement which was to overthrow the Umayyads seven years later.

Bibliography: See the general sources for the period, especially Ṭabarī; *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, ed. A.A. Duri and A.J. Muttalib, Beirut 1971. For recent discussions, Cl. Cahen, *Points de vue sur la révolution ʿabbaside*, in *Revue Historique* (1963), 295-338; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1971; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983; J. Lassner, *Islamic revolution and historical memory*, New Haven 1986.

(H. Kennedy)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** AL-**RIḌĀ** B. MŪSĀ B. DJAʿFAR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-DJAWĀD or AL-TAḲĪ, the ninth Imam of the Twelver Shīʿa. He was born in Ramaḍān 195/June 811 at his grandfather's estate Ṣurayyā (?) near Medina. His mother was a Nubian concubine called Sabīka who was reported to be of the family of Māriya al-Ḳibṭiyya [*q.v.*], the concubine of the Prophet and mother of his son Ibrāhīm. According to other reports, her original name was Durra and she was called al-Khayzurān by the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā. Muḥammad is described as black-skinned, and the caliph al-Maʾmūn's decision to marry his daughter Umm al-Faḍl to him seems to have been criticised partly on that ground. ʿAbbāsid opposition to the marriage was, however, more deeply motivated by disapproval of al-Maʾmūn's pro-ʿAlid policies. At the time of ʿAlī al-Riḍā's death (203/818), Muḥammad, his only son, was seven years old. His succession to the imāmate as a minor stirred up considerable controversy among the followers of his father. A group of them recognised ʿAlī al-Riḍā's brother Aḥmad b. Mūsā as the successor. Another group joined the Wāḳifa, who recognised Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] as the last *Imām* whose return they expected, while others, who had backed ʿAlī al-Riḍā's imāmate after his appointment as successor to the caliphate for opportunistic reasons, returned to their Sunnī and Zaydī communities. Of those who recognised Muḥammad as the *Imām*, some held that he had received the requisite perfect knowledge of all religious matters through divine inspiration from the time of his succession, irrespective of his age, while others maintained that he acquired it from the books of his father when he reached maturity. Muḥammad's marriage with Umm al-Faḍl was contracted in his absence while he was still a child. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1029) reports it under the year 202/817, when al-Maʾmūn also gave his daughter Umm Ḥabīb in marriage to ʿAlī al-Riḍā, while al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 552-3) places it after al-Maʾmūn's arrival in Baghdād in 204/819. The actual marriage took place in 215/830 when al-Maʾmūn summoned Muḥammad from Medina and met him, on his way to lead a campaign against the Byzantines, at Takrīt in Ṣafar/April 830. Al-Maʾmūn ordered him to cohabit with Umm al-Faḍl, and the two resided in the house of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a secretary of al-Maʾmūn, on the banks of the Tigris in Baghdād until the pilgrimage season (January 831), when the *Imām* left with his family and dependents for Mecca and then returned to his estate near Medina. His son and successor ʿAlī had already been born in 212/828 by a concubine, and the marriage with Umm al-Faḍl remained without issue. She is reported to have complained to her father about his preference for his concubines, but al-Maʾmūn rejected her complaint. A year after his accession, al-Maʾmūn's successor al-Muʿtaṣim summoned the *Imām*, for unknown reasons, to Baghdād. He arrived in Muḥarram 220/January 835 and died there towards the end of the same year (6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/30 November 835 seems to be the best attested date). Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vii, 115 = § 2798) appears to be mistaken in placing his death in 219/834. The alternative date mentioned by him (vii, 171 = § 2855), during the

caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-47), was evidently deduced from the reports that the latter (heir-apparent in 220/835) led the funeral prayer for him. Some Shīʿī sources accuse al-Muʿtaṣim or Umm al-Faḍl of having poisoned him, but this is expressly denied by Shaykh al-Mufīd. He was buried near his grandfather Mūsā al-Kāẓim in the Maḳābir Ḳuraysh on the west bank of the Tigris, where the shrine of al-Kāẓimayn came to house the tombs of the two *Imāms*.

Bibliography (in addition to the sources quoted in the article): Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdād*, ed. H. Keller, Leipzig 1908, 262-3; Ṭabarī, iii, 1102-3; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 74-7; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ghaffārī, Tehran 1381/1961, i, 320-2, 492-7; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, ed. Kāẓim al-Mūsawī al-Miyāmawī, Tehran 1377/1957-8, 296-307, tr. I.K.A. Howard, London 1981, 480-95; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 54-5; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. Muḥ. Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Nadjaf 1383/1964, 358-9; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1335- /1956- , 1, 1-112; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus 1935- , iv/2, 215-51.

(W. MADELUNG)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ʿUMAR**, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, poet, man of letters and Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* of the 5th/11th century, known as Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣaḳr al-Wāsiṭī. Born in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 409/March-April 1019, he died on 14 Djumādā I 498/1 February 1105. A disciple, at the Niẓāmiyya [*q.v.*] in Baghdād, of al-Shīrāzī (393-476/1003-83 [*q.v.*]) whose funeral elegy he wrote, he is noted for his ardent attachment to Shāfiʿī doctrine, and he composed on this topic some poems called *shāfiʿiyya*. He himself collected his verses in a *Dīwān* in one volume which may have allowed him to exercise his gifts as a calligrapher, but only part of his production survives, preserved in the *Zīnat al-dahr* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī 'l-Khaṭīrī, according to F. Bustānī (*Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 314) who mentions no other reference. Nevertheless, some verses are to be found in Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xviii, 257-60) and Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ii, 129, iv, 450-2). The language is very simple, as are the themes, which concern the present life and great age of the poet.

Bibliography: See also Ziriklī, vii, 163-4; Kaḥḥāla, x, 319. (ED.)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** AL-**SHALMAGHĀNĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar, also known as IBN ABI 'L-ʿAZĀḲIR, a heretic of the ʿAbbāsid period (d. 322/934), who went so far as to claim that the deity was incarnated in himself.

Initially an Imāmī committed to the study of alchemy, he devoted to this discipline several works such as *Kitāb al-Khamāʾir*, *K. al-Ḥadjar*, *Sharḥ K. al-Raḥma* of Djābir [*q.v.*]. He subsequently formulated the doctrines of the ʿAzāḳiriyya, borrowing elements from various philosophical and religious groups: antinomians (*ibāḥiyya* [see IBĀḤA]), upholders of *ḥulūl* [*q.v.*], Mazdaeans, Manichaeans, etc. He had some important disciples under the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32 [*q.v.*]), notably Ibn al-Furāt (241-312/855-924 [*q.v.*]) and his son Muḥassin. Under the vizierate of al-Khāḳānī (312/924-5), he was forced to flee and took refuge at Mawṣil under the protection of Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*], later returning to Baghdād. He then acquired more disciples under the viziers and senior officials, who were persecuted in 322/934 under the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*]. Having hitherto taken refuge in secrecy, he emerged from it during this year and was arrested and imprisoned by the vizier. While admitting that the compromising documents discovered in his possession were authentic, he denied the existence of his *madhhab* and disavowed the heretics who claimed to be his supporters. His disciple Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]), instructed by the caliph al-Rāḍī (322-9/934-40 [*q.v.*]) to strike al-Shalmaghānī, kissed his beard declaring that he was his god. The *fuḳahāʾ* then issued a *fatwā* condemning him to death, and he was executed in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 322/October-November 934; subsequently his carcase was burned. The Bāb [*q.v.*] Ḥusayn b. Rawḥ b. Abī Bakr al-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/938), with whom he had been associated (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 251, which quotes rather Abū Sahl Ibn Nawbakht), must have had a share in his condemnation, since he had disputed with him the title of *wakīl* of the Eleventh *Imām*, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī.

Among his other works, the following are worthy of mention: *Māhiyyat al-ʿiṣma, al-Ẓāhir bi 'l-ḥudjadj al-ʿaḳliyya, Faḍl al-nuṭḳ ʿalā 'l-ṣamt* and *al-Badʾ wa 'l-mashīʾa*. As to his doctrine, it is revealed in a letter from al-Rāḍī to the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43 [*q.v.*]) which is reproduced by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, i, 239 ff.). This fairly long text, which should be approached with caution, shows first that the caliph himself was worried by the activities of Ibn al-ʿAzāḳir, which had encountered a degree of success among members of a social élite of rather dubious morality; this heretic in fact endorsed all kinds of laxity and gave his support in particular to a moral libertarianism probably borrowed from Mazdeism and revealed in a treatise entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥāssa al-sādisa*. Manichaeism, for its part, inspired the doctrine of divine incarnation in a human being (successively in Adam, Idrīs, Noah, Ṣāliḥ..., ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAzāḳir who was necessarily the last), to whom there corresponds his opposite (*ḍidd*), a demon. Al-Shalmaghānī accepted the notion of metempsychosis, without however making it, apparently, a principal point of doctrine. He rejected both the ʿAbbāsids and the Ṭālibids, but favoured ʿAlī, as might be expected on the part of an extreme Shīʿī. He denounced Moses and Muḥammad as traitors, and reckoned that ʿAlī had granted to the latter a term of 350 years, at the conclusion of which the *sharīʿa* would be repealed and replaced by another system, developed, so it is to be presumed, by Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAzāḳir and the ʿAzāḳiriyya.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 267 = § 1136, and Arabic index; idem, *Tanbīh*, 293 (ed. Ṣāwī, 343); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, viii, 92-3, 216-20; Ṭūsī, *Fihris*, 146-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 293; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 271; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 264-6; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; I. Friedlander, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 70; J. Fück, *Sechs Ergänzungen*, in *Doc. isl. inedita*, Berlin 1952, 80; L. Massignon, *Passion*, 159; H. Corbin, *Hist. de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 181; H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 154.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿALĪ** ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN, Abū Djaʿfar, called AL-**BĀḲIR**, the fifth Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa. The epithet al-Bāḳir, short for *bāḳir al-ʿilm*, is explained as meaning either "the one who splits knowledge open" (i.e. brings it to light), or "the one who possesses great knowledge". The Prophet Muḥammad is quoted as declaring that al-Bāḳir was already referred to by this epithet in the Torah (Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, Nadjaf 1385/1966, 233; idem, *Amālī*, Nadjaf 1389/1970, 315). Al-Bāḳir was born in Medina on 3 Ṣafar or 1 Radjab 57/16 December 676 or 10 May 677 (or on the same days of the same months in 56/675-6). According to one account,

he could still recall the day on which al-Ḥusayn had been killed (10 Muḥarram 61/October 680) and the travails which had beset his family at the time. His mother, Fāṭima Umm ʿAbd Allāh, was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, making al-Bāḳir a grandson of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. When he was still a boy, it is said, the Prophet's greetings were conveyed to him by the venerable Companion Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; this is seen by the Imāmiyya as proof of the legitimacy of his imāmate.

Al-Bāḳir became Imām upon the death of his father Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (in 94/712-3 or 95/713-4). He pursued his father's quietist policy, and refused to support revolts against the Umayyads. His relations with them were nevertheless uneasy. He is reported to have been victorious in a disputation with Nāfiʿ, a *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who had challenged al-Bāḳir at the behest of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik; if the story is true, this success can hardly have endeared him to the caliph (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, viii, 120-2). Hishām summoned al-Bāḳir to Damascus on several occasions, and at least once had him imprisoned and then sent back to Medina, ordering his escort to give him neither food nor drink on the way. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in contrast, was favourably disposed towards him, and after meeting him in Medina had the Fadak [*q.v.*] oasis returned to the ʿAlids. In an utterance apparently propagated by anti-ʿAlid circles and recorded by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 333; cf. Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 36), al-Bāḳir identifies ʿUmar as the Mahdī [*q.v.*].In an Imāmī text, al-Bāḳir prophesies that ʿUmar will become caliph, will do his best to spread justice and will be honoured by the people when he dies; upon ʿUmar's death the inhabitants of the earth will weep for him (since he was a good ruler), while the inhabitants of heaven will curse him (since he was, after all, a usurping Umayyad). Al-Bāḳir is said to have been particularly complimentary about a son of ʿAbd al-Malik known as Saʿd (or Saʿīd) al-Khayr, whom he described as an Umayyad belonging to the Prophet's family (*umawī minnā ahl al-bayt*). The text is preserved of two epistles which al-Bāḳir allegedly sent to Saʿd (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, viii, 52-7). Al-Bāḳir may also have met ʿAbd al-Malik himself (though such a meeting would have had to take place before al-Bāḳir's assumption of the imāmate): according to a story on the authority of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbd al-Malik's decision to issue an Islamic gold coinage, replacing the Byzantine *denarius* by the Muslim *dīnār*, was made at the suggestion of al-Bāḳir (al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 498-504 = ed. Beirut 1380/1960, 467-71).

Al-Bāḳir's fame as a scholar soon spread beyond the immediate circle of his Shīʿī supporters; among his disciples are mentioned ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 125/742-2), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767 [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774) [*q.v.*]. According to one of his admirers, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Makkī, in al-Bāḳir's presence all scholars felt humble. In addition, various miracles are attributed to him: he could converse with animals, make the blind see and foretell future events (for instance, the death in battle of his brother Zayd, the defeat of the Umayyads, and the accession of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr).

The systematic, public teaching of Imāmī law appears to have been initiated by al-Bāḳir (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ii, 20). One of the distinctive Imāmī rulings that go back to him is that when entering on a state of ritual purity before prayer, to wipe the soles of one's footwear (*al-masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn* [*q.v.*]) is not acceptable as a substitute for washing one's feet; according to the Kūfan traditionist Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sabīʿī (d. 128/745-6 or 129/746-7), *al-masḥ ʿalā 'l-khuffayn* had previously been universally permitted. Al-Bāḳir also defended *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] as a practice sanctioned by the Prophet.

Al-Bāḳir was probably the first to formulate what were to become the basic doctrines of Twelver Shīʿism. Principal among these are the belief that the imāmate passes on from one Imām to the next by virtue of a divine command which is revealed in an explicit divinely-inspired designation (*naṣṣ*) made first by the Prophet Muḥammad (who listed all the Imāms) and then by each Imām in turn designating his successor; that all Imāms are descendants of the Fāṭimid line; that they possess special knowledge of a kind denied to ordinary mortals; and that they have absolute spiritual authority and should also have absolute political authority. Any of the Imām's doctrinal or legal pronouncements is taken as coming from the Prophet via the Imām's ancestors (having been transmitted from generation to generation either by ordinary human means, e.g. speech, or by heredity).Thus it is that a Shīʿī *ḥadīth* will often end with an Imām rather than with the Prophet. Al-Bāḳir defended the doctrine of dissociation (*barāʾa*) [*q.v.*] from the enemies of the Imāms, chief among whom were the majority of the Companions and in particular the first three caliphs. It is in order to counter belief in this tenet that Sunnī authorities put it about that al-Bāḳir declared his loyalty to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Al-Bāḳir also maintained that under certain circumstances, self-protection through dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) is permissible, and that in case of danger to life or limb it is mandatory.

The Imāmī position as developed under al-Bāḳir was hostile to individual reasoning (*idjtihād*): al-Bāḳir describes the ideal disciple as one who unquestioningly receives, transmits, and abides by the Imām's rulings. Yet he had to contend with mavericks within his own camp. One of the best known was Zurāra b. Aʿyan (d. 150/767), who held independent views on several theological questions; he thus argued (against al-Bāḳir) that there is no intermediate position between believer and unbeliever (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ii, 402-3; al-Kishshī, *Ridjāl*, 128-9). Another disciple, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyār, used arguments of his own when debating with his opponents rather than relying on what the Imām had said, and for this al-Bāḳir rebuked him (al-Barḳī, *al-Maḥāsin*, Tehran 1370/1950-1 i, 213). At the same time, many of al-Bāḳir's disciples faithfully wrote down his utterances in the form of collections of traditions (*uṣūl*), and these in turn formed the basis for the later comprehensive works on Imāmī law.

Al-Bāḳir is said to have held disputations on legal or theological issues with Muslim opponents such as the Muʿtazilī ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. *ca.* 144/761 [*q.v.*]) and the Khāridjī ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Azraḳ, and to have won a debate with a leading Christian scholar in Damascus. Imāmī tradition describes a meeting between al-Bāḳir and Abū Ḥanīfa in which the latter is presented in a rather negative light. In contrast, Ḥanafī sources describe Abū Ḥanīfa as a disciple of al-Bāḳir's about whom the Imām was highly complimentary, prophesying that he would revive the Prophet's *sunna* (al-Muwaffaḳ b. Aḥmad, *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa*, Beirut 1401/1981, 38; al-Kardarī, *Manāḳib Abī Ḥanīfa*, Beirut 1401/1981, 37-8, 79).

Various extremist Shīʿīs claimed to derive both their teachings and their authority from al-Bāḳir. One was the Kūfan Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī, who claimed prophethood both for al-Bāḳir and for himself as al-

Bāḳir's designated successor (*waṣī*); another was reportedly al-Mughīra b. Saᶜīd al-ᶜIdjlī (d. 119/737). Djābir b. Yazīd al Djuᶜfī (d. 127/744-5 or 128/745-6 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), to whom al-Bāḳir is said to have revealed some 70,000 secret traditions, appears as a central figure in Kūfan *ghulāt* circles. Al-Bāḳir and Djābir occupy a prominent role in the composite gnostic text *Umm al-kitāb*. In the opening section (of uncertain date), the five-year old al-Bāḳir appears before his teacher ᶜAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ as the incarnation of the highest divinity. In the main part (the "Apocalypse of Djābir"), which has been tentatively dated to the mid 2nd/8th century (Halm, *Gnosis*, 120), al-Bāḳir divulges to Djābir al-Djuᶜfī secrets such as how the cosmos was created, how human souls fell into this world and how they can gain deliverance from it. The rest of the work consists of questions addressed to al-Bāḳir on a variety of subjects. Imāmī tradition responded to the extremist Shīᶜī attempt to appropriate al-Bāḳir by propagating numerous anti-*ghulāt* sayings by the Imām.

In Imāmī circles, al-Bāḳir's relations with his brother Zayd are described as cordial. Al-Bāḳir is said, however, to have warned Zayd of the consequences of a premature uprising against the Umayyads. A number of al-Bāḳir's disciples, including in particular Abu 'l-Djārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, introduced some of his doctrines among the early community of Zayd's supporters (the Djārūdiyya). Abu 'l-Djārūd also transmitted al-Bāḳir's Ḳurʾān exegesis (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1391/1971, 36), which is partially preserved in the *Tafsīr* of ᶜAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳummī. Al-Bāḳir appears as an authority in the works of later Zaydī writers; as a rule, however, he is not recognised as an Imām (R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 107; cf. Madelung, *al-Qāsim*, 172), and appears instead as acknowledging Zayd's superior knowledge and so, by implication, Zayd's claims to the imāmate (cf. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat zaidite au Yémen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960, 39-40). In a different polemical context, an ᶜAbbāsid tradition cites al-Bāḳir as saying that the Imām of the day belongs to the Prophet's family and lives in Syria—a reference to Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-ᶜAbbās (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, ed. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Dūrī, Beirut 1398/1978, 116).

Al-Bāḳir was noted for his asceticism, and various sayings of his on the subject of *zuhd* are recorded. He is said to have defined *taṣawwuf* as "goodness of disposition: he that has the better disposition is the better Ṣūfī" (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1911, 38-9).

Sunnī authors generally regard al-Bāḳir as a reliable traditionist (*thiḳa*), although he is occasionally faulted for transmitting directly from Companions whom he did not meet (*mursal* [*q.v.*]). He was an authority of Ibn Isḥāḳ for some *Sīra* material (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1569-60, 1831), and is also cited by al-Ṭabarī for a version of the Karbalāʾ story (ii, 227-32, 281-3).

There is considerable disagreement as to when al-Bāḳir died. The dates most commonly given are 117/735 and Rabīᶜ I, Rabīᶜ II, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 114/May, June 732, January-February 733; other dates are 115/733-4, 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 116/7 January 735, and 118/736. According to one story, al-Bāḳir's cousin Zayd b. al-Ḥasan (d. *ca.* 120/738), having unsuccessfully attempted to wrest control of the Prophet's inheritance from him, placed poison (in a manner not further explained) in a saddle on which al-Bāḳir sat while returning home from a meeting in Damascus with the caliph Hishām (reigned 105-25/724-43); al-Bāḳir later died of the effects of the poison. Other accounts say that it was Hishām himself who had him poisoned. Three reports place al-Bāḳir's death even later. According to the first, Hishām passed away before managing to have al-Bāḳir poisoned. In the second report (al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 17-18 = § 2252), al-Bāḳir is said to have died during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ᶜAbd al-Malik (125-6/734-4). The third report (cited by Ibn Bābawayh) has al-Bāḳir poisoned by order of the Umayyad Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd during his brief reign (126-7/744) (*Risāla fi 'l-iᶜtiḳādāt*, Tehran 1317, 105 = *A Shiᶜite creed*, tr. Asaf A.A. Fyzee, Oxford 1942, 102). This latter claim is reproduced without comment by some later Shīᶜī writers, including Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) (*Manāḳib*, iii, 340) and Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (*al-Iḳbāl*, Tehran 1390, 335). A possible explanation for these later death dates is that they originally referred to al-Bāḳir's namesake Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbbās (d. between 124/741-2 and 126/743-4; for the date see J. Lassner, *Islamic revolution and historical memory*, New Haven 1986, 82-90), and were then mistakenly applied to al-Bāḳir. Such a conflation might also explain the report (al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iv, 102) that al-Bāḳir died in al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*]; this place was closely associated with the ᶜAbbāsid revolution, since it was there that the dying Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*] transferred his rights to the imāmate to the ᶜAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, and it was probably there, too, that the latter died.

Al-Bāḳir was buried in the Baḳīᶜ al-Gharḳad cemetery in Medina, and was succeeded by his son Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiḳ. According to some Sunnī heresiologists, the Shīᶜī sect of al-Bāḳiriyya refused to accept his death and awaited his return as Mahdī (al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1367/1948, 38; cf. al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. al-Wakīl, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 165).

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3; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1338-40, i, 247-8; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, ix, 309-12; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahd͟hīb*, ix, 350-2; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, Cairo 1393/1973, 49, no. 17; Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Aʾimma al-ithnā ʿas͟har*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1377/1958, 81; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S͟hadharāt al-d͟hahab*, Cairo 1350-1, i, 149; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, lith., xi, 60-105 = ed. Tehran 1956-74, xlvi, 212-367; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite religion*, London 1933, 112-9 and index; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-s͟hīʿa*, iv/ii, Beirut 1368/1949, 3-87; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, index; Sezgin, GAS, i, 528; Asad Ḥaydar, *al-Imām al-Ṣādiḳ wa 'l-mad͟hāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut 1969-71/1390-2, i, 433-60; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīʿite Islam*, tr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, London 1975, 202-3; S.H.M. Jafri, *Origins and early development of Shīʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; E. Kohlberg, *An unusual Shīʿī isnād*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, v (1975), 142-9; idem, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī interpretations of Umayyad history*, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll, Carbondale and Edwardsville 1982, 145-59, 249-54; H. Halm, *Das "Buch der Schatten"*, ii, in *Isl.*, lviii (1981), 26-36, 39-58; idem, *Die islamische Gnosis*, Zurich and Munich 1982, index; M. Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven 1985, index.

(E. Kohlberg)

MUḤAMMAD b. AṢBAG͟H, the name of several Muslim scholars: (1) Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭāʾ from Cordova (born 4 Rabīʿ I 255/20 February 869, died 306/918-19 during the raid of Badr b. Aḥmad). A *ḥadīt͟h* scholar who had as teachers Baḳī b. Mak͟hlad [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, Aṣbag͟h b. K͟halīl, al-K͟hus͟hanī [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Ḳazzāz. He is said to have been proficient in grammar and uncommon language (*g͟harīb*) and followed individual judgment (*raʾy*). If we may believe his biographer Ibn al-Faraḍī, he was versed in different kinds of knowledge. Possible, but still to be proven, is his identity with the philologist Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h al-Azdī, of whom in two Berlin mss. (Ahlwardt 7063/1.2) a *ḳaṣīda* is preserved on 66 different meanings of *ʿadjūz* (with commentary by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*]). However, this person may be identical with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h al-Azdī who is mentioned as a pupil and colleague of the judge Ibn Rus͟hd [*q.v.*] in Cordova (d. 536/1141-2); see on him Ibn Bas͟hkuwāl, *K. al-Ṣila*, i, Cairo 1966, no. 1288, and al-Ḍabbī, *Bug͟hyat al-multamis*, Madrid 1885, no. 66.

(2) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h b. Labīb, from the village of Istidja (Ecija) near Cordova: died 327/938-9. He was skilled in religious duties, arithmetic, grammar, language and poetry and discussed "esoteric" opinions (perhaps of the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*]. He seems to have been a pious man who kept to religious observances and asceticism.

(3) Muḥammad b. al-Aṣbag͟h, from the village of Bayyāna [*q.v.*] (Baena, near Cordova); died 303/915-16 or 300/912-13. No further details are mentioned. Apparently he belonged to the family of Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Nāṣiḥ b. ʿAṭāʾ, whose brother Ḳāsim b. Aṣbag͟h [*q.v.*] lived in the same village and partially had the same teachers (see Yāḳūt).

The entry on "Muḥammad b. Aṣbag͟h b. al-Faradj al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh", in Ismāʿīl Pas͟ha Bag͟hdādlī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, Istanbul 1955, col. 18 (= Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, Damascus 1960, 64) is evidently based on a confusion with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aṣbag͟h b. al-Faradj b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ *al-faḳīh al-mālikī al-miṣrī*, on whom cf. Ibn K͟hallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, Beirut 1968, 240 and references given there.

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(H. Daiber)

MUḤAMMAD b. al-AS͟HʿAT͟H b. Ḳays al-Kindī, Arab chieftain, was a leader of the Banū Kinda in Kūfa following the death of his father [see al-As͟hʿat͟h b. Ḳays] in about 41/661. Little is known about his birth and early years, but his mother was Umm Farwa, a sister of the first caliph Abū Bakr. He was known by the *kunya* Abū Mayt͟hāʾ as well as Abu 'l-Ḳāsim.

In 51/671, at the time of the revolt of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī [*q.v.*], the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], is said to have threatened retribution from Muḥammad b. al-As͟hʿat͟h unless Ḥudjr surrendered. His role in securing the submission of Ḥudjr to Ziyād is not really clear, but he was subsequently attacked by a Kindī poet for failing to protect his kinsman. There is even a tradition that he was one of the witnesses against Ḥudjr (al-Balād͟hurī, *Ansāb*, iv a, 221), but the lists of these witnesses vary and the poet does not refer to his taking this role. A similarly inglorious, albeit reluctant, part is attributed to Muḥammad b. al-As͟hʿat͟h in the reports about Muslim b. ʿAḳīl's attempt to arouse support for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in Kūfa before Karbalāʾ in 60/680, and traditions give him some responsibility for the arrests both of Muslim and of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa. Whatever his precise role, his involvement in these two episodes incurred the hostility of the supporters of the ʿAlids, already aroused by the conduct of his father at Ṣiffīn.

At a date which is not specified, the governor of ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], to whom he gave a daughter in marriage, is reported to have made Muḥammad b. al-As͟hʿat͟h *wālī* of Ṭabaristān, but he was unable to make good his authority in the region (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 325). In Kūfa, following the death of the caliph Yazīd and the flight of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād from ʿIrāḳ (64/683-4), he along with the other *as͟hrāf* eventually accepted the authority of Ibn al-Zubayr, and at some stage, the latter made him governor of Mawṣil. He plays no role in the accounts of the fighting in Kūfa associated with the revolt of al-Muk͟htār [*q.v.*] in 66/685-6, but, when the latter sent out his governors following his seizure of Kūfa, Muḥammad had to fall back from Mawṣil to Takrīt before the man whom al-Muk͟htār had sent as governor of Mawṣil. The sources report Ibn al-Zubayr's condemnation of him for this. After a brief period of waiting to see which way things were going, he recognised the authority of al-Muk͟htār, but in the same year fled to Baṣra. Ibn Aʿt͟ham associates this with al-Muk͟htār's taking vengeance against those regarded as the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, among whom he counted Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h, while other sources link it with the revolt of those Kūfan *as͟hrāf* who found al-Muk͟htār's rule intolerable. In 67/686-7 he took part in the attack launched from Baṣra by Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr which ended al-Muk͟htār's domination. He is reported to have led a band of the Kūfan "refugees" who were particularly ardent in fighting,

but in the course of the campaign he was killed. A poem on his death is attributed to Aʿsha Hamdān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 729-31; R. Geyer, *Gedichte von... Al-Aʿšâ*, London 1928, 331, no. 26).

For his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, see IBN AL-ASHʿATH.

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(G.R. HAWTING)

MUḤAMMAD B. BADR AL-DĪN [see AK ḤISĀRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. BAKHTIYĀR [see MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. BAḲIYYA B. ʿALĪ [see IBN BAḲIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD B. BASHĪR [see MUḤAMMAD B. YASĪR].

MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD [see IBN ĀDJURRŪM; AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR [see DJAʿFAR B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; DJAʿFAR AL-ṢĀDIḲ; AL-KATTĀNĪ; AL-ḲAZZĀZ; AL-KHARĀʾIṬĪ; AL-MUNTAṢIR BIʾLLĀH; AL-RĀḌĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-DJAHM AL-BARMAKĪ, senior Muʿtazilī official of the caliphate, wit and philosopher, of Persian origin, possibly associated with the famous ʿAbbāsid viziers, at least through ties of goodwill. He is scarcely known except through the great authors of *adab*, but furthermore, in the final analysis, all the later information is clearly dependent on al-Djāḥiẓ (notably *Fragment*; see *Bibl.*).

The dates of his birth and death are unknown. It is only known that he was already an important person, at that time an adult, under al-Maʾmūn (first third of the 3rd/9th century) (*Bayān*), and that he was still alive under al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 227/842) (*Wafayāt*). Thus he was the exact contemporary of al-Djāḥiẓ, and of the Muʿtazilī-inspired caliphate under which he was in favour. It was owing to his poetic culture that he received from al-Maʾmūn the governorship—simultaneous or successive?—of almost all the districts extending from the Kurdish territory to the Mesopotamian delta (impressive enumeration in the sources: *Bayān, Aghānī, ʿUyūn, Maḥāsin*). He must have taken part in the struggle against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], a people of Indian origin settled in the Baṭīḥa, who only surrendered in 219/834 (*Bayān*). Another passage establishes that at a certain moment Muḥammad b. al-Djahm delegated part of his powers over a division of the district of Kaskar in the region of Wāsiṭ to Muḥammad al-Makkī, a Muʿtazilī disciple of al-Naẓẓām (*Bayān*).

All the sources insist on the eminently Muʿtazilī connections of this person. He is found in the company of Abū ʿAlī al-Uswārī, Abu ʾl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, al-Makkī, al-Djāḥiẓ, and finally Aḥmad b. Abī Duʿād, the famous architect *ḳāḍī* of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], who is said to have narrowly prevented him from having his head cut off by al-Muʿtaṣim (*Wafayāt*). It must be said that his associations do not necessarily imply a total conformity of thought between Muḥammad b. al-Djahm and the Muʿtazilī intelligentsia. He seems on the contrary to have been the object of a general distrust, if one is to believe some generally rather unflattering judgments originating from all sides. These are, it is true, reported by al-Djāḥiẓ himself, who is inclined to exaggerate; the grievance held against him were an excessive greed, his intransigence, his rapacity and, perhaps particularly, a cynicism which he was to exercise without reserve with regard to those under his administration (*Fragment*). Ibn Ḳutayba, moreover, puts in his mouth some viscerally totalitarian sentences: "A collective prohibition satisfies everyone", "Starve your dog and he will follow you", "The poor have some right on the *bayt al-māl*; if they make themselves of value to men, they will receive their due, but if they stand aside like women, they do not deserve pity". This latter statement, formidable in its ambiguity, may be of a nature to throw light on the reservations that he aroused from all sides.

Finally, his curiosity which might have made him especially sympathetic in other times, was probably in his own age likely to surround him with a slightly sulphurous aura; besides an interest in *kalām*, which was characteristic of the age, he was interested in medicine and the natural sciences (*Ḥayawān*), even drafting for al-Maʾmūn a treatise on astrology (al-Ḳifṭī), his master in this art having been Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, precisely imbued with oriental cosmogonic doctrines (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī). To crown everything, the title of *faylasūf* is often applied to him (e.g. *Mukhtalif*), so much so that his bedside book is said to have been the work of Aristotle, al-Ḳifṭī even going so far as to call him al-Manṭiḳī (probably, that is, "the Aristotelian"). He may have been the author of a translation of the *Khudāy-nāma* entitled like the others *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam* (or *al-Furs*) (*Fihrist*) and of a *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt*, which must have been the treatise on astrology mentioned above (al-Ḳifṭī).

Thus there is general agreement that Muḥammad b. al-Djahm was a suspect person in the eyes of Sunnī opinion, but probably also of quite a scandalous nature to other currents of thought. It is probably this that explains the reticence that he arouses in the biographers, notwithstanding the importance of the administrative and political functions which he is supposed to have performed. It is no longer forbidden to think that he was a victim of the relative prejudice of silence, and even of disinformation, which in subsequent periods surrounded the history of the Muʿtazilī caliphate as a whole.

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(G. LECOMTE)

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-DJAZARĪ (see IBN AL-DJAZARĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. DUSHMANZIYĀR [see KĀKŪYIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. FARĀMARZ [see KHUSREW MOLLĀ].

MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB, ABŪ DJAʿFAR, an Arabic philologist of the school of Baghdād.

Only scant facts of his life are known to us. Ḥabīb

is said to have been the name of his mother, a manumitted slave of the family of Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī; his *nisba* of al-Hāshimī is derived from this family whose *mawlā* he was. However, the *Fihrist*, and following it, Yāḳūt and al-Suyūṭī, call him Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb b. Umayya b. ʿAmr. The only known date of his life is that of his death on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 245/21 March 860. Ibn Ḥabīb had the reputation of being a reliable scholar, especially on poetry, genealogy and history. Among his teachers were Ibn al-Aʿrābī, Ḳuṭrub, Abū ʿUbayda, Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān and, most important, Ibn al-Kalbī, whose *Djamharat al-ansāb* he transmitted (cf. G. Levi Della Vida, in *Actes du XIIIème Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1932, 236 f., and W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966). Two mutually contradictory anecdotes regarding his scholarship have come to us. The first, found in the *Aghānī*, x, 156 ll. 23 ff., and in Yāḳūt, vii, 8 ll. 12 ff., reports that Ibn Ḥabīb boasted of his superiority even over his teacher Ibn al-Aʿrābī. Once when he had asked him the meaning of eighteen uncommon expressions used by al-Ṭirimmāḥ in his poems, Ibn al-Aʿrābī had answered each time: "I don't know, I don't know." The second anecdote, however, tries to diminish his reputation. Thaʿlab relates that, having heard that Ibn Ḥabīb would present Ḥassan b. Thābit's poetry, he attended the lecture. When Ibn Ḥabīb became aware of his presence, he stopped lecturing. Thereupon he asked Ibn Ḥabīb to go to the mosque and continue his lecture there. Ibn Ḥabīb did so after prolonged urging and the people gathered around him to listen. He began commenting on a poem, but in his comments passed over a difficult passage. Asked to explain the difficulty, he had to declare himself unable to do so; thereupon Thaʿlab took over and explained the passage. As a result, Ibn Ḥabīb did not lecture in the mosque again. This anecdote seems to have arisen from a bias against Ibn Ḥabīb; it is related by al-Marzubānī, who also accused him of having put forward works of other authors as his own.

Among the poets whom Ibn Ḥabīb served as a *rāwī* were al-Farazdaḳ (as ed. by Boucher) and Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis). He is also the main authority for the *Naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (see introd. to ed. A.A. Bevan): therefore a *Kitāb Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ* and a *Kitāb Ayyām Djarīr allatī dhakarahā fī shiʿrihi* are listed among his works. As is to be expected from a disciple of Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn Ḥabīb studied especially the history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times and the genealogy of their leaders and representatives. The list of his works in the *Fihrist* and in Yāḳūt bears witness to this tendency (for a discussion of the titles mentioned in them and their subjects, cf. I. Lichtenstädter, *Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and his Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, in *JRAS* [1939], 1-27).

Many of these "books" are no more than somewhat enlarged chapters of the two principal works mentioned among Ibn Ḥabīb's œuvre, viz. the *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ*, which its editor assumes to have been composed before the *Muḥabbar*. A few other titles have been published from mss. in the Cairo Library by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn in the series *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, e.g. *Kitāb man nusiba ilā ummihi min al-shuʿarāʾ* (i, 83-96), and *Kitāb Asmāʾ al-mughtālīn min al-ashrāf fi 'l-Djāhiliyya wa 'l-Islām* (vi, 106-235, vii, 240-78). The *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ* cover more or less the same ground, as a comparison of the chapter headings shows; however, the latter does not limit itself to the same extent as the former in simply listing names of men or women represented in the chapters. The *Munammaḳ* contains extended stories on these protagonists and detailed reports of the events in their time; in addition, both works contain a large number of poems and verses, many of which are not found elsewhere.

A question may be asked why, in view of the rich material offered by Ibn Ḥabīb's works, so few have survived? Both the *Muḥabbar* and the *Munammaḳ* have survived only in unique mss., the former in a ms. preserved in the British Museum, the latter in a ms. in a private collection in Lucknow. These works, however, offer a rich material on customs and the history of the Djāhiliyya and early Islam, and in addition to anecdotes, a plethora of new genealogical material that deals especially with the extended genealogy on the mother's side (i.e. listing the line from the mother, her mother, her grandmother, and so on) often into antiquity. The *Muḥabbar* especially tries to organise this material in the form of lists, an endeavour also occurring in the *Munammaḳ*, although not to the extent as in the *Muḥabbar*. Another problem posed by Ibn Ḥabīb is the use he makes of the *isnād*. At a time when his contemporaries began to watch carefully over the "correctness" of the chain of authorities mentioned to support the authenticity of the *matn* (contents) of the story told, Ibn Ḥabīb does not hesitate to cite "someone," "one of the People of the Book," "some of the Jews (*Yahūd*) in the *Nahr Nāthān*," even "someone whom I have met" in a chain in which also well-known scholars are cited as authorities. (A detailed analysis of Ibn Ḥabīb's *isnāds* was made in the article on the *Muḥabbar* cited above.) The editor of the *Munammaḳ*, too, discusses this problem (introd., 13 ff.); Abu 'l-Ḥassān Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥanbalī, its transmittor, does not mention the authority from whom he derived his knowledge. The editor established that his *rāwī* was al-Sukkarī, the same scholar whom Ibn Ḥabīb quotes as his source in the principal *isnād* that introduces his *Muḥabbar*. This casualness in the treatment of the *isnād*, alternating with impeccable chains of scholars, establishes that Ibn Ḥabīb held an important intermediate position in the development of the *isnād*; in a way, it also confirms the reliability of his works. His principal authority, often mentioned by name as such (see *art. cit.*) is generally Ibn al-Kalbī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references and editions mentioned in the text, see Muḥammad Ben Ḥabīb, *Über die Gleichheit und Verschiedenheit der arabischen Stämmenamen* ..., ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850; *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. with notes and indices by I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād, Dn. 1942; *Kitāb al-Munammaq fī akhbār-e-Quraish*, ed. Khursheed Aḥmad Fariq, Ḥaydarābād 1965; *The Prophet's mothers (Ummahāt-al-nebi)*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ, Baghdād, 1952; *Mukhtalif al-ḳabāʾil*, re-ed. Rana M.N. Ehsan Elahie, Wiesbaden 1964; *Dīwān Ibn al-Dumayna*, ed. Aḥmad Marātib al-Naffākh, Cairo 1379; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 106; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 473 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 29 f.; Brockelmann, I, 106, Suppl. I, 165 f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 277; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ii, 321; and for his works, see the Index of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa.

(Ilse Lichtenstädter)

MUḤAMMAD Ibn al-ḤANAFIYYA, a son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and Khawla, a woman of the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfa, who had been brought a prisoner to Medina after the battle of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] and came into ʿAlī's possession (cf. al-Sayyid's poem *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii, 4: "she was a servant in the house"); he was born in 16 A.H.

Although he did not, like al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, have the blood of the Prophet in his veins, he became involved not only in the political turmoils but also in the schemes which the boundless fancies of the extreme Shīʿīs built up around the family of ʿAlī. He was not to blame for this, for he was of a retiring disposition and acted very cautiously. But when al-Ḥasan had sold his rights and al-Ḥusayn had fallen at Karbalāʾ in 61/680, many turned their eyes to him as the natural head of the family. This aroused the suspicion of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who, after the death of al-Ḥusayn, appeared more and more openly as a pretender; the fact that Muḥammad had no sympathy with the efforts of the opposition in the Ḥidjāz is evident from the interesting statement of al-Balādhurī that he definitely declared the accusations brought against the caliph Yazīd I by the Medinans to be false. The matter only became serious when the adventurer al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] after several vain efforts to get others to join him stirred up a movement on a large scale in ʿIrāḳ in 66/685, as champion of Muḥammad's rights. Even now, Muḥammad acted with great restraint and declined the significant title "al-Mahdī" with which they wished to greet him (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 610, and Ibn Saʿd, v, 68, which has certainly been misinterpreted by Lammens). He obviously did not care for al-Mukhtār at all, and he had every reason to doubt the genuineness of his enthusiasm for him; but in view of the many dangers which surrounded him and probably also from a want of decision, he did not wish to break with him openly. Therefore, when some people came to him from Kūfa to clear up his attitude towards al-Mukhtār, he only gave them a diplomatic answer which was non-committal (cf. the somewhat different versions: Ibn Saʿd, v, 72; al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 308; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 607 and thereon al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 598) but which they interpreted as a kind of approval, as it did not definitely disown him. As a result, the revolutionary movement spread in extent and much blood was shed to avenge al-Ḥusayn and other ʿAlids. Muḥammad was against this also (cf. Ibn Saʿd, v, 72-3, 77); but when Ibn al-Zubayr's attitude became more and more hostile and he finally imprisoned Muḥammad and several relatives, including ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, at Mecca near the Zamzam well, he saw nothing else for it but to appeal for help to al-Mukhtār. This was what the latter wanted, and he sent a body of cavalry at once to Mecca and released Muḥammad and the other prisoners in the nick of time, but by the latter's express orders avoided conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr's troops, as the town was not to be desecrated by bloodshed. Muḥammad then sought shelter with his family at Minā (see *Kāmil*, 554, 597; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii, 33; al-Kumayt, ed. Horovitz, i, 78) and later went to Ṭāʾif. He made no further use of al-Mukhtār and was therefore not compromised when the revolution failed and his champion fell in 67/686-7. In spite of the threats of Ibn al-Zubayr and the demands couched in more friendly language of ʿAbd al-Malik, and although a safe place of residence was granted him neither in Ḥidjāz nor in Syria, he defined his attitude by paying homage to neither of the two pretenders and adhered to the principle that he would only recognise a ruler around whom the Muslim community could be united. He therefore appeared in the noteworthy pilgrimage of the year 68/688 along with the Zubayrids, Umayyads and Khāridjīs, as an independent head of a party, although only under an armed neutrality. Only when, after the fall of Ibn al-Zubayr (73/692), the unanimity of the *vox populi* which he had demanded, became a reality, did he finally recognise the Marwānid as the legitimate ruler and visited him in 78/697-8 at Damascus. He returned, however, to Medina, where he died in 81/700-1. His strict passivity in the political field is always attributed to purely religious motives in the traditions; not human force but Allāh's help alone should assist ʿAlī's family to their rights; but there is no doubt that a further reason was his lack of enterprise and self-confidence, a trait common to a number of ʿAlids. That, like his whole family, he at the same time liked the good things of this world is evident from the heavy demands which he sent to ʿAbd al-Malik for the payment of his debts and annual pensions for his children, relatives and clients; there is also evidence that he had the family fondness for fine clothes and cosmetics. It is all the more remarkable, then, that the more fanciful and extravagant school of Shīʿīs seized upon him at once after his death and spread the belief that he was not dead but lived in a kind of fairy kingdom on the hill of Raḍwā west of Medina, whence he would return as the victorious leader of an army (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vii, 4-5, 9-10, viii, 32). This was the idea of *radjʿa* which ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] had associated with ʿAlī (cf. Friedländer, in *ZA*, xxiii, 309 ff.) and which was now transferred to him; and in fact it was now easier to bring him into the forefront than it had been while he maintained an attitude of stubborn passive resistance in his lifetime.

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MUḤAMMAD B. **HĀNIʾ** [see IBN HĀNIʾ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḤASAN** [see IBN DURAYD; IBN ḤAMDŪN; AL-SHAYBĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḤASAN** B. **DĪNĀR,** Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, better known as Ibn Dīnār al-Aḥwal, *rāwī* of Baghdād who lived in the 3rd/9th century and who died after 250/864. He followed the profession of bookseller (*warrāḳ*) and above all that of copyist (*nāsikh*). Earning 20 *dirhams* per 100 leaves, he copied the translations and personal compositions of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] as well as the writings of al-Yazīdī [*q.v.*], whose courses he had more or less followed, as those also of Nifṭawayh [*q.v.*], since he had an interest in philology. He himself wrote in turn a series of works of which a list has been preserved by the biographers: *K. al-Amthāl*, *K. al-Dawāhī*, *K. al-Silāḥ*, *K. mā ttafaḳa lafẓuhu wa-khtalafa maʿnāhu; K. Faʿala wa-afʿala* and *K. al-Ashbāh*. None of these seems now to be known.

He is furthermore credited with making recensions of the works of 120 poets, but it was mainly a commentary on the *Dīwān* of Dhu 'l-Rumma (not cited in the art. on this poet, s.v.) which gained al-Aḥwal a lasting fame to the point that al-Baghdādī, e.g., possessed a copy (*Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 51, iv, 496); but it is remarkable that this *Sharḥ* was known in al-Andalus and that, alone among the works of this

philologist, a fragment copied in the West has survived, where al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] has inserted it. This fragment, which is part of ms. Ḥamīdiyya, Istanbul, 1408, fols. 188-208, contains 24 *ḳaṣīdas*, of which about one-third are the work of Dhu 'l-Rumma. Since the vocabulary of this poet was often made up of rare and difficult words, the lexicographers—in particular, the author of the *Lisān al-ʿArab*—extensively used al-Aḥwal's commentary. The surviving fragment of this commentary has been profitably used by the recent editor of the *Dīwān*, ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Abū Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, i, 1392/1972, see 48-51, 81, 124, and in the *takhrīdj* of the pieces commented upon).

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(CH. PELLAT)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ḤĀZIM** B. ʿAMR AL-**BĀHILĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar, satirical Arabic poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, *flor.* end of the 2nd/8th century and opening of the 3rd/9th century. We do not know when first he went to Baghdād, where he lived, nor the date of his death. The most important persons with whom he came in contact were Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839 [*q.v.*]) and, above all, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (d. 236/850 [*q.v.*]), the caliph al-Maʾmūn's secretary. The poet was introduced to al-Ḥasan at the time when he resided at Wāsiṭ, probably after the assassination of his brother al-Faḍl b. Sahl.

We possess only 398 verses of this poet, and it is uncertain whether he composed any more. He may thus conveniently be described as *muḳill*, specialising in the short piece (*muḳaṭṭaʿa*), whose virtues he defended with vigour. We have worthy of note here an interesting reaction against the tendency to prolixity which characterised the grand poem aimed at display or the politico-religious composition.

Al-Bāhilī was a satirical poet with biting humour which did not spare his victims. He was a fiercely importunate demander of favours and was often ill-treated, nourishing strongly-held rancours. In this way he pursued several well-known personages, never accepting their excuses. But he was also the author of moralistic pieces in which he posed as an advocate of humility, moderation and serenity in face of the difficulties of existence (*ḳanāʿa*). This trait would not appear to fit a poet who was importunate in his demands and violent-tempered in his reactions; but in fact, there may not be any contradiction here, for al-Bāhilī was a pessimist who had a low view of human nature. He showed no regard for the powerful and passed a severe judgment on their jockeyings for power. He held apart from all his friends who wished to give him high office. He either did not know how or did not wish to write panegyrics, and only a few verses of his eulogising al-Maʾmūn and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl are known.

The collective cultural memory of the Arabs held him to be a good poet whom the purist philologians are said to have appreciated. Reading over the 86 pieces of his which have survived shows that he had an easy way of handling the language and a sure mastery of the art of versification, but little of what might be called a genuine poetic temperament; if the formulation is sometimes felicitous and the verse strongly-constructed, the expression is too often sententious, heavy and lacking in brilliance.

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(J.E. BENCHEIKH)

MUḤAMMAD B. **HINDŪ-SHĀH** NAKHČIWĀNĪ, Shams al-Dīn, Persian official and littérateur of the 8th/14th century and apparently the son of Hindū-Shāh b. Sandjar Gīrānī or al-Djīrānī, author of an Arabic *adab* work (Brockelmann, II[2], 245, S II, 256) and of a Persian version of Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's *Fakhrī*, the *Tadjārib al-salaf* (see Storey, i, 81, 1233; Storey-Bregel, i, 326-7).

Muḥammad was a chancery secretary under the Il-Khānids. He wrote a Persian-Persian glossary, *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Furs*, dedicated to his superior Ghiyāth al-Dīn, son of the great vizier for the Mongols, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], and conceivably another Persian glossary with interlinear Turkish explanations. But his most valuable work, important for the light which it throws on Il-Khānid administration, is his collection of private and official model letters dating from Mongol times onwards, the *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib* (ed. A.A. Alizade, 2 vols., Moscow 1964); he had wanted to compose this in the reign of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1216-35), but only completed it in his old age for the Djalāyyirid Shaykh Uways (757-77/1356-75) (see Storey, iii, 5-9, 246-7).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD B. **HISHĀM** [see IBN HISHĀM].

MUḤAMMAD II B. **HISHĀM** AL-MAHDĪ, caliph of Cordova [see AL-ANDALUS and UMAYYADS OF SPAIN].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**HUDHAYL** [see ABU 'L-HUDHAYL].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ḤUSAYN** [see MEḤMED KHALĪFE; AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **IBRĀHĪM** [see SIMDJŪR, BANŪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **IBRĀHĪM ṬABĀṬABĀ** [see IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **IBRĀHĪM II** B. ṬAHMĀSP, sixth ruler of the ʿĀdil-Shāhī dynasty [*q.v.*] in the western Deccan, ruled 1035-66/1626-56 at the capital Bīdjāpūr [*q.v.*] after the death of his father. In the year 1044/1634 the armies of the Mughal ruler Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] invaded the Deccan and laid waste the country of Bīdjāpūr. After the subjugation of Dawlatābād and other forts, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh agreed to pay a considerable tribute to the emperor of Dihlī. He was the last king of Bīdjāpūr who struck coins in his own name. In the latter part of his reign, his vassal Sīwādjī, son of the Marāṭhā leader Shāhdjī Bhōnslē, by stratagem and treachery obtained great power, and the foundation of the Bīdjāpūr monarchy became weakened from the attacks of both the Mughals and the Marāṭhās.

He died in 1066/1656, according to the inscription on the tomb in Bīdjāpūr, the splendid Gul Gumbadh (on which see BĪDJĀPŪR. Monuments).

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189; *Cambridge history of India*. iv. *The Mughul period*, ed. Sir R. Burn, Cambridge 1937, 188 ff. See also the *Bibl.* to ʿĀDIL-SHĀHS.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN*)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ILYĀS** [see ABŪ ʿALĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿĪSĀ** [see ʿĪSĀWIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿĪSĀ** B. AḤMAD AL-**MĀHĀNĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Persian mathematician and astronomer of the 3rd/9th century, who is known to have made observations at Baghdād from the years 239/854 to 252/866.

The following mathematical works are attributed to al-Māhānī: (1) Commentaries on Books I, V of Euclid's Elements; in the last of these, al-Māhānī worked out a list of "plane" numerical irrational quantities (corresponding to the irrational segments considered in Book X) and "solid" (composed of roots to the third). (2) A revision (partial: up to proposition II, 10) of the notoriously deficient translation of the *Spherics* of Menelaus; al-Ṭūsī considered it—as also the new version of al-Harawī (see Bibl.)—as "in error". (3) A commentary on Book II of Archimedes' *On the sphere and the cylinder*; it is said that al-Māhānī tried in this to solve algebraically the equation of the third degree resulting from the problem, posed by Archimedes, of the cutting of a sphere by a plane so that the two parts have a given relationship (even if this was a failure, this attempt makes al-Māhānī a precursor of the Italian algebraists of the later Middle Ages). (4) A treatise on relationship (*fī 'l-nisba*), in which the comparison of two relationships is made not in the Euclidean manner, using the equimultiples (a:b-c:d if $na \gtreqless mb$ involves $nc \gtreqless md$ for every pair of natural integers n,m; $a:b>c:d$ if m,n exist like one has $ma>nb$ with $mc \leq nd$), but—as certain of the Greeks did before Euclid—by considering the result of partial quotients resulting from each of the two relationships by the application of "Euclid's algebra" taught at the beginning of Book X. (5) A treatise on the squaring of the parabola, which Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions as consisting of some auxiliary arithmetical theorems and five or six propositions establishing the result by reduction to the absurd (in this case, by the so-called exhaustion method).

In astronomy, apart from some observations, we possess from him a treatise on the determination of the azimuth, which explains graphic methods, sometimes used numerically. A work *On the latitude of the stars* is known only by its title. Finally, Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions at the beginning of his *K. fī ālāt al-aẓlāl* that al-Māhānī was said to have composed a work on the determination of the ascendant with the aid of the solar clock.

Bibliography: Life and works. The most complete information is in Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 260-2, vi, 155-6, vii, 404 (who refers also to the older biographies and to the new ones like those of Suter and Brockelmann; to this should be added Y. Dold, *Dict. of scientific biography*, under M). Particular works. (1) On the fragment preserved of the commentary on Book X, see pp. 258-60 of G. Matvievskaya, *The theory of quadratic irrationals in medieval oriental mathematics*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, no. 500 (1987), 253-77. (2) Only a version of the commentary completed and improved (by al-Harawī) still exists; see M. Krause, *Die Sphärik von Menelaos aus Alexandrien in der Verbesserung von Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, in *Abh. Gesell. Wiss.. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., dritte Folge, no. 171 (Berlin 1936), 1, 13, 23-32. (3) Two references—one by ʿUmar Khayyām—in F. Woepke, *L'algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyâmî*, Paris 1851, 2, 96 (cf. 43, 100). (4) Analysis in E. Plooij, *Euclid's conception of ratio ... as criticized by Arabian commentators*, Rotterdam 1950, 50-1, 61. (5) Ibrāhīm b. Sinān mentions this treatise in two of his *Rasāʾil*, Ḥaydarābād 1366-7/1947-8, no. 3, at p. 69 (autobiographical fragment), and no. 5, at p. 2 (his treatise on the same subject). Al-Māhānī's methods in astronomy (or in gnonomics) are studied by P. Luckey at pp. 500-3 of his *Beiträge zur Erforschung der islamischen Mathematik*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., xviii (1948), 490-510. As for his observations, Ibn Yūnus gives them in his *Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī*, 102-13, 164-7 (see also 58, 60), of the edn. by Caussin de Perceval, in *Notices et extraits*, vii (1804), 16-240.

(J. SESIANO)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ISḤĀḲ** [see ABU 'L-ʿANBAS, in Suppl.; IBN ISḤĀḲ; IBN AL-NADĪM].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** [see AL-ANBĀRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** IBN ḤAMMŪD, al-Mahdī [see ḤAMMŪDIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**ḲĀSIM** AL-THAḲAFĪ, a military commander of the Umayyad dynasty and conqueror of Sind.

A highly respected member of the tribe of Thaḳīf (*ashraf Thaḳafī fī zamānihi*), he was a favourite of al-Ḥadjdjādj who even considered him a suitable match for his sister Zaynab (*Aghānī*[1], vi, 28-9). His fame is due chiefly to his military exploits in the western Indian province of Sind. Al-Ḥadjdjādj appointed him to lead an expedition to Sind between 89/708 and 92/711 (for various dates, see F. Gabrieli, in *East and West*, xv [1965], 282, n. 1 *ter*, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 425-7), after two commanders failed to punish Dāhir, the ruler of Sind, for his inability (or unwillingness) to restrain pirates who had interfered with Muslim shipping near the coast of his province. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim prepared the military expedition with great care. His main army took the land route across the desert of Makrān; further supplies and reinforcements were brought by sea. The first Indian city to be conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim was the port of Daybul [*q.v.*], situated at the mouth of the Indus. Having established a Muslim settlement there, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim advanced to the north-east, killed Dāhir in battle, and conquered a number of cities. The most important of these was Multān [*q.v.*], which was famous for its temple and served as an important centre of Hindu pilgrimage.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's career came to an abrupt end after the deaths of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥadjdjādj and the accession of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 96/715. Together with other supporters of the former régime, he was relieved of his command, put in prison and tortured to death.

Only seventeen (or fifteen) years old at the time of his Indian campaign, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim became the paragon of a successful military career at an unusually early age (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbar*, Cairo 1925, i, 229). His conquests and dealings with the vanquished rulers and populations constitute a main theme in the famous Indo-Muslim history, known as the *Čač-nāma* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. According to this work, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim was executed not as a result of the change of government in Damascus, but because Dāhir's two daughters, seeking vengeance for their father's death, falsely accused him of indecency towards them while they were in his custody before being sent to the court of the caliph (ʿAlī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr Kūfī, *Čač-nāma*, ed. U. Dāūdpōta, New Delhi 1939, 243-7; for translation, see *Bibl.*). The utterance attributed to him, according to which "the idol temple is similar to the churches of

the Christians, (to the synagogues) of the Jews and to the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians" (*mā al-budd illā ka-kanāʾis al-naṣārā wa 'l-yahūd wa-buyūt nīrān al-madjūs*) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439) seems to be the earliest statement justifying the inclusion of the Hindus in the category of *ahl al-dhimma*. While the sources make it clear that Muḥammad b. al-Ķāsim's policy towards the conquered population varied from place to place, the above-mentioned utterance has caused many modern Muslim writers to consider Muḥammad b. al-Ķāsim a model of religious tolerance in early Islam.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436-41 and index (tr. F.C. Murgotten, *The origins of the Islamic state*, New York 1924, 215-25; to be used with great care); Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 345-7; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Saʿd, vi, 212-13; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 425-7, 464-5; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, ed. S. Dedering, Wiesbaden 1959, iv, 345-6; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād, Dn. 1947, i, 12-16; Bīrūnī, *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind min maḳūla maḳbūla fi 'l-ʿaḳl aw mardhūla*, Ḥaydarābād, Dn. 1958, 16, 88; E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, repr. New Delhi 1964, i, 21, 116; M.K. Fredunbeg, *The Chachnamah, an ancient history of Sind, giving the Hindu period down to the Arab conquest*, Karachi 1900; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, index; F. Gabrieli, *Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *East and West*, xv (1964-5), 281-95; S.M. Jafar, *End of ʿImad-ud-Din Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, the Arab conqueror of Sind*, in *IC*, xix (1945), 54-68; Muḥammad Ikrām, *Āb-i kawthar*, Lahore 1968, 22-7; Saʿīd Aḥmad, *Musalmānōn kā ʿurūdj o zawāl*, Dihlī 1963, 206-11; Muḥammad al-Ķāḍī, *Baṭal Thaḳīf*, Baghdād 1946; ʿUmar Abu 'l-Naṣr, *Muḥammad b. al-Ķāsim, fātiḥ al-Hind wa 'l-ḳāʾid al-ʿāmm li 'l-djaysh al-ʿarabī wa-huwa fi 'l-sābiʿa ʿashra min ʿumrihi*, Beirut 1947; Y. Friedmann, *The temple of Multān. A note on early Muslim attitudes to idolatry*, in *IOS*, ii (1972), 176-82; idem, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33; idem, *The origins and significance of the Chach Nāma*, in Y. Friedmann (ed.), *Islam in Asia. 1. South Asia*, Jerusalem 1984, 23-37.

(Y. Friedmann)

MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF: under IBN KHAFĪF reference has erroneously been made to MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF, whereas the latter name is in fact that of the mystic dealt with in the article preceding the reference.

MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. AL-MARZUBĀN, philologist of ʿIrāḳ, who lived in the Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarter of Baghdād and who died in 309/921.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 86, 149-50), Ibn al-Marzubān was above all a transmitter of historical traditions (*akhbār*), of poetry (*ashʿār*) and of anecdotes (*mulaḥ*), but was also a specialist in the Ḳurʾānic sciences, being the author of a *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī* in 27 volumes. Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 105) adds that he translated some fifty works from Persian into Arabic and that he wrote a dozen books in the descriptive genre (*waṣf*). Out of his abundant production, only a few works have come down to us, and only one of these edited, his *Kitāb Tafḍīl al-kilāb ʿalā kathīr mim-man labisa 'l-thiyāb*, by L. Cheikho, in *Machriq*, xv [1912], 515-31.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 130, SI, 189-90; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, ix, 285; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 348; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index. (G. Troupeau)

MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH, Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, Saldjūḳ sultan in western Persia 548-55/1153-9.

The death in 547/1152 of Sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] without direct male heir instituted a period of confusion for the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate, in that there were left several Saldjūḳ princes with claims to the throne, including Masʿūd's brother Sulaymān-Shāh and the sons of his brothers Maḥmūd and Ṭoghrīl. All but Muḥammad, out of these contenders, were of mediocre abilities, and were largely dependent on the Turkish Atabegs and other *amīrs*, some of whom kept Saldjūḳ princes at their local courts whose claims they then promoted as shields for their own personal ambitions; it is only Muḥammad who is praised by ʿImād al-Dīn (in Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 248) as the most majestic, learned and just of the Saldjūḳs.

Muḥammad, born in Rabīʿ II 522/1128, had been brought up with his brother Malik-Shāh by the Atabeg of Fārs Bozaba as a potential rival to Muḥammad's uncle Masʿūd, but was later adopted by Masʿūd. The latter may in fact have intended Muḥammad as his successor, for after Malik-Shāh had shown his incapacity, Muḥammad was in 548/1153 summoned from Khūzistān and made sultan by the *amīr* Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri. Muḥammad nevertheless soon got rid of his dangerous power in the state by executing Khāṣṣ Beg, but was soon involved in a struggle to retain his throne with his uncle Sulaymān-Shāh, who had now escaped from captivity under Masʿūd. Sulaymān-Shāh could not hold out against Muḥammad's superior force, but escaped to Baghdād in 550/1155 and became a protégé of the caliph al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], who hoped to use him against Muḥammad. This was the period of the resurgence of ʿAbbāsid power in ʿIrāḳ, aided by the skill of al-Muḳtafī's vizier ʿAwn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]; after Masʿūd's death in 547/1152, the Saldjūḳ *shiḥna* or military representative had been expelled from Baghdād, and Saldjūḳ influence henceforth excluded from the city. Sulaymān-Shāh's ventures came, however, to naught with his defeat and capture by Muḥammad and his ally Mawdūd b. Zangī of Mawṣil (551/1156), and Muḥammad now felt strong enough to attack and besiege Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 551/December 1156-January 1157, being joined in this by the Mazyadid [*q.v.*] *amīr* ʿAlī b. Dubays. However, he had to raise the siege in the following year, on hearing news of the appearance at Hamadhān of the Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān, Ildeñiz [*q.v.*], together with the rival Saldjūḳ princes Malik-Shāh and Arslan b. Ṭoghrīl b. Muḥammad.

The last years of Muḥammad's life were spent campaigning against Ildeñiz and his protégés, now including also Sulaymān-Shāh; he defeated them at Nakhčivān and was about to march on Baghdād again when he fell ill and died at Hamadhān at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 554/December 1159. He was then briefly succeeded as sultan by the ineffectual Sulaymān-Shāh.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. Bundārī, *Zubda*, 229-55, 285-8; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 258-70; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saldjūḳ-nāma*, 67-72; Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, 126-43, Eng. tr. Qibla Ayaz, *An unexploited source for the history of the Saljūqs...*, Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1985, unpubl., 318-45; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, years 551-4; Ibn al-Athīr, years 551, 553-4. 2. Secondary sources. K.A. Luther, *The political transformation of the Saljuq sultanate of Iraq and western Iran*, Princeton 1964, 26-103; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 131-3, 169; H. Mason, *Two*

statesmen of mediaeval Islam, The Hague-Paris 1972, 22-3; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vezirate*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 32, 45. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD b. MAḤMŪD b. SEBÜKTIGIN, Abū Aḥmad Djalāl al-Dawla wa-Djamāl al-Milla, sultan in Ghazna and northwestern India on two occasions 421/1030 and 432/1040-1.

Born *ca.* 387/997, Muḥammad married daughters of both the Ḳara Khānid Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf of Khotan and Kāshghar and of the last Farīghūnid prince of Gūzgān [*q.v.*], Abū Naṣr Muḥammad; hence on the latter's death in 401/1010-11, Muḥammad was made governor of that region by his father Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of his life, Sultan Maḥmūd, who had already made Muḥammad his deputy in Ghazna whilst campaigning at Ḳanawdj [*q.v.*] in India in 409/1018, divided his empire between his two sons Muḥammad and Masʿūd [*q.v.*], assigning only the newly-conquered lands in western and central Persia to the latter, and then just before his death left the whole of his empire to Muḥammad. So when in Rabīʿ II 421/April 1030 Maḥmūd died, the *ḥādjib* ʿAlī Ḳarīb b. Il-Arslan raised Muḥammad to the throne in Ghazna. But the superior military experience and capability of Masʿūd was such that, when he marched eastwards from Iṣfahān, Muḥammad's support in Ghazna melted away; he was deposed in Shawwāl 421/October 1030 and imprisoned in a fortress at Mandīsh in Ghūr [*q.v.*], but contrary to information in some later sources, does not seem to have been blinded.

When after his defeat by the Saldjūḳs at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Ramaḍān 431/May 1040, Sultan Masʿūd decided to abandon Afghānistān for India, his army lost confidence in both his military ability and his judgment. At the Indus crossing it mutinied, and brought out Muḥammad, who was accompanying the column, for a second reign as sultan, although only after threatening him unless he co-operated (Rabīʿ II 432/December 1040). Masʿūd was subsequently killed, apparently on the orders of Muḥammad's son Aḥmad, for Muḥammad's sons seem to have wielded the real power at this time. However, Masʿūd's son Mawdūd [*q.v.*] advanced from Ghazna to avenge his father's death, defeated Muḥammad's forces near Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Radjab or Shaʿbān 432/March or April 1041, killed Muḥammad and his sons, and ascended the throne.

Although clearly little fitted to rule the Ghaznavid empire, still extensive even after the triumph in the west of the Saldjūḳs, Muḥammad was a person of considerable culture who had received a thorough education in the Islamic sciences.

Bibliography: The principal primary sources are ʿUtbī, *Yamīnī*; Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*; Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*; Ibn al-Athīr. These are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, ²Beirut 1973, index (for Muḥammad's early life and first sultanate), and idem, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, index (for the second sultanate). See also M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, index; Bosworth, *A Turco-Mongol practice among the early Ghaznavids?* in *CAJ*, vii (1962), 237-40, and idem, *The titulature of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 219, 224 (both in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977, X, XII). (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD b. MAḤMŪD al-ḲABRĪ [see muḳaddam b. muʿāfā al-ḳabrī].

MUḤAMMAD b. MAKKĪ b. Ḥāmid al-Nabaṭī al-ʿĀmilī al-Djizzīnī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, called *al-Shahīd al-Awwal*, Imāmī Shīʿī scholar, *faḳīh*, traditionist who was regarded as trustworthy, expert in the rational and traditional sciences, poet and littérateur (734-86/1333-84).

In Shīʿī literature, he is famed equally as a master of the transmission of canonical learning and for his trial and death. He was a pupil of the *shaykh* al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*], and in one of his *idjāzas* he claims to have transmitted also Sunnī works by means of direct instruction from forty Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ*. At all events, Imāmī scholars coming after him often claim his authority for their works, and one may note that, among his direct pupils, figure also his wife Umm ʿAlī and one of his daughters Umm al-Ḥasan Sitt al-Mashāyikh Fāṭima. The sources provide us with a long list of his works, of which the most important, according to the *Dharīʿa* (x, 40; viii, 145-6; xvi, 17; v, 43, 174-5), are the following:

— *K. al-Dhikrā*, completed in 784/1382, of which the sections on the worship and on ritual purity survive;

— *K. al-Durūs al-sharʿiyya fī fiḳh al-Imāmiyya*, begun in 780/1378-9 but never completed; this work is said to have been re-copied firstly in 851/1447 and then again in 857/1354;

— *K. Ghāyat al-murād fī sharḥ nukat al-irshād*, on the principles of knowledge;

— *K. Djāmiʿ al-bayn min fawāʾid al-sharḥayn*, which contains the commentaries on the *Tahdhīb al-uṣūl* of al-Ḥillī written by two of his nephews; and

— *K. al-Bayān fi ʾl-fiḳh*, also devoted to law, but incomplete.

Muḥammad b. Makkī was a native of Nabaṭiyya in the Djabal ʿĀmil, and resident in the little village of Djizzīn in south Lebanon. He made the usual travels of the scholars of his time in order to meet the masters whom he mentions and then in order to teach himself in his turn: ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥidjāz, Egypt, Palestine and Damascus. It was at the latter place that he died, killed by the sword, hung from the gibbet, stoned and burned (whence his name *al-shahīd*) during the reign of the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ (d. 801/1399). The order was given by a Mālikī *ḳāḍī*, Burhān al-Dīn, who gave a *fatwā* in this sense, contrary to the opinion of the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, ʿAbbād Ibn Djamāʿa, to whom Muḥammad b. Makkī had made a request—whether by virtue of *taḳiyya* or through genuine belief is unknown—to join his *madhhab*. The accusation followed a denunciation by a group of persons, amongst whom there had been, according to certain accounts, a certain Muḥammad al-Yālūshī who had been hunted down and killed by our *shaykh* as being a magician and a false prophet. He was accused of having written defamatory works against the Sunnīs. During the period which he spent in prison before execution, he put together *al-Lumʿa al-dimashḳiyya* on *fiḳh* (*al-Dharīʿa*, xviii, 352).

Bibliography: Almost all the works on and lists of eminent Shīʿīs mention him. However, the greater part of the pieces of information and the bibliographical references may be found in Muḥammad al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil fī dhikr ʿulamāʾ Djabal ʿĀmil*, lith. Tehran 1302/1805, 30-1, new edition by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdād 1385/1965, i, 181-3; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, x, Beirut 1986, 59-64; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz 1327-35 *sh.*/1948-56, ii, 365-6; Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Efendi al-Iṣbahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Ḳum 1401/1981-2, v, 185-91; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 330-1; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1355-97/1936-78.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-SHĀH, Abū Shudjāʿ Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, with the Turkish name Tapar "he who obtains, finds" (see P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1950, 182-3), Great Saldjūḳ sultan in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia 498-511/1105-18.

Born in Shaʿbān 474/January 1082, he was a half-brother of Malik-Shāh's eldest son Berk-Yaruḳ [*q.v.*] and a full brother of Sandjar [*q.v.*]. When Berk-Yaruḳ succeeded his father in 485/1092, he had to leave Muḥammad in Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, where Muḥammad enjoyed the support of Sandjar and of the former vizier Niẓām al-Mulk's son Muʾayyid al-Mulk. The ensuing years were filled with continuous struggles between Berk-Yaruḳ and Muḥammad, until in 497/1104 Berk-Yaruḳ agreed to a division of power, with Muḥammad to have north-western Persia, al-Djazīra and Syria, whilst Sandjar was to remain in Khurāsān acknowledging Muḥammad as his overlord. Berk-Yaruḳ died the next year, and Muḥammad was able to succeed to 13 years' undisputed power, his brother Sandjar acting as viceroy in the East with the title of *Malik*.

In order to make firm his power, Muḥammad had at the outset to deal with members of the Saldjūḳ family, in particular, Mengü-Bars b. Böri-Bars and Ḳilič Arslan b. Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush, who considered themselves entitled to a share in the Saldjūḳ patrimony (499-500/1106-7). Also pressing was the question of curbing the Turkish, Arab and Kurdish *amīrs* of western Persia, ʿIrāḳ, al-Djazīra Diyārbakr and Syria, whose shifting allegiances had contributed much to the confusion of the preceding reign. The Mazyadid [*q.v.*] *amīr* of central ʿIrāḳ, Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr, at first in high favour with the sultan, was then defeated and killed in battle in 501/winter 1107-8. The *amīr* of Fārs and Khūzistān, Čawlī Saḳāwu, submitted to him; Muḥammad appointed him governor of Mawṣil, thereby dispossessing the *amīr* Čökermish and his son Zangī, and then sent other Turkish *amīrs* to rule in Mawṣil, including the Atabegs of his son Masʿūd, Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī and Ay Aba Djuyūsh (? Čawūsh) Beg. Muḥammad had hopes of intervening to help the hard-pressed princes of Syria against the Crusaders, and sent aid for the relief of Tripoli, whose dispossessed ruler, Fakhr al-Mulk Ibn ʿAmmār [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ], had fled to his court, and in 502/1108 or 504/1110-11 a sister of Muḥammad's, Khātūn al-ʿIṣma, married al-Mustaẓhir. In western Persia, an attack by the Georgians on Gandja was repelled (503/1109-10); measures were taken against the predatory Shabānkāra Kurds in Fārs by the governor Čawlī Saḳāwu, now restored to there; and towards the end of his reign, an expedition was sent against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt [*q.v.*]. It was at this point, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/April 1118, that Muḥammad died, aged 36, in his last illness appointing his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] as successor.

Whilst the contemporary sources are lukewarm about Berk-Yaruḳ, they are enthusiastic about Muḥammad, "the perfect man of the Saldjūḳs and their mighty stallion", praising his zeal for the Sunna and his measures against the Bāṭiniyya (ʿImād al-Dīn, in Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, 118). Muḥammad had been able to consolidate his power when the regions where he ruled had become weary of constant warfare, and he was indeed the last of the Great Saldjūḳs to exercise substantially undisputed power in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ, for the period after his death saw the rise of the Turkish Atabegs [see ATABAK] and the decline of the Saldjūḳ sultans' effective authority. He had also been fortunate in securing the support of most of the Niẓāmiyya, the sons and clients of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], beginning with Muʾayyid al-Mulk before he became sultan and then in 500/1107 employing his brother Niẓām al-Mulk Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk Aḥmad as his vizier.

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MUḤAMMAD B. MARWĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, son of the first Marwānid caliph by a slave mother, hence half-brother to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], Umayyad commander and governor.

In 65/684-5, he was sent by his father to al-Djazīra, probably with the aim of securing Armenia once more, and in the battle of Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ in 72/691 in which ʿAbd al-Malik defeated Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, he commanded the advanced guard of the Syrian army. In the following year, ʿAbd al-Malik gave him the governorship of al-Djazīra and Armenia which carried with it the command in the war with the Byzantines. In 73/692, the emperor Justinian II was defeated at Sebaste or Sebastopolis in Cilicia. In 75/694 Muḥammad again took the field against the Byzantines and was successful against them at Marʿash, and in the following year he invaded Armenia. Along with his nephew ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he was sent to the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the East al-Ḥadjdjādj in the year 82/701 to support him against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH], and in the negotiations with the ʿIrāḳīs before the battle at Dayr al-Djamādjim the caliph was represented by Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh. In the same year, Muḥammad led an expedition against Armenia, and again in 84/703 and 85/704. After the accession of al-Walīd (Shawwāl 86/October 705), Muḥammad fell gradually into the background while Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], the caliph's half-brother, was the actual commander; but the former retained his governorship for some time until in 91/709-10 he was replaced by Maslama here also. Muḥammad died in 101/719-20.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 176; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 324-5, 336, 350; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 188, 200, 205, 332; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, ed. Goitein, 185-6; Ṭabarī, ii, 592, 804-8, 853, 863, 1073-5, 1096, 1850; iii, 51; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 244 ff., vi, 47; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 264-7, 294-5, 303, 317-20, 338, 377-8, 382, 385, 399, 411, 439; v, 52, 328; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 406-7, 455, 468-9, 472; E.W. Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750)*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii, 182 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern* in *N.G.W. Göttingen*, 1902, 432 ff.; H. Lammens, *L'avènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān I^er^* in *MFOB*, xii/2 (1927), 80; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Burgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 180, 210, 212-14. (K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD [see ABU 'L-WAFĀʾ; AL-GHAZZĀLĪ; IBN ʿĀṢIM; IBN DJAHĪR; IBN AL-HABBĀRIYYA; IBN NUBĀTA; ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN; SĪMDJŪR, BANŪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUḤAMMAD** AL-**DJAYHĀNĪ** [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUKARRAM** [see IBN MANẒŪR].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MŪSĀ** AL-**KHWĀRAZMĪ** [see AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MUḤAMMAD** AL-**SHĪRĀZĪ** [see IBN KHAFĪF].

MUḤAMMAD B. **MŪSĀ** B. **SHĀKIR** [see MŪSĀ, BANŪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**MUSTANĪR** [see ḲUṬRUB].

MUḤAMMAD B. AL-**MUẒAFFAR** [see MUẒAFFARIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. **RĀʾIḲ** [see IBN RĀʾIḲ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **RAZĪN** [see ABU 'L-SHĪṢ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SAʿD** [see IBN MARDANĪSH; IBN SAʿD].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SAḤNŪN** b. Saʿīd b. Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Mālikī jurisconsult from Ḳayrawān (202-56/817-70), son of Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd (160-240/776-856 [*q.v.*]), who was responsible for the definitive implantation of Mālikism in the Maghrib as well as being the signatory of the *Mudawwana*, one of the great manuals of this school, and to which he naturally owes much of his reputation. Muḥammad lived, moreover, in the wake of his illustrious father until his departure for the East in 235/850. Among the masters that he then met, one may cite some highly evocative names, such as Abū Radjāʾ b. Ashhab, al-Muzanī (in Egypt), Abū Muṣʿab Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī, Yaʿḳūb b. Ḥumayd b. Kāsib, Salama b. Shabīb al-Naysābūrī (in the Ḥidjāz). According to his biographers, all these acknowledged scholars were struck by the knowledge and intelligence of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn.

On his return to Ḳayrawān, he took the place of his father officially on the latter's death as leader of the Mālikīs in the Maghrib and carried on the struggle against Ḥanafism and Muʿtazilism with the support of the Aghlabid *amīrs*. It is to be noted that the victory, in Ifrīḳiya, of Mālikī Sunnism over these two tendencies coincides with that of Ḥanbalī Sunnism in Baghdād over the homologous currents, which confirms the extension of successive ideological models within the boundaries of the caliphate, notwithstanding political vicissitudes. The influence of Saḥnūn and his father was so profound that the historians of the age did not hesitate to describe Ḳayrawān as "Saḥnūnī".

On the death of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, the shops and schools were closed as a sign of mourning. It was the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm II who said the prayer for the dead on this occasion.

Saḥnūn's production seems to have been important. If some put forward the figure of 200 works, in the biographies only the following twenty-four titles appear: 1. *al-Djāmiʿ*, an encyclopaedic work; 2. *al-Sanad* (or *al-Musnad*), a large work on *ḥadīth*; 3. *Taḥrīm al-muskir*; 4. *Kitāb al-Imāma*; 5. *Tafsīr al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*; 6. *al-Radd ʿalā al-bidaʿ*; 7. *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*; 8. *Ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ*; 9. *al-Ashriba wa-gharīb al-ḥadīth*; 10. *al-Īmān wa 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-shirk*; 11. *al-Ḥudjdja ʿalā 'l-Ḳadariyya*; 12. *al-Ḥudjdja ʿalā 'l-Naṣārā*; 13. *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Fikriyya*; 14. *Kitāb mā yadjibu ʿalā 'l-mutanāẓirīn min ḥusn al-adab*; 15. *Kitāb al-Waraʿ*; 16. *Sharḥ arbaʿa kutub min Mudawwana Saḥnūn*; 17. *Risāla fī maʿnā 'l-Sunna*; 18. *Risāla fī man sabb al-Nabī*; 19. *Kitāb al-Ibāḥa*; 20. *Adab al-ḳāḍī*; 21. *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*; finally, the three following, which seem to be the only ones to have come down to us: 22. *Kitāb Masāʾil al-djihād*, a ms. of which is known in Tunis (Talbi, *Emirat*, 535); 23. *Kitāb Adjwibat Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, riwāyat Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḳaṭṭān ʿanhu*, a ms. of which is known in the Escurial (no. 1162) and three copies in Tunis (see edn. by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of the *K. Adab al-muʿallimīn*, 14); 24. *Kitāb Adab al-muʿallimīn* [*wa 'l-mutaʿallimīn*], ed. Ḥ.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1348, French tr. G. Lecomte, *Le livre des règles de conduite des maîtres d'école...*, in *REI* [1953], 77-105.

Apart from his activities as the promoter of the still fragile Mālikism and his pedagogical work, the biographers note that, like his father, he is said to have paid with his life in defence of the Tunisian Sāḥil against the incursions of pirates, essentially Christians (Ifrandj, Rūm). Whatever the case may be, the problems of privateering in Ifrīḳiya [see ḲURṢĀN], calling attention to it as a part of *djihād*, have been made a subject of consideration, even of *fatwās* in the work of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, as the extract translated by M. Talbi in his *Emirat*, 534-5, according to a citation of *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, possibly taken from no. 22 above, shows.

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(G. LECOMTE)

MUḤAMMAD B. **SĀLIM** [see IBN WĀṢIL].

MUḤAMMAD B. **SĀM**, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN, was the fourth of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr to rule the empire of Ghaznī [see GHAZNA and GHŪRIDS]. His *laḳab* was originally Shihāb al-Dīn, but he assumed that of Muʿizz al-Dīn. His elder brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn succeeded his cousin Sayf al-Dīn in 558/1163 and made Muḥammad governor of Harāt, entrusting to him also the duty of extending the dominion of the house in India.

Muḥammad led his first expedition into India in 571/1175, expelled the Ismāʿīlī heretics who ruled Multān, placed an orthodox governor in that province, and captured Uččh. In 574/1178 he rashly led an army into Gudjarāt, was defeated by the Rādjā, Bhīma the Vāghela, and returned to Ghaznī with no more than the remnant of his army; but in the following year he took Peshāwar, and in 577/1181 Lahawr, taking prisoner Khusraw Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] and adding the Pandjāb to his brother's dominions. In the winter of 586-7/1190-1 he invaded the Čawhan kingdom of Dihlī and captured Bhātinda, but the Rādjā, Prithwī Rādj, marched against him and defeated him at Tarāwrī near Karnāl. He was wounded, but escaped, and in 588/1191 returned to India, defeated and slew Prithwī Rādj at Tarāwrī, captured Hānsī, Sāmāna, Guhrām and other fortresses, and plundered Adjmer. On returning to Ghaznī, he left Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] in India as viceroy, and at the end of 588/1192 Aybak took Dihlī and made it his capital. In 593/1197 Aybak was beleaguered in Adjmer, and Muḥammad sent a relieving force which enabled him to defeat Bhīma of Gudjarāt and to plunder his capital, Anhilvāra.

Muḥammad was now employed with his brother in recovering Khurāsān. On the death of the

Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish [q.v.] in Marw, in Ramaḍān 596/July 1200, Muḥammad Čurbak was sent to Marw, which he captured and occupied for Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother besieged and took Nīshāpūr. Muḥammad was then sent in command of an expedition to Rayy, but the misbehaviour of his troops earned a rebuke which led to the only quarrel between the brothers.

On the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 599/1203, Muḥammad succeeded to the great empire which he had helped his brother to build up, but the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS] took Marw from Muḥammad Čurbak and recovered Nīshāpūr, although he failed to capture Harāt. Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad marched against him but suffered a crushing defeat near Andkhūī and fled to Ṭālaḳān. He was besieged by the army of Gūr Khān of the Ḳarā-Khitāy [q.v.] and purchased a safe retreat only by the surrender of the whole of his baggage and material of war. On his arrival before Ghaznī in this plight, his slave Ildigiz refused to admit him, and he passed on to Multān where the governor likewise refused him admittance; but he attacked and defeated him and appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča to the government of the province of Sind [q.v.]. He returned to Ghaznī and established himself there, sparing the life of Ildigiz. By the treaty which he concluded with the Khwārazm-Shāh Muḥammad, he was permitted to retain Balkh and Harāt but not Nīshāpūr and Marw.

In Rabīʿ I 602/October 1205, he marched from Ghaznī for India and, with the help of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, defeated the Khokars, but on returning towards Ghaznī was assassinated in Shaʿbān 603/March 1206 on the bank of the Indus, either by Ismāʿīlī heretics or by some Khokars. He was succeeded in Ghūr by his nephew Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, but the viceroys of the provinces, Aybak in Dihlī, Ḳabāča in Multān, Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz in Kirmān and Ildigiz in Ghaznī, became independent.

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(T.W. Haig)

MUḤAMMAD b. SĪRĪN [see IBN SĪRĪN].

MUḤAMMAD b. SUʿŪD b. Muḥammad b. Muḳrin of the ʿAnaza clan, the founder of the first Suʿūdī state in Nadjd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL], assumed office as *amīr* of al-Dirʿiyya [q.v.] in 1137/1724 following his father's death or in 1140/1727 after the brief rule of a cousin, Zayd b. Markhān. His claim to fame rests on his association with the religious reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [see IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB], whom he welcomed at al-Dirʿiyya in 1158/1745, pledging support for his mission. Two of his brothers were already disciples of the Shaykh, and they and his wife are said to have been instrumental in promoting the alliance. From then until his death in late Rabīʿ I 1179/September 1765 Muḥammad b. Suʿūd was engaged in a continual and largely indecisive struggle against neighbours, such as Dahhām b. Dawwās, ruler of al-Riyāḍ, and his former suzerains, the Banū Khālid of al-Aḥsāʾ. The most serious challenge arose in the last few months of his life, when the Suʿūdī state was in danger of falling to a coalition of these enemies combined with forces from Nadjrān and many discontented Nadjdīs. The aim of this opposition was to prevent the Suʿūdīs from uniting Nadjd under their control. However, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd contrived a skilful diplomatic settlement with the *amīr* of Nadjrān, thus breaking his opponents' solidarity. Although he took little part in military operations, assigning command chiefly to his able son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he showed political acumen that proved of great value in ensuring the survival of his state and the furtherance of the Wahhābī cause.

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(Elizabeth M. Sirriyeh)

MUḤAMMAD b. ṬĀHIR [see IBN AL-ḲAYSARĀNĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. ṬĀHIR b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir Dhi 'l-Yamīnayn, last Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān. After the death of his father, Muḥammad received the governorship of Khurāsān (Radjab 248/September 862). In 250/864-5 the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd rebelled in Ṭabaristān, which led to a long and serious struggle [see MUḤAMMAD b. ʿABD ALLĀH]. When ʿAbd Allāh al-Sidjzī rebelled against Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār of Sīstān, and appealed for help to Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of al-Ṭabasayn and Ḳuhistān, Yaʿḳūb found a welcome pretext to invade Khurāsān. Muḥammad sent an embassy to him; but as Yaʿḳūb had already found a following among discontented Khurāsānians, all negotiations were in vain. In Shawwāl 259/August 873, or according to another statement in 258, he entered Nīshāpūr without striking a blow, put an end to the Ṭāhirid dynasty and took Muḥammad prisoner. But when he marched against the caliph al-Muʿtamid, he was defeated at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [q.v.] in ʿIrāḳ in Radjab 262/April 876 by the latter's brother al-Muwaffaḳ, and Muḥammad, whom he had with him in chains, escaped. The caliph restored the latter to his former office in Khurāsān; the exiled Ṭāhirid, however, never found an opportunity to exercise his functions, and remained in Baghdād. He was further appointed, in succession to his uncle ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir—probably not till 270/853-4—by the vizier Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad as his deputy as military governor of Baghdād. He held this office until the accession of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892). He died in 296/908-9.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 604-5, 619; Ṭabarī, iii, see Index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 41-5 = §§ 3158-61; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 10, 12-13, ed. Ḥabībī, 138, 140-1; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, 208-25, tr. Gold, 166-79; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 77-294, viii, 42; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 309 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 379 ff., 393, 438, 442, 447; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 194 ff.; G. Rothstein, in *Orient. Studien, Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, 164-5; W. Barthold, in *ibid.*, 185 ff.; idem, *Turkestan*[3], 213-14, 217-18; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 102-3, 114-15.

(K.V. Zettersteén)

MUḤAMMAD b. ṬĀHIR b. Ibrāhīm al-

ḤĀRITHĪ, from Ḥāri<u>th</u>, a well-known tribe and a branch of the Hamdān [*q.v.*] confederation, was a prominent figure in the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs of Yaman. After the death of his teacher ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Djaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm al-Walīd in 554/1159, he was appointed by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, along with the latter's son Ḥātim to assist him in the affairs of the *daʿwa*. On the *dāʿī* Ibrāhīm's death in 557/1161, when Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm became the next *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, he was promoted to the rank of *maʾdhūn* and was stationed in Ṣanʿāʾ as the *dāʿī*'s deputy. He operated his mission openly in a city ruled by the Hamdānid sultan ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, who had fought protracted wars with the *dāʿī*. Later on, when the city was conquered by the Ayyūbids, he managed the outflow of refugees who sought refuge with the *daʿwa* in Ḥarāz. He died in Ṣanʿāʾ in Shawwāl 584/November-December 1188.

His *Madjmūʿ al-tarbiya*, in two volumes, is a classic chrestomathy of Ismāʿīlī literature which served as a model for later compilers. Thanks to his work, numerous excerpts from earlier works and small treatises which are otherwise lost have been preserved. Another work of his, *al-Anwār al-laṭīfa*, is considered an important work on *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* to be read by students who have reached a very high level in their studies.

Bibliography: Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-afkār* (ms. Hamdānī coll.), i, 92, 104; Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i, ed. ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwā, in *Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958, 193-4, 198, 207; Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Madjdūʿ, *Fihrist*, ed. ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 42, 90, 129-34, 204, 246-53, 270, 278. For a detailed account of his works, see I. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977, 143-50. (I. Poonawala)

MUḤAMMAD B. TAKASH [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH].

MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUGHDJ b. Djuff b. Yiltakīn b. Fūrān b. Fūrī b. Khāḳān, Abū Bakr, **AL-IKHSHĪD** (268-334/882-946), governor in Egypt and Syria during the 4th/10th century.

He was the third generation of his family to serve the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. He was officially designated by the caliph al-Rāḍī with the title al-Ikhshīd in 327/939 after having requested it the preceding year. The dynasty which he established is known as the Ikhshīdids.

Born in Baghdād on 15 Radjab 268/8 February 882, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj spent part of his youth in Ṭūlūnid [see AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN] lands in Syria and Palestine, gaining military and administrative experience whilst serving under his father. He was jailed in Baghdād with his father and brother on the transfer of Ṭūlūnid rule to the ʿAbbāsid central government in 292/905, but released a year later after his father had died. Eventually, he was appointed governor of Filasṭīn (Palestine) and al-Shām (Damascus) in 316/928 and 319/931 respectively. In Ramaḍān 321/August-September 933, he was named governor of Egypt but was replaced by another in a little over a month, never having reached Egypt during this period.

Increasing internal chaos in Egypt, fear of Fāṭimid invasions of Egypt from North Africa and political intrigue in Baghdād, led to the naming of Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj as governor of Egypt in 323/935. This time he marched on Egypt and entered the administrative capital of al-Fusṭāṭ on 23 Ramaḍān/26 August. His major task after securing control from the Mādharāʾī [*q.v.*] family was to deal with a Fāṭimid invasion, which was successfully halted outside Alexandria in 324 (Battle of Ablūḳ, 31 March 936). Even after receiving his honorific title from al-Rāḍī, al-Ikhshīd flirted with recognising Fāṭimid suzerainty, especially in 327/938 when he threatened to have the Fāṭimid al-Ḳāʾim's name proclaimed from the pulpits and suggested that his daughter marry the Fāṭimid *imām*'s son. These actions were related to a power struggle in Palestine with the former *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] Ibn Rāʾiḳ.

In late 327/939 Ibn Rāʾiḳ invaded Syria, taking Ramla. Al-Ikhshīd offered a generous peace, ceding the lands from Ramla northwards and agreeing to pay an annual tribute. The offer was refused. Warfare continued into late 328/940 when Ibn Rāʾiḳ, whose goal was Baghdād, accepted similar terms. The murder of Ibn Rāʾiḳ in Shaʿbān 330/April 942 and the rise of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] was the background to al-Ikhshīd occupying Damascus for six months from Shawwāl 330/June 942. During this campaign, he had his troops take an oath of loyalty to his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Unūdjūr as his successor, indicating his plans for a dynastic succession. Two years later, in Muḥarram 333/September 944, al-Ikhshīd was in Raḳḳa where he met with the caliph al-Muttaḳī and urged him to join him in Egypt or, at least, remain in Raḳḳa. The caliph did not accept the offer, but he did receive the governorship of Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz for himself and his descendants for 30 years.

A military struggle with members of the Ḥamdānid family had been under way since 332/944, but intensified with the rise to power of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj now undertook a military campaign in Shaʿbān 333/April 945, while offering very generous peace terms. The two armies met in Shawwāl 333/May 945 near Ḳinnasrīn, where the Egyptian governor was victorious. But al-Ikhshīd's goal was to secure his own territories and not to over-extend his resources, and a treaty in which al-Ikhshīd gave up lands in northern Syria and agreed to an annual tribute was reached in Rabīʿ I 334/October-November 945. He retreated to Damascus, where he died on 21 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 334/24 June 946. He was succeeded by his son, but power was more and more in the hands of his principal military commander and African eunuch Kāfūr [*q.v.*].

There is very little information on al-Ikhshīd's internal policies. He was not a major patron nor a builder. In fact, he has a reputation for parsimony and timidity, although the latter may be a misunderstanding of his willingness to settle for limited military and political goals while securing the succession of his family to the governorship of those lands he controlled.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *K. al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. K.L. Tallquist, Leiden 1899, is the most important source. Additional material can be found in numerous other Arabic sources, including Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Sami Dahhan, Damascus 1951, and Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo n.d., iii. The most extensive modern study is S.I. Kāshif, *Miṣr fī ʿaṣr al-Ikhshīdiyyīn*[2], Cairo 1970. Additional information is available in J.L. Bacharach, *The career of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd, a tenth-century governor of Egypt*, in *Speculum*, l (1975), 586-612, M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 489 ff., and R.J. Bikhazi, *The Ḥamdānid dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254-404/868-1014*, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms no. 8125070, 1981, 3 vols. (J.L. Bacharach)

MUḤAMMAD B. TUGHLUḲ, the second sultan of Dihlī (724-52/1324-51) of the Tughluḳid

[*q.v.*] dynasty and the eldest son of its founder, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ. Before his father came to power in 720/1320, he bore the name of Malik Djawnā, and subsequently was entitled Ulugh Khān. While heading an expedition to annex Tilang (Telingana) in *ca.* 723/1323, he made an unsuccessful bid for the throne, and a number of writers implicate him in the accident which caused Tughluḳ's death. The chronology of his reign is fraught with difficulties, including even the date of his accession: on a monument erected by his successor Fīrūz Shāh, it appears as 1 Shaʿbān 725/13 July 1325 (*Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*, xlvii. *Haryana*, I, ed. M. Shokoohy, London 1988, 21-2), but the year is possibly an error for 724 (24 July 1324: see the review by Jackson, in *JRAS* [1990], 171-2).

Muḥammad's reign is associated with abortive projects which are severely criticised by our principal Indian sources. The selection of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] (Dēōgīr) in the Deccan as the second capital around 727/1327, and the removal thither of many of the aristocratic households of the old capital, were both a logical response to the considerable southward extension of the empire over the previous few decades and a measure to foster Muslim colonisation of the new Deccan province. This episode also coincided, apparently, with Muḥammad's plans to conquer "Khurāsān", i.e. present-day Afghānistān, then occupied by the Mongols of the Čaghatāy khānate [*q.v.*] in Central Asia. Most of the enormous army was disbanded, however, and part of it was decimated in a campaign against Ḳarāčīl, i.e. some region in the sub-Himalaya or the Hindū Kush (possibly Kashmīr). Two other controversial measures must be viewed in this same context. A low-denomination copper and brass coinage (often misleadingly labelled a "token currency") was introduced to facilitate payment of the troops, but failed to command confidence and had to be withdrawn; and an increase in the revenue-demand in the Dōāb provinces sparked off a widespread revolt among the cultivators.

Muḥammad, under whom the Dihlī empire reached its greatest territorial extent, achieved some military and diplomatic successes. Kampīla (the southern Andhra region) was annexed; and in 738/1337-8 the sultan personally captured Nagarkōt (Kāngṛā). Simultaneous rebellions in Multān, the Deccan and Bengal were also crushed *ca.* 728/1327-8. A little before this, Muḥammad led a campaign into the north-west frontier region, sending detachments as far as Peshāwar: in reprisal, the Mongols of the Čaghatāy khānate, under their khān Tarmashīrīn, mounted their last major invasion in *ca.* 729/1328-9. Later, the sultan maintained friendly relations with the Mongols, using the enormous patronage at his disposal to buy security from this quarter. From the 1330s we find Mongol chiefs regularly wintering in the Pandjāb, though one of them, Hülečü, rebelled and briefly occupied Lahore [see HÜLĀGŪ]. At the time of his death, Muḥammad's army included a corps of Mongol auxiliaries from Mā warāʾ al-Nahr.

Yet by that point a spate of rebellions had led to the permanent loss of whole provinces. Bengal seceded in *ca.* 735/1334-5, as did Maʿbar under Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*]; Kampīla reverted to independent Hindu rule, and *ca.* 736/1336 its prince occupied Tilang also; and in 748/1347 the Deccan passed under the sway of the independent dynasty of the Bahmanids [*q.v.*]. Over and above these major insurrections, there was disaffection in other provinces, notably in Awadh (*ca.* 740/1339), Multān and Sīwistān (*ca.* 742/1341-2) and Gudjarāt (745/1345). At his death, the sultan wielded no authority south of the Vindhyas.

The reasons for this rapid disintegration of the Sultanate are obscure. One factor may well be Muḥammad's attempts to broaden his power-base by attracting immigrant notables from all over the Islamic world, a policy which, as evident from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 344), aroused deep resentment among the indigenous Muslim aristocracy. The sultan enjoyed strained relations, too, with the *ʿulamāʾ* and with Ṣūfī mystics, whom he endeavoured to press into government service, and the arrival in 744/1343-4 of a diploma of recognition from the puppet ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo does not appear to have enhanced the legitimacy of his rule for his subjects.

Muḥammad died at Thaṭṭhā on 21 Muḥarram 752/20 March 1352 while pursuing the rebel Tughāy, who had fled there following the collapse of the Gudjarāt revolt. His successor was his cousin Fīrūz Shāh [*q.v.*]. A balanced assessment of Muḥammad's reign is no easy task. But it is impossible to accept in its entirety the picture of the reign furnished by the hostile historian ʿIṣāmī and by Baranī, who affects to see in Muḥammad a bewildering and impractical visionary. Many of the sultan's initiatives appear to have formed part of a coherent policy; they may also have reponded to—and perhaps exacerbated—an economic crisis at which the sources only hint.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, an earlier recension with important variants, Bodl. ms. Elliot 353; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras 1948 (these two sources are discussed in P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960, especially chs. ii and vi); and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. See also Badr-i Čačī, *Ḳaṣāʾid*, lithogr. Kānpūr n.d.; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, section on India ed. and tr. O. Spies, Leipzig 1943; and the brief biography in Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt*, iii, ed. S. Dedering, Damascus 1953, 172-4, tr. M.S. Khan, *An undiscovered Arabic source of the history of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, in *IC*, liii (1979), 187-205. The standard secondary authorities provide somewhat dated interpretations: Agha Mahdi Husain, *The rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, London 1938, and idem, *Tughluq dynasty*, Calcutta 1963; Sir Wolseley Haig, ch. vi in *Cambridge history of India*, iii, London 1928; R.C. Majumdar, ch. iv in his *The Delhi Sultanate*[2], Bombay 1967; K.A. Nizami, *Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq*, in M. Habib and Nizami (eds.), *The Delhi Sultanate*, New Delhi 1970. Many articles are listed in *Index Islamicus* and its *Supplements*. The chronology in Haig, *Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihlī*, in *JRAS* (1922), 336-65, stands in need of revision; see S. Digby, *Muhammad bin Tughluq's last years in Kathiavad and his invasions of Thatha*, in *Sind through the centuries*, ed. H. Khuhro, Karachi 1981, 130-8; and for other problems, P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (1325-1351)*, in *CAJ*, xix (1975), 118-57; idem, in *Delhi through the ages*, ed. R.E. Frykenberg, New Delhi 1986, 18-33; P. Hardy, *Didactic historical writing in Indian Islam: Ziyā al-Dīn Baranī's treatment of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Tughluq*, in Y. Friedmann (ed.), *Islam in Asia*, Jerusalem 1984, i, 38-59. (P. Jackson)

MUḤAMMAD b. **TŪMART** [see IBN TŪMART].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUBAYD ALLĀH** [see ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUMAR** [see IBN AL-ḲŪṬIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD b. **ʿUMAR** b. MUḤAMMAD, Andalusian mathematician and astronomer (d. 447/1056) known by his surname of **IBN BURGHŪTH**. He is cited among the "famous

pupils" of Ibn al-Ṣaffār [*q.v.*] by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, who presents him moreover as very knowledgeable in grammar, Ḳurʾān, theoretical and practical law, and appreciates highly his character and conduct. He mentions as his principal pupils Ibn al-Layth, Ibn al-Djallal and Ibn al-Ḥayy.

The first, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, was an expert in the field of arithmetic and geometry and devoted himself to astronomical observations, at the same time as performing the functions of *ḳāḍī* of Shurriyūn (Surio), in the region of Játiva. In the date of his death (405/1015), the number of the tens has probably been omitted, for if it were exact, his master would have outlived him by more than 40 years.

The second, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was interested, as were his fellow disciples, in mathematics and astronomy, to which he added logic and the natural sciences. He was still alive in 462/1070 when Ṣāʿid was writing his *Ṭabaḳāt*.

The third, the Cordovan al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tudjībī, is the only one to have left a summary of astronomy "according to the system of *Sindhind*" [*q.v.*], but this work has not been preserved. In 442/1051, Ibn al-Ḥayy left Spain to go firstly to Egypt, then to Yemen to the Ṣulayḥid *Imām* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 473/1080-1 [see ṢULAYḤIDS]), who sent him as an ambassador to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh (422-67/1031-75 [*q.v.*]) in Baghdād, where he was magnificently received. He then returned to Yemen, where he died in 456/1064.

Bibliography: The authors, the mediaeval ones, such as Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 256, as much as the modern ones, such as Suter, *Mathematiker*, nos. 221, 223, and F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, s.vv., who treat of one or other of these personalities, rely exclusively on a single source, the *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (ed. Cheiko, in *Machriq* [1911], offprint Beirut 1912, 71-4; Fr. tr. R. Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 133-6).

(ED.)

MUḤAMMAD B. **UMAYYA** B. ABĪ UMAYYA, *kātib* and poet in Arabic who is the best-known member (Sezgin is in error on this point) of a family of *kuttāb* or secretaries quoted for their share in literary activities. He had several brothers, all poets like their father and grandfather: ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad, and also an uncle, also called Muḥammad, all of which has inevitably caused confusion in the attribution of the verses drawn by biographers and anthologists from a collection which is said to have amounted to, for the whole family, almost 200 sheets.

Born *ca.* 200/815, Muḥammad b. Umayya frequented the circles of polite society at Baghdād, where he met such famous poets as Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.vv.*], not to mention the singer Mukhāriḳ [*q.v.*], various singing slave girls amongst whom there emerges the one whom he calls Khadāʿī, and some ephebes (*ghilmān*), to whom he dedicated several varied pieces. There remains today of his work only some thirty fragments which hardly each exceed four verses. These remains all reveal a personal inspiration and have a strong sense of unity since they revolve round a central theme, that of desire and passion (*ḥubb-shawḳ*). The idealised image of the beloved, male or female, a shrinking creature, inaccessible, often associated with a summons, discrete, very much of the flesh, shines out through the ensemble of his poems. A hymn to beauty and to joie de vivre can be accompanied by a vocabulary of absence, nostalgia and suffering (*ḥusn*, *ladhdha* and *lahw*, but also *hadjr*, *amal*, *bukāʾ*, *dunūn* and *mawt*). This thematic content thus recalls that of the Ḥidjāzī elegists of the 1st/7th century, but the style of writing brings differences from this model: lightness, brevity and suppleness do not exclude recourse to the rhetorical figures (*badīʿ*) required by the taste of the period.

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(B. NAJAR)

MUḤAMMAD B. **ʿUTHMĀN** [see ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS].

MUḤAMMAD B. **AL-WALĪD** [see AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ].

MUḤAMMAD B. **WAṢĪF**, secretary in the service of the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān and one of the first known poets to write verse in New Persian according to the rules of Arabic quantitative metre, sc. *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*].

The local history of Sīstān, the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, cites fragments from four poems, apparently *ḳaṣīdas*, by Muḥammad b. Waṣīf (see G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964, i, 18, 54-6, ii, 13-15). The first of these was composed, the anonymous historian states, around the time of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth's conquest of Harāt in 253/867 or his killing of ʿAmmār the Khāridjī two years previously, and was, he says, the result of Yaʿḳūb's complaint that he could not understand the panegyrics addressed to him in Arabic by his court poets. Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's poetic career must have extended over fifty years, since the last of the fragments relates to the captivity of ʿAmr b. Layth's two grandsons Ṭāhir and Yaʿḳūb in 296/908-9.

Whether or not Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's poem of *ca.* 253/867 was indeed the first Persian poem ever composed in *ʿarūḍ* (or only the first ode, as opposed to e.g. lyric poetry), is hard to prove. From the mention of other poets in New Persian in Ṣaffārid circles and the Khurāsānian region (e.g. Ḥanẓala of Bādhghīs, Bassām-i Kurd, Muḥammad b. Mukhallad, etc., cf. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 17 ff.), it seems that the idea of vernacular poetry in the new metre was clearly in the air during the second half of the 3rd/9th century. S.M. Stern, whilst accepting as probable Yaʿḳūb's catalytic role as an encourager of vernacular literature, was cautious over Muḥammad b. Waṣīf's pioneering role as a poet in New Persian, pointing out that the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* was aware only of his local scene, hence the claims for this poet's primacy may have related to the Sīstān area only.

Bibliography: Chr. Rempis, *Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersisch*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 223-31; Lazard, *loc. cit.*; Stern, *Yaʿqūb the Coppersmith and Persian national sentiment*, in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1971, 545 ff.; Bosworth and Lazard, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 129-30, 595, 607-8, 637-8; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, Cambridge 1976, index; and see ĪRĀN, vii. Literature, at IV, 55.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD B. **YAḤYĀ** [see IBN BĀDJDJA].

MUḤAMMAD B. **YĀḲŪT**, ABŪ BAKR, a chief of police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) in Baghdād.

In 318/930 Muḥammad, whose father was chief chamberlain or *ḥādjib* to the caliph al-Muḳtadir, was appointed chief of police. The maintenance of order in the capital at this time was much neglected, and the Turkish guards conducted a regular reign of terror. In a fracas between infantry and cavalry, Muḥammad intervened on behalf of the latter; their opponents

were cut down, some driven from the city and only a small contingent of negroes, who at once surrendered, remained unscathed (Muḥarram 318/February 930). Some months later, these last mutinied and demanded more pay; but they were driven out of the town by Muḥammad and then routed by the chief *amīr* Muʾnis [*q.v.*] near Wāsiṭ. The confusion was increased by the breach between Muʾnis and Muḥammad. At the instigation of Muʾnis, Muḥammad was dismissed in Djumādā II 319/June-July 931. Muʾnis was nevertheless not satisfied, but demanded that his hated rival should be banished. The caliph at first refused to grant his request; but when Muʾnis threatened him with force, he had to yield, whereupon Muḥammad went to Sidjistān (Radjab 319/July 931). Soon afterwards, the caliph quarrelled with Muʾnis and recalled Muḥammad. In Muḥarram 320/January 932, the latter returned to Baghdād; the caliph then sent him with an army to al-Maʿshūḳ in the region of Takrīt. But when Muʾnis advanced from Mawṣil, the caliph's troops under Muḥammad and Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān retired to Baghdād without striking a blow. After the victory of Muʾnis and the murder of al-Muḳtadir in Shawwāl 320/October 932, the latter's son ʿAbd al-Wāḥid fled with Muḥammad and his other supporters to al-Madāʾin and then to Wāsiṭ, where a number of his generals abandoned him. When the forces of the new caliph al-Ḳāhir approached under the command of Yalbaḳ, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and Muḥammad fled to Tustar.

Muḥammad was not popular on account of his arrogance and selfishness, so that one after the other of his partisans laid down his arms, and finally ʿAbd al-Wāḥid surrendered. Muḥammad entered into negotiations with Yalbaḳ, and the caliph pardoned him. He then returned to Baghdād, where he gained a great influence over al-Ḳāhir. On the accession of al-Rāḍī in Djumādā I 322/April 934, Muḥammad became the real ruler in a short time; the caliph appointed him head chamberlain and also made him his commander-in-chief, while the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] played a more subordinate part. When al-Muḳtadir's cousin Hārūn b. Gharīb, whom al-Ḳāhir had appointed governor of Māh al-Kūfa, al-Dīnawar and Māsabadhān, rebelled, Muḥammad was sent with an army against him. In the resulting battle, Muḥammad suffered a defeat (Djumādā II 322/May 934); soon afterwards, however, Hārūn fell from his horse and was killed by one of Muḥammad's slaves. With the death of their commander the resistance of Hārūn's followers collapsed; Muḥammad was nevertheless unable long to retain his position of power. On the advice of Ibn Muḳla, who feared his ever-increasing power, al-Rāḍī had him arrested, along with his brother Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar and the secretary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ḳarārīṭī, on 5 Djumādā I 323/12 April 935. Muḥammad died in prison in the same year.

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(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUḤAMMAD b. **YASĪR** al-**RIYĀSHĪ**, Abū Djaʿfar, a minor poet who was born and lived in Baṣra. He was born at some time in the middle of the 2nd/8th century and died at a similarly uncertain date, probably during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) or during that of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). His existence, of which barely nothing is known, has attracted scant attention on the part of biographers in that he seems to have followed an unremarkable and leisurely career, in an atmosphere untroubled by events of any magnitude. On the other hand, it has only been possible to determine the name of his father on the basis of a tradition (*Aghānī*, xii, 137) according to which al-Muʿtaṣim drew a favourable augury from the sense of *yusr* which it implies; thus the reading Bashīr, adopted by numerous sources and their editors, may be rejected. On the other hand, his *nisba*, which shows his connection, as a *mawlā*, with the Banū Riyāsh of the Khathʿam, is sometimes replaced incorrectly by *al-Ḥimyarī*.

The *Aghānī* (xii, 129) pays tribute to Ibn Yasīr for never having left his native town to go "in search of his pasture" (*muntadjiʿan*) in the capital, at the court of the caliphs, as did so many other poets and men of letters who "went up" to Baghdād in the hope of acquring recognition of their talent and gaining material advantage from it. The source of his means of livelihood is, however, unknown; he apparently engaged in no lucrative activity and lived in poverty, but he must have drawn some support from his association with the generous patron of poets Muways b. ʿImrān [*q.v.*] and with members of the ʿAbbāsid family, more precisely the descendants of the governor Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī (133-9/751-6) who settled in Baṣra, several of them occupying the same functions as their ancestor.

Nevertheless, he does not seem to have addressed self-seeking eulogies to these Baṣran personages; he was not attracted to this current genre, and the desire to preserve his independence led him to prefer epigram and satire, which he practised with moderation, to judge by the specimens which have come to light. It is true that his work, however scanty (*Aghānī*, xii, 129), must comprise a more significant number of verses than the total of some 320 recovered by the author of the present article when he attempted to reconstruct, at least in part, the *dīwān* of the poet (*Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyāshī wa-ashʿāruh*, in *Machriq* [May-June 1955], 289-338; in the passages which follow, the numbers in Roman figures refer to the pieces reproduced in this collection), and it is possible that some characteristic poems have escaped analysis, but it seems that the material available gives a fairly accurate impression of the personality of Ibn Yasīr.

Despite his poverty, he was content with his lot; he endured adversity without complaint and enjoyed the pleasures which were available to him, if not approved (nos. viii, xvii, xxx, xxxiii). While describing him as refined (*ẓarīf*), the author of the *Aghānī* (xii, 129) judges him debauched and unpleasant, although the remnants of his work rather give the impression of a debonair personality; his epigrams (nos. i, x, xxxii) are not particularly acerbic and do not seem to justify the comment of the *Aghānī* (xii, 134) which alleges that a grandson of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī lived in healthy dread of him (see nos. xli, xliii). He participated, however, in the contests between Abū Nuwās and al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Raḳāshī, unscrupulously reviving, in order to denigrate the latter, the old theme of the scantiness of the cooking-pot to express the greed of its owner (nos. xviii, xlvi), and was in his turn the target of some fairly innocuous attacks (see *Aghānī*, xii, 140; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 232-3; al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, 30).

According to the *Aghānī* (xii, 141), his son ʿAbd Allāh accused him of drinking excessively to the point of being intoxicated every evening, but this detail too seems to be greatly exaggerated. It is observed more-

over that the surviving poems contain nothing ribald, and the debauchery which is attributed to him seems to have amounted to nothing more than an affair with a *ḳayna* [*q.v.*] by the name of Ḥusn, which provoked complaints from his wife, to which he replied simply and frankly.

Ibn Yasīr possessed, in general terms, an equable temperament, combining affability, gentleness, and simple sentiments such as Arab poets rarely express. His philosophy of life is formulated in a number of verses which have become almost proverbial (nos. ii, vii, viii, xi, xvii, xx, xxx, xxxiii, xliv). His paean in praise of books (no. iii) was remarked by al-Djāḥiẓ, and the long *ḳaṣīda* (no. xix) in which he curses a pigeon-breeder who has cheated him regarding the pedigree of pigeons sold to him, although not great poetry, does not lack originality; finally, the freshness of his sentiments is clearly shown in a poem (no. xxix) which enchanted the anthologists to the point that they preserved 51 verses bewailing the fate of his garden devastated by the sheep or the goat (*shāt*) of his neighbour Manīʿ and lamenting the loss of his notes, consumed by this accursed animal.

To all appearances, this poet does not deserve the severity with which he is treated by the author of the *Aghānī*, who perhaps felt a degree of animosity towards him on account of his declared disapproval of Shīʿīs and other heterodox persons. Ibn Yasīr was also openly hostile to *kalām* [*q.v.*] and to theological polemics, but this aversion did not prevent him from being on the best of terms with the Muʿtazilīs of his native town and especially with his friend al-Djāḥiẓ, who mentions him and gives the impression of having great faith in his friend Muḥammad b. Yasīr, concerned, like him, to preserve his independence and to seek in study a refuge from the annoyances of life.

Bibliography: The most substantial biography of Muḥammad b. Yasīr is that of the *Aghānī* (1st ed., xii, 129-41; Beirut ed., xiv, 18-48); other references are very brief, in particular those of Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 560-1 (ed. Shākir, 854-6) and of Ḳifṭī, *al-Muhammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Riyāḍ 1970, 161-3 (Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Ḥimyarī). See also the references indicated by Ch. Pellat in his *Milieu baṣrien*, 170-1, and in his attempt at reconstruction of the *Dīwān*, and see Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 252-4; Ziriklī, viii, 15-16; H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, ix (1956), 155-6; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 506-7. See also Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, in his ed. of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, 267-9. In ʿIrāḳ, Muḥ. Dj. al-Muʿaybid has also attempted a reconstruction of the *dīwān*, but it is not known whether this work has been published.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD [see IBN MĀDJA; AL-MUBARRAD].

MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF (MUḤAMMAD V), sultan and later king of Morocco (1927-61).

He was born at Fās on 10 August 1909, the third son of the ruling sultan, Mūlāy Yūsuf. His mother, Lālā Yāḳūt, was a native of the Ḥawz (the region of Marrakesh). His father had nominated his eldest son Mūlāy Idrīs as crown prince and *khalīfa* at Marrakesh, and appointed his younger son Mūlāy Ḥasan to the same functions at Tiznit and Tinduf. Frail but intelligent, Sīdī Muḥammad lived the sequestered life of a young prince without expectations, although he accompanied his father and his two brothers on a visit to France in July 1926. On 17 November 1927, the sultan Mūlāy Yūsuf abdicated following an attack of uraemia. The Grand Vizier al-Mukrī, in conflict with the Chamberlain Tuhāmī Ḥabābū, campaigned actively for the proclamation of Sīdī Muḥammad in the face of stern opposition from his rival. This choice was ratified by the authorities of the Protectorate. The *ʿulamāʾ* signed the act of allegiance to a young prince, 18 years of age, whom most of them had never seen. On 18 November 1927 Muḥammad b. Yūsuf acceded to the throne of his ʿAlawid ancestors. No opposition to the proclamation was expressed, either in Fās or in Rabat.

While French forces suppressed the last traces of rebellion which remained in his kingdom, the new sultan spent this time completing his education, with the aid of senior bureaucrats such as the Faḳīh Mammeri, of Algerian origin, who was to become his principal private secretary. He obtained no diploma, and subsequently his self-esteem was to suffer as a result of this. He married a cousin who bore him, on 29 June 1929, his first child, the princess Lālā Fāṭima Zahrāʾ. On becoming sultan he took a second wife, marrying a girl from the Ḥawz, Lālā ʿAbla, who, on 9 July 1929, while the sovereign was visiting France, gave birth to a son, Mūlāy Ḥasan.

In 1930, when armed resistance in the rural areas had almost come to an end, groups of young urban Moroccans became engaged in political action. The Druse *shaykh* Shakīb Arslān [*q.v.*], based in Geneva since 1921, served as their mentor. At the very time that Moroccan youth was forging links with the Arab nationalism of the Orient, there developed in Morocco a converse, Islam-inspired movement envisaging a return to the sources (*Salafiyya* [*q.v.*]), a movement which, between 1926 and 1930, made a certain impact in intellectual and popular Moroccan circles. It was during this period that certain elements in the French colonial administration entertained the notion of releasing the Berber tribes from Ḳurʾānic law. A *dahir* of 16 May 1930 instituted new regulations for the Berbers, placing them under French jurisdiction. Only 21 years of age and still lacking experience, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf signed the *dahir* without expressing any reservation. Once known, this text unleashed, first in Morocco and then throughout the Muslim world as far as Indonesia, intense resentment. The *laṭīf*, a prayer recited at times of major catastrophe, was promulgated in the towns of the kingdom. The two wings of the nationalist movement united to give birth to the first political formation: the Moroccan Action Committee. This body demanded of France the scrupulous application of Article 12 of the Treaty of Fās, and presented to the sovereign and the Resident-General a list of demands. The Berber *dahir* thus had the effect of uniting the various Moroccan groupings in resistance to the Protectorate. The nationalists instituted the Festival of the Throne, commemorating each year on 18 November the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne. This was celebrated for the first time on 18 November 1933, and officially from 18 November 1934 onward. On this occasion the Moroccan flag was hoisted almost everywhere.

During this period, in Rabat the princess Lālā ʿĀʾisha was born on 17 June 1930, the princess Lālā Mālika on 14 March 1933 and the prince Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh on 30 July 1935. A last daughter, Lālā Amina, was born in Madagascar of another wife, in February 1954.

On 1 December 1934, when after 27 years of strenuous efforts the stabilisation and unification of Morocco had been accomplished, a plan of reforms was solemnly presented by the nationalists to the French government. Invited to meet the Sultan, the delegation was informed by him that in his opinion, their action could only assist him in his task of defen-

ding the rights of the Moroccan people. This position earned the sultan enormous popular support. His portrait was displayed in the homes of nationalists and his name was acclaimed. The year 1936 was marked by a radicalisation of the national struggle. However, in January 1937, a schism occurred among the nationalists. One wing, led by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], constituted the National Party with its newspaper *al-Aṭlas*, while another branch, led by Muḥammad Ḥasan Wazzānī, created National Action. These two parties were disbanded by a decree of 18 March 1937. Wazzānī was exiled to the Sahara and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī to Gabon.

The Sultan enjoyed a long-standing friendship with General Nogues, Resident-General from 1936 to 1943. This relationship no doubt accounts for the loyalty shown by the sovereign with regard to France, during the campaign of June 1940, loyalty which was to remain firm until 1943. At the time of the conference of the Allies in Casablanca in January 1943, the Sultan met the principal Allied war chiefs, in particular the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who expressed to him his opinions on the future shape of the world after the allied victory and held out the enticing prospect of an independent Morocco. All of this took place against a background of struggles between Gaullist and former partisans of Vichy for control of North Africa, where the Allied landing had taken place on 8 November 1942. The nationalists who had taken refuge in the Spanish sector returned in large numbers to the French sector. They constituted the *Istiḳlāl* party which presented to the Sultan, the Resident-General and the Allied governments, on 11 January 1944, a manifesto for independence, accompanied by petitions. The Sultan convened the Ma<u>kh</u>zen [*q.v.*] in Rabat and urged support for the claim of independence. The Resident-General Gabriel Puaux, who had succeeded General Nogues, sought to gain time by invoking the state of war. Nationalists were arrested and exiled, and protest demonstrations ensued. Relations between the Imperial Palace and the Residence-General deteriorated. But hopes for an easing of tension emerged following the defeat of Germany and the coming to power of General de Gaulle. He invited the Sultan of Morocco to make an official visit to France, in the course of which he was awarded the Order of Liberation. A visit to the French troops stationed in Germany followed. The Resident-General Gabriel Puaux was replaced in 1946 by Eirik Labonne, who arrived in Morocco with a series of proposals for economic and administrative reform. He encouraged investment, and worked to restore amicable relations with the Sultan and Moroccan personages at all levels. The nationalist leaders returned from exile at the request of the sovereign. On 9 April 1947, the Sultan conducted an official visit to Tangier, then an international city. Popular enthusiasm was demonstrated at each stage of the royal progress and reached its climax in the city, where he stayed for four days. Here he delivered his famous speech in which he declared himself committed to re-establishing the national unity of a country split into three segments, having its independence recognised and bringing it into the Arab League. A month after the Tangiers speech, the French government terminated the appointment of Eirik Labonne with his liberal attitudes, appointing in his place as Resident-General the General of the Army Juin, conqueror of Italy and former associate of Lyautey. De Gaulle was no longer in power. ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, in the company of ʿAbd al-<u>Kh</u>allāḳ Torres and the Tunisian Ḥabīb Bourguiba (Bū Raḳība [*q.v.*]), made his way to Cairo, where the three men engineered the escape of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who disembarked in Port Said from the ship that was supposed to be taking him to France, on 1 June 1947, and with him created the Committee of the Arab Ma<u>gh</u>rib. Tiring of his exchange of notes with the French government, the Sultan decided, in the summer of 1950, to present himself in Paris, there to express his wish to put an end to the Treaty of Fās by direct negotiations. In the meantime, he refused to sign any more *dahirs*. His journey proved fruitless, but he received an enthusiastic welcome at Casablanca on his return to the country. General Juin reacted by expelling nationalist opposition members of the Council of Government for their advocacy of violent resistance. The Pa<u>sh</u>a of Marrakesh, for his part, made an approach to the Sultan demanding strict adherence to tradition. The two men became enemies. The Berber tribes of the High Atlas and the Middle Atlas mobilised against the Sultan and the cities which favoured *Istiḳlāl*. In Paris, the main concern was to find a compromise solution between the two Moroccan groups. After a march by tribal contingents on the towns, the Sultan chose to concede rather than give up power. As in 1944, he used his Grand Vizier as a mouthpiece in repudiating the *Istiḳlāl*, in deliberately vague terms, and signed most of the *dahirs* which had been held in abeyance. Misleading both parties became the Sultan's policy. In September 1951, General Juin left Morocco, summoned to take command of NATO forces in Europe.

Paris appointed General Guillaume to the post of Resident-General, also entrusting to him command of the land, sea and air forces of North Africa. The nationalists redoubled their efforts in Cairo and in Paris. The council of the Arab League submitted the Moroccan question to the United Nations, which passed a resolution on the situation in Morocco. While, on the ground, General Guillaume made his presence felt with a number of declarations designed to assert the French role, against a backdrop of intermittent demonstrations and incidents, the Sultan sent a statement of intent to the French government on 14 March 1952, demanding the formation of a Moroccan government competent to negotiate the revision of the 1912 treaty. The long-delayed French response offered proposals on democratisation, insisting on the participation of the French residents in municipal elections. The Sultan rejected the French stipulations. On 5 December 1952, news of the assassination of Ferhat Hashed, leader of the Tunisian syndicalist movement, provoked a general strike in Morocco, marked on the 7th and 8th of the month by numerous incidents. Repression ensued. But soon after this, on 7 January 1953, a campaign began, inspired by El Glaoui and the <u>*Sh*</u>*arīf* al-Kettānī, demanding the deposition of the Sultan. A petition signed by 270 *sayyids* and *pa<u>sh</u>as*, of the 370 present in Morocco, supported them. The two camps engaged in vigorous shows of strength. On 20 April 1953, the decision to depose Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was taken; he left with his family, moving first to Corsica and then to Madagascar, and his place on the ʿAlawid throne was taken by Muḥammad ben ʿArafa, 73 years of age and a member of the dynastic clan who had lived hitherto in total obscurity. On the following day, the *ʿulamāʾ* of Fās ratified this choice. The new sultan appeared to be supported by the forces of the past. Several incidents followed the deposition of the sovereign; the Spanish, on the other hand, did not recognise the *fait accompli*. The affair took on an international dimension and provoked in the Moroccan population an upsurge of

feeling which was almost unanimously opposed to those responsible for the removal of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. Mūlāy ᶜArafa, who, after two attempts on his life, refused to leave the palace, lost all prestige. None of the reforms which had been promised were implemented. Gradually, the situation in Morocco deteriorated. European products were boycotted; acts of political violence committed by autonomous organisations increased both in number and in effectiveness. Agitation spread to the working and mercantile classes; acts of counterterrorism were carried out by Europeans.

Disturbed by the worsening situation, the French government sought to obtain from the deposed sultan declarations which would put an end to the unrest. Through various intermediaries a conciliation procedure was worked out; this comprised the expulsion of Muḥammad b. ᶜArafa, the creation of a Throne Council, the establishment of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and his family in France. While at the conference of Aix-les-Bains (July-August 1955) French ministers held talks with the Moroccan nationalists, the Council of the Throne was with some difficulty inaugurated on 15 October 1955, and a moderate nationalist, Sī Fāṭmī ben Slīmān, was charged with the formation of the new government. The *Istiḳlāl* refused to recognise either the Council of the Throne or government. But the really sensational move came on the 25 October 1955 from the Pas̲h̲a of Marrakesh, al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Tuhāmī Glaoui, who challenged the legitimacy of the Council of the Throne and declared publicly that he saw no solution other than in the restoration of Sīdī Muḥammad ben Yūsuf, whose pardon he was now seeking. A few days later, the *s̲h̲arīf* Sī ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kettānī declared himself in agreement with El Glaoui. On 30 October, Ben ᶜArafa renounced his prerogatives. On 2 November, the members of the Council of the Throne offered their resignations to Sīdī Muḥammad, who had arrived in France two days before. On 6 November 1955 a joint declaration was issued by the Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay and the Sultan at the conclusion of the La Celle Saint-Cloud negotiations. Morocco was granted full and unconditional independence.

The return of the Sultan of Morocco took place in an atmosphere of general jubilation. The transition from the old to the new régime was accomplished without major difficulty, the process being smoothed by reciprocal good will. The issue was hastened by the need to disband the Moroccan Liberation Army, which was committed to Mag̲h̲ribī unity and advocated active support of the Algerian rebellion. Some of its contigents were incorporated into the regular army, while the hard core was diverted towards the liberation of the lands of the Sahara. In August 1957, Morocco was transformed into a monarchy and Mūlāy Ḥasan was designated crown prince. Matured by his experiences and confident of his success, Muḥammad V adopted the role of a consultative king in a conservative tradition typified more by negotiation and persuasion than by the use of threats and force. The *Istiḳlāl* party never achieved the homogeneous government which it had campaigned for, and became fragmented. It was obliged to collaborate with successive governments which combined the representatives of various political forces as well as independents loyal to the monarch. A National Consultative Assembly, with limited powers, had been created in November 1956. After eighteen months of attempting to work in harmony with leftist elements of the *Istiḳlāl*, in May 1960 the King finally took over the direction of the government, appointing the prince Mūlāy Ḥasan to the post of Deputy Prime Minister. A constitution for the country was promised before the end of 1962. Troublesome incidents took place in the Tafilalt, and especially among the tribes of the Rīf and the Middle Atlas in October 1958. They were suppressed by an operation of the Royal Armed Forces commanded by the Crown Prince.

Recognised as independent, Morocco made its presence felt in the United Nations Organisation, joined the League of Arab States in 1958 and declared its support for Algerian independence. Tangier was economically re-integrated into the kingdom in April 1960. In the south, Spain relinquished sovereignty over the territory of Ṭarfāya in April 1958, and over the zone of Ifni on 4 January 1961, but refused to withdraw from the western Sahara and from the towns of Ceuta and Melilla. Claims on Mauritania, which had become independent in 1960 with the support of France, were also fruitless.

King Muḥammad V suffered from a nasal ailment which caused him persistent headaches. He was obliged to undergo an operation which was apparently successful, but he died of a heart-attack on 26 February 1961. His son Ḥasan II succeeded him.

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(R. Santucci)

MUḤAMMAD b. YŪSUF [see abū ḥayyān].

MUḤAMMAD b. YŪSUF al-ᶜĀMIRĪ [see al-ᶜāmirī, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD b. YŪSUF al-SANŪSĪ [see al-sanūsī].

MUḤAMMAD b. ZAYD b. Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl ... b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Zaydī Imām who reigned over Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*] and D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān [see

GURGĀN] for some years during the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

As the brother of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*] *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, he succeeded him in 270/884 and received the title of *al-dāʿī al-ṣaghīr* and the *laḳab* or honorific title of al-Ḳāʾim bi ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ. It is above all from this point that he is heard of, since before his assumption of power he seems to have lived in his brother's shadow. The latter, however, had commissioned him to bring back to reasonableness their cousin al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-ʿAḳīḳī who, during a period of absence on the part of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, had rebelled in their capital of Sāriya, had summoned the populace to recognise him and had gone to Djurdjān, where Muḥammad b. Zayd had caught up with him, captured him and beheaded him.

After his brother's death, he made some efforts to extend his family's possessions. Thus in 227/885-6 he tried to seize Rayy [*q.v.*], but was defeated and had to flee to Lārīdjān [see LĀR]. Consequently, he was involved in the struggles of Rāfiʿ b. Harthama [*q.v.*] against ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār [*q.v.*]. Expelled from Djurdjān by Rāfiʿ, who was acting on behalf of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], he found refuge with the Daylamīs who had given their allegiance to the Zaydī Imāms in 277/890; but two years later Rāfiʿ came over to the *dāʿī*'s side and returned Djurdjān to him in return for the promise to provide aid for him against ʿAmr b. al-Layth, but his new ally was killed in 283/896 in an encounter with his enemies in Khwārazm. When the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr's troops in Rabīʿ II/April 900, Muḥammad b. Zayd thought that the moment had come when he could seize control of Khurāsān. Disregarding Ismāʿīl's advice, who tried to dissuade him from the plan, he set out but was intercepted in Djurdjān by the general Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who seems to have gained the upper hand. At all events, the *dāʿī* was wounded, taken prisoner and died in Djurdjān, whither he had been taken, in Shawwāl 287/October 900 (Abu ʾl-Faradj gives the date of his death as Ramaḍān 289/August 902, but the first date is the more likely one).

Despite his political activities, Muḥammad b. Zayd had some sympathy for the ʿAbbāsids, and it is even said that when al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] learnt of his death, he showed sorrow and regret. In al-Masʿūdī's time, his tomb was venerated. He behaved in an upright manner, was cultured and composed poetry; it was in a panegyric in his honour that Naṣr b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] committed a famous gaffe.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 59; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Abu ʾl-Faradj, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, 693-4, 712, 714; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, i, 233, 252; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 122. See also the Bibl. to the article AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD. (ED.)

MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-KARĪM ʿALAWĪ [see ʿABD AL-KARĪM MUNSHĪ].

MUḤAMMAD ʿABDĪLLE ḤASSĀN [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH ḤASSĀN].

MUḤAMMAD ʿABDUH, a Muslim theologian, founder of the Egyptian modernist school.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh belonged to an Egyptian peasant family and was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt. He spent his childhood in the little village of Maḥallat Naṣr in the *mudīriyya* of Buḥayra in Lower Egypt, where his father had returned to his land. When Muḥammad ʿAbduh had learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, he was sent in 1862 to the theological school of Ṭanṭā but he left this after a year-and-a-half, discouraged, and was only induced to resume his studies through the influence of a grand-uncle who aroused in him an interest in mysticism. In 1865 he returned to Ṭanṭā, but the next year proceeded to Cairo to the Azhar mosque. There at this moment the first movements of a new spirit were becoming apparent in the beginning of a return to the classics and an awakening interest in natural science and history, which agreed with mysticism in a lower estimation of the old traditional studies. In this milieu, Muḥammad ʿAbduh at once devoted himself entirely to mysticism, practised asceticism and retired from the world. It was again his grand-uncle who persuaded him to give this up. About the same time, 1872, Muḥammad ʿAbduh came into contact with Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] who had just arrived in Egypt and was destined to exercise a profound influence upon him. It was he who revealed traditional learning to Muḥammad ʿAbduh in a new light, called his attention to European works accessible in translations and attracted his interest finally to Egyptian and Muslim problems of the day. Muḥammad ʿAbduh soon became his most ardent disciple and in his very first work of a mystic nature (*Risālat al-Wāridāt*, 1290/1874) enthusiastically described Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn as his spiritual guide. The influence of the latter is still more marked on the matter of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's second work, notes on dogmatics entitled *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Dawānī li ʾl-ʿaḳāʾid al-ʿaḍudiyya* [1292/1876]. The influence of al-Afghānī and the development of affairs in Egypt towards the end of the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] caused Muḥammad ʿAbduh in 1876 to take to journalism, which he practised henceforth. After concluding his studies at the Azhar mosque and acquiring the certificate of an *ʿālim* (scholar), he first of all gave private tuition; in 1879 he was appointed as teacher in the Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*], which had been founded a few years before to modernise instruction in religious learning. In the same year, shortly after the accession of the Khedive Tawfīḳ [*q.v.*], Muḥammad ʿAbduh was dismissed for reasons that have not been clearly explained and sent to his native village, while al-Afghānī was banished from Egypt; but a liberal ministry very soon recalled Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1880) and appointed him chief editor of the official gazette *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, which not only contained official announcements but also endeavoured to influence public opinion; under Muḥammad ʿAbduh's control it became the mouthpiece of the liberal party. In spite of a common ultimate goal, the liberation of the Muslim peoples and a renaissance of Islam by its own strength, there was an essential difference between Muḥammad ʿAbduh's programme and that of al-Afghānī; the latter was a revolutionary who aimed at a complete upheaval; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, on the other hand, held that only gradual reform could be successful, thought that no political revolution could take the place of a gradual transformation of mentality and regarded a reform of education, especially moral and religious, as the first preliminary to progress. His interest gradually became concentrated on Islam and its position in the modern world. ʿUrābī Pasha's rebellion put an end to Muḥammad ʿAbduh's activity on these lines. His part in this movement has not yet been sufficiently elucidated; although it is certain that he neither shared the optimism of military circles nor approved of their use of force, he put himself on the side of the nationalist opponents of absolutism and endeavoured to exert a moderating influence on its leaders. After the suppression of the rebellion he was condemned to

banishment from Egypt at the end of 1882. He first went to Beirut and then to Paris where in the beginning of 1884 he met al-Afghānī. The two founded a society called *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthkā*, and published a paper with the same name, which had to cease publication after eight months but exercised a very profound influence on the development of nationalism in the Muslim east. In Tunis, Muḥammad ʿAbduh continued propaganda for the society, but then cut himself off from it and settled in Beirut at the beginning of 1885. The *ʿUrwa* expressed the views of al-Afghānī entirely. In Beirut, ʿAbduh taught at a theological school and engaged in Islamic and Arabic studies. In this period he produced his translation from the Persian of the *Risālat al-Radd ʿalā 'l-dahriyyīn*, the only considerable work of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn (1302/1886), and two valuable philological treatises, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* (1302/1885) and *Sharḥ makāmāt Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* (1306/1889). When in 1889 he was allowed to return, he at once went to Cairo. His wish to resume teaching again was not at once granted; instead, he entered the justiciary and was immediately appointed a judge on the Tribunaux Indigènes, and two years later Conseiller at the Cour d'Appèl; in 1899 he attained the highest clerical post in Egypt, that of state *muftī*, an office he held till his death. One result of his work in the courts was the publication of his verdicts in *Taḳrīr fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya* (1318/1900) which gave the stimulus to important reforms in the administration of the *sharīʿa*, and the foundation of the college for *ḳāḍīs* goes back primarily to his efforts. In the same year, 1899, he became a member of the Conseil Législatif, which marked the first stage in the representation of the Egyptian people. Finally, he was allowed to resume his interest in education; in 1894 he became a member of the governing body of the Azhar, which had been constituted at his suggestion and in this capacity not only acquired great renown by his reforms in the university but himself took an active part in the teaching. In addition to this many-sided activity, in the fifteen years after his return he found time to publish a number of works, including his most important: the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* (1315/1897), his principal theological work based on his lectures in Beirut; the publication of a work on logic (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Baṣāʾir al-nāṣiriyya, taṣnīf al-Ḳāḍī Zayn al-Dīn* (1316/1898); a defence of Islam against Christianity in the field of knowledge and civilisation entitled *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya* (1320/1902; first published in *al-Manār*). Muḥammad ʿAbduh was not able to finish his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, on which he laid great importance and of which he had published portions in *al-Manār*; it was revised by his disciple and friend Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] and published first of all in *al-Manār*. Of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's numerous articles by which, along with his lectures, he most influenced public opinion, two (of 1900) were published in a French translation entitled *L'Europe et l'Islam* by Muḥammad Ṭalʿat Ḥarb Bey (1905). The advanced ideas put forward by Muḥammad ʿAbduh provoked the most vigorous hostility in orthodox and conservative circles, which manifested itself not only in serious refutations but also in attacks and intrigues against him, as we see from a whole literature of lampoons. But his teaching met with remarkable support among all seriously minded Muslims. The principal organ of his views was the monthly *al-Manār*, which had appeared since 1897 under the editorship of Rashīd Riḍā, who also produced an extensive literary monument to his master (but his views and the tendencies of his periodical must not be identified uncritically with those of Muḥammad ʿAbduh). Muḥammad ʿAbduh died in 1905; but his teaching has retained its influence steadily to the present day.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh's programme, according to his own statement was: 1. the reform of the Muslim religion by bringing it back to its original condition; 2. the renovation of the Arabic language; 3. the recognition of the rights of the people in relation to the government. His political activity was dominated by the idea of patriotism, which he was the first to champion enthusiastically in Egypt. As an opponent equally of the political control by Europe and of oriental desposition in Muslim lands, he favoured an inner assimilation of western civilisation, without abandoning the fundamental Muslim ideas and a synthesis of the two factors. From this programme, which assures Muḥammad ʿAbduh an important place among the founders of modern Egypt, must be distinguished his efforts to carry it through in the field of theology. Muḥammad ʿAbduh was in the first place a theologian; his life was devoted to the attempt to establish and maintain Islam, at least as a religion, against the onslaught of the West, while he abandoned without a struggle those aspects of Muslim oriental life in which religion was of less moment. However great a stimulus he may have received from progressive western thought, the actual foundations of his teaching came primarily from the school of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, who favoured reform on conservative lines, and from al-Ghazālī's ethical conception of religion. Deeply convinced of the superiority of true Islam, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, Muḥammad ʿAbduh wished to get rid of the abuses which falsified the Muslim religion and made it out of keeping with the times, and to adapt Islam to every real advance by going back to its true principles. He was thus brought to attack the *madhāhib* and *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], to demand the restoration of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] and a new *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], in keeping with modern conditions, based on the Ḳurʾān and the true *sunna*, for the establishment of which he laid down strict criteria; he was also brought to reject the hairsplitting of the *fuḳahāʾ*, the worship of saints and all *bidʿa*, and to the endeavour to create a more ethical and deeper religion instead of a mechanical formalism. The antiquated system of *fiḳh*, against which Muḥammad ʿAbduh claimed full freedom, was to be replaced by new laws capable of development, in which consideration for the common good (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]) and the times should, in keeping with the true spirit of Islam, have if necessary preference to the literal text (*naṣṣ*) of revelation, just as in any conflict between reason and tradition in settling what is laid down by religion, the verdict of reason should be followed. Alongside of the belief in the sublimity of revelation there was in Muḥammad ʿAbduh the conviction that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all, so that reason need not recognise a logical impossibility as a religious truth: religion was given to man as a thread to guide him against the aberrations of reason; reason must therefore, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, which it is qualified to do, accept its dogmas; Muḥammad ʿAbduh's object was a cooperation between religion and science. In dogmatics, he adopted essentially the most rational conception that could still be reconciled with orthodoxy. At the same time, he interiorised the conception of revelation (to him it was intuitive knowledge caused by God and provided with the consciousness of this origin, but this kind of religious experience was limited to the pro-

phets) and deflected that of religion (to him it was an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason). The task of prophecy for him was the moral education of the masses. Religious teaching and commandments were therefore intended for the masses and not for the élite. He regarded the Ḳurʾān as created and endeavoured to weaken the rigidly opposed point of view of orthodoxy. The saints he did take into his system, but was sceptical regarding belief in miracles: In spite of the denial of causality and laws of nature by orthodoxy, he found a basis for explaining nature by causal laws, but by quite scholastically formal reasoning. As regards the duties of religion, Muḥammad ʿAbduh adhered to the four main duties: ritual prayer, the alms tax, fasting and pilgrimage; only he shifted them, as usual in mysticism, from the sphere of worship to that of religion and morals. On the old question of free will, he decided for indeterminism; he thereby opened the way to build up a moral system for society, which, excluding all fatalism, preached vigorous activity by every one and, following the ethics of the mystics, mutual support. His view of the substance of Muslim teaching Muḥammad ʿAbduh defended not only against traditional orthodoxy but against Christianity also by a kind of philosophy of history of religion: the sending of prophets was a gradual process of education of step by step; the last and highest stage, that of absolute religion, is the sending of Muḥammad; if the Muslim peoples of the present do not correspond to the Muslim ideal, this is only the result of the fact that they have lost the old purity of the teaching; an improvement is possible by return to it. This primitive Islam of Muḥammad ʿAbduh was however not the historical Islam but a very much idealised one. The superiority of Islam over Christianity in substance lay, according to him, in its rationalism and its closeness to reality and its avoidance of unattainable ideals of life.

In this theology, the religious content consists of humility before God, reverence for the Prophet, enthusiasm for the Ḳurʾān. The basis of this Islam is the recognition of a not too retrogressive system of dogmatics; its object is the observance of an ethical system which is favourable to progress; and both are influenced by a strongly marked rationalism, which is genuinely part of primitive Islam but for Muḥammad ʿAbduh was no indifferent inheritance but the main weapon of defence of Islam and actually took the place of a deepening of religion, so that his theology had the character of an apologetic compromise.

Bibliography: G. Bergsträsser, *Islam und Abendland*, in *Auslandsstudien*, iv, Königsberg 1929, 15 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 320 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, 13 ff.; Horten, *Mohammed Abduh*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, xiii-xiv. On the life story of Muḥammad ʿAbduh is based the trilogy of novels by F. Bonjean and A. Deyf, called *Mansour, El Azhar* and *Cheikh Abdou l'Égyptien*. For more recent studies, see the Bibl. to IṢLĀḤ, i. The Arab world, §§ 4-5; J.M. Ahmad, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, Oxford 1960, index; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*, London 1962, chs. VI-VII; C. Wendell, *The evolution of the Egyptian national image, from its origins to Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid*, Berkeley, etc. 1972, index; P.J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Sadat*², London 1980, 193 ff. (J. SCHACHT)

MUḤAMMAD ABU ʾL-DHAHAB, a Mamlūk bey of the Ḳāzdughliyya [*q.v.*] group.

He had entered the household of *Bulut Ḳāpān* ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] by 1174/1760-1, and quickly became his treasurer (*khāzindār*). In 1178/1764-5, after returning from Pilgrimage with his master (when he was emancipated), he was elevated to the beylicate, and obtained his nickname from scattering a largesse of gold coins on his appointment. His subsequent career falls into two periods: (1) Until 1185/1771 he was ʿAlī Bey's principal lieutenant, and commanded three important military expeditions. In 1183/1769 a campaign in Upper Egypt broke the power of Hawwāra [*q.v.*] under their paramount chief, Humām b. Yūsuf. An expedition to the Ḥidjāz in 1184/1770 installed as *amīr* of Mecca the candidate favoured by the Ottoman court. In 1185/1771 Abu ʾl-Dhahab was sent to Syria for combined operations with Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar, the rebel ruler of Galilee, against ʿUthmān Pasha al-Ṣādiḳ, the governor of Damascus. ʿUthmān Pasha fled, and the city had fallen, when Abu ʾl-Dhahab hastily evacuated his forces and returned to Egypt. Various reasons have been suggested for this unexpected act, among them a reluctance to appear in open revolt against the sultan. A breach with ʿAlī Bey now developed. Abu ʾl-Dhahab fled to Upper Egypt, where he built up his forces, and returned in Muḥarram 1186/April 1772, driving ʿAlī Bey to seek refuge with Ẓāhir. (2) Abu ʾl-Dhahab, now master of Egypt, secured his position by defeating an invasion by ʿAlī Bey (8 Ṣafar 1187/1 May 1773), who died a few days later. Abu ʾl-Dhahab, who succeeded him as *shaykh al-balad*, essentially continued his policy of establishing an autonomous Mamlūk state in Egypt with a buffer-zone in Palestine, but nominally recognised the sultan's suzerainty. After an interregnum since Shaʿbān 1182/December 1768, a titular Ottoman viceroy was received (Rabīʿ I 1187/June 1773). The annual contribution to the sultan's treasury (*irsāliyye* [*q.v.*]), withheld by ʿAlī Bey, was resumed. An invasion of Palestine was undertaken, ostensibly to overthrow the rebel Shaykh Ẓāhir. Abu ʾl-Dhahab marched out in early Muḥarram 1189/March 1775, and took Jaffa. Ẓāhir fled as Abu ʾl-Dhahab advanced on his capital, Acre, which fell and was pillaged. There he suddenly died (8 Rabīʿ II 1189/8 June 1775: so al-Djabartī, i, 414), and his lieutenant, Murād Bey, forthwith evacuated the army to Egypt. Abu ʾl-Dhahab was buried in his own funerary mosque in Cairo; the inscription gives him the equivocal title of *ʿazīz Miṣr* [*q.v.*] which had earlier been assumed by ʿAlī Bey.

Supported by the profitable *iltizāms* which had been engrossed by ʿAlī Bey and Abu ʾl-Dhahab, his Mamlūk household, the Muḥammadiyya, headed by Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey, held almost continuous domination over a quasi-autonomous Egypt until the arrival of Bonaparte's expedition in 1213/1798.

Bibliography: The basic contemporary source is Djabartī (b. 1167/1753), *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, i; numerous references from p. 252 onwards; obituary at 417-20. Also contemporary are (1) the Lebanese chronicler, Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī (b. 1174/1761), *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-umarāʾ al-Shihābiyyīn*, ed. Asad Rustum and Fouad E. Boustany, Beirut 1933, i, numerous references especially at 81-111; and (2) al-Murādī (eyewitness of the siege of Damascus in 1185/1771), *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Būlāḳ 1310/1883-84, i, 54-7. The fullest modern treatment is by D. Crecelius, *The roots of modern Egypt*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1981 (comprehensive bibliography). (P.M. HOLT)

MUḤAMMAD ABŪ ZAYD, a modern Egyp-

tian theologian from the town of Damanhūr. In 1930 he published a Ḳurʾān commentary which caused a commotion in Egypt. Because of this commentary, the well-known reformer Rashīd Riḍā [q.v.] accused him of atheism, and, at the same time, of stealing ideas from Muḥammad ᶜAbduh [q.v.]. An investigatory committee of Azhar scholars condemned Muḥammad Abū Zayd and his Ḳurʾān commentary.

Nevertheless, this commentary is conceived in a spirit of rationalism which differs little from Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's rationalist ideas. According to its author, the indignation which it evoked was due to political reasons. This may have been true. For instance, according to Muḥammad Abū Zayd, the plural demonstrative pronoun in Ḳurʾān IV, 62/59 "Obey... *those* of you who have the command", indicates that Islam does not admit of rule by one man. An autocratic ruler of a Muslim country may have doubts as to whether this conclusion is correct.

On the basis of Ḳurʾān III, 125/130, "Live not on usury doubled twice over", Muḥammad Abū Zayd taught that Islam does not forbid interest if the percentage is moderate and reasonable.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Abū Zayd, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-ᶜirfān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1349; A. Jeffery, *The suppressed Qurʾan commentary of Muhammad Abū Zayd*, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 301-8; *Nūr al-Islām*, ii (1350), 163-206, 249-81, *Taḳrīr al-Ladjna al-Azhariyya*; J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 87-9.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

MUḤAMMAD ᶜALĪ (1878-1931), political leader, journalist and poet, was one of the prominent figures of the Indian Muslim community during the second and third decades of this century. He was born at Rāmpūr [q.v.] on 10 December 1878. His father, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlī Khān (1848-80) was an officer in the Nawwāb's army and died young. Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his brothers were brought up by their illiterate mother, Ābādī Begum, better known in the Indian history as Bī Ammāñ ("Respected Mother"), who played an active role in Indian politics until her death in November 1924. Despite fierce opposition by her in-laws, she sent her sons to English-language schools.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī received his B.A. from the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College, ᶜAlīgaṙh, in 1898 and proceeded to England the same year to appear in the Civil Service examination. He obtained another B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1902 but failed in the Civil Service test. Back in India, he was appointed inspector of schools in his native Rāmpūr. Soon he resigned the job due to court intrigues. He served as a civil servant in the princely state of Baroda (1903-10), where he started to take interest in political issues. He attended the first meeting of the Muslim League (ML) at Dacca (Dhākā) in 1906 and helped to formulate its constitution. He had to leave Baroda as a result of the Mahārādjā's displeasure at his writing a series of articles in the *Times of India* in 1907, entitled "Some thoughts on the present discontent". He declined job offers, including the post of the chief secretary of the princely state of Bhopāl [q.v.], and proceeded to Calcutta, which was still then the capital of British India, in order to launch an English-language weekly, *Comrade*. The first issue was published in January 1911. When the British transferred the capital to Dihlī in 1912, Muḥammad ᶜAlī moved there also with his paper.

Together with many prominent Indian Muslims, Muḥammad ᶜAlī reacted sharply against the Balkan Wars and was instrumental in dispatching an Indian "medical mission" to treat the wounded Turkish soldiers in December 1912. Next year, he launched an Urdū daily, *Hamdard*, in order to reach the Muslim public. Demolition of a portion of a mosque in Kānpūr [q.v.] on 3 August 1913 and subsequent firing on a group of Muslim men and children trying to rebuild it, provoked sharp reaction by the Muslims of India. As protests to British authorities in India proved futile, Muḥammad ᶜAlī, together with the ML secretary, Wazīr Ḥasan, went to England (October-December 1913) to plead the Muslim case. In the meantime, the Viceroy visited the mosque on 14 October and allowed rebuilding of the demolished section.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī supported the Turkish cause during the First World War. He wrote an editorial entitled "Choice of the Turks" in the 26 September 1914 issue of *Comrade*, in reply to an editorial of the London *Times* bearing the same headline. As a result, *Comrade*'s deposit was forfeited and its publication banned on 3 November; a ban on *Hamdard* followed in August 1915.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī and his elder brother Shawkat, now an active supporter, were detained from 16 May 1915 to 28 December 1919. The duo worked in such unison that they came to be commonly referred to as the ᶜAlī Birādarān ("ᶜAlī Brothers"). It was later known that they were also involved in a secret plan, the so-called "Silk Letter Conspiracy", to overthrow the British government in India with Turkish and Afghān help during the First World War. While in detention, Muḥammad ᶜAlī was elected president of the ML in September 1917.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī was the leader of the popular Khilāfat Movement [q.v.] that arose in India in protest against the treatment of Turkey by the Allies in the wake of the First World War. He led a "Khilāfat Delegation" to Europe (February-October 1920) to plead with European powers for a better treatment to Turkey. During the course of the Khilāfat agitation, Muḥammad ᶜAlī called for non-cooperation (*tark-i muwālāt*) with the British and was able to persuade the Indian National Congress (INC) to endorse it in December 1920 (called off, however, by M.K. Gāndhī in February 1922).

As the M.A.O. College, ᶜAlīgaṙh (now erected into a University), refused to join his anti-British campaign, Muḥammad ᶜAlī founded a parallel "National University" there in October 1920. Later renamed as the *Djāmiᶜa Milliyya Islāmiyya*, it was moved to Dihlī in October 1925.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī was again arrested in September 1921 for making a "seditious" speech at Karāčī in July in which he exhorted Muslim soldiers to desert the British army. He was tried, together with six others including Shawkat, in the famous "Karāčī Trial" in September 1921. He was acquitted of the sedition charge but found guilty on minor counts and jailed for two years. During his detention he started to write a book on Islam. As its introduction, he wrote his autobiography up to 1923. He was released in August 1923 before he could complete the work, which was later published as *My life: a fragment.*

He was elected president of the INC in December 1923, only to leave the party soon thereafter on account of differences over its policy towards Muslim issues. Earlier in his political career, Muḥammad ᶜAlī had been a champion of Hindū-Muslim brotherhood and cooperation. However, in his later days he came to believe that Muslims of India need greater protection against the growing Hindū assertiveness. This argument later developed into the demand for Pākistān.

The Khilāfat Movement died naturally when

Muṣṭafā Kemāl [see ATATÜRK] abolished the caliphate in 1924, and Muḥammad ʿAlī tried in vain to revive it through the Arabian ruler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd. *Comrade* was re-launched in October 1924 and *Hamdard* in November. Falling readership led to the closure of the former in January 1926, while the latter managed to survive until April 1929. By this time, a disorganised and hectic life had taken its toll of Muḥammad ʿAlī. Despite his illness, he insisted on attending the Round Table Conference in November 1930 at London, where he died on 4 January 1931. He was buried in the precinct of the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem. Aḥmad Shawḳī, the Egyptian poet, wrote his elegy, and he was the subject of a number of poems by Muḥammad Iḳbāl. Muḥammad ʿAlī himself was a poet, thanks to long periods of detention, and collections of his Urdū poems were published in his life-time; he used the poetic pen name (*takhalluṣ*) of Djawhar. He should not be confused with his contemporary, Muḥammad ʿAlī of the Lāhōrī of the Aḥmadiyya Movement [*q.v.*] who translated the Ḳurʾān into English.

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MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ BĀRFURŪSHĪ ḲUDDŪS, MULLĀ (1239-65/1824-49) outstanding leader of early Bābism [see BĀB, BĀBĪS]. Born to a peasant family in Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān, he pursued religious studies there and in Mashhad. In 1256/1840-1, he moved to Karbalāʾ, where he studied under Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], head of the Shaykhī school [*q.v.*]. He was the last member of the small group of Shaykhī *ʿulamāʾ* to accept Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (sc. the Bāb) as Rashtī's successor in 1260/1844.

Bārfurūshī accompanied Shīrāzī on a *ḥadjdj* journey (1844-5), was arrested in Shīrāz after his return, and soon returned to Māzandarān, where he remained in seclusion for two years. In 1847, he went to Mashhad, where Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bushrūʾī [*q.v.*] had established an important Bābī centre. Returning to Māzandarān in 1848, Bārfurūshī played a leading role in the Bābī gathering at Badasht, at which the Islamic *sharīʿa* was abolished. His own position seems to have been conservative, and there are hints of a rift between him and other Bābī leaders. Following a brief imprisonment in Sārī, he joined the Bābī contingent at the fortified shrine of Shaykh Ṭabarsī, near his home-town of Bārfurūsh. Here he was highly regarded, being acclaimed as the *Ḳāʾim* [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD] in person and, at one stage, even claiming to be God. Assuming leadership of the fort on the death of Bushrūʾī, he was finally taken prisoner and executed in his native town on 23 Djumādā II 1265/16 May 1849. His grave there later became a Bahāʾī shrine. Few of his apparently voluminous writings have survived.

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MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ ḤUDJDJAT-I **ZANDJĀNĪ**, MULLĀ (1227-67/1812-51), leading exponent of Bābism in Zandjān, and chief protagonist of the Bābī uprising there. Born in Zandjān to a clerical family, he studied in Nadjaf, but on his father's death returned to take his place. He soon acquired a reputation for a puritan implementation of the *sharīʿa* and for his introduction of religious innovations, thereby incurring the disfavour of the clerical establishment.

The circumstances of his conversion to Bābism around 1260/1844 are unclear, but his connection with the sect intensified his role as an independent religious leader with his own following. He built a large prayer-complex based on his father's mosque and had a new one built for himself, to which he attracted large numbers. By 1850, the number of his followers had risen to 2,000 or 3,000. Following complaints lodged against him by other *ʿulamāʾ*, Zandjānī was summoned to Tehran, where he was investigated by a tribunal consisting of Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], government officials and leading clerics. Exonerated, he returned to Zandjān, where he forcibly assumed the role of Imām-Djumʿa as the Bāb's appointee. This led to his being returned to Tehran and placed under house arrest for a year. Following the death of Muḥammad Shāh in Shawwāl 1264/September 1848, however, he escaped and returned to Zandjān. He now instituted radical changes in the city. Poor and rich were seated separately in his mosque, and the *sharīʿa* was rigidly enforced. Before long, he challenged the governor's authority, and in May 1850 fighting broke out between his followers and those loyal to the other clergy. Zandjān was divided by the governor into two camps, and a fierce struggle began, leading to considerable loss of life on both sides. Zandjān himself died in the course of the fighting, on 5 Rabīʿ I 1267/8 January 1851.

Unlike other Bābī leaders of this period, Zandjānī played a very minor role in the religious development of the movement, either as a writer or preacher. It may even be wondered whether he and his followers were, in the strict sense, Bābīs at all. For all that, his place as an early Bābī hero is secure in modern Bahāʾī hagiography.

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(D. MacEoin)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ PASHA (late 1760s-1849), Ottoman governor-general and effective ruler of Egypt. He was known in his time and to his Ottoman milieu as Meḥmed ʿAlī Pasha. In European sources, he was often referred to as the viceroy of Egypt or simply as the Pasha. Assuming the title Khedive, which officially was only granted to his grandson Ismāʿīl in 1867, Muḥammad ʿAlī was Ottoman governor-general of Egypt from 1805 to 1848, when, owing to mental incapacity, the position was formally conferred on his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. His heirs ruled Egypt, with varying degrees of effective power, until 1952.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha was one of the most important and controversial figures in the modern history of Egypt. His career can be divided into four distinct periods: (1) his rise to the position of governor-general and consolidation of power, 1801-11; (2) the period in which he laid the economic and military foundations for what later became a regional empire centred on Egypt, 1812-27; (3) the height of Egyptian hegemony and the beginning of the disintegration of his economic control system, 1828-41; and (4) the post-heroic phase and the setting of realism and retrenchment, 1841-8. The last phase of his reign ushered in a new and significantly different period—the middle decades—which spanned also the reigns of ʿAbbās, Saʿīd, and the first phase of Ismāʿīl's reign. That time of repose, peace, prosperity, and reconstruction followed Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign of rapid development and stormy expansionism, and of dynamic, innovative but also exhausting and oppressive government.

1. *Rise and consolidation (1801-11).*

Muḥammad ʿAlī was born in the late 1760s (the exact date is under debate) in the small Macedonian port of Kavala [see ḲAWĀLA]. His father was an Ottoman soldier of Albanian origins, who rose to command the local force of irregulars, but also engaged in tobacco trading. His mother came from the family of the town governor. Muḥammad ʿAlī followed in his father's footsteps until he was appointed in 1801, deputy-commander of the contingent recruited in Kavala to join the Ottoman forces in Egypt. The Kavala contingent was to become part of the Ottoman-Albanian battalion dispatched to fight the French in Egypt. It was then that Muḥammad ʿAlī began his spectacular rise to the pinnacle of power in that beleaguered Ottoman province.

Rapidly grasping the complex power-game that prevailed in Egypt at the time, Muḥammad ʿAlī skilfully manipulated the various parties to promote his own interests. In just about four-and-a-half years, he manoeuvred so as to be appointed by the Porte, albeit reluctantly, governor-general of Egypt. The details themselves are perhaps less important than the method by which this extraordinary achievement was accomplished. The main vehicle that served the aspiring officer was the Ottoman-Albanian unit, whose leadership he indeed obtained in mid-1803 as the first stepping stone to power. The other competitors were the various factions of Mamlūk beys, the Ottoman governor-general and regiments, and the urban notables. The nature of the game consisted in striking the right balance, forming a durable coalition, playing opposition factions against each other, assessing the relative strength and vital interests of all parties, and possessing a fine sense of timing. In all these, Muḥammad ʿAlī bettered his rivals.

Crucial events leading to the ascendancy of Muḥammad ʿAlī took place between 1803 and 1805. The Mamlūk warriors [see MAMLŪKS. (i) Political history (f)] were then split into two factions, one led by ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī, the other by Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī. The Ottoman camp was also divided against itself between the *wālī* or governor Khusrew Pasha and the commander of the Albanian force Ṭāhir Pasha. The cleavage within each camp turned the Mamlūk-Ottoman scramble for control of Egypt into a complex struggle between *ad hoc* coalitions of sub-groups. In April 1803, the Ottoman-Albanians mutinied in Cairo over pay demands, and Khusrew fled to Damietta. Ṭāhir, who temporarily assumed the leadership, called in the Mamlūks from Upper Egypt, but was assassinated soon after. This enabled Muḥammad ʿAlī to assume the position of commander of the Ottoman-Albanian unit, probably the most effective force in Egypt at the time.

Muḥammad ʿAlī renewed the alliance with the Mamlūks, defeated Khusrew Pasha at Damietta, and brought him to Cairo as prisoner. With Muḥammad al-Alfī in England to rally support for his faction, the coalition depended on the political ties between al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad ʿAlī. Another governor-general, sent from Istanbul, was ultimately eliminated by that coalition early in 1804. As al-Alfī returned to an unwelcome reception and was forced by an Ottoman-Albanian contingent to escape to Upper Egypt, al-Bardīsī became the next target. The time-honoured mechanism of disrupting public order in Cairo was set in motion, and Muḥammad ʿAlī's troops rioted in demand of pay arrears. Al-Bardīsī imposed a new tax on the population, bringing the situation to the verge of revolt. It was Muḥammad ʿAlī who then appeared as the saviour of the Cairenes, abrogated the tax, and drove al-Bardīsī out of town. He thus laid the foundations of the alliance with the urban notables—the leading *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants—which would legitimate his seizure of power in the following year.

In the interim period of sixteen months, Muḥammad ʿAlī allowed the appointment of an Ottoman *wālī*, while he himself engaged his troops in a campaign against the Mamlūks. The new *wālī* attempted to improve his subservient position in the Cairene power-play by introducing fresh irregular forces from Syria. The unruly behaviour of the Syrian force only provoked the wrath of the notables and drew Muḥammad ʿAlī back into the city. In collusion with the notables, Muḥammad ʿAlī was proclaimed *wālī* of Egypt. After a brief showdown between the incumbent and the challenger, the Porte realised the strength of Muḥammad ʿAlī's position and endorsed his appointment. Future attempts to remove him from Egypt to govern other provinces (Djidda, Salonika) clearly indicate how unhappy with the appointment the Ottoman government really was.

The Porte's endorsement was no more than a reluctant recognition of Muḥammad ʿAlī's superior position vis-à-vis other contenders for power in Egypt. In the following six years, between 1805 and 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī made a successful bid for hegemony by eliminating all challenges to his authority. This was mainly a political and military phase in the history of Egypt and the career of the Pasha, with

relatively little to record in terms of economic, administrative and social developments. The most pressing threat to his control of Egypt came from the Mamlūks, divided through they were amongst themselves and perched in Upper Egypt. Muḥammad ʿAlī used various kinds of tactics in confronting the Mamlūks, attempting to co-opt as many of them as he could and fighting those he could not. Alliances were often fragile, and beys who had made peace with the Pas̲h̲a would fall out with him, and vice-versa.

The first turning point in Muḥammad ʿAlī's struggle against the Mamlūks occurred in late 1806-early 1807. Within four months, both al-Bardīsī and al-Alfī died, neither of them in battle, leaving the Mamlūk camp without the charismatic leadership needed to galvanise it against the *wālī*. Although the British agent and consul-general still advocated the reinstalment of the Mamlūk régime, such plans were becoming less realistic than ever before. Through scattered skirmishes around Cairo and in Upper Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī gradually increased his hold on the whole country. In March 1811, he dealt the Mamlūks a final blow, treacherously massacring their leaders, whom he invited to a ceremony in the Citadel in honour of his son Tūsūn's promotion and departure for the Ḥid̲j̲āz. A large-scale elimination of Mamlūks followed in the provinces, bringing the number of casualties to the hundreds. The Citadel massacre marks the end of Mamlūk power in Egypt, although individually, many Mamlūks were incorporated into the Ottoman-Egyptian élite. Such men continued to serve in high military and administrative posts throughout the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī and beyond.

Other challenges to Muḥammad ʿAlī's hegemony came both from within and from without. Intending to assist the Mamlūks to capture the government of Egypt and hoping to pre-empt yet another French takeover, British forces landed in Alexandria in March 1807. As they failed to occupy Rosetta, the British troops were contained by Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces and trapped in Alexandria. They were later evacuated by agreement. When the reforming and vigorous sultan Selīm III [*q.v.*] was deposed during the same year, the Ottoman government plunged into a long period of internal difficulties followed by reconstruction. These developments afforded Muḥammad ʿAlī a much-needed respite from both Ottoman interference and British intervention. However, before he could devote himself to the final eradication of Mamlūk power, there remained one internal opposition group, sc. the urban notables.

During the first period of his career, Muḥammad ʿAlī managed to play his hand so well that he virtually eliminated the urban notables from power politics in Egypt. The group most conspicuously affected in this way was the *ʿulamāʾ*. Their highly influential leadership was nurtured on income from supervision of *waḳf* property, *iltizāms* and some commercial activity. The rank-and-file lived modestly off religious-judicial-educational services rendered to the community and paid for either directly or through *waḳfs*. *ʿUlamāʾ* also performed an important social function through the many Ṣūfī orders that existed in Egypt at the time. As his reign progressed, Muḥammad ʿAlī moved to curtail the power of the *ʿulamāʾ* and place them under state control. His first target was ʿUmar Makram [*q.v.*].

This highly respected and influential *naḳīb al-as̲h̲rāf* allied himself with Muḥammad ʿAlī during the crisis of 1804-5 and greatly assisted in bringing the Cairene notables over to the Pas̲h̲a's side. His wealth, standing and independent mind marked him out as a potential focus of notable opposition to the *wālī*. In mid-1809, Muḥammad ʿAlī set a dangerous precedent for the *ʿulamāʾ* by taxing *waḳf* lands in the north-western province of Buḥayra. The *ʿulamāʾ*, headed by ʿUmar Makram, protested and entered into conflict with the Pas̲h̲a. Pressed for ready income to defray the mounting costs of his domestic military effort, and sensing that he was strong enough to take on notable opposition, Muḥammad ʿAlī moved swiftly and decisively to get rid of ʿUmar Makram. Splitting *ʿulamāʾ* ranks by threat and temptation, he managed to isolate ʿUmar Makram and, finally, exiled him.

Already during the period of consolidation, Muḥammad ʿAlī began to introduce a centralised economic system and to tighten his control over the land. However, he worked cautiously and gradually, with the intention not to upset the delicate balance of power too drastically too fast. At first, he replaced current *iltizām* holders with his own family and household members. Also, in areas that came under his control, he monopolised production and export wherever circumstances permitted. The result was a temporarily mixed system, in which *iltizām* continued to exist and be granted alongside direct tax-collection and the tangible presence of the central government in the provincial economy. A more intensive interference and reorganisation of agriculture and the land tenure system ocurred after 1810. Even then, however, the Pas̲h̲a knew he had to accommodate influential urban and rural notables and some powerful bedouin *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*.

In the methods which he employed to achieve hegemony within Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī was not different from previous Mamlūk and other strongmen or warlords seeking the same purpose. At least partially, he was successful because he moved with caution and a proper sense of the possible and the expedient. He coerced his weaker opponents, placated those of his enemies whom it was too costly to defeat and co-opted his stronger rivals. Ultimately, he trusted and worked best and longest with a small group of associates, members of his family and Kavala compatriots. In the following decades, this group would form the core of his Ottoman-Egyptian governing élite.

2. *Laying the foundations for a regional empire (1812-27).*

The second phase in the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a spanned a period of roughly fifteen years. During that time, the *wālī* devoted a great deal of his energies to the recruitment and training of a loyal élite and to the creation of strong and well-equipped land and sea forces, a solid and prosperous economic base, an effective administrative structure and a network of social services capable of maintaining and reproducing the governing élite. All these were to serve the purpose of supporting viceregal power inside Egypt and carving for the Pas̲h̲a a regional empire out of his Ottoman sovereign's vast dominions. While concentrating on building up these capabilities, Muḥammad ʿAlī dispatched his able sons on military expeditions in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, the Sudan, Crete and the Morea. The campaigns which they led confirmed Egypt as the dominant regional power in the eastern Mediterranean, testing its army, navy, economic base, and logistic capacity in preparation for the 1830s, which were to become the imperial decade.

As soon as the reigns of government rested firmly in his hands, Muḥammad ʿAlī began to entertain the thought of extending his rule towards the Syrian provinces. He mentioned the idea confidentially to the British consul-general in 1812, repeating it on various

occasions in the two decades that followed. Immediately upon the elimination of Mamlūk power, the *wālī* moved to establish firm control over the wealth of the country. This, he learnt quite early, lay for the most part in agriculture and trade. The pressing task was to survey all cultivable land, to re-establish state control over it and to reform the system of tax-collection in order to benefit the fisc. The process entailed the elimination of intermediaries who competed with the state and cut into its revenues.

The process of surveying, registering, revoking privileges and taxing the land was gradual and took nearly a decade. By 1821, however, all land in both Lower and Upper Egypt had been surveyed, recorded in registers and taxed. The total cultivable area amounted to almost 5,5 million (allegedly new, smaller) feddans. Lands on which taxes were imposed reached about 60%. Between 1812 and 1815, Muḥammad ʿAlī revoked all tax-farms (*iltizāms* [*q.v.*]), with modest compensation to their holders, and taxed *waḳf* lands. He also tightened the tax-collection network, relying on village headmen and Coptic assessors.

To increase and maximise profits in agricultural trade and export, Muḥammad ʿAlī instituted an effective system of monopolies. Accordingly, the government controlled all aspects of agricultural activity, fixing prices and taxes, regulating transactions and reorganising production. Forced labour (*corvée*) was exacted from the rural population in order to improve and substantially expand the irrigation system and provide water all-year-round. By 1816, the government managed to exclude competition in the country's traditional cash-crops, namely wheat, barley, beans, rice, sugar, sesame, indigo, short-staple cotton and hemp. It then moved to introduce new crops, most notably long-staple cotton. Allowing for seasonal and market fluctuations, the sweeping success of this crop accounted for a sizeable share of state revenues from the 1820s onwards.

It was also during the second period of his career that Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a launched his industrial experiment, which mostly aimed at import substitution and at supplying the armed forces. Quite naturally, munitions factories were the first to be introduced. Beginning in 1815, such arsenals were established in the Cairo citadel, Būlāḳ, Rosetta and Alexandria. From about the same time, textile factories of various kinds were established in and around Cairo, spreading into Lower and Upper Egypt during the 1820s. Sugar refineries, indigo factories, rice mills and tanneries were also put to work by government initiative. Private production, too, came under government regulation, in conformity with the general concept of a state-monopolised economy. In the second half of the 1830s, Muḥammad ʿAlī's industrial experiment, which was based on European technology and experts, met with great operational difficulties that ultimately brought much of it to collapse.

The second period in Muḥammad ʿAlī's career is also marked by profound changes in the make-up and nature of the armed forces of Egypt. These changes took place amidst campaigns undertaken by the Pas̲h̲a on foreign, far-away battlefields. These campaigns enhanced Egypt's standing as the predominant power in the region and improved its relations with the Ottoman government. The Porte realised that Muḥammad ʿAlī could be a useful ally in time of need and not just a potentially threatening rival. The *wālī*'s successes also increased the interest and involvement of European powers in Egyptian affairs. The Anglo-French rivalry was acted out in Egypt, and the two powers were working to guarantee their strategic interests and increase their political influence. Until the mid-1820s, Muḥammad ʿAlī maintained good relations with both, as their consuls-general reported, through he came to rely more heavily on French advisers. From then onwards, preference to France was evident, which later would turn Britain against him and in support of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1811, Muḥammad ʿAlī was asked by the Porte to suppress the Wahhābī revolt in Arabia and recapture for the sultan the Holy Cities in the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The *wālī* seized the opportunity to employ his troops away from capital politics and to win the gratitude of an unfriendly Ottoman government. His son Tūsūn, appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force, re-established Ottoman control in the Ḥid̲j̲āz by 1830. Muḥammad ʿAlī himself went to the Ḥid̲j̲āz late in 1813 to assist his son in battle, finally ending hostilities in a truce two years later. After Tūsūn's sudden death in Egypt, his older brother, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, led a successful offensive into Nad̲j̲d. He finally defeated the Wahhābīs in 1818, to the guarded pleasure of Istanbul. In the following year, Muḥammad ʿAlī concluded a treaty with the Imām of Yemen, which extended his sphere of influence down the Red Sea littoral to the straits. Nad̲j̲d, however, was retaken by the Wahhābīs in 1824, but the Ḥid̲j̲āz remained under Ottoman control.

With the Arabian affair over and his coffers fairly well filled, Muḥammad ʿAlī turned his energies southward in the direction of the Sudan. The occupation of Nubia, Sennar and Kordofan was motivated by military and economic reasons. In addition to the benefit of employing the troops away from the seat of power and wiping out the last remaining Mamlūk enclave in Dongola, the Pas̲h̲a had hoped to control the trade of the Sudan and tap its alleged gold deposits. But foremost in his mind was the recruitment of a slave army. The *wālī* wished to create a modern, European-style force, commanded by Ottoman-Egyptian officers, to replace the old-style contigents. The conquest of the Sudanese territories was accomplished between 1820 and 1822 with relative ease, under the command of Muḥammad ʿAlī's son Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a, who, nonetheless, paid for it with his life, and his son-in-law Meḥmed K̲h̲usrew, known as the *Defterdār*.

The newly-recruited slave army was trained in Aswān by Colonel Sèves, later chief-of-staff, known as Süleyman Pas̲h̲a, a French soldier who had been discharged after 1814 and sought employment in Egypt. Problems of adjustment and high mortality induced Muḥammad ʿAlī to replace the Sudanese slaves with a conscript army made up of Egyptian *fallāḥīn*. This decision was to have far-reaching consequences for Egyptian society and the future composition of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite. Soon after its creation, the Pas̲h̲a was given a chance to test the capabilities of his *Niẓām-ī D̲j̲edīd*, as the new army was called. The Ottoman sultan, Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], bogged down in the quagmire of the Greek revolt, requested Muḥammad ʿAlī's assistance. The Egyptian *wālī* was offered Crete, Cyprus and in 1824 the Morea, in return for subduing them in the name of his Ottoman sovereign. His son Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a led the new army from success to victory until he captured Athens in June 1827 [see MORA].

Contrary to the views of Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm, a Russian-British-French imposed armistice was disastrously challenged by the Ottoman and

Ottoman-Egyptian fleets, which were destroyed in Navarino late in October 1827. Following a negotiated settlement, Ibrāhīm's forces, stranded in the Morea, were evacuated a year later. The Greek episode carried Muḥammad ʿAlī beyond the sphere of his intended plans for expansion. Rather than portray him in the cloak of a loyal subject to his master, it exposed him as a formidable and dangerous challenger to Ottoman authority and European designs. After the end of the Greek chapter, Muḥammad ʿAlī immersed himself in fervent preparations for the occupation of Syria, which launched him into the imperial phase of his career.

The imposition of the monopoly system, the introduction of long-staple cotton, and the creation of the new army opened the way to a major administrative reorganisation. The essence of this reform was to turn the Pas̲h̲a's household government into a civil bureaucracy. The first phase was taken almost from the beginning of the second period of his career, with the appointment of members of Muḥammad ʿAlī's household to supervise and manipulate the existing Ottoman structure. This was followed by the incorporation of local leadership elements as salaried officials into the administration. In 1824, the *wālī* introduced a new administrative structure for the provincial government with a clear chain of command. This apparatus was placed under a reformed central authority. The viceregal government in Cairo was divided into departments and councils coordinated by two bodies: the department of civil affairs and the viceregal cabinet.

This structure was highly influenced by traditional Ottoman practices but modelled on the centralised Bonaparte organisation. It stemmed from Muḥammad ʿAlī's preference for direct taxation over the concessionary system which prevailed through much of the Ottoman period. However, concessionary principles continued to be operative in the administration and were even enhanced during the last phase of his rule from the late 1820s onwards. The growth and articulation of the bureaucracy also reflected the fact that the government undertook new social functions. Foremost among these were education and health. Although the most important developments in these areas took place in the third, imperial period, the foundations were laid in the 1810s and 1820s. Student missions were sent to Europe beginning already in 1809, but growing in size from the mid-1820s on. A school of surveying was established in 1816, to be followed by a number of military schools in Upper Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria. In all these, European teachers and curricula were used.

The second period was not an easy time for the lower strata of Egyptian society. Apart from Pas̲h̲a-made afflictions, severe outbreaks of the plague occurred in Lower Egypt in 1813 and 1816, demanding high casualties. For its part, the preparation of the imperial base heaped many hardships on the population. Higher taxation and a more efficient system of collection, tighter controls and regulation of urban manufacturing, changes of crop-production patterns, increased *corvées* on irrigation projects and agricultural development, and the conscription, all weighed heavily on both *fallāḥ* and townsman. The family as a unit of production was coming under severe stress as a result of dislocation. In these circumstances, women were finding diminishing opportunities for gainful employment in addition to their work within the family, thereby losing the position that outside income secured at home. The state was increasing its hold on rural and urban society, appropriating for its needs an ever-growing share of people's time.

Resistance to state encroachment on the individual and the communal levels manifested itself in rural unrest and several localised armed revolts. These were put down by the government without much difficulty. There was only one attempt to overthrow the Pas̲h̲a, and that came from within the élite. At the end of 1813, while Muḥammad ʿAlī was making the pilgrimage and supervising the campaign in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, a high official spread rumours of the *wālī*'s death and tried to take over the government. However, Muḥammad ʿAlī's loyal deputy defeated the rebel and secured the throne. Muḥammad ʿAlī then extended his prolonged absence from Egypt without much fear. Absorbed as he later became in laying the foundations for his regional empire, he would not venture to leave Egypt very often in the remainder of his reign.

3. *Ruling a regional empire (1828-41).*

This period, which marked the height of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career, began with the excitement of a rising power and ended with the anguish of a frustrated dream. The 1830s were full of contradictions, witnessing some of the greatest successes the *wālī* had known but also the beginning of the collapse of some of his most ambitious programmes. During those years, Egypt attained regional hegemony which enabled its ruler to impose his political will over the inhabitants of a vast territory and to tap its economic resources. Externally, that very might won the Pas̲h̲a a determined rival—the reforming and able sultan Maḥmūd II. It also unleashed European opposition to his expansionism which, ultimately, caused the downfall of his empire. Internally, economic problems and administrative difficulties combined to jeopardise the strong state organisation which he had so diligently deployed to realise his grand design.

The third period began with the return from the Morea of Ibrāhīm's expeditionary force, for ever since that point, all efforts were directed at the reconstruction of the army and navy in preparation for a major campaign. As his peaceful request to receive the government of Syria, in reward for his services during the Greek war, had been denied in 1827, the Pas̲h̲a resolved to gain it by force. Considering the Syrian *wilāyet*s as lying within Egypt's strategic and historical sphere, Muḥammad ʿAlī had closely followed developments in those regions and struck alliances with local leaders. When his land and sea forces were sufficiently ready to advance northward, he looked for a pretext to launch the offensive. The governor of Acre ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a, a former ally, was said to have refused a contribution to Muḥammad ʿAlī's war effort. He was also alleged to have harboured several thousand Egyptian fugitives evading the draft. This was used by the *wālī* in order to dispatch viceregal forces by land and sea, in October 1831, under Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, to lay siege to Acre.

By mid-1832, the Egyptian army captured Acre and the Palestinian districts, and, with the assistance of the Amīr of Lebanon Bas̲h̲īr II [*q.v.*], took Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli and Damascus. In December of the same year, the Ottoman-Egyptians defeated the Ottoman army near Konya, taking the Grand Vizier prisoner. Although Ibrāhīm would later make a further advance on Kütayha, the situation had already ceased to be an internal Ottoman matter. Having already declared Muḥammad ʿAlī a rebel early in the campaign, Maḥmūd II engaged the Russians in a defensive alliance and solicited their military presence in the vicinity of Istanbul. This, in turn, moved Britain and France, in varying degrees of enthusiasm, to intercede in Cairo with the aim of restraining Muḥammad ʿAlī's expansionism. In the several

rounds of Ottoman-Egyptian negotiations that followed, the Pas̲h̲a and his son extracted from the sultan major concessions. In mid-1833 it was agreed that, in return for the withdrawal of his troops, Muḥammad ʿAlī would gain control of the Syrian provinces, Crete and Adana. He thus came to govern the vast territories lying from the Sudan and the Ḥid̲j̲āz to eastern Anatolia.

The rapidly-growing need in the army and administration for personnel skilled in the various military sciences and civilian professions brought to the forefront the question of education and training on all levels. The lack of a modern school system had been sorely felt already during the second period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign. The first path to Western education lay in the missions of Egyptian students sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī to Europe to acquire a profession. Between 1809 and 1848, close to 350 students were sent abroad. From the mid-1820s onwards, the Pas̲h̲a devoted greater attention to providing education at home, working from top to bottom to meet the most pressing needs first. That is, he began to establish higher, professional schools, and only later moved to create a primary and secondary school system. During the first phase, he had to enrol in his schools graduates of the Islamic school system. The 1830s saw more higher schools and an expanding lower and middle level network in the provinces.

Between 1825 and 1836, the government founded the following schools: military naval institutions for training officers and soldiers in the various military professions (infantry, cavalry, artillery); a medical school; a school for veterinarians; a school of pharmacy; a school for applied chemistry; a school for midwifery; a school for agriculture; a school for arts and crafts; a school for civil engineering; a school for administration; and a school for languages and translation. Other schools of minor importance and shorter duration were also established, not only in Cairo, but also in Alexandria and the provinces. From 1836 onwards, the government attempted to unite, rationalise and reform the system under a schools authority, which later became the ministry of education. However, the reform was only partially successful. With the retrenchment of the 1840s and contracting needs, schools were merged or closed down, though a few new ones were also founded.

The newly-emerging system was clearly not oriented towards mass education, which the *wālī* did not support, but towards élite formation, with special emphasis on the military professions. According to one estimate, adult literacy increased from 1% in 1830 to 3% in 1850. The Būlāḳ Press was founded in 1820 and commenced printing in 1822 [see MAṬBAʿA. 1. In the Arab world]. Eight additional printing presses were established in the following years. In 1828, an official gazette in Turkish and Arabic, *Wekāyiʿ-i Mīṣirlal-Waḳāʾiʿ al-Miṣriyya*, began publication. The opening of a school for translation in 1836, and a bureau of translation in 1841, yielded during the remainder of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign the translation from European languages into Arabic of hundreds of manuals and textbooks. This was largely carried out under the supervision of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], one of the most important Egyptian intellectuals of the 19th century.

During the height of the imperial period in the 1830s, a new architectural style began to dot the Egyptian urban scenery. The Mamlūk and earlier Ottoman styles were being replaced by a mixture of Greek, Italian and Spanish elements, often seen along the eastern Mediterranean coast. This Ottoman-Mediterranean style was called in Arabic *Rūmī*, in European languages Constantinopolitan. By the 1840s, Mamlūk wooden lattice windows (*mas̲h̲rabiyya*s [*q.v.*]) were being replaced by European windows with rectangular framed panes and wooden shades. Construction for public use was carried out on a large scale, including barracks for the army, dockyards for the navy, office buildings for the bureaucracy, schools, hospitals, palaces for the viceregal family and mansions for élite grandees. The Maḥmūdiyya canal was dug, the Nile barrages were being laid at the fork of the Delta and the great mosque was rising up at the Citadel. Country roads were improved to facilitate transport of produce, and some urban streets, mainly in Cairo, were being widened to enable more convenient passage of carriages and carts.

But it was not enough to educate and train the army and bureaucracy; it was also necessary to care for their health. In this area, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a reacted to crises rather than planned ahead to anticipate trouble. The French physician Clot [Bey] was charged with organising a military medical corps, following the Pas̲h̲a's growing concern about the poor health of his troops and the high mortality among them. The Board of Health and the quarantine service came into being as a result of the cholera pandemic of 1830-2. A sanitary code for Alexandria was issued in the wake of a plague outbreak in 1841. A vaccination service was set up in Upper Egypt to cater to the students and instructors in the government schools (1836), and hospitals were established in all provinces where government factories were in operation (1846). Except for smallpox immunisation, the health services were intended for the benefit of government personnel, military and civilian, with minimal spill-over to the population at large.

However, in spite of its achievements, Muḥammad ʿAlī's regional empire was not to enjoy internal peace, nor would it be allowed to outlive the decade. Trouble began at home, but was greatly exacerbated by an over-extended and unpopular imperial administration of the conquered territories, especially in Syria. In preparation for the Syrian campaign, the Pas̲h̲a had exploited the resources of Egypt to the very limit, if not beyond, leaving an oppressed and fatigued population. Droughts and cholera in the early 1830s and severe plague in 1835 took a heavy toll on the *fallāḥīn*, adding to their misery and the troubles of the fisc. Presiding over an extended state apparatus, Muḥammad ʿAlī still insisted on a highly centralised mode of government. His attempts to rationalise the system produced an organic law in 1837, which abolished all councils and reorganised existing departments. It also created new departments in a move towards government via ministries, though this was not fully accomplished. At the root of the problem lay the *wālī*'s reluctance to forego the personal advantage that direct disposal of power afforded him.

Egypt's incorporation into the world economy, a process much accelerated by Muḥammad ʿAlī's policies, exposed the country to fluctuations on international markets. A crisis in the international monetary system in 1836-7 brought cotton prices down and dried up the Pas̲h̲a's credit sources in Alexandria. To these were added mounting difficulties in the government of Syria. The Egyptian administration there was growing increasingly unpopular as a result of attempts to apply the policies tried out in Egypt. Increased taxation (including a poll-tax on Muslims), introduction of a tight system of monopolies, a "gun control" policy, the imposition of *corvées*, and, finally, conscription brought the popula-

tion to unrest and a series of sporadic revolts. Although Egypt had full access to the resources of Syria, the maintenance of a huge army was weighing heavily on the treasury. The cost of empire was becoming prohibitive.

The lack of natural, technical, and managerial resources combined with the overly centralised system to defeat the network of factories. These gradually fell into disrepair, so that by the late 1830s, little was left working of the few dozen plants established during the second period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign. Not only were the factories bogged down, but also the rest of the economic management system was clogged up. Villages were being deserted and their revenues lost to the state. Land-tax arrears amounted to several years, with little hope of recovery.

Faced with an economic crisis and the mounting displeasure of an exhausted population, the Pasha began to reverse his initial policy of direct administration. This was most evident in agriculture. From 1838 onwards, he granted sizeable tracts of land to members of his family, thus creating the basis for large landed estates (*čiftliks* [*q.v.*]). About the same time, he established the *ʿuhda* system, distributing to the members of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite middle-size estates comprising villages whose taxes had not been paid. These office holders were obliged to settle and guarantee the amounts owed to the treasury in return for the right to cultivate, with *corvée* labour, for their own profit, a far from meagre part of the land. In many ways, this was a return to the old practices which the Pasha, having gained firm control over Egypt, had eradicated during the 1810s.

In spite of all his internal and imperial problems, Muḥammad ʿAlī refused to trim his ambitions of independence and regional hegemony. In mid-1838, he informed the European powers of his intention to declare independence. Although the international reaction was quite negative, he nevertheless did not withdraw his statement of intent. Maḥmūd II, invigorated by more than a decade of military and administrative reforms, was determined to confront the Pasha, whom he again declared a traitor. An old-style Ottoman army crossed the Euphrates and marched to Nezib (Nizīb [*q.v.*]), on the northeastern approaches to Aleppo, where it was routed by Ibrāhīm's forces late in June. The sultan died in Istanbul before receiving news of the defeat of his troops. Upon the appointment of Muḥammad ʿAlī's long-time enemy Khusrew Pasha as Grand Vizier, the latter's rival, the Ottoman admiral, defected to the *wālī*'s camp, surrendering the entire Ottoman fleet at Alexandria.

Much constrained, the new sultan, ʿAbd ül-Medjīd [*q.v.*], offered Muḥammad ʿAlī hereditary rule in Egypt, but the Pasha's position was unrelenting in his demand for the same privileges also in Syria and Andana. Negotiations were deadlocked as long as Khusrew was in office, but upon his dismissal in mid-1840, contacts were renewed and there was movement towards agreement. However, things had gone out of the hands of Ottomans and Ottoman-Egyptians, as too much was at stake for the European powers to allow a settlement that did not acoord with their interests. In July 1840, Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia concluded in London a convention to impose a settlement on both sultan and *wālī*. In return for the withdrawal of his forces from Syria, Muḥammad ʿAlī was offered hereditary rule in Egypt and the Province of Acre for life.

The convention was part of a broader understanding, involving the resolution of the conflict over access to the Straits. France had supported Muḥammad ʿAlī, but realising the direction of the tide, joined the allied action. The terms of the settlement were presented to Muḥammad ʿAlī as a graduated ultimatum, backed by the deployment of joint naval forces ready to enforce them. Late in 1840, since the Pasha would not budge, Beirut was taken up by sea and land operations. An insurrection in Lebanon followed; several coastal towns were taken by the allied forces and British naval units appeared before Alexandria. All these produced the evacuation of Ibrāhīm's army from Syria and the virtual surrender of Muḥammad ʿAlī to the will of the powers. The Ottoman fleet was allowed to return home, and the sultan agreed to confirm the Pasha as hereditary governor of Egypt in a *fermān* issued in June 1841.

The sultanic edict that ended Muḥammad ʿAlī's regional empire limited the size of his army, stipulated that Ottoman legislation would apply in Egypt and required the Pasha to obtain Ottoman consent before concluding international agreements. It thus sought to impose upon the *wālī* not only territorial constraints but also internal restrictions. Compliance with Ottoman demands was incomplete and the size of the army was kept well above the specified 18,000 level. But meaningful changes did occur, reflecting the re-arranged priorities and the transformed world view of the Pasha in the wake of the demise of his empire.

4. *Realism and retrenchment (1841-8).*

The fourth period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's career marks the last phase of his reign: it also forms the first part of a new period in 19th-century Egyptian history, namely the interim years between the fall of the regional empire and the rise of Ismāʿīl Pasha's power in the mid-1860s. Thus the middle decades span the last phase of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule, the reigns of ʿAbbās (1848-54) and Saʿīd (1854-63) and the first phase of Ismāʿīl's rule. In those years, Egypt was gradually recovering from the harsh consequences of Muḥammad ʿAlī's imperial wars and aggressive reforms. No more a focal point of international politics, its rulers turned to economic activity and scaled-down development, less taxing on the country's resources and population. The change of pace and mood began to set in already during the early 1840s.

The settlement of the "Egyptian Question" removed Egypt from the international agenda, thereby enabling the Pasha to alter the nature of his dealings with the European powers and to redefine his relations with the sultan. As the threat of Egyptian independence and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire was defused, Muḥammad ʿAlī could enjoy improved relations with Istanbul, receive honours and even travel to the capital, as he did in 1846. Although still in possession of a large measure of autonomy, he was also back in the Ottoman orbit. Simultaneously, he would now trade with Europe, quibble with European consuls over the monopolies, and use European expertise to further develop Egypt. In 1841, he allowed England—the power that contributed more than others to his downfall—to establish a regular line of communication between Britain and India, using the overland route from Alexandria to Suez. Later, he even contemplated a visit to England, which never materialised.

Many of the processes that matured in the fourth period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign originated in the third, imperial period. The apex of the Pasha's political and military power coincided with the breakdown of his economic and administrative centralism. The decentralising tendency that began to

manifest itself in the late 1830s was considerably reinforced during the 1840s. In land-tenure, large estates continued to be distributed to members of the viceregal family, the granting of uncultivated, but cultivable, land (*ibʿādiyya*)—begun in the late 1820s—continued, and creation of *ʿuhda*s resumed on a massive scale. Thus direct control over much of the land was being relinquished and the ground was prepared for the emergence of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite as a landed class during the second half of the 19th century.

This tendency was accelerated in the early 1840s owing to a combination of bad harvests, a cholera epidemic and a devastating cattle murrain, which increased tax-arrears to a fraction below 20%, against the backdrop of a growing national debt. The transfer of land to *čiftlik*s and *ʿuhda*s was expected to settle these arrears, increase further revenue and, not least, enable the Pas̲h̲a to circumvent European pressures to abolish the monopolies. It was believed that through the transfer of direct control to a loyal élite, the government would be able to continue to appropriate the rural surplus, fix the prices and maximise profits on export. But the idea was self-defeating in many ways, since estate holders realised that much profit could be made by breaking government control of the market and dealing directly with buyers. Internal conflicts also broke out in the mid-1840s among the various types of estateholders and village *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s over access to *fallāḥīn* labour and state support for land improvement.

All this amounted to the gradual disintegration of the monopolies and the collapse of the Pas̲h̲a's system of rural control. Consequently, further reduction in state revenues and penetration of foreign merchants into the agricultural interior occurred. Simultaneously, the factory system was grinding to a halt. This was, in large measure, the outcome of machinery failure due to wear-and-tear, poor maintenance and scarcity of technical skills. Shortage of power supply resulted from engines falling into disrepair and water buffaloes perishing in the murrain mentioned above. The cut in the size of the army further reduced the volume and buying power of the home market. This contributed to a decline in the demand for the products of the Pas̲h̲a's factories. In the face of a dwindling market, there was little sense, as Muḥammad ʿAlī realised, in undertaking the enormous cost of renewing the equipment of his factories. The contraction of the army, the factory system, and the schools network caused also the decline of the health service, which had to care for a diminishing clientèle.

To these major reasons for the breakdown of rural economic control and the collapse of the industrial experiment were added the growing effects of the 1838 Balta Limanî treaty. This Anglo-Ottoman commercial agreement improved trading terms for British merchants in the Ottoman Empire. It abrogated the monopoly system and reformed customs regulations. In effect, it threw the Ottoman dominions open to foreign competition, weakened the resistance of local manufactures to foreign products and further incorporated the Ottoman economy into the European-dominated world economy. Muḥammad ʿAlī attempted as much as he could to avert the application of the treaty in Egypt but had to succumb in the mid-1840s. However, local crafts developed various methods of minimising the damage, though the Pas̲h̲a's earlier creation of his factory system weakened their ability to cope with the open home market.

The delegation of some economic functions to an emerging intermediary élite was not accompanied by any weakening of viceregal hold over the government. Loyally served by a highly dependent military and administrative structure, Muḥammad ʿAlī continued to rest securely on his throne. Indeed, the formation of his Ottoman-Egyptian élite was one of the most important achievements of his reign. This group of military commanders and high office holders emerged out of the *wālī*'s household, providing him with the assistance needed to govern the country. He carefully selected them from among his family members, Kavala compatriots, Ottoman officials sent from Istanbul, his own Mamlūks and those of the old régime, Coptic scribes, Armenian interpreter-aides and Egyptian rural notables. One might add to these the group of European advisers, placed by the Pas̲h̲a in high executive positions, some of whom also embraced Islam.

The first generation of the Ottoman-Egyptian élite acquired some of its basic features already in the second period of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, but matured during the last two decades of his rule. Heirs to Ottoman élite culture, governing traditions and social markers, members of this group were, above all, loyal to the Pas̲h̲a, the Egyptian service and the spirit of an Egyptian regional empire. The once influential urban notability was conspicuously absent from the ranks of this governing élite. Arabic-speaking and not at home in Ottoman élite culture, leading *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants were relegated to an ancillary position in Egyptian politics. During the first decade of his reign, Muḥammad ʿAlī had dealt a major blow to their semi-independent sources of income by taxing *waḳf* lands, revoking *iltizām*s and monopolising commerce.

The demise of ʿUmar Makram's power in 1809 proved to the urban notability that their traditional modes of operation were becoming obsolete. Refusing to accept them as mediators between people and government, Muḥammad ʿAlī squeezed them out of the political power game. Subsequently, the Azhar ceased to serve as the focus of popular protest and, as in other spheres of life, the Pas̲h̲a dealt with his subjects directly through guild and neighbourhood *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s and his trusted agents. By 1840, the government had also completed the incorporation of the Ṣūfī orders into its control system, organising them under the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the Bakriyya. How subservient and co-opted the urban notability had become can be deduced from the fact that during the same year, and amidst public unrest, Muḥammad ʿAlī felt confident enough to appoint two *ʿālim*s and a merchant to raise from among the population of Cairo, and then to command, eight auxiliary regiments to assist in the maintenance of order.

In the fourth period, the most prominent figures in the governing élite, the *wālī*'s son Ibrāhīm and his grandson ʿAbbās, were being groomed to take over the reins of government. In 1847, the old Pas̲h̲a, as he was then known, became mentally incapacitated and was gently removed from actual power. Reasons for his condition were said to be either his old-age senility or the effects of silver nitrate, which had been administered to treat his dysentery. Ibrāhīm, afflicted with tuberculosis, undertook the daily running of government. In July 1848, he was officially invested with the government of Egypt, only to die less than four months later.

Ibrāhīm was succeeded by ʿAbbās Pas̲h̲a [see ʿABBĀS ḤILMĪ I], whose reign proved to be of pivotal importance in the middle decades of the 19th century. It was he who, in a tough confrontation with the Porte, consolidated the hereditary rule of Muḥammad

ʿAlī's family in Egypt. ʿAbbās turned into an overt and deliberate state policy the scaled-down, trimmed, modest reform programme which began to manifest itself in a necessary evil during the last phase of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign and Ibrāhīm's brief rule. The old Pas̲h̲a died in Alexandria on 2 August 1849, not realising the change that was taking place around him. He was buried in the Citadel mosque, which he had begun to build and which ʿAbbās completed.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms and regional empire. Until the last phase of his rule, that which followed the withdrawal from Syria in 1840, there was hardly a time at which Egypt was not engaged in some military effort, usually a major one. In the period of consolidation, the military effort was first directed internally, against domestic rivals, and then externally, against the Wahhābīs in Arabia. The foray into the Sudan followed the victory in the Ḥid̲j̲āz, only to be succeeded by the Greek campaigns and the two Syrian wars, with the revolts that were sandwiched between them. The purpose of all this was to establish Egypt as a major regional power with considerable freedom of action in both internal and external matters. However, it is unclear whether in the late 1830s Muḥammad ʿAlī was truly pushing for full independence or was merely putting forth a tactical demand in order to secure hereditary rule over the whole of his regional empire under Ottoman suzerainty.

Indeed, not before the collapse of the Pas̲h̲a's schemes in 1841, was there rest for the weary soldiery of Egypt. But the army was not the only beleaguered sector of the population, since large segments of Egyptian society and economy were harnessed to the war machine of the Pas̲h̲a. The *fallāḥīn* viewed conscription as a major evil. Indeed, coercion and violence were needed in order to enforce the draft. In the process, many rural families suffered want and disruption. When absconding, self-maiming, bribery and trickery failed, their ablest youths were carried off in chains to serve in faraway lands and to realise the grand design of their ambitious ruler. These men were then wanting on the family plot or when the village had to supply its quota for the *corvée*.

Once assembled, the army had to be clothed, regularly fed, equipped, trained, transported, medically cared for, and, of course, paid. To defray the enormous cost of all this, a major, and partially successful, effort was launched by the Pas̲h̲a to alter the economic base of the country. Again, this disrupted rural and urban life even further. Changes in crop production, higher taxes, increased *corvées* for irrigation projects and the creation of large estates, imposed new burdens. Naturally, the squeeze intensified whenever the Pas̲h̲a was preparing for battle. If the commercialisation of agriculture was intended to finance the campaigns, the industrial experiment was intended to clothe and equip the army, and to provide import substitution. In not a few of the Pas̲h̲a's factories, public works and construction sites, the labour was involuntary, and the pay rather low and irregular.

Whereas the social cost of these economic changes was borne by the rural and urban lower strata, the benefits accrued at the top of the socio-economic ladder. A small military-administrative élite colluded with an indigenous commercial notability and a growing, though still limited, group of European merchants, to maximise profits. In return for their total loyalty to the Pas̲h̲a and for the services to him, these men were allowed to accumulate wealth and improve their position in society. Even the health services were oriented towards the Ottoman-Egyptian élite, with minimal spill-over to the rest of the population. Greater advantage to the latter was derived from the new educational system. Although members of the élite had easier access to the student missions and the new schools, this was still the most effective channel of upward mobility for gifted members of the middle and lower strata of Egyptian society. But here, too, gains were realised only in the long term, well beyond the reign of the Pas̲h̲a himself.

Thus the balance sheet of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms is rather mixed. Markedly slowed down by the drastic reduction in the size of the imperial army. Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms were having a rapidly diminishing impact on the lower strata. Perpetuated by ʿAbbās and Saʿīd, this trend was reversed only by Ismāʿīl Pas̲h̲a's resumption of large-scale development, which also brought the process to broader segments of the population. The middle decades of the 19th century only indicate the limited effect and real price of Muḥammad ʿAlī's modernisation thrust. With the exception of Egypt's assistance to the Ottoman forces in the Crimean War (1853-6), those were peaceful years for the inhabitants of the Nile Valley. Heroism and the enormous sacrifices which it required gave way to blissful dullness. Conscription and the *corvée* were limited, the population prospered, and basic socio-economic patterns resurfaced on all levels of society.

Few men in modern Egyptian history were idolised as much as Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a. Fascination with strong, charismatic leaders, perceived to have changed the course of history, is not a new phenomenon. Although far from it, his militant separatism and defiance of Ottoman authority were sometimes seen from a 20th-century perspective as precursors of Egyptian nationalism. He was thus embraced by Egyptian writers and glorified as a national hero. At the same time, his desire to adopt European know-how and technology in order to create a modern army and a strong economic base won him in Europe the reputation of a progressive, enlightened moderniser. Of his attributes, that of "Founder of Modern Egypt"—which combines all—seems to have had an almost magic grip on Western and Eastern minds alike.

Myths aside, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was an Ottoman officer who, owing to his talents, ambition, determination and vision, dominated the government of Egypt for more than four decades. He managed to carve out of the sultan's dominions a patrimony which his progeny governed until 1952. Culturally, he remained an Ottoman gentleman, whose language was Turkish, whose world view was 19th-century Ottoman. In fact, he spoke neither Arabic nor French or English. But he made Egypt his abode, the seat of his government, the centre of his attention, where all his energies were invested. He also created the new Ottoman-Egyptian élite and established the two most effective channels of mobility in modern Egyptian society, sc. the conscript army and the modern system of education. Both needed much longer to mature as the prime agents of Egyptianisation, but it was Muḥammad ʿAlī who pointed the direction and set the example. It was he, too, who gave Egypt a strong, centralised state organisation: an indispensable tool in the modern world.

In his personality, Muḥammad ʿAlī combined the gifted general with the able administrator. This special breed of Ottoman Pas̲h̲as, often self-made men like him, was becoming rare, though still extant, in the sultan's service. To these heirs of the Ottoman

military-administrative heritage, the importance of a sound economic base as the mainstay of government was not a novelty. Indeed, the interdependence of military strength, economic prosperity and civil calm was the cornerstone of Ottoman political thought. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pas̲h̲a invested all his energies to create both a military might and a sound economic base in order to achieve regional hegemony.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's powerful personality and broad range of activities dominate the historiography of his period. The literature tends to identify the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī with the man. Until recently, historians have mostly stressed his character, his actions, his conquests, his reforms, his ideas; they have paid less attention to structural considerations, the constraints of the domestic and global economies or the social repercussions of his policies, mainly for the *fallāḥīn* and the urban lower strata. The yardstick by which his life-work has been measured is the extent to which it laid the ground for the modern Egyptian nation-state. However, recent studies attempt to examine his reign from a broader social perspective, attenuating the superlatives and dimming some of the glory in the process.

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(E.R. Toledano)

MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ S̲H̲ĀH ḲĀD̲J̲ĀR, the sixth ruler of the dynasty. He was born at Tabrīz on 21 June 1872, the eldest son of Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] by a Ḳād̲j̲ār wife, Umm al-K̲h̲āḳān. She was the daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān (Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and ʿIzzat al-Dawla, a sister of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad ʿAlī received

the title Iᶜtiḍād al-Salṭana in 1882 and ten years later he was made *Sardār* of the troops in Ādharbāydjān. In 1893, after an earlier marriage to a concubine, he married Djahān Khānum, the daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā, the favourite son of Nāṣir al-Dīn. The first son of this union, Sulṭān Aḥmad, was born in Tabrīz on 21 January 1898 and succeeded to the throne after his father's abdication in 1909 (see below). Muḥammad ᶜAlī also made a number of other marriages and had at least five more sons and four daughters.

After the succession of his father in 1896, Muḥammad ᶜAlī was proclaimed *wālī ᶜahd.* His governorship of Ādharbāydjān from then until 1906 was marked by a measure of greed and rapacity and by the growth of Russian political influence at Tabrīz. During his father's visit to Europe in 1905 Muḥammad ᶜAlī acted as Regent in Tehran, and this brought him into contact with those Persians who were beginning to seek administrative and political change. The crown prince was strongly opposed to any reduction in the powers of the monarchy and even before he became Shāh, following his father's death on 8 January 1907, his resolve to exercise royal authority was manifest. He was deeply distrusted by those who had gained political reforms from Muẓaffar al-Dīn during the final six months of that ailing ruler's reign, and within the first ten months of his rule Muḥammad ᶜAlī was obliged to swear solemn allegiance to the new Constitution no less than four times.

This, however, did not prevent him and a group of close associates—including his two half-brothers, Shuᶜāᶜ al-Salṭana and Sālār al-Dawla—from plotting to cause the downfall of those who supported the reforms and to restore the power of the royal family. Persian politics at the time were chaotic and turbulent. The state treasury was practically empty, members of the newly-created national assembly lacked both the experience and skilled leadership necessary to tackle the country's growing problems, and several remote provinces were no longer under the control of central government. On 31 August 1907 the prime minister Amīn al-Sulṭān was murdered in Tehran, and the Shāh became even more suspicious of the intentions of his political opponents. Those fears were not unfounded, for in February 1908 there was an abortive attempt on his life. This occurred two months after the Shāh had ordered the arrest of the new prime minister Nāṣir al-Mulk. But this royal *coup d'état* failed, and relations between the crown and supporters of the Constitution quickly deteriorated as Muḥammad ᶜAlī ordered the suppression of a number of the secret societies which sought further political change. Their newspapers and journals were also banned. Disorders in the provinces, some of which were actively fomented by the Shāh and his supporters, increased, and the Shāh finally declared martial law in Tehran in June, making the colonel of the Russian Cossack Brigade the military governor of the capital. This act served to confirm the suspicion of many Persians that the monarch was planning to allow Russia to control the entire country. On 23 June, Cossack troops bombarded the National Assembly and several people were killed. The following day, two of the most prominent political opponents of the Shāh were found strangled in the grounds of a royal palace, and on 27 June the Shāh declared the Assembly dissolved and the Constitution abolished as it was contrary to Islamic law.

Anti-royalist feeling grew in several regions, notably in Ādharbāydjān, and Russian troops occupied Tabrīz in April 1909. Various pro-Constitutional tribal forces then converged on Tehran, and on 13 July Muḥammad ᶜAlī sought refuge in the summer residence of the Russian Minister. On 16 July he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Sulṭān Aḥmad. As he was a minor, his uncle Abu 'l-Faḍl Mīrzā was appointed Regent. Russian diplomats then negotiated the details of the former Shāh's pension arrangements with the Persian government, and Muḥammad ᶜAlī left Tehran for Russia on 9 September 1909.

His first place of residence in exile was Odessa, and there he and his supporters quickly began to plot their return to Persia. Money was spent on recruiting support among disaffected tribal and brigand groups in the northern provinces of the country, as well as in the Russian Caucasus and Transcaspia. In November 1910 the former Shāh travelled to Vienna, where he held meetings with his supporters, including Sālār al-Dawla. Although the Russian archives on these activities have not been made available, there is evidence to suggest that Muḥammad ᶜAlī's plans were made with the knowledge, and the connivance, of that government.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī returned to Persia, with his half-brother Shuᶜāᶜ al-Salṭana and a quantity of arms, in a chartered Russian steamer, landing near Astarābād on 17 July 1911. That town quickly surrendered to him. Sālār al-Dawla had meanwhile raised a revolt in Kurdistān. The government in Tehran had very few military forces at its disposal to meet these challenges, and the Bakhtiyārī leaders who had marched on the capital in 1909 showed little sign of wishing to fight against their former monarch. Supporters of the Constitution, however, knew that if Muḥammad ᶜAlī succeeded in regaining the throne, his thirst for revenge was likely to be considerable, and an irregular military force was rapidly raised to take the field against him. A battle took place near Varāmīn on 5 September 1911, when Muḥammad ᶜAlī's forces were defeated, and one of his chief supporters, Arshad al-Dawla, was captured and promptly executed.

Muḥammad ᶜAlī had prudently remained near Astarābād, and he lingered there until he was forced to sail to Russia for a second and permanent period of exile in February 1912. He had by now become something of an embarrassment to the Russian government, which had established great influence in Tehran, and the British government had decided that his restoration to power was not desirable. There were many rumours of another attempt being planned to regain the throne in the summer of 1912, but these proved to be groundless. Muḥammad ᶜAlī died at San Remo on 5 April 1925, and later that year Aḥmad Shāh was deposed by the National Assembly, thus bringing the Ḳādjār dynasty to an end.

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MUḤAMMAD BAḲĀ᾽ B. GHULĀM MUḤAMMAD **SAHĀRANPŪRĪ**, author of historical and biographical works in 11th/17th century Mughal India.

Born in 1037/1627 at Sahāranpūr in what is now Uttar Pradesh, he was first taught by his father and then by Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh, called Miyān Ḥaḍrat, and Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī. After a few years, he himself began teaching in his native country. He first became a *murīd* or disciple of his father, and after the latter's death attached himself to the famous religious leader and reformer Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*]. He was persuaded by Iftikhār Khān, Mīr Khān-sāmān, to come to the court of Awrangzīb and accepted the duties of *Bakhshī*

(paymaster) and *Wāḳiʿa-nigār* (official daily chronicler), but by special favour he enjoyed much leisure, which he devoted to literary work. He died in 1096/1685 at Aḥmadnagar.

His works in Persian include: (1) *Āyīn-i bakht*, possibly the original draft of (2) *Mirʾāt-i ʿālam*, a compendium of eastern Islamic history; (3) *Mirʾāt-i djahān-numā*, an enlarged version of (2); (4) *Riyāḍ al-awliyāʾ*, on the lives of Ṣūfī saints; and (5) *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, on the lives of poets.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDJĪ, IKHTIYĀR AL-DĪN, Afghān adventurer and commander active in the Muslim conquest of northern India under the generals of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] and the one who first established Muslim power in Bengal.

Having failed to find preferment in Ghazna with Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*] of Ghūr and then in Dihlī, allegedly on account of his unprepossessing appearance, Muḥammad Bakhtiyār began as a local *ghāzī* leader in the districts of Badāʾūn and Awadh [*q.vv.*] until he was able, under the aegis of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] of Dihlī, to make important conquests in Bihār *ca.* 596/1199-1200. Aybak then gave him permission to mount an invasion of Bengal against the Hindu Sena dynasty there. Muḥammad Bakhtiyār conquered Nādiya (modern Nabadwip) in *ca.* 600/1203-4 and established his base at Gawr or Lakhnawtī [*q.v.*], which became for the next four centuries the base for Muslim power in western and northern Bengal; in his newly-conquered province, he made the *khuṭba* for Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī. He was them emboldened to contemplate attacks on Bhutan and Tibet, but met with reverses in Assam which compelled him to retreat. He managed to reach Dēvakōt in Bengal, but died in 602/1205-06, either from sickness or by the murderous hand of a rival Khaldjī commander, ʿAlī Mardān, who was subsequently appointed governor of Bengal by Aybak; his body was buried in Bihār.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR, called NADJM-I THĀNĪ (d. 1047/1637), official in the service of the Mughals of India and the author of a Persian Mirror for Princes, the *Mawʿiẓa-yi Djahāngīrī*. Of émigré Persian origin, Muḥammad Bāḳir served as a military commander and then as a provincial governor for the Emperors Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān, but was clearly a highly cultivated *adīb* also, the patron of poets, himself a poet and master of the *inshāʾ* style and author of a work of Shīʿī *kalām*, still in manuscript. His chief claim to fame is as the author of one of the few surviving Mirrors for Princes from the Mughal period, this being dedicated to Djahāngīr; it is a fairly brief work entirely theoretical in conception and devoid of any historical anecdotes, hence adding little to our knowledge of either Indo-Muslim political thought or history.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD AL-BĀḲIR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN].

MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR AL-MADJLISĪ [see AL-MADJLISĪ].

MUḤAMMAD BAYRAM AL-KHĀMIS, Tunisian reformer and man of letters, born in Tunis in Muḥarram 1256/March 1840.

He belonged to the Bayram family whose eponymous ancestor, at the head of a contingent of Ottoman soldiers, had taken part in the capture of Tunis by Sinān Pasha in 981/1573. Later, the Bayrams preferred a religious career. In 1140/1727 Muḥammad Bayram I (died 1800) became *bāsh-muftī* of the Ḥanafīs, a post that was also occupied by Muḥammad Bayram II (d. 1831), Muḥammad Bayram III (d. 1843) and Muḥammad Bayram IV (d. 1861). The latter was the first to hold the title of *shaykh al-Islām*. The Bayrams were related to the beylical family.

The father of Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis, Muṣṭafā (d. 1863), younger brother of Muḥammad Bayram IV, preferred the administration of his lands to a religious career. At the request of Muḥammad Bey, he occupied himself with the management of the *awḳāf*. He left his son a large fortune.

Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis received a traditional education in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, where his teachers include the best scholars of the age. Thanks to them and to his reading in the family library, he obtained a profound knowledge of traditional sciences and history; however, he did not know any foreign language.

On the death of his uncle, Muḥammad Bayram IV, he was charged with the headmastership of *al-Madrasa al-ʿUnuḳiyya* (8 Djumādā I 1278/10 November 1861). On 13 December of the same year, he was named professor of the second class in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*; from 1 November 1868 he became professor of the first class there. Although everything indicated that he was going to follow the example of his forebears, he preferred an administrative career.

As a student, he was interested in the reforms introduced since the proclamation of the *ʿAhd al-amān* [see DUSTŪR. i] in 1857. Convinced of their usefulness and necessity, he did not change his opinion when the rebellion of 1864 erupted. He was associated with Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] and in 1868 wrote a eulogy in the official journal *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī* of the latter's book *Aḳwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*.

After his nomination to the post of *wazīr akbar* on 21 October 1873, Khayr al-Dīn found in Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis a valuable collaborator for his policy of recovery. Already in *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī* of 28 November 1873, he undertook the defence of Khayr al-Dīn against the hostile articles published in certain European journals and inspired by his predecessor Muṣṭafā Khaznadār [*q.v.*].

The first task that Khayr al-Dīn entrusted to him was the presidency of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* founded on 19 March 1874. This was to centralise the administration of the *awḳāf* and control the management of them in a country where practically all the public

monuments, buildings and institutions were financed by their revenues. Helped among others by Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, he drew up a list of 3,680 buildings maintained by the *awḳāf* and recovered numerous lands and houses that had been diverted from their intended purpose of *waḳf*. Thanks to his activities, the revenues of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* rose from 1,200,000 piastres in 1874 to more than 1,700,000 in 1876, and to more than 2,150,000 in 1878. With this rise, it was possible to pay regularly the salaries of the religious authorities, professors of the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna* and members of the tribunals of the *sharīʿa* in Tunis and in the provinces. The *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* also caused to be restored a large number of mosques, houses and town walls.

On 1 July 1875 followed his nomination as a member of a commission entrusted with occupying itself with teaching. His efforts resulted in two regulations for the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, the first of which, on 19 July 1875, fixed the subjects and the works for study, the examinations and the work of the inspectors. The second, on 22 January 1876, created a better control of the establishment's services.

The same commission had decided on the creation of *al-Madrasa al-Ṣādiḳiyya* (the Ṣādiḳī College) founded on 13 January 1875. Alongside of the traditional sciences were taught French, Italian and Turkish, mathematics, chemistry and other sciences. Its first 150 pupils included a son of Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis. Another activity of this commission was the creation, on 18 May 1875, of a public library with a reading room and catalogue, *al-Maktaba al-Ṣādiḳiyya*.

He also took charge of *al-Rāʾid al-tūnisī*. On 14 July 1875, he was entrusted with the directorate of the official press. With the help of Muḥammad al-Sanūsī and the Egyptian Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh, he made this journal the defender of Khayr al-Dīn's policy and the reformers' ideas. During these years, twenty-four books were published, notably some scholarly books for the Ṣādiḳī College and studies by contemporary Tunisian scholars. In 1877, when war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, he helped to organise the sending of horses, mules and money to Istanbul.

On 21 July 1877, Khayr al-Dīn was dismissed from his post. Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis preferred to remain, however. In the two years that followed, he was a member of a commission that had to give its opinion on the right of the French concessionary of the railway line between Tunis and Jendouba to connect this line with the Algerian network. Although the majority of this commission found in favour of the French company, Muḥammad Bayram limited himself to a "yes-but". He also took part in a mixed commission which had to find a solution in the affair of the estate of Sīdī Thābit, in which the Tunisian government found itself in opposition to a French subject. As president of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf*, he played an important role in the creation of the Ṣādiḳī Hospital, better known by the name of *Mustashfā ʿAzīza ʿUthmāna*.

He was also a member of the *madjlis al-shūrā* set up on 1 July 1879. Following serious difficulties between the grand vizier Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl and the *sharīʿa* tribunal of the capital, the *ʿulamāʾ* had called for a real parliament, but the result had been only a consultative council. Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis was one of the instigators of this demand.

At the beginning of August 1879, a rupture occurred between Muḥammad Bayram and the Tunisian government. In the month of July, Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl had entrusted him with the secret mission of requesting from the government in Paris the recall of Roustan, the all-powerful French consul in Tunis. The consul, however, frustrated the intrigues of Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, who immediately changed his decision; the envoy was now suspected of seeking the downfall of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey and the return of Khayr al-Dīn. He returned to Tunis, but because of the chicanery of the grand vizier, he requested and obtained authorisation to go on Pilgrimage. On 13 October 1879, he left Tunis never to return.

Suffering from a nervous illness, Muḥammad Bayram visited Italy, France, England and Algeria. On his way to the Holy Places he went via Cairo, where he was received by the Khedive Tawfīḳ. After accomplishing the Pilgrimage, he left by sea for Istanbul, embarking at Beirut where he met Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*]. On arriving in Istanbul, he rejoined Khayr al-Dīn and other Tunisian exiles.

When France established itself in Tunisia in 1881, he drafted a report for the Ottoman government in which he exhorted it to occupy itself actively with this part of the Empire. As soon as it became clear that Tunisia would from then on be a French protectorate, he travelled to Leghorn, arranged for his family to join him and organised the sale of his goods (June-November 1881). Returning to Istanbul, he collaborated on the weekly *al-Iʿtidāl*, founded in 1883 with an Pan-Islamic slant, but he did not find in it a task fit for his abilities; besides, he did not feel at ease in the Ottoman capital where ʿAbd al-Hamīd II [*q.v.*] had made an atmosphere of distrust prevail.

At the beginning of October 1884, he left Istanbul for Cairo, where liberal ideas could more easily be expressed. He made contact with Muḥammad ʿAbduh, was received once more by the Khedive Tawfīḳ and met Lord Cromer, the English Consul-General. On 13 January 1885, he published the first issue of *al-Iʿlām*, a political and scientific journal and a mouthpiece for his reforming ideas. The last issue appeared on 3 December 1889, a little before his death. In 1887 he made a last journey in Europe. On his return, he was named judge of the first rank in Cairo, but he died in Ḥalwān of pleurisy on 18 December 1889. He had married a daughter of his uncle Muḥammad Bayram IV, who bore him at least three sons.

A prolific author, he favoured a progressive interpretation of the *sharīʿa*. Notable among his *risālas* are:
— *Risāla ḳad iḥtawat ʿalā aḥkām al-ashrāf* (Cairo 1885) in which he called for the respect of all believers for the true descendants of the Prophet;
— *Tuḥfat al-khawāṣṣ fī ḥill ṣayd bunduḳ al-raṣāṣ* (Cairo 1886); according to the *sharīʿa*, the flesh of game killed with firearms is licit;
— *al-Taḥḳīḳ fī masʾalat al-raḳīḳ* (in manuscript), a study on the view of the *sharīʿa* concerning slavery among the Muslims. He explains the motives for slavery and the rules which regulate it, and concludes that the slaves sold in our days are free men and that the governments which forbid the sale of them are acting in conformity with the *sharīʿa*.

In a fourth *risāla*, he explains that men are permitted to wear their hair long.

A fifth one states that it is permitted to buy up the deeds and titles of loans made by a Muslim government so that Muslim money does not leave the country; such an operation has no usurious character.

He also wrote a report on the obligatory use of the Arabic language in teaching, even in modern sciences, and composed a treatise on prosody.

In 1881 he wrote in Istanbul some *Mulāḥaẓāt siyāsiyya ʿan al-tanẓīmāt al-lāzima li ʾl-dawla al-ʿaliyya*

(Istanbul 1881). In this study on the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, he shows himself to be a partisan of the Young Ottomans by supporting the introduction of ministerial responsibility and the election of an assembly of representatives duly chosen. But at the same time, he is opposed to a pure and simple imitation of the European parliamentary system; the political system of the Empire was to be adapted to its specific needs and to the requirements of Islam.

His principal work is *Ṣafwat al-iʿtibār bi-mustawdaʿ al-amṣār wa 'l-akṭār* (Cairo 1885-93; 2nd ed. Ali Chenoufi, Tunis 1989-), whose first three volumes were composed in Istanbul and the last two in Cairo; death prevented him from completing it. After an introduction in which he explains that it is permitted for Muslims to visit Europe, he gives in the first two volumes an outline of all the countries of the world and of Tunisia and its contemporary history. The third volume contains an account of his journey in 1875 in Italy and France, and the fourth consists of his observations on England, Algeria and Egypt. The Ḥidjāz occupies the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth volume, which also contains his observations on the Ottoman Empire. The book was to have finished with a systematic exposition of his political ideas, but it now contains the biography of the author written by his son Muḥammad.

The personal impressions of the author on the debates in the Italian parliament, England's policy in India and the insecurity in Paris, are mixed with observations on the civil and political liberty of various countries, the absolutism of governments and the influence of the political system on the economy. For the Muslims, the author notes that they have a relationship with the caliphate of Istanbul. The whole work testifies to his wish to demonstrate to the Muslims the fruits of good government.

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(G.S. van Krieken)

MUHAMMAD BELLO (1195-25 Radjab 1253/1781-26 October 1837), West African leader, son of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded in 1232/1817 as *amīr al-muʾminīn* of the so-called Sokoto Caliphate (or "ʿUthmānic state", *dawla ʿUthmāniyya* as local Muslim writers generally call it) in north-western Nigeria.

He came from a learned family of the Toronkawa Fulani or Fulbe [*q.v.*] originally from Futa Toro (on the banks of the Senegal River), but long settled in Hausaland. He studied under his father, some of his uncles and other close relatives and local scholars and by the age of twenty had already embarked upon his long career of scholarly writing. Three years later, in 1218/1804, he took part in his father's celebrated *hidjra* from Degel in the land of the *sulṭān* of Gobir to Gudu, just beyond it, and was among the first to offer the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] to Shaykh ʿUthmān as *amīr al-muʾminīn*. In the four-year long *djihād* which followed and which led to the defeat of Gobir and the overthrow of all the major Hausa rulers, Muḥammad Bello played a leading role as an army commander, administrator and adviser to his father. In 1224/1810 he took charge of the planning and layout of the state's new capital Sokoto, and over the next two years assumed much of the burden of correspondence in the ideological debate with Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī of Bornu whose subjects Shaykh ʿUthmān had indicted as unbelievers (*kuffār*). In recognition of his administrative, scholarly and military talents his father gave him overall charge of the eastern half of the state in 1227/1812, while the Shaykh's brother ʿAbd Allāh was given the western half.

On his father's death in 1232/1817 Muḥammad Bello was elected *amīr al-muʾminīn*, possibly in response to an expressed wish of Shaykh ʿUthmān but more probably because the election of the other most likely candidate, ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī, held out the possibility of later factionalism between the two branches of the family. Additionally, Bello commanded the eastern and politically more significant half of the state and was clearly the more astute and dynamic of the two. ʿAbd Allāh, who was at Bodinga, some fifteen miles distant from Sokoto, when Shaykh ʿUthmān's death was announced, hastened to the capital only to find the gates shut in his face. Civil war was averted when ʿAbd Allāh retired to Gwandu, from which city he continued to administer the western provinces, but he and his nephew were not fully reconciled until after the battle of Kalembaina (1236/1820-1) when Bello came to ʿAbd Allāh's aid to defeat the rebel ʿAbd al-Salām (see R. Osswald, *Das Sokoto-Kalifat und seine ethnischen Grundlagen. Eine Untersuchung zum Aufstand des ʿAbd as-Salām*, Wiesbaden 1986). Bello's twenty-year reign, though punctuated by internal revolts and external attacks (notably from Bornu in 1240-2/1825-7 and by a coalition of Tuareg and irredentist Gobirawa and Katsinawa who were defeated at the battle of Gawakuke in 1251/1836), nevertheless marked a period of consolidation for the caliphate and the establishment of lasting administrative structures. The office of *wazīr*, though informally held by ʿAbd Allāh during his brother's lifetime, became formalised under Bello with the appointment of ʿUthmān b. Abī Bakr (more commonly known under the Hausa form of his name, Gidado dan Laima), who also served under Bello's successor Abū Bakr al-ʿAtīk (reigned 1253-8/1837-42) and whose descendants have held this office down to the present day. It was the *wazīr* who handled routine relations with the emirates, corresponding with

individual *amīrs* and receiving their tribute; he and his descendants were also the historians of the dynasty, leaving for posterity a valuable body of writings. Bello himself dealt with major policy matters regarding the emirates. He intervened in Zaria in 1821 and 1834 and in Kano in 1829 to decide the dynastic succession. He also carved out new emirates: Missau in 1831 and Jama'are in 1835. As part of his policy for containing the as yet unreconciled Zamfarawa and Gobirawa, he built a line of *ribāṭs* along the Rima and Sokoto valleys; he also introduced the so-called *kofa*, or "gate" system, under which territorial chiefs in the heartlands of the caliphate kept a resident in Sokoto who represented their interests with Bello and who, in turn, were responsible for collecting and checking tribute from those territories. He also created a series of new titles, some with territorial responsibilities and some entailing administrative duties at the centre, appointing to them men from families which had played a significant role in the *d̲j̲ihād*. Many of these reflected older Hausa titles, a move which may have been conciliatory to the conquered Hausa (though the title-holders were mainly Fulani), but which flew in the face of his father's dictum that such "pagan titles" (*alḳāb ahl al-kufr*) should be abandoned in favour of Islamic (i.e. Arabic) titles (see M. Hiskett, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 558-79).

Pragmatic and forceful as a ruler, valiant and skilful as an army commander, Bello was nonetheless a dedicated scholar and a devout Ṣūfī. Like his father, he had a primary affiliation to the Ḳādiriyya order, but had also received the *wirds* of the K̲h̲alwatiyya and the S̲h̲ādhiliyya. During the 1830s, when the great Tid̲j̲ānī scholar and *mud̲j̲āhid* al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*] stayed in Sokoto while returning home from the pilgrimage to Mecca, Bello received him warmly and gave him a daughter of his in marriage. His interest in the new order was such that Tid̲j̲ānīs began to claim him as an initiate, and his *wazīr* Gidado had to write a refutation of such claims, as did the latter's son and successor in office ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. His writings also reflect his Ṣūfī proclivities; of the nearly 150 works attributed to him, some twenty are on Ṣūfī themes. Other major themes of his writings include government, the conduct of *d̲j̲ihād*, moral and political guidance (*naṣīḥa, tawṣiya*), history and medicine. Most are in prose, but he also wrote poetry in both Arabic and Fulfulde, including renderings in pentastiches (*tak̲h̲mīs*) of the *lāmiyya* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (*Bānat Suʿād...*) and the *Burda* and *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī. Only a few of his works have been published, the most notable of these being his *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīk̲h̲ bilād al-Takrūr*, a history of Islam in the Sahelian regions largely taken up with an account of his father's *d̲j̲ihād*.

In 1824 and again in 1826-7 he was visited by the Scottish naval commander Capt. Hugh Clapperton in the course of missions on behalf of the British government. Bello received him in a spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness, questioning him closely on a wide variety of topics and embarrassing his guest by cross-examining him on early Christian sects. Clapperton, who died in Sokoto on his second visit, has left us a portrait of Bello as he saw him in 1824 at the age of 44: "... a noble-looking man... five feet ten inches high, portly in person, with a short curling beard, a small mouth, a fine forehead, a Grecian nose, and large black eyes... dressed in a light blue cotton tobe, with a white muslim turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth in Tuarick fashion" (*Missions to the Niger*, iv, 676-7).

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(J.O. Hunwick)

MUḤAMMAD BEY, eleventh bey of the Ḥusaynid dynasty in Tunisia. His short reign (1855-9) was important because of certain decisions that he took and whose repercussions appeared after his death and much later. When he succeeded his cousin Aḥmad Bey [*q.v.*], of whose internal and external policy he did not always approve, he abrogated some decrees of his predecessor, reduced, for reasons of economy, the number of soldiers and made the effects of his hostility felt towards some favourites of the deceased bey; but contrary to the hopes of some, he retained in his post the former bey's principal minister Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār [*q.v.*]. The latter had succeeded in conciliating the closest adviser to the new bey, his brother-in-law Ismāʿīl al-Sunnī, and had persuaded the prince that he alone was capable of conducting the management of the public funds which he had complicated at leisure. Affairs thus continued to be directed by the same group of officials and dignitaries, mostly of Mamlūk parentage or clients of K̲h̲aznadār.

However, Muḥammad Bey's first decisions sought to suppress abuses and to lighten a fiscal system which had become, over the years, clumsy and anarchical. The Ḳurʾānic "tithe" (*ʿus̲h̲ur*) on corn barley was maintained, as was the tax in kind (*ḳānūn*) on olive-trees and palm-trees. The other taxes were replaced by a uniform *per capita* tax of 36 piastres a year, which was called "help" (*iʿāna*) and presented as a temporary due; the population, who called it *mad̲j̲bā* ("contribution"), do not seem to have greeted it favourably; its doubling, some years later, triggered the serious revolt of 1864.

In June 1857, the execution, ordered in haste, of a Jewish coachman accused of blasphemy incurred the intervention of France and Great Britain, who demanded the creation of mixed tribunals and

judiciary guarantees as well as freedom of trade for their nations; this period of tension led to the solemn proclamation by the bey of a "Fundamental Pact" (*ʿAhd al-amān*) [see DUSTŪR. i] which, after the fashion of the Turkish *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*], was a charter which guaranteed equality and security or nationality, and which granted to all, and particularly foreigners, freedom to trade and own property in the country.

A commission of dignitaries, officials and *ʿulamāʾ* was entrusted with drafting the constitution which derived from the Fundamental Pact, and in the meantime various measures were taken in the course of this reformatory action, including in September 1858 the creation of the Municipal Council of Tunis and the lifting of the restrictions imposed on the economic activity of the Jews, who from that time on had the right to own lands and practise agriculture there.

In July 1857, the bey had accepted the project presented by the French engineer Jean Colin, supported by the Consul Léon Roches, to restore a Roman aqueduct and thereby supply Tunis and its vicinity with drinking water. The expenses entailed in this work added to the public debt, which was only to increase in the following reign. Muḥammad Bey died on 22 September 1859.

The constitution which derived from the Fundamental Pact was only completed in 1861, in the reign of his brother and successor, Muḥammad al-Ṣādik Bey [*q.v.*], as well as the institutions which it created, the Great Council and tribunals, which disappeared after the revolt of 1864. Nevertheless, the Fundamental Pact was to be for the Tunisian reformers and patriots and for the nationalist movements, before and after the Protectorate, an important point of reference which would justify the demand, essential in their eyes, for a Parliament and a Constitution (*dustūr* [*q.v.*]).

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MUḤAMMAD BEY ʿUTHMĀN DJALĀL, Egyptian writer (born *ca.* 1242/1826-7, died 1898), was the son of a court clerk, named Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī. When a boy he learned English, French and Turkish at the school of languages (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) and when only 16 was given an appointment in the government translation bureau (*Ḳalam al-tardjama*). His patron, the doctor Clot Bey, had him appointed to the Conseil de Médecine (*Madjlis al-ṭibb*) in 1273/1856-7. After a succession of posts, in 1280/1863-4 he entered the War Ministry (*dīwān niẓārat ʿumūm al-djihādiyya*) and five years later the Ministry of the Interior (*dīwān al-dākhiliyya*); some of his translations of military manuals have been published. In Cairo he published in August 1870 the short-lived newspaper *Nuzhat al-afkār*. In 1879 the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed him as translator to his court (*maʿiyya*) and several times took him to accompany him on journeys in Upper and Lower Egypt. After the death of the Khedive he was appointed a judge in the Mixed Courts in Alexandria and also in Cairo. In 1895 he was pensioned and he devoted himself to literary work, translating, amongst other works, Boileau's mock-heroic poem *Le Lutrin* and his didactic poem *l'Art poétique*, the plays of Corneille *Le Cid* and *Les Trois Horaces et les trois Curiaces* into the vernacular, and Racine's *Athalie*.

He published a sketch of the history of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in collaboration with Clot Bey, an elementary grammar in verse of the Arabic and French languages and also a description in rhyme of his journey with the Khedive Tawfīḳ. He devoted much of his time to translation of poetry: first of the fables of La Fontaine, the romance of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre *Paul et Virginie*, and of Racine's tragedies *Alexandre le Grand*, *Esther* and *Iphigénie* (*al-Riwāyāt al-mufīda fī ʿilm al-tarādjīda*, [*Iskandar al-akbar*, *Istīr al-yahūdiyya*, and *Ifghāniyya*], Cairo 1311/1893-4). He translated *Paul et Virginie* into an elegant rhymed prose, whilst employing *zadjal* in his translations of La Fontaine and Racine. In 1870 his translation of Rossini's opera *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* as *Muzayyin Shāwīlih*, together with another opera, possibly Donizetti's *La Favorite*, had been published in Cairo. But his real importance lies in his endeavour to translate Molière's comedies into the modern Arabic vernacular of Egypt, freely adapting them to Arab conditions.

(*a.*) *Tartuffe* under the title *al-Shaykh Matlūf*, Cairo 1290/1873, which Vollers edited under the title *Eš šēḫ Matlûf* (cf. *ZMDG*, xlv, 36 ff. and thereon Socin, in *ibid.*, xlvi, 330 ff.); (*b.*) *Madrasat al-azwādj* (*l'École des maris*), transcribed and translated by M. Sobernheim, Berlin 1896; (*c.*) *al-Nisāʾ al-ʿālimāt* (*les Femmes savantes*), transcribed and translated by Fr. Kern, Leipzig 1898; (*d.*) *Madrasat al-nisāʾ* (*l'École des femmes*); (*e.*) *Riwāyat al-thuḳalāʾ* (*les Fâcheux*), 1897; (*f.*) *le Malade imaginaire*; (*g.*) *le Médecin malgré lui* under the title of *al-Fakhkh al-manṣūb li ʾl-ḥakīm al-maghṣūb*, published in part in the Cairo fortnightly magazine, *Rawḍat al-madāris al-miṣriyya*, 2, 3 (Friday, 15 Ṣafar 1288/[5 May 1871]), 1-4; 5 (Saturday, 15 Rabīʿ I/[3 June 1871]), 5-8; 7 (Monday, 15 Rabīʿ II/[4 July 1871]), 9-12. His own play on Egyptian domestic life, in the vernacular, *al-Khaddāmīn wa ʾl-mukhaddimīn* was published posthumously in Cairo, 1322/1904. The first four plays, published as *al-Arbaʿ riwāyāt min nukhab al-tiyātarāt*, Cairo 1307/1890, were republished by Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm, *al-Masraḥ al-ʿarabī, dirāsāt wa-nuṣūṣ*. 4. *Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl—al-kūmīdiyyāt*, Beirut 1964, with *Riwāyat al-mukhaddimīn* and *Riwāyat al-thuḳalāʾ*. Though two of his collections of poetry, a *dīwān* in honour of Tawfīḳ and another on the last Russo-Turkish war, were not published, his popular poems were lithographed: *Ḥiml zadjal murabbaʿ ghazl wa-naṣāyiḥ wa-tankīt*, n.p., n.d.; *Ḥimlay zadjal. Aḥaduhumā fī ʾl-azhār wa ʾl-thānī fī ʾl-maʾkūlāt*, Cairo n.d.; *Ḥimla zadjal fī ʾl-mukayyifāt*, n.p., n.d., and *Ḥimlayn zadjal. Aḥaduhumā fī ʾl-shiʿr wa-kasād biḍaʿatihi wa-fasād ṣināʿatihi wa ʾl-ākhar fī ʾl-ʿuṣfūr wa ʾl-ṣayyād*, Cairo n.d. These publications, together with his plays, were all initially published anonymously under the initials *M.ʿ.Dj.*

His adaptations of Molière may have been first per-

formed in Egypt in the early 1870s by the troupe of the pioneering Egyptian dramatist Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ [see ABŪ NAḌḌĀRA]. Some were presented after their publication with the active encouragement of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*] and then from time to time until there was a revived interest in their production in the 1950s and 1960s. These plays were for a time successful, but the audiences later cooled in their response to them, because lacking songs they gave no opportunity for the leading actor-singer of the era Salāma Ḥidjāzī to show off his musical talents. "Respectable" circles were not much attracted by these comedies translated as they were into the vernacular; to them this language did not appear cultured enough.

Bibliography: On his theatre, metre and language see Socin, Sobernheim and Kern, *loc. cit.*; A. Socin, *Zur Metrik einiger ins Arabische übersetzter Dramen Molière's*, Leipzig 1897; Shimʿūn Ballas, *Iṭālat ʿalā manhadj Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl fi 'l-tardjama*, in *al-Karmil*, Haifa, vi (1985), 6-36; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn, *Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl wa 'l-masraḥ al-kūmīdī*, in *al-Masraḥ wa 'l-sīnimā*ʾ, no. 57 (September 1968), 61-4; Mohamed Ali al-Khozai, *The development of early Arabic drama 1847-1900*, London 1984, 169-223; Hudā Waṣfī, *al-Shaykh Matlūf bayn Mūlyīr wa-Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl*, in *al-Masraḥ*, Cairo, i (January 1964), 29-31, and *Uthman Jalal et Molière affinités satiriques*, in *Le Miroir égyptien*, Marseilles 1984; and see also Brockelmann, II, 476-7, and S II, 725; the poet's autobiography in *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda* of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, xvii, 62 ff.; Shaykhū, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashr*, ii, 91-2; J.E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, ii, cols. 1306-7; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ḥamdī, *Ridjāl al-taʾrīkh al-ḥadīth fī Miṣr*. 6. *Muḥammad Bēk ʿUthmān Djalāl*, in *al-Siyāsa al-usbūʿiyya*, Cairo, year 2, no. 59, 10-11 (23 April 1927), 22.

(M. SOBERNHEIM-[P.C. SADGROVE])

MUḤAMMAD DĀWŪD KHĀN (1909-78) first president of Afghānistān.

His father was Sardār Muḥammad ʿAzīz, the half-brother of Muḥammad Nādir Shāh. Dāwūd was educated at Amāniyya School, Kābul, and in France. In 1931 he entered the army, was created major-general in 1932 and from then until 1947 held various military commands and provincial governorships. In 1947 he became minister of defence in the government of his uncle, Shāh Maḥmūd, resigned and returned as minister of the interior, 1949-50. From 20 September 1953 until 9 March 1963 he served as prime minister. During this period he pushed a policy of economic development (first five-year plan, 1956), notably road construction, and of social change (unveiling of women, 1959). He ruthlessly suppressed tribal opposition in Khōst [*q.v.*] and religious hostility in Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. In foreign affairs he followed a non-aligned policy, supported the Pashtūnistān campaign which led to friction with Pakistan, and inaugurated closer relations with the USSR; Bulganin and Khrushchev visited Kābul in December 1955 and substantial Soviet economic and military aid commenced in 1956. The dispute with Pakistan led to the closure of the frontier and economic difficulty for Afghānistān; the export of fruit and nuts was obstructed and attempt to use the Soviet route only partially successful. Economic discontents and resentment of his autocratic style contributed to his resignation under pressure from the King and other members of the Muḥammadzay family. For the next ten years he lived in retirement.

Dāwūd returned to power following an almost bloodless coup on 17 July 1973. The monarchy was abolished in favour of a republic and Ẓāhir Shāh's holiday in Italy turned into exile. The coup was the consequence of the difficulties of the constitutional régime, inaugurated in 1965, caused by deadlock between the bureaucratic reformers and the *madjlis*, the dissatisfactions of the growing numbers of students, graduates and army officers, and the economic problems caused by a three-year drought. Dāwūd launched a very ambitious economic programme in 1965, but could find no other state willing to finance it in full. He did, however, develop closer relations with Persia and the Gulf states, and after an early period of friction with Pakistan over the Pashtūnistān question he improved relations with that country. Dāwūd established a single party (the National Revolutionary Party, 1975), selecting all members of the central committee himself. On 30 January 1977 a Loya Djirga [see DJIRGA in Suppl.] approved a new constitution which established a one-party presidential system. Dāwūd was chosen president for six years. Dāwūd's régime was run by his friends and close relatives. At the outset, Dāwūd had some support from members of the Parčam faction of the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), but he dismissed them in 1974. Opposition to his government came from fundamentalist Muslims, who launched an unsuccessful armed uprising in 1975. Dāwūd was eventually overthrown by a military coup on 27 April 1978 in which he and his family and close confidants were killed. His régime was succeeded by the rule of the PDPA.

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(M.E. YAPP)

MUḤAMMAD DJAʿFAR ĶARADJA-DĀGHĪ, MĪRZĀ, Munshī of the Ḳadjār prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā and translator into Persian of the famous comedies of the Ādharbāydjānī playwright Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhundzāde [*q.v.*].

After they had been published (1859), Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī sent a copy of his plays to the above-mentioned Ḳādjār prince in the hope that he would take notice of it. But the book lay unheeded for years in the prince's library until Muḥammad Djaʿfar opened it by chance. The *munshī*, delighted with the plays, at once decided to translate them into Persian. As no-one would help him, he was forced to print the translation at his own expense, which brought him into considerable financial difficulties. The translation appeared in lithograph in Tehran in 1874 under the title *Tamthīlāt*. When the work was finished, Muḥammad Djaʿfar corresponded with the author and found out that they were related. The Persian translation is of the greatest importance for the history of Persian theatre, as it gave the stimulus to the composition of original works. The influence of Ākhundzāde on the work of Malkom Khān [*q.v.*] and even on more recent dramatists, such as Maḥmūdī, is quite apparent. From the artistic point of view, however, Muḥammad Djaʿfar's translations cannot be called successful as their language is very clumsy and filled with countless

Ādharbāydjānisms. It is remarkable that European orientalists first became acquainted with Ākhundzāde's works in their Persian dress and published a considerable number of these translations (see *Bibl.*) as textbooks for the study of spoken Persian, although, in view of their linguistic defects, the translations cannot by any means be regarded as models of the living Persian language.

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(E. BERTHELS)

MUḤAMMAD AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ [see AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD DJAYĀSĪ [see MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJAYĀSĪ].

MUḤAMMAD FARĪD BEY B. AḤMAD FARĪD PASHA (1284-1338/1867-1919), Egyptian nationalist politician, active in the first two decades of the 20th century.

Of aristocratic Turkish birth, he had a career as a lawyer in the *Ahliyya* courts and then as a supporter of Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha [*q.v.*], leader of the nationalist opposition to the British protectorate over Egypt and founder in 1907 of the Nationalist Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) [see ḤIZB. i. In the Arab lands]. When Muṣṭafā Kāmil died at the beginning of 1908, Muḥammad Farīd succeeded him as leader of the party, but being by temperament averse from the rough-and-tumble of politics, effective leadership in the party passed to a demagogue, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Shāwīsh or al-Djāwīsh, a former inspector in the Ministry of Public Instruction and one-time lecturer in Arabic at Oxford University. Al-Shāwīsh made the nationalist organ *al-Liwāʾ* [see AL-DJARĪDA. i. Arabic language press. A. Middle East] a strident mouthpiece for Pan-Islamism. He wished to get rid of Coptic elements in the nationalist movement and make it purely Islamic, taking a prominent role in the communal strife between Muslims and Copts in 1910-11. It was not surprising therefore that by 1914 the prestige of the party had been lowered in the eyes of its more responsible supporters and much of the goodwill from its founder, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, dissipated. Positive achievements, however, of Muḥammad Farīd were seen in his efforts to rally left-wing support for his cause outside Egypt, especially in Britain, and his carrying of the movement to the urban proletariat of Egypt; he recognised the future importance of trade unions and encouraged the formation of a union of railway workers in 1909 and one of manual workers in industry in 1911.

During the First World War, Muḥammad Farīd, still the official leader of the Nationalist Party, was an exile in Europe, principally in Geneva and Berlin, thus lowering the party's standing as a force in the movement for independence after the War, whose leader was in fact to be Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha [*q.v.*], associated rather with the Umma Party of moderate and secular reform. Muḥammad Farīd himself died in 1919 in Berlin.

Muḥammad Farīd was also an *adīb*, the author of historical works on the Khedival house, the Ottoman empire and the Romans, and of a book on his travels 1901-4 in North Africa, Italy, etc. (see Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, cols. 1685-6).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD FARĪD WADJDĪ (1875-1954), unusually fertile Egyptian author, including of a ten-volume encyclopaedia, *Dāʾirat maʿārif al-ḳarn ar-rābiʿ ʿashar al-ʿishrīn*, "The encyclopaedia of the 14th/20th century". As the title of this work indicates, Farīd Wadjdī aspired to integrate modern knowledge into the classical system of Islam.

The same motive lies behind his Ḳurʾān commentary, now known as *al-Muṣḥaf al-mufassar*, "the Ḳurʾān interpreted". This commentary, printed in the margin of the text of the Ḳurʾān, is divided into two parts. The first part, *tafsīr al-alfāẓ*, contains what is usually called a commentary: simple explanations of rare words, analyses of syntactically complicated phrases, etc. The second part, *tafsīr al-maʿānī*, paraphrases the meaning of the verse and contains exclamations like "In this verse you read an unambiguous prediction of things invented in the nineteenth and twentieth century!", or "Modern science confirms this literally!".

Wadjdī's Ḳurʾān commentary appears to be the first commentary in which exegetical preoccupation with modern natural history is just one aspect of Ḳurʾān interpretation. His commentary is not devoted exclusively to *tafsīr ʿilmī*, as are so many earlier works like, e.g., those by Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (1870-1940), or later ones like those by, e.g., Ḥanafī Aḥmad (*ca.* 1968).

For nearly twenty years (1933-52) Wadjdī was the editor-in-chief of the official journal of the Azhar University. W.C. Smith gives a classical analysis of the apologetic nature of the modernism of Wadjdī's writings for this journal, and contrasts this modernism with the more traditional piety which is represented by al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Khiḍr Ḥusayn, who preceded Wadjdī as editor of the Azhar journal.

In his lifetime, Wadjdī took part extensively in the many debates that went on concerning the issues that were thought to be of great relevance to the defence of Islam: the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, the emancipation of women, etc.

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(J.J.G. JANSEN)

MUḤAMMAD GHAWTH GWĀLIYĀRĪ, Indian Ṣūfī saint. He was a descendant of the

famous Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], his full name being Abu ʾl-Muʾayyad Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Laṭīf b. Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḳattāl b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd b. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. Some say that his great-grandfather Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḳattāl came to India and died at Djawnpūr. One of his brothers, Shaykh Bahlūl, who was attached to the service of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayāna. According to his own statement, Muḥammad Ghawth was born in 906/1500. He was a pupil of Shaykh Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī Ḥudūr, and belonged to the Shaṭṭāriyya sect of Ṣūfīs. He and his eight brothers were disciples of Shaykh Ḥādjdjī Ḥamīd, *khalīfa* of Shāh Ḳāḍan, the disciple and *khalīfa* of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Shaṭṭārī. After leading a solitary life for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Čunār, he came to Gudjarāt, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn Gudjarātī. He went to Āgra in 966/1558 and was treated with high regard by the emperor Akbar. Subsequently, he returned to Gwāliyār where he died and was buried in 970/1562. Humāyūn is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muḥammad Ghawth.

He was the author of several Ṣūfī works, the most popular of which is *al-Djawāhir al-khamsa* in Arabic, which he completed in 956/1549 (see Brockelmann, II², 550-1, S II, 616: printed at Fās 1318/1900-1) and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements. His other works are *Kalīd-i makhāzin*, *Baḥr al-ḥayāt*, and *Miʿrādj-nāma*. It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Miʿrādj-nāma* were condemned by the *ʿulamāʾ* of Gudjarāt, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned Shaykh Wadjīh al-Dīn.

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MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19 Shawwāl 1313/3 April 1896. His honorific titles were *Saniʿ al-Dawla* and later *Iʿtimād al-Salṭana*.

Through his mother he was related to the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers. His father, Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Khān of Marāgha, was a faithful servant of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (in 1268/1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaymān Khān) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was one of the first students at the Dār al-Funūn founded in 1268/1851, and spent 12 years there. Later, he went with his father when he was appointed governor of ʿArabistān. In 1280/1863 he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three-and-a-half years there. On his return to Tehran, he was appointed interpreter to the Shāh and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels. In 1288/1871 he was appointed head of the dragomanate (*dār al-tardjuma*) and of the press bureau (*dār al-ṭibāʿa*) as well as director of the official *Rūznāma-yi dawlatī*. In 1290/1873 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank.

E.G. Browne criticises severely the work of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars. On the other hand, Žukovski speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e.g. the printing of the Ḳurʾān with an interlinear Persian translation, concordance and index; the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters; the establishment of the Mushīriyya school; encouragement of the daily press, etc.) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by Shaykh Hāshimī Shīrāzī, the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān.

The fact is that the number of works—often very useful—bearing the name of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān is very large. Without the help of "secretaries", some of these books could not have been undertaken. To Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān is in any case due the honour of having suggested them. His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs. They are *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geography: letters *alif-tāʾ*); ii, 1295 (history of the first fifteen years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iii (years 16-32 of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iv, 1296 (geography: letters *thāʾ-djīm* and history of 1296). In the geographical portions we find quotations from Yāḳūt and European travellers, along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mirʾāt al-buldān: Taʾrīkh-i Bābul wa-Nīnawā* was published at Bombay in 1311); *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, 3 parts, 1298-1300 (history from the time of the Hidjra; vol. iii, history of the Ḳādjārs 1194-1300); *Maṭlaʿ al-shams*, 3 vols., 1301-3 (description of the journey to Khurāsān with important archaeological data; ii, 165-213, contains the autobiography of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and ii, 469-500, a list of books in the library of sanctuary of Mashhad); *Kitāb Ḥidjdjat al-saʿāda fī ḥadjdjat al-shahāda*, Tehran 1304, Tabrīz 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalāʾ); *Khayrātun ḥisānun* (cf. sūra LX, 70), 3 vols., 1304-7 (biographies of famous women of Islam); *Kitāb Durar al-tidjān fī taʾrīkh Banī Ashkān*, 1308-10, 3 vols. (history of the Arsacids); *Kitāb al-Maʾāthir wa ʾl-āthār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh); *Kitāb al-Tadwīn fi aḥwāl Djabal-i Sharwīn*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Māzandarān).

In the field of imaginative literature, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was only a translator (*The Swiss Family Robinson*, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Taʾrīkh-i Inkishāf-i Yangī Dunyā*, Tehran 1288, Memoirs of the Indian Mutiny of 1857). He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language.

Bibliography: V.A. Žukovski, obituary of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in *ZVO*, x (1896), 187-91; E.G. Browne, *Persian literature in modern times*, 453-56; E. Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian books of the Brit. Mus.*, 479-80. (V. MINORSKY)

MUḤAMMAD AL-HĀSHIMĪ [see AL-HĀSHIMĪ].

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN BUSHRŪʾĪ, MULLĀ (1229-65/1814-49), the first convert to Bābism [*q.v.*], and a leading figure of the movement's early period. Born in Khurāsān to a mercantile family, he pursued religious studies in Mashhad, Tehran, Iṣfahān and Karbalāʾ, where he studied under Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], head of the Shaykhī school [*q.v.*]. During a long residence, he acquired a private following, which gave grounds for believing he might become Rashtī's successor.

Following the latter's death in 1844, Bushrūʾī left for Kirmān to interview another prospective leader, Karīm Khān Kirmānī. En route, in Shīrāz, he met a former acquaintance, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad

Shīrāzī [see BĀB], who soon announced his own claim to be Rashtī's successor and the *bāb al-imām*. Acknowledging Shīrāzī's claim, Bushrūʾī was himself designated *bāb al-bāb* and "the return of Muḥammad". When Shīrāzī later (1848) assumed the title of *ḳāʾim*, that of Bāb was transferred to Bushrūʾī. Bushrūʾī soon established an important centre for Bābism in Mashhad. During this period he regularly acted on Shīrāzī's behalf, and was widely regarded as his leading disciple.

Following trouble with the authorities, he and a band of armed followers left Mashhad in Shaʿbān 1264/July 1848. Their original intention may have been to rescue the Bāb from prison in Ādharbāydjān, but by September they were forced to barricade themselves in the shrine of Shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Faḍl Tabarsī in Māzandarān province. Here Bushrūʾī led a spirited defence against provincial and state troops, ending with the surrender of the remaining Bābīs in May 1849. He himself was killed in the course of a sortie on 9 Rabīʿ I 1265/2 February 1849. Few of his writings are extant.

Bibliography: M.A. Malik Khusrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr*, i, Tehran 1973-4, 19-58 and *passim* to 322; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, *Kitāb-i ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳḳ*, Cairo n.d., 112-42; R. Mehrabkhani, *Mullā Ḥusayn*, Los Angeles 1987. On his writings, see D.M. MacEoin, *Early Bābī doctrine and history*, forthcoming. (D. MacEoin)

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAYKAL (b. 20 August 1888, d. December 1956), Egyptian writer of the first rank. He participated, with several of his contemporaries (al-ʿAḳḳād, al-Māzinī, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, etc.) in the formation in his country of a liberal way of thought and a modern literature marked by attachment to Muslim values, the influence of Europe and consciousness of an Egyptian specificity.

Having graduated in law from Cairo in 1909, he won a scholarship to France, and in 1913 presented his thesis in law on "The Egyptian Debt". On his return from Cairo, he published in 1914 his first novel, *Zaynab*, which he had written in France and which was to remain his masterpiece. Having become a barrister and professor in the Faculty of Law, he also practised journalism. At first he contributed to *al-Siyāsa*, then edited this newspaper in 1922, and founded the weekly *al-Siyāsa al-usbūʿiyya* (1926).

As a member of the party of *al-Aḥrār al-dustūriyyūn* ("the constitutional liberals") he came to play a political role. He was to become minister (1937) and President of the Senate (from 1945 to 1950). He recounts this part of his activity and his concerns in his memoirs: *Mudhakkirāt fī 'l-siyāsa al-miṣriyya* (2 vols., 1951-3). But above all he was an intellectual, a writer whose production is of interest in two fields: literature, with which he was involved as a practioner and critic; and Muslim religion, of which he speaks as a convinced believer and as a modern man.

To the first category belong the thesis on Jean-Jacques Rousseau which he presented to the University of Cairo (1st ed. vol. i, 1921, vol. ii, 1923), and his collection of essays *Fī awḳāt al-farāgh* (1925), which was to be followed by a more systematic exposé, revised and corrected, of his literary ideas under the title of *Thawrat al-adab* (1933). Nor should one forget his second novel *Hākadhā khuliḳat* ("She is thus") which appeared a few months before his death (1956).

In the second category must be cited his *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (1934), a life of the Prophet of Islam which is respectful of the most reliable Muslim tradition and at the same time conforms with the requirements of modern learning—notably echoing *La vie de Mahomet* of E. Dermenghem, Paris 1929, and *The Life of Muhammad* of Sir William Muir, Edinburgh 1923 (see A. Wessels, *A modern biography of Muḥammad* , Leiden 1972). After having dealt with the *sīra* of the founder of Islam, Haykal also applied himself as an historian to the biographies of its first three so-called "Orthodox" caliphs: Abū Bakr (1942), ʿUmar (1945), and ʿUthmān (only to be published in 1964, after Haykal's death). Finally, let us mention the account of his own pilgrimage which he wrote in 1937, *Fī manzil al-waḥy*.

In all his work, Haykal appears as a man endowed with a great capacity for work and assimilation, capable of constantly starting afresh. As a good student of Renan, he begins by doubting the creative capacities of the Semites in literary matters and keeps his distance from Arabism; like Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*], he extols an "Egyptian national literature"; the excavations of Upper Egypt demonstrate the importance of Pharaonic civilisation, the revolution of 1919 revealed a people to itself, what need is there to dissolve in a larger Arabo-Islamic group? But his *Life of Muḥammad*, matched by the prefaces of its first two editions and the two essays which serve as its conclusion (*Muslim civilisation as it appears from the Ḳurʾān* and *Orientalists and Muslim civilisation*), asserts that he has chosen his camp, Islam and Arabism, but without sectarianism, for he is convinced that the salvation of the whole of humanity can come only from Islam. He also changes his master in European thought. Neither Renan nor Taine suit him any more; only Bergson can bring him this spiritualism, so familiar to Islam, that the West, positivist and materialist, ignores almost completely.

Rousseau seems to have retained all his old prestige in his eyes. Does he not recognise in him an exceptional stature in the thesis which he devotes to him, by making of him a kind of prophet of modern times? And above all, does *Zaynab* not originate from *La nouvelle Héloise* placed in a different setting! This double denunciation of the misery of the peasant and the distress of the woman constitutes a promising start for the Arab novel, of which it is the first real manifestation. Despite its faults, the novel actually keeps today all its value, but remains without posterity in Haykal's work. The second and final novel that he wrote, a short time before his death, does not excite our pity for the fate of an oppressed woman, but arouses our indignation against a dominating woman who does exactly what she wants, subjugates and buries her two successive husbands and maintains excellent relations with God. So here things have completely changed. This does not owe so much to Rousseau as one might think, but more to Nietzsche.

Furthermore, between these two works, which, more than forty years apart, form the whole production of Haykal, the difference of technique is also evident. If *Zaynab* is characterised by the peasant stamp, the multiplicity of the poles (the author, the hero, the two heroines) and by the attempt to impose the Egyptian "national" dialect as the language of the dialogue, *Hākadhā khuliḳat*, on the contrary, is from beginning to end the monologue of a modern woman narrator who expresses herself in a *fuṣḥā* which, in the event, perfectly suits the suggested settings: a mannered and affected woman's boudoir, a psychoanalyst's couch and a mystic's oratory.

Bibliography: Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir*, Cairo 1961; H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *BSOS*, v (1929), 147, 450-54, 464 = *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, ed. S. Shaw and W. Polk, London 1962; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī,

Fadjr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya, Cairo n.d.; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age, 1798-1939*, London 1967; H. Pérès, *Le roman arabe dans le premier tiers du XXème siècle: al-Manfalūṭī et Haykal*, in *AIEO Alger*, xvii (1959); idem, *La littérature arabe et l'Islam par les textes*, Algiers 1947, 144-7; D. Semah, *Four Egyptian literary critics*, Leiden 1974; R. Allen, *The Arabic novel, an historical and critical introduction*, Manchester 1982, 31-5 and index. (CH. VIAL)

MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN TABRĪZĪ, famous Persian calligrapher, pupil of the celebrated Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mas̲h̲hadī and teacher of the no less famous Mīr ʿImād. His remarkable command of the art of calligraphy, so popular in Persia, brought him the title of honour *Mihīn Ustād* ("greatest master"). His father Mīrzā S̲h̲ukr Allāh was *Mustawfī al-Mamālik* to the Ṣafawid Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76); the master himself, according to the Oriental sources, was vizier to S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl II (984-5/1576-8) but lost the favour of the sovereign and was forced to flee to India, where he remained to his death. Rieu says he died about 950/1543, but this does not agree with other biographical details and is indeed improbable. That he spent the remainder of his life in India is evident from the fact that most of the manuscripts known to have been written by him were finished in India. The inscriptions on the *masdjids* and *k̲h̲ānḳāhs* of Tabrīz are said to have been his masterpieces, but unfortunately they have been almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes. After completing these inscriptions, he made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return devoted himself exclusively to copying the masterpieces of Persian poetry. A *Dīwān* of the Persian poet Amīr S̲h̲āhī from his pen is in the Cambridge University Library.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 237; E.G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1899, no. 265, p. 353; Mīrzā Ḥabīb, *K̲h̲aṭṭ u k̲h̲aṭṭāṭān*, Istanbul 1306; *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlamārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1314, 126; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 782a, 783a, 785a. (E. BERTHELS)

MUḤAMMAD IḲBĀL [see IḲBĀL].

MUḤAMMAD AL-IKHSHĪD [see MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUG̲H̲DJ AL-IK̲H̲S̲H̲ĪD].

MUḤAMMAD ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿABD AL-G̲H̲ANĪ AL-S̲H̲AHĪD, MAWLĀNĀ, religious leader of Muslim India, was born on 28 S̲h̲awwāl 1196/6 October 1782, of a Dihlī family that traced its origin to the caliph ʿUmar. He was a nephew of the famous Mawlānā S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1239/1823-4). Having lost his father early, he was brought up by his uncle Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (d. 1242/1826-7). In childhood he was inattentive to his studies and fond of swimming in the Djamnā, but thanks to a retentive memory and a keen intellect he later on became a learned man.

Being shocked at the *s̲h̲irk* or idolatrous tendencies then prevailing among Indian Muslims, he zealously preached the purified and reformed doctrines of Islam. Impressed by the religious sanctity of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] al-Mudjaddid, he became his disciple and his constant companion. In 1236/1821 they went to Mecca and then to Istanbul, where they were received with marked consideration. Six years later, on their return to Dihlī, they gained many followers. In 1243/1827 they with many disciples went to Pes̲h̲āwar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs. But owing to some innovations introduced into the usages of the Afg̲h̲āns, their power declined and during a retreat they perished in a skirmish with the Sikhs in 1247/1831.

He is the author of the following works:

1. *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, a treatise on the principles of Islamic law according to the Ḥanafī school;
2. *Manṣab-i imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the imāmate;
3. *Taḳwiyat al-īmān*, an Urdu treatise on theology (printed 1293, Eng. tr. Mīr S̲h̲ahāmat ʿAlī, cf. *JRAS*, xiii, 316);
4. *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, a treatise in Persian on the doctrines of Islam.

Bibliography: Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan, *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ*, 416; Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, *Āt̲h̲ār al-sanādīd*, ii, 97; *JRAS*, xiii, 310. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD ISMĀʿĪL S̲H̲AHĪD [see ISMĀʿĪL S̲H̲AHĪD].

MUḤAMMAD ʿIZZAT DARWAZA (or DARWAZEH), an advocate of Arab nationalism and a prominent figure in Palestinian national struggle during the British Mandate (1917-48), was born in Nābulus in 1305/1888 to a middle-class mercantile family.

The family name is derived from *daraza*, "to sew, stitch", because his forefathers were tailors and braid weavers. In 1905, having graduated from high school, he joined the Ottoman civil service and was soon promoted to commissioner and deputy of the Nābulus post office. Having become disillusioned with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, he became an active supporter of Arabism and Arab nationalism; he joined radical political groups, such as the Party for Decentralisation (*ḥizb al-lā markaziyya*) and the Arab Youth Society (*djamʿiyya al-fatāt al-ʿarabiyya*, often called *al-Fatāt*) and at times supported militant ideology. From May 1919 to March 1920, he served the central body of *al-Fatāt*, which was for all practical purposes the official party and backbone of Amīr Fayṣal b. S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn's [*q.v.*] provisional government in Damascus (1918-20), as its secretary. When the latter was deposed by the French, Darwaza went back to Nābulus and played a major role in the Arab national movement against the British mandate and Jewish immigration. He was a close associate of the Muftī al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.*], the chairman of the Supreme Muslim Council (*al-madjlis al-islāmī al-s̲h̲arʿī al-aʿlā*), and served him first as the head of Nābulus *awḳāf* and later as the manager of the Palestinian *awḳāf*. He also administered the Nadjāḥ National School in Nābulus since its inception in 1922 as its principal, where he taught Arab history and wrote a number of history textbooks. Following the Palestinian unrest of 1936 while he was in Damascus, the British declared the Arab Higher Committee (*al-ladjna al-ʿarabiyya al-ʿulyā*) illegal and stripped the Muftī of his chairmanship of the Supreme Muslim Council; hence Darwaza was barred from returning to Palestine. From 5 June 1939 to November 1940, he was imprisoned by the French military authorities on the pretext of inciting people against the British. After he was released by the Syrian forces, but unable to return to his country, he left for Turkey and resided there until the end of 1945. Still barred from entering Palestine, he lived in Damascus until his death on 28 S̲h̲awwāl 1404/26 July 1984.

He was a prolific author and wrote more than thirty books, a number of them in several volumes, ranging from Arabism, Arab history, Arab nationalism, biography of the Prophet, *tafsīr*, socio-economic and political problems of the Arabs, to the question of Palestine. *Al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīt̲h̲* (Cairo 1962, 12 volumes), arranged in chronological order of revelation of the

chapters, is his major work. It was preceded by *al-Ḳurʾān al-madjīd* (Sidon and Beirut, n.d.) as an introduction to the former wherein Darwaza has outlined what he calls, "The exemplary method for understanding the Ḳurʾān and for its exegesis". Given his educational background, the *tafsīr* is a remarkable achievement. His trilogy *ʿAṣr al-nabī wa-bīʾatuhu ḳabl al-baʿtha*, 2nd ed., rev. (Beirut 1964), *Sīrat al-rasūl*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo 1965), and *al-Dustūr al-Ḳurʾānī wa 'l-sunna al-nabawiyya fī shuʾūn al-ḥayāt*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo 1966; all written during his incarceration and prior to the *tafsīr*), are highly acclaimed studies based primarily on the Ḳurʾān. He is also rightly regarded as a historian and his *Ḥawla al-ḥaraka al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha* (Sidon n.d., or the revised and enlarged edition of its first volume as *Nashʾat al-ḥaraka al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha*, Sidon 1971), is a valuable work with first-hand information.

Bibliography: All the works, except his autobiography entitled *Tisʿūna ʿāman fī 'l-ḥayāt: 1888-1978*, are published. The above biographical sketch is based on personal references found in his own works and information given to the writer by his son Zuhayr. (I.K. POONAWALA)

MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀʾIM, the twelfth *imām* according to the Ithnā ʿAshariyya [*q.v.*] or Twelver Shīʿa.

When the eleventh *imām*, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*], died in 260/874, the question who was to be recognised as his successor split the [proto-] Shīʿī community into numerous factions. Al-Shahrastānī (*K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*) counts eleven, al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ al-shīʿa*) fourteen, Saʿd al-Ḳummī (*K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*) fifteen and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-dhahab*) as many as twenty different factions. The opinions put forward by these factions may be categorised into five groups. Firstly, there were those who claimed that he had no successor at all and that the imāmate had ceased to exist. According to others, secondly, he had never been a true *imām* in the first place, since the tenth *imām*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, had designated his son Muḥammad as his successor. Thirdly, there were those who claimed that al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī himself was the *mahdī* [*q.v.*] and the *ḳāʾim* (*āl Muḥammad* [*q.v.*]), while others, fourthly, were of the opinion that he should be succeeded by his younger brother Djaʿfar. Finally, there were those who believed that the eleventh *imām* had left a son to succeed him. This opinion was to become the official belief of Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Most of the sources on which this dogma is based agree that this son was born on 15 Shaʿbān, but they differ about the year of his birth. According to some he was born in 255/869 and according to others in 258/872 or even in 261/875, after the death of his father. One of the oldest sources (al-Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*) states that the mother of the twelfth *imām* was a slave-girl called Nardjis. Later sources record her name variously as Sayḳal (Saḳīl), Sawsan or Rayḥāna or even claim that her name was Malika b. Yashshu and that she was the grand-daughter of the Emperor of Byzantine. According to Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīsm, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, because of fierce ʿAbbāsid persecutions, concealed as far as possible the fact that he had a son to succeed him and disclosed it only to a very few select followers. Basically for the same reason, this son went into occultation (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) immediately after the death of his father in 260/873-4 (or according to some sources already shortly after his birth).

During the first period of occultation (*al-ghayba al-ḳaṣīra* or *al-ghayba al-ṣughrā*) he performed his duties as *imām* through the agency of four successive representatives or ambassadors (*sufarāʾ*, sing. *safīr*), viz. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿAmrī, Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAmrī, al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ al-Nawbakhtī and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Sāmarrī. *Inter alia*, they received the fifth or *khums* [*q.v.*] on behalf of the *imām* and passed his *tawḳīʿāt*, i.e. written and signed statements or answers to questions, on to his followers. The death of the last *safīr* (15 Shaʿbān 329/15 May 941) was the beginning of the period of the complete or greater occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) that will last till the reappearance of the twelfth *imām* in eschatological times. Concerning the name of the twelfth *imām*, some sources claim that he was given the name of the Prophet, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad. According to other sources, however, the followers of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī were explicitly forbidden to ask after the name of his son. Hence the established tradition in Shīʿī literature to refer to the twelfth *imām* not by his proper name, but with the titles *al-ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*] and *ṣāḥib al-ʿamr* or *ṣāḥib al-zamān*, highlighting his authority over the Shīʿī community, or the titles *al-mahdī* and *al-ḳāʾim* (*āl Muḥammad*), reflecting his eschatological function.

Bibliography: J.M. Hussain, *The occultation of the Twelfth Imam. A historical background*, The Muhammadi Trust, London 1982; A.A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism. The idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism*, Albany1981 (the relevant sources are dealt with in these two books, albeit from an Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿī point of view). (J.G.J. TER HAAR)

MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM, MUNSHĪ, Mughal historian of the 11th/17th century and son of the Persian *munshī* or secretary and official historiographer to the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] Muḥammad Amīn, called Amīnā Ḳazwīnī, and author of a history of that ruler's reign, the *Pādishāh-nāma* (see Storey, i, 566-7).

Muḥammad Kāẓim himself became *munshī* to Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], and was entrusted with the compilation, from official records, of the history of the emperor's reign and was ordered to submit it to him for correction. He accompanied the emperor on his journey to Adjmēr where he fell ill and was consequently sent back to Dihlī and died there shortly after his return in 1092/1681.

The history which he composed is known as *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*; it begins with the departure of Awrangzīb from Awrangābād in 1068/1657 and is brought down to 1078/1667. It was printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865-8.

Bibliography: Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ii, 210; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 174-180 (translated extracts from the *ʿAlamgīr-nāma*); Nassau Lees, in *JRAS*, N.S., iii, 464; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian manuscripts Br. Mus.*, ii, 267a; Storey, I, 585, 1317. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAḌIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN [see AL-KHAḌIR, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH KARLĀNĪ, NAWWĀB, styled Ghaḍanfar Djang, was an Afghān chief of the tribe of Bangash. The city of Farrukhābād [*q.v.*] in what is now Uttar Pradesh, was founded by him in the name of his patron, the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar. When Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] became emperor of Dihlī, he appointed him governor of Mālwa in 1143/1730, but as he could not stop the repeated attacks of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], he was removed in 1145/1732 and appointed governor of Allāhābād. Muḥammad Khān intended to reduce the Bundēlas, of whom Rādjā Čhatursāl was chief. He captured several places, but as he did not know the roads, Čhatursāl, with the help of Pēshwa Bādjī Rāo,

surrounded him suddenly with an army. The Nawwāb took refuge in the fortress of Djaytgaṙh, whereupon his son, Ḳāsim Djang, having collected an army of Afghāns, marched to Djaytgaṙh and escorted his father in safety to Allāhābād. The imperial ministers then removed him from the governorship. He died in 1156/1743.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD LĀRĪ [see LĀRĪ].

MUḤAMMAD MĀḌĪ [see ABU 'L-ʿAZĀʾIM, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD MAHDĪ KHĀN [see MAHDĪ KHĀN ASTARĀBĀDĪ].

MUḤAMMAD MUʿAẒẒAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH [see BAHĀDUR SHĀH I].

MUḤAMMAD MUḤSIN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, son of Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh, son of Āghā Faḍl Allāh, a rich merchant of Persia who came to India in the early part of the 12th/18th century, was born at Hūglī (Hooghly) in Bengal in 1143/1730. For a time, the Āghā resided at Murshidābād [*q.v.*] and carried on there an extensive mercantile business, but finding the rising port of Hūglī a more convenient centre, he finally settled there with his son Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh.

Already settled at Hūglī was one Āghā Muṭahhar, who, coming originally from Persia like Āghā Faḍl Allāh, had won his way at the court of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. That monarch had conferred upon him extensive *djāgīrs* in Djisūr and other places in Bengal, and Āghā Muṭahhar, eager to take possession, finally himself set out from Dihlī for the eastern province. So well did he manage his newly-acquired lands that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the province. He selected Hūglī as his headquarters. Āghā Muṭahhar for many years remained childless and it was only in very old age that a daughter was born to him. Round this only child, named Mānū Djān Khānum, all his affections centred, and dying when she was only seven years old he left her all his property. The widow of Āghā Muṭahhar was displeased with the conduct of her husband and subsequently married Ḥādjdj Fayḍ Allāh, the son of Āghā Faḍl Allāh, her late husband's friend. The fruit of this marriage was Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin. He was eight years younger than his half-sister, Mānū Djān Khānum. Muḥammad Muḥsin was first brought up at Hūglī, afterwards he completed his education in Murshidābād [*q.v.*]. After finishing his studies at Murshidābād, he returned to his sister's house at Hūglī. Later, he started on a long journey and for twenty-seven years he continued his travels in India, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia. It was not until he had reached his sixtieth year that he finally decided to terminate his travels and return home. Making his way slowly across northern India he came at last to Lucknow. Thence he came to Murshidābād in 1216/1801, with the intention of settling there. But during his long absence his sister, Mānū Djān Khānum, had married her cousin, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, nephew of Āghā Muṭahhar; her husband died in the prime of life and she was anxiously waiting for the arrival of her step-brother. At last at the solicitation of his sister, Muḥammad Muḥsin came to Hūglī, and when she died at the age of eighty-one in 1218/1803, she left a will bequeathing to Muḥammad Muḥsin the whole of her property.

It was thus not until Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin had reached the age of seventy-three that he became possessed of the great wealth which greatly helped his co-religionists in Bengal in the pursuit of education. He had never married and the death of his half-sister left him without near relatives. He was anxious that his great wealth should be put to good use after his death and consequently on 7 Ṣafar 1221/26 April 1806 he signed a Deed of Trust, setting apart the whole of his income for charitable purposes in perpetuity.

Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Muḥsin lived for six years after making this noble disposition of his property. For his own personal use, he had reserved only so much property as would bring him in about one hundred rupees a month. In 1227/1812 he died at the age of about eighty-two and was buried in the garden adjoining the *Imāmbārā* which he had so splendidly endowed.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM].

MUḤAMMAD AL-MURTAḌĀ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM, son and successor of Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ b. al-Ḥusayn who founded the Rassī Zaydī imāmate in northern Yemen in the late 3rd/9th century.

The year 278/891-2, that is given in an early source (*al-Ifāda*) as that of his birth, hardly accords with the chronology of his adult life (cf. Van Arendonk, *Les Débuts*, 140 n. 6). In 284/897 he accompanied his father on the latter's second journey from his native Ḥidjāz to Yemen, whence a delegation had invited him to bring order to the northern town of Ṣaʿda and to establish his imāmate there. Commencing the following year, Muḥammad's name appears frequently in the accounts of his father's expanding realm, usually as soldier and administrator but also as poet and religious authority. He was involved mainly in the Ṣanʿāʾ region against Yuʿfirids, local rebels and ʿAbbāsid agents, and in Radjab 290/June 903 he was captured by a Yuʿfirid and imprisoned for several months. From 293/906 onwards Muḥammad on several occasions faced a new enemy in ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, the junior of two Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* or agents who had been in Yemen since 268/881-2 but who only in 291/904 sought to expand into central Yemen [see AL-ḲARMAṬĪ and ISMĀʿĪLIYYA].

After his father died on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 298/19 August 911, Muḥammad was chosen his successor on 1 Muḥarram 299/29 August 911 with the title al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh. However, frustrated by his inability to curb his followers' moral laxity, he soon abdicated, probably in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of that same year/July 912, and was eventually succeeded by his brother, Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, in Ṣafar 301/September 913. Muḥammad died at Ṣaʿda in Muḥarram 310/May 922. A prolific scholar and poet, he produced numerous works (al-Ḥibshī lists 28 titles), mainly on the Zaydī rite.

Bibliography: The richest source is the contemporary biography of Muḥammad's father, the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī, ed. S. Zakkār, ²Beirut 1981. This was used extensively by C. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imâmat Zaidite au Yemen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960. An early ms. source is *al-*

Ifāda fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma al-sāda by the *Imām* Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn (d. 424/1032-3). Other, later ms. sources are mentioned, along with biographical information about Muḥammad, in al-Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 14-19. Other works to be consulted are Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S.A.A. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, i, 166-212 *passim*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 315 n. 127 and 326, n. 138; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, i, Taʿizz 1372/1952, 8-62 *passim*; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 58-61, 104-7; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 31 ff.; A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir*, Cairo 1974, 91-2, 404; and G.R. Smith, in R.B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, eds., *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 55 ff. (J.R. Blackburn)

MUḤAMMAD MURTAḌĀ b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī, Abu 'l-Fayḍ, Arabic scholar and specialist in lexicography. He was born in 1145/1732 in Bilgrām in Kanawdj [*q.v.*] in northwestern India, and settled, after travelling for many years in pursuit of knowledge, in Cairo on 9 Ṣafar 1167/7 December 1753. There he succeeded in reviving an interest in the study of Tradition by giving lectures to specially invited companies. In Upper Egypt, also, he was always a welcome guest with the Arab Shaykh Humām and in the Egyptian country towns, and his fame spread to the Sūdān and even to India. From the year 1191/1777 he drew a pension from the government. He died in Cairo in Shaʿbān 1205/April 1791 of the plague.

His principal works are two great commentaries. He wrote the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* on al-Fīrūzābādī's [*q.v.*] *Ḳāmūs*, finishing it in 1181/1767 after 14 years' work; although in the preface he quotes over a hundred sources used by him, he takes most of the additions to the *Ḳāmūs* bodily from the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manẓūr. It was printed incompletely in 5 vols. in Cairo 1286-7 and in 10 vols. in Cairo 1307. He wrote a commentary, also very extensive, on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, entitled *Itḥāf al-sāda al-muttaḳīn*, in which, in addition to explaining words he devotes special attention to establishing traditions quoted by al-Ghazālī; it was printed at Fās in 1301-4 in 13 vols., and at Cairo in 1311 in 10 vols. He also composed a number of smaller works on lexicography and Tradition and also on the genealogy on the ʿAlids: 1. *Nashwat al-irtiyāḥ fī bayān ḥaḳīḳ al-maysir wa 'l-ḳidāḥ*, ed. by Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, i, 40-55; 2. *al-Ḳawl al-mabtūt fī taḥḳīḳ lafẓ al-tābūt*, Cairo, Fihrist[2], i, 96; 3. *Taḥḳīḳ al-wasāʾil li-maʿrifat al-mukātaba wa 'l-rasāʾil*, Mawṣil, Dāwūd Čelebi, Makhṭūṭāt, 140, 1; 4. *al-Amālī al-shaykhūniyya*, lectures on traditions, which he gave in the Shaykhū mosque in Cairo, Berlin, Ahlwardt, no. 10253; 5. *Risāla fī aḥādīth Yawm al-ʿĀshūrāʾ*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, vi, 209; 6. *Tuḥfat al-ḳamāʾīl fī madḥ Shaykh al-ʿArab Ismāʿīl* in the form of *maḳāma*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, iii, 47; 7. *ʿIḍāḥ al-madārik fī 'l-ifṣāḥ ʿan al-ʿawātik*, finished on 4 Rabīʿ II 1194/10 April 1780, *ibid.*, v, 51; 8. *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī nasab Banī 'l-ʿAbbās*, finished on 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1182/2 May 1769, *ibid.*, 150; 9. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ ilā kuttāb al-āfāḳ*, history of the Arabic script and of famous calligraphers, finished on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1184/30 March 1771, *ibid.*, 163; 10. *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī nasab al-sāda āl Djaʿfar al-Ṭayyār*, *ibid.*, 205; 11. *Muzīl niḳāb al-khafāʾ ʿan kunā sādātinā banī 'l-wafāʾ*, finished on 16 Ramaḍān 1187/21 November 1774, *ibid.*, 343; 12. *Nisbat al-Sayyid Muḥammad Efendi Ibn Ḥawwāʾ bint Aḥmad*, *ibid.*, 346, b, 8.

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MUḤAMMAD NADJĪB (conventional European rendering, Neguib), Egyptian soldier and statesman. He was born on 20 February 1901 in Khartoum, the son of an Egyptian army captain in the Sudan Civil Service. He was educated at Gordon College, Khartoum, after which he entered the Egyptian Royal Military Academy at the age of seventeen. He was commissioned into the infantry and served in the General Staff. During the Second World War he was first Adjutant-General and then deputy governor of Sinai. He came to prominence when he was appointed commander of two infantry brigades fighting in Palestine against the recently founded Israeli state. The Egyptian army was ill-trained and poorly-equipped, and was unable to put up much resistance against the Haganah. Two Egyptian soldiers did distinguish themselves in the fighting, however, the young ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Nasser) and the older Muḥammad Nadjīb. In December 1948 the latter took part in a sharp tank engagement and was severely wounded. He was for a time pronounced dead until emergency measures saved him.

He returned from Palestine bitter at the defeat of the Egyptians and certain that it was the result of government corruption and inefficiency. Younger officers began to visit him in an attempt to bring him into their plans for a coup against the discredited régime. Although Nasser was the obvious leader of these men, the support of Nadjīb was sought as an elder figurehead. In 1949 the Committee of the Free Officers' Movement was constituted with Nasser as chairman and with Nadjīb joining them later. By 1951 the political situation in Egypt was ripe for revolution and the Free Officers were planning their coup, which they carried out on 20 July 1952.

Nadjīb now came to the fore as a leader of maturity and popularity amongst a group of younger unknown men. He was used by Nasser for a time but was never the real power in the movement. It was he who was deputed to travel to Alexandria with the ultimatum of abdication for King Farouk [see FĀRŪḲ in Suppl.].

The Free Officers had come to power with no very clear idea of their political goals. Nadjīb first favoured the return of the army to the barracks and the appointment of civilian politicians, but when these latter failed to co-operate he himself became prime minister, war minister, commander-in-chief and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council. In June 1953 the monarchy was abolished and Nadjīb became president and prime minister, with Nasser as his deputy.

During this period, Nasser was cleverly manœuvring to take over supreme power as soon as possible. Although prime mover of the RCC, he had allowed the limelight to fall on Nadjīb, who was showing signs of independent action. He was popular with the people but did not have a wide power base. Nasser and most of the Free Officers forced him to resign in February 1954. This move caused demonstrations of popular support for Nadjīb and the threat of a split in the army. Nasser had acted too soon and before being sure of his own position. Consequently, he had to allow Nadjīb to return temporarily as prime minister until April, when Nasser finally demonstrated his

abilities by mobilising both country and army behind him. Nadjīb was thus outmanœuvred, dismissed again and placed under house arrest 1954-71. He was released by Sādāt after Nasser's death and lived his life quietly in Cairo until he died in 1984.

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(D. Hopwood)

MUḤAMMAD PANĀH, Mīr, the name of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang (II), was the eldest son of Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh I and a grandson of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang I, Indo-Muslim noble of the late Mughal period.

He grew up at the court of Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*], the Mughal emperor of Dihlī and on attaining his majority was married to a daughter of the minister, Iʿtimād al-Dawla Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān (not to be confounded with Čīn Ḳïlïč Khān, Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who also bore the same name). He started his official career as *Bakhshī* of the Aḥadīs and on his father's departure for the Deccan in 1153/1740 to reduce to obedience and submission his second son, Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Djang, who had been acting as deputy viceroy of the Deccan during the absence of Niẓām al-Mulk at Dihlī, and had raised the banner of revolt, he was left behind at Dihlī as Niẓām al-Mulk's representative at the imperial court as *Mīr Bakhshī* of the empire. Soon afterwards he was invested with the titles of Ghāzī 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang, once held by his grandfather. In 1164/1750, the title of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, which had been conferred on Sādāt Khān Dhu 'l-Faḳār Djang on the death of Niẓām al-Mulk (1161/1748), was also conferred on him. On his brother Nāṣir Djang's assumption of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, in supersession to his claim as the eldest son of Niẓām al-Mulk, he joined hands with the Marāṭhā Pēshwā Bālādjī Bādjī Rāʾō for dispossessing his brother. Having failed to persuade the king of Dihlī to assign him the disputed viceroyalty, he decided to settle the issue by force and after having promised to pay the Marāṭhās six million rupees for their help, started from Dihlī in 1165/1752. His plans were, however, nipped in the bud as he was poisoned to death by his stepmother soon after his arrival in Awrangābād. His dead body was carried to Dihlī where it was interred in the mausoleum of his grandfather. He was a mild person with a scholarly bent of mind; an unambitious man, he lacked the qualities of a good military commander or a statesman.

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(A.S. Bazmee Ansari)

MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ ʿISHḲI [see ʿishḳī, in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ (Riza) **SHĀH PAHLAWĪ**, son of Riḍā Khān [*q.v.*] and Tādj al-Mulūk, daughter of Tīmūr Khān *mīr-pandj* ("brigadier"); born 26 October 1919 (his twin sister, Ashraf, was born later the same day), died Cairo 27 July 1980, second and last shāh of the Pahlawī [*q.v.*] dynasty of Iran. At the coronation of his father on 25 April 1926, Muḥammad Riḍā was formally invested as Crown Prince. After primary education at a school established by his father for the sons of government officials and military officers, he was sent in 1931 to a private school in Lausanne; the following year, he was transferred to Le Rosey boarding school at Rolle, Switzerland, and in 1936 he returned to Tehran, where he spent two years at the Military College. On 27 May 1938 the betrothal was announced of Muḥammad Riḍā and Fawziyya, daughter of Fuʾād I of Egypt [see fuʾād al-awwal]; the marriage was formalised in Tehran on 25 April 1939.

On 25 August 1941 British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, and on 16 September Riḍā Shāh abdicated; the same day, Muḥammad Riḍā took the oath to the Constitution, and was recognised as shāh by the British and Soviet governments on 19 September. Muḥammad Riḍā's pledge of cooperation with the Allied Powers removed the threat of direct rule of Iran by the latter, and the Shāh and his Prime Minister, Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, worked to achieve the regularisation of the status of the occupying powers. Their efforts led to the signature on 29 January 1942 of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance; this was followed on 1 December 1943 by the Tripartite Declaration signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, which changed the status of Iran from that of a neutral to that of an ally.

I. *Domestic policies*

During the Allied occupation (1941-6), the Shāh's "leverage was limited" (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to history*, Toronto and Vancouver 1980, 69) in the face of serious political and economic problems: first, the occupation had caused severe disruption to the Iranian economy; second, from the outset the Russians treated the five provinces in the Soviet zone as annexed rather than occupied; third, there was insecurity and disorder in the tribal regions of the country; fourth, the *ʿulamāʾ*, whose activities had been restricted by Riḍā Shāh, regained much of their political power, particularly, after 1947, under their populist leader Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]; fifth, the Persian Communist Party, reconstituted in 1942 under the name "Tudeh Party", soon became a force to be reckoned with; sixth, in the more liberal political climate after the abdication of Riḍā Shāh, the Madjlis (*madjlis-i shawrā-yi millī*, "National Consultative Assembly" [see dustūr. iv. Īrān]) was torn by factionalism and frequently rendered impotent by lack of a quorum. Many parliamentary deputies "lacked sufficient understanding of ... the meaning of parliamentarism" (Fakhreddin Azimi, *Iran: the crisis of democracy 1941-1953*, London 1989, 11). Governments were ephemeral (between August 1941 and June 1947, the longest term of office held by any Prime Minister was thirteen months; the shortest was two days).

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, both by virtue of his Swiss education and his personal inclination, initially favoured the development of constitutional democracy in Iran. However, the Persian Constitution of 1906-7 had not "adequately clarified the position of the executive within the body politic" (Azimi, 13), and, faced with the "largely self-inflicted paralysis of the parliamentary system" (Azimi, 119), the Shāh considered increasing his own executive powers. Before he had acted, the first of many attempts on his life was made on 4 February 1949. The would-be assassin, Fakhr Ārāʾī, was killed by the Shāh's guards. Suspicion fell on the Tudeh Party, which the Shāh banned as a result. Later, it became clear that Fakhr Ārāʾī's links with an extremist

religious group were of greater significance. Though few realised it at the time, the assassination attempt virtually destroyed the Shāh's hopes for the peaceful development of his country. It also threw into sharper relief the problem of the succession to the throne. In 1949 the Shāh and Queen Fawziyya, who had had one daughter Shahnāz (born 1940), were divorced. Since the revised Constitution specifically excluded females and males of Ḳādjār [*q.v.*] descent from the throne [see DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān], the only heir in 1949 was the Shāh's brother ʿAlī Riḍā (later killed in an air crash in 1954). In February 1951 the Shāh married Thurayyā (Sorayya) Isfandiyārī, the daughter of a Bakhtiyārī [*q.v.*] father and German mother; no children were born of this marriage, and in March 1958 Thurayyā was divorced. On 21 December 1959 the Shāh married Faraḥ Dībā, whose father, from a Tabrīzī family, had studied law in France and was also a graduate of the military academy at Saint Cyr (Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961, 224). The birth of the Crown Prince Riḍā on 31 October 1960, assured the succession, and three other children followed: Faraḥnāz (1963); ʿAlī Riḍā (1966); and Laylā (1970). In 1967, the Shāh had the Constitution amended to permit the Empress Faraḥ to act as Regent if the Shāh should die before the Crown Prince reached the age of twenty. In April 1949, a specially convened Constituent Assembly revised Article 48 of the Fundamental Law of 1906 to empower the Shāh to dissolve the Madjlis, and in May, the Madjlis passed a bill to establish an upper house, the Senate, which had been provided for under Article 43 but never convened. Of the sixty senators, half were to be nominated by the Shāh (Article 45); the new body met for the first time on 9 February 1950.

The years 1949-53 were marked by a continuing struggle for power between the Shāh and the Madjlis, now dominated by Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*]. In 1950, the Shāh established the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and transferred to it, for distribution to the peasants, some of the crown lands which had been confiscated from private owners by Riḍā Shāh. Ownership of these lands had been conferred on Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh by the law of 11 July 1949, but on 9 May 1953 Prime Minister Muṣaddiḳ compelled the Shāh to return them to the state (Azimi, 325). These years were also marked by political violence. The extremist religious group *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*] carried out a number of political assassinations; their victims included ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Hazhīr, the Minister of Court (November 1949), and the Prime Minister, General ʿAlī Razmārā (4 March 1951). Before his death, Razmārā had signed on 19 October 1950 the first agreement concluded under President Truman's Point Four Plan to provide technical aid to underdeveloped countries. Muṣaddiḳ's nationalisation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951 plunged Iran into a political and economic crisis. By the middle of 1953, much of Muṣaddiḳ's support had eroded, and on 16 August the Shāh served Muṣaddiḳ with an imperial *farmān* dismissing him from office and appointing General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ arrested the officer who delivered the *farmān*, and the Shāh and the Empress Thurayya left the country, going first to Baghdād and then to Rome. Fighting broke out in the streets of Tehran between supporters of the National Front (a coalition of political parties led by Muṣaddiḳ), the Tudeh Party, and the Shāh. Muṣaddiḳ went ahead with plans for the formation of a Council of Regency and the proclamation of a republic. On 19 August, pro-Shāh supporters led by Zāhidī, and assisted financially by agents of the American Central Intelligence Agency (see K. Roosevelt, *Countergroup: the struggle for the control of Iran*, New York, etc. 1979), restored order in the streets, and the Shāh returned to Tehran on 22 August. Muṣaddiḳ was placed under arrest; martial law was imposed; army officers who had joined the Tudeh Party were purged; and many prominent members of the National Front were arrested. Most of the last-named were released in 1954, and some formed the nucleus of the National Resistance Movement (Nahḍat-i Muḳāwamat-i Millī).

The resolution of the oil dispute in November 1954 through the formation of a Consortium of British, Dutch, French and American oil companies enabled the Shāh to adopt a policy of "positive nationalism" in contrast to the policies of Muṣaddiḳ, which he perceived as essentially negative. This new policy he defined as "a policy of maximum political and economic independence consistent with the interests" of Iran (*Mission*, 125). The First Economic Development Plan of 1949, which had been aborted due to the lack of oil revenue after oil nationalisation, again went into high gear, and during the period of the Second Development Plan (1956-62) a number of major hydro-electric projects was completed [see ĪRĀN. v. History (b)]. Partly as the result of the discovery of new oilfields near Ḳum in 1956, the production of the National Iranian Oil Company in 1959 far exceeded the pre-nationalisation level, and in 1957 the N.I.O.C. concluded the first of a series of new agreements with foreign oil companies based on the principle of partnership; such agreements were psychologically much more satisfying to Iranians than earlier ones under which Iran received royalties from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

By 1957, the Shāh considered that internal conditions had so far returned to normal that a limited degree of political activity was possible. Martial law was abolished, and a new organisation named *Sāzmān-i Iṭṭilāʿāt wa Amniyyat-i Kishwar* ("State Intelligence and Security Organisation", SĀVAK) assumed responsibility for internal security. The Shāh renewed his attempts to establish a Western-style parliamentary system; he created two artificial political parties, a "Government" Party (*Milliyyūn*, "Nationalists"), and a "Loyal Opposition" (*Mardum*, "People's Party"), but the plan predictably failed. The Shāh was aware of the artificiality of the experiment, but believed that it "conceivably could prosper" (Hafez F. Farmayan, *Politics during the sixties: a historical analysis*, in Ehsan Yar-Shater (ed.), *Iran faces the seventies*, New York, Washington and London 1971, 91). However, the elections to the 20th Madjlis in the summer of 1960 and the winter of 1960-1 were more than usually subject to factionalism and fraught with electoral irregularities. In May 1961 the Shāh, who had been critical of the conduct of the elections, appointed to the post of Prime Minister ʿAlī Amīnī, an aristocrat (his mother was a Ḳādjār princess) and a former minister in the Muṣaddiḳ government. The sceptics among the intelligentsia remained unconvinced about the Shāh's commitment to constitutional democracy. Amīnī at once requested the Shāh to dissolve the 20th Madjlis, on the ground that it had no credibility among the people and that no land reform would be possible while the Madjlis continued to be dominated by the landlords and their allies. On 9 May 1961 the Shāh dissolved the Madjlis. Under the 1949 amendment to Article 48 of the 1906 Fundamental Law, the Shāh was bound simultaneously to order new elec-

tions, but Amīnī persuaded him to delay them until essential reforms could be promulgated. The legislative acts of the Amīnī government were legalised by a royal *farmān* of 15 November 1961 (Farmayan, 99). The National Front rejected the opportunity of co-operation with Amīnī (R.W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964, 303).

Between 1961 and 1963 the Shāh, aided by two able Prime Ministers, ʿAlī Amīnī and Asad Allāh ʿAlam, and by the dynamic Minister of Agriculture Ḥasan Arsandjānī, promulgated by decree a series of far-reaching reforms known as the "White Revolution" or "The Revolution of the Shah and the People" [see ĪRĀN. v. History (b), at p. 42]. The most important of the first six principles of this reform programme were land reform (56% of cultivable land was in hands of 1% of the population); the enfranchisement of women; and the campaign against illiteracy. The Land Reform Law of 9 January 1962 was designed to remedy the social injustice of the existing tenurial system by breaking the power of the large landowners, and Phases I and II of land reform, which affected 41,000 or 73% of villages in Iran, achieved this objective. Phase III, legislated between December 1967 and January 1968, aimed at consolidating small, uneconomic units of land into large units farmed by joint-stock agricultural companies. This process accelerated the movement away from the land which had begun in 1946 (in that year, 75% of the work force was still engaged in agriculture; by 1966, the figure had dropped to 46%). Agricultural labourers, known as *khʷush-nishīnān*, displaced from the land by Phase III, and lured to Tehran by the hope of higher wages, created a disgruntled urban proletariat which Khumaynī later used to great effect. Six additional principles added to the White Revolution programme between 1964 and 1967 included the formation of a Health Corps to provide basic health care in rural areas; five more were added between September and December 1975.

Opposition to the Shāh's reform programme came from two powerful groups: the National Front, and the religious classes and their allies in the bazaar. The National Front heralded the Shāh's proclamation of 11 November 1961, inaugurating the White Revolution, as a "return to despotism", and declared that the Throne and the Executive Power do not have the right of enacting laws (P.W. Avery, *The Shah's proclamation on reform*, in *MEJ*, xvi, 90). The *ʿulamāʾ* were also averse to any extension of the Shāh's executive power, and were fundamentally opposed both to land reform and to the enfranchisement of women. In February 1960, the leading *mudjtahid* Muḥammad Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī had declared that "any step limiting the size of landed estates would be contrary to Islam" (A.K.S. Lambton, *Land reform and the rural co-operative societies*, in Yar-Shater (ed.), *Iran faces the seventies*, 16); in particular, the *ʿulamāʾ* opposed the application of the land reform legislation to *wakf* lands under their control. On 26 January 1963, more than a quarter of a million women cast their votes in a referendum on the White Revolution, and the right to vote was formally granted to women by a Cabinet decree of 2 March 1963. On ʿĀshūrāʾ [see MUḤARRAM; (AL-)ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ ABĪ ṬĀLIB], 5 June 1963, the *ʿulamāʾ* organised violent demonstrations in Tehran which were suppressed by the security forces. One of the religious leaders arrested was Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī Khumaynī [*q.v.*], who was sent into exile, first to Turkey, then to ʿIrāḳ; it was from the Shīʿī centre at Nadjaf [*q.v.*] that Khumaynī began to plan the Islamic Revolution which was to overthrow the Shāh in 1979.

Elections to the 21st Madjlis were finally held in September 1963; they were boycotted by the National Front, by the Tudeh Party, and by the *Ḥizb-i Zaḥmatkashān* ("Toilers' Party"), a breakaway group from the National Front. In contrast to earlier parliaments, in which the landlord class had held anything from 66 to 90% of the seats, almost 70% of the deputies in the 21st Madjlis were drawn from the new professional or bureaucratic middle class. Even more revolutionary was the fact that, for the first time since parliament was created in 1906, women cast their votes in a general election, and six women were elected to the Madjlis. On 15 December 1963, Ḥasan ʿAlī Manṣūr, the leader of a group of young intellectuals and technocrats calling themselves the "Progressive Club" (*Kānūn-i Taraḳḳī*), announced the formation of a new political party, the "New Iran Party" (*Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuvīn*). Since the *Mardum* Party was still in existence, a two-party political system appeared to be a real possibility. On 7 March 1964 the Shāh appointed Manṣūr Prime Minister. The average age of Manṣūr's Cabinet was thirty-five years and, for the first time since 1947, a Prime Minister had the support of a majority of the members of parliament. On 21 January 1965 Manṣūr was shot and mortally wounded on the orders of Khumaynī (Amir Taheri, *Holy terror*, London 1987, 60), and on 10 April another attempt was made on the life of the Shāh, this time by members of the *Ḥizb-i Milal-i Islāmī* ("Islamic Nations' Party"), an extremist religious group. The Shāh was stunned by the death of Manṣūr, whose murder destroyed Iran's last chance of gradual progress toward genuine democracy.

The most active terrorist groups during the 1960s were: the *Sāzmān-i Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ-i Īrān* ("Organisation of the People's Crusaders of Iran"); the *Sāzmān-i Čarīkhā-yi Fidāʾī-yi Khalḳ-i Īrān* ("Organisation of the Iranian People's Guerrilla Freedom Fighters": *Fidāʾiyyīn* for short); and the Iranian National Movement. The *Mudjāhidīn*, some of whose members had been trained in Palestinian camps in Lebanon and elsewhere, in 1972 adopted the name "Islamic Marxists". In 1973 they split into a Marxist and an Islamic wing (Ervand Abrahamian, *The guerrilla movement in Iran, 1963-1977*, in *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) Report* No. 86 [March-April 1980], 4). The *Fidāʾiyyīn* ("Marxist-Leninists") consisted mainly of university students of middle class background. The Iranian National Movement was led by General Taymūr Bakhtiyār, the first head of SAVAK, who had given that organisation an unsavoury reputation from its inception. He was a large landowner who had broken with the Shāh over land reform and had been dismissed in 1961. From then on, until his own assassination in 1970, he carried on clandestine activity with the aim of overthrowing the Shāh. From 1972, the tempo of terrorist activity accelerated sharply: Iran became locked into Frantz Fanon's "circle of hate": terror, counter-terror, violence, counter-violence. The increasingly harsh response of the security forces led to criticisms of the Shāh's régime by the International Commission of Jurists (1972) and Amnesty International (1974-5). By 1975, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights decided that the situation in Iran had improved to the extent that no action was called for in respect of Iran.

II. *Foreign policy*

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh falls into the category of world leaders who excel either in domestic politics or in foreign affairs, but not both. On foreign affairs and military matters, he was "remarkably well informed"

(Sir Anthony Parsons, *The pride and the fall: Iran 1974-1979*, London 1984, 47-8). From the beginning of the 19th century, Iran had tried to preserve its independence as a sovereign nation in the face of pressure from Russia and Britain. The motivating force behind this policy of "equilibrium" was nationalism. After World War II, the United States replaced Britain as the principal Western power involved in Iranian affairs. This development deprived Iran of its option of using the United States as a counterbalance against the Soviet Union and Britain. Iran had two alternatives: to seek another "Third Power" to play this countervailing role, or to make a positive commitment to the West in the cold war. On 11 October 1955, the Shāh announced Iran's adherence to the Pact of Mutual Cooperation (the Baghdād Pact"). Turkey and ʿIrāḳ were founder-members, and Great Britain joined on 5 April 1955; to the Shāh's disappointment, the United States never became a full member. The Soviet reaction to the Shāh's move was strong (see J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, ii, *A documentary record 1914-1956*, Princeton, Toronto, London and New York 1956, 415 ff.). The National Front charged that the Shāh, by departing from Muṣaddiḳ's negative concept of neutralism, had endangered Iran's independence and was therefore an "anti-nationalist". The July 1958 coup in ʿIrāḳ which overthrew the monarchy [see ʿIRĀḲ. iii (e)], led to a reassessment of the Baghdād Pact, and the name was changed to Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO). In February 1959, the Shāh broke off negotiations for a fifty-year non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, in part because the Russians demanded Iran's withdrawal from CENTO, and on 5 March 1959 he signed a bilateral Executive Agreement with the United States under the terms of which the latter agreed to go to Iran's assistance if Iran were attacked.

Instead of Muṣaddiḳ's policy of "negative equilibrium" (*muwāzana-yi manfī*), the Shāh advocated a policy of "positive nationalism". During the 1960s, the Shāh changed this slogan to that of an "independent foreign policy" (*siyāsat-i mustaḳill-i millī*). His pledge to the Soviet Union on 15 September 1962 that Iran would not allow its territory to be used for foreign missile bases led to a rapprochement with the Soviet Union between 1962-7. The National Front advocated a policy of "absolute neutralism" (*bī-ṭarafī-yi muṭlaḳ*), the chief criterion of which was the rejection of U.S. economic and military aid. In 1963-4, when the Shāh bowed to U.S. pressure and granted certain privileges and immunities to U.S. personnel in Iran, he both incensed the National Front, which at once conjured up the bogy of the 1828 capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT; ĪRĀN. v. History (b)], and placed a powerful propaganda weapon in the hands of Khumaynī.

The Shāh's relationship with Israel, born of his fear of possible encirclement by radical Arab states, may perhaps best be described as one of discreet cooperation. The Shāh had given *de facto* recognition to the state of Israel in 1950, but had consistently supported the Arab position on Palestine. In the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, he called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories. In 1974, the Shāh expressed Iran's agreement with the resolution of the Arab Summit at Rabat which endorsed self-determination for Palestinians and recognised the P.L.O. as their "sole legitimate representative". Iran was Israel's most reliable oil-supplier, and Iran and Israel shared intelligence information. The Shāh's working relationship with Israel was the subject of frequent and vehement denunciations by Khumaynī.

The announcement by the British Government in 1968 that it intended to withdraw all its forces from the Persian Gulf by 1971 created a power vacuum in the region, and from 1969 onwards the Shāh worked to strengthen Iran's regional security position by cultivating better relations with the "non-revolutionary" Arab states in the Gulf. The dispute over al-Baḥrayn, a perpetual irritant in Irano-Arab relations, was resolved by the Shāh in 1969; continental-shelf agreements were signed with Ḳatar (1969) and Kuwayt (1970). Diplomatic relations with Egypt, broken off by President Nāṣir in 1960, were resumed in 1970. The success of these policies was demonstrated in 1971. On 30 November Iran occupied three small but strategically important islands at the mouth of the Persian Gulf (Abū Mūsā and the Greater and Lesser Tunb, to which Iran and two of the Trucial Emirates laid claim), but the Arab League did not support ʿIrāḳ's subsequent call for the severance of diplomatic relations with Iran.

The Shāh's perception was that the assumption by Iran of a major part of Britain's former role as "policeman in the Gulf" necessitated the build-up of Iran's armed forces. The failure of CENTO to come to the aid of Pakistan in its two wars with India in 1965 and 1971 convinced the Shāh that Iran needed a "security perimeter" in the region. The 1972 Soviet-ʿIrāḳī Treaty seriously alarmed the Shāh, who therefore welcomed President Nixon's announcement the same year that the United States would rely on the "twin pillars" of Iran and Saudi Arabia to maintain regional security in the Persian Gulf. The Shāh's expenditure on arms during the 1970s intensified the opposition to him both within and without Iran. It should be noted, however, that there was a close relationship between the Shāh's perception of the threats to Iran's security in the region and the military forces required to deal with them (for example, the Shāh was not satisfied until he obtained from the United States an aircraft which was superior to the MIG 23s supplied to ʿIrāḳ by the Soviet Union); that other Middle Eastern countries (ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Turkey, Israel) kept a proportionately larger number of men under arms; and that members of the Gulf Co-operation Council devoted a far higher proportion of their GNP to defence spending. Above all, the Shāh was determined to keep open Iran's economic lifeline through the Straits of Hurmūz [see BAḤR FĀRIS], and this concern led him to send troops in 1973 to aid the ruler of ʿUmān, who was battling against the Soviet- and Chinese-supported guerrillas of the "Popular Front for the Liberation of the Arab Gulf" in the province of Ẓufār. At the head of the Persian Gulf, control of the vital Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab waterway, long a cause for dispute between Iran and ʿIrāḳ (and for four centuries prior to the establishment of the British mandate over ʿIrāḳ in 1920, between the Persians and the Ottomans), appeared to have been decided by the Algiers agreement of 5 March 1975: ʿIrāḳ accepted the *thalweg* (the deepest channel of the river) as the new international boundary; in return, the Shāh renounced his support for Kurdish nationalists in ʿIrāḳ.

III. *The failure of a dream*

Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh had staked the whole of his personal prestige, and indeed the institution of the monarchy itself, on the attempt to raise Iran from the ranks of under-developed nations to the status of newly-industrialising regions of Asia such as South Korea, and to move Iran along the road to being a "Great Civilisation", a phrase he invented in 1972. Economic development was to be the key to this pro-

cess. Plan III (1962-8), and Plan IV (1968-73) had achieved much, but Iran still had not reached the point of economic "take-off". In the decade 1963-72, the GNP had quadrupled; standards of health had risen dramatically, but, as a result, the population was growing at an alarming 3% *per annum*, and Iran was no longer able to produce all the food it required. In 1967 Dean Rusk announced the formal termination of U.S. economic aid; between 1953 and 1967 Iran had received $605 million in economic aid and another $112 million in food shipments under the "Food for Peace" programme. In 1967, the year in which the Shāh considered his régime stable enough to permit his belated coronation, Khumaynī, in an open letter to Prime Minister Huwaydā, called upon the *ʿulamāʾ*, students and members of bazaar guilds to "recognise their duty" to oppose the régime. In 1971, the Shāh celebrated the achievements of the first decade of the White Revolution with ceremonies at Persepolis and Pasargadae. The Western media accused the Shāh of "folie de grandeur", and Mihdī Bāzargān, who became Iran's first Prime Minister after the 1979 Revolution, attacked his philosophy of "God-Shah-Country", and insisted that religion and politics were indivisible (Nikki Keddie, *Roots of revolution: an interpretive history of modern Iran*, New Haven and London 1981, 214).

The Shāh's chance to achieve an economic breakthrough came in 1973, with the decision by OPEC (in which the Shāh had played a major part) to quadruple the price of oil. Iran's oil income, and thus the funds available for Plan V (1973-8), increased tenfold (see R.B. Stobaugh, *The evolution of oil policy, 1925-1975*, in G. Lenczowski (ed.), *Iran under the Pahlavis*, Stanford 1978, 244 ff.). *Per capita* income doubled in the three years 1974-7. The fall in demand for oil in mid-1975 caused economic upheaval in Iran. The flight of capital abroad began. The main beneficiaries of the Shāh's reforms had been the peasants and tribesmen, the armed forces and technocrats, industrialists, bankers, entrepreneurs, executives, government officials and middlemen (Parsons, 14-5). The economic downturn and soaring inflation between 1975-7 caused widespread discontent and disappointed popular expectations of steadily growing prosperity. The government's measures in early 1978 designed to cool down a badly overheated economy came too late. At the same time, three important groups, the intelligentsia, the bazaar and the *ʿulamāʾ*—the same groups which had brought about the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6—became increasingly alienated from the régime.

In March 1975, the Shāh took a step which he himself in retrospect recognised to be an error, namely, the replacement of the existing two-party political system by a single party called *Rastākhīz* ("[National] Resurrection") (*Answer to history*, 124). The new party was headed by Amīr ʿAbbās Huwaydā, who had been Prime Minister since 1965. The intellectuals were outraged, but the Shāh was "in too much of a hurry to risk the delays which genuine public debate and discussions would impose on the fulfillment of his dream" (Parsons, 11). At once, the National Front accused the Shāh of "despotism in the guise of monarchy", and called on the government to observe the principles of the Constitution and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to forgo a one-party system, to permit exiles to return, and to establish a government based on majority representation. The Shāh responded to these demands: on two occasions in 1977 political prisoners were amnestied; open trials of persons accused of anti-state activities were resumed; "the International Committee of the Red Cross was authorised to inspect Iranian prisons. A new law was enacted forbidding detention without trial ... greater public freedom of expression was allowed" (Parsons, 49); but the effect of this liberalisation was marred by renewed acts of repression in late 1977 (Parsons, 53), and the international human rights campaign against the Shāh intensified in 1977-8. President Carter's "vigorous espousal of the cause of human rights in Third World Countries, including Iran" was "rightly detected" by the Shāh's opponents as "a potential weakening of the absolute support which their enemy had received from Washington for so many years" (Parsons, 47-8).

It was, however, a series of ill-advised actions taken by the Shāh against the *ʿulamāʾ* from 1975 onwards that enabled the latter to set in motion the revolutionary forces which overthrew him: first, the clearance of the old bazaar area around the shrine of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad; second, the promulgation in March 1976 of a new calendar dating not from the *hidjra* but from the date of the accession of Cyrus the Great in 550 B.C.; third, his acquiescence in the cancellation in 1977 by Prime Minister Djamshīd Āmūzagār (as a budget-cutting measure) of the subsidy which his predecessor Huwaydā had paid to the *ʿulamāʾ* since 1965 to compensate them for income lost as a result of the application of Phase II of land reform to *wakf* lands. Finally, on 7 January 1978, the semi-official newspaper *Iṭṭilāʿāt* published a defamatory anti-Khumaynī letter which was believed to have emanated from the Ministry of Information. The consequent violent protests by theological students at Ḳum were suppressed with loss of life, and Khumaynī's Islamic Revolutionary Movement was launched on its self-perpertuating cycle of 40-day periods of mourning (*čilla*) characteristic of Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Khumaynī, in an interview with *Le Monde* on 8 May 1978, called for the violent overthrow of the Pahlawī régime and of Iran's Constitution. Confident now of victory, he repeatedly used the phrase: "When we assume power" (Parviz Radji, *In the service of the Peacock Throne*, London 1983, 177). By September 1978, the Shāh had lost the initiative to the opposition, consisting of "rioting students, recalcitrant clerics, critical intellectuals, jealous aristocrats, provincial landlords, corrupt family members [frequent accusations of corruption were levelled against members of the royal family, but the Shāh himself was untainted by corruption] and liberal democrats seeking reform" (J.A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: the tragedy of American-Iranian relations*, New Haven and London 1988, 194). The death of Asad Allāh ʿAlam in 1978 had deprived the Shāh of the last of the trusted advisers on whom he had relied so heavily (Manūčihr Iḳbāl had died in November 1977). By September 1978, too, the cancer which, it is now known, was first diagnosed in 1973, was far advanced. Parsons noted that the Shāh's "face was yellow, and he moved slowly. He seemed exhausted and drained of effort" (71). The climax came with the advent of Muḥarram 1399/December 1978. The Shāh consistently refused to countenance the use of military force against the demonstrators, and so the morale of the army crumbled, as the Huyser mission, sent by President Carter, arrived in Tehran to dissuade the generals from carrying out a military coup. Four successive prime ministers between August 1977 and February 1979 (Djamshīd Āmūzagār, Sharīf-Imāmī, Azharī and Bakhtiyār), had no hope of controlling the situation, and on 16 January 1979 the Shāh and the

Empress Faraḥ left Iran for Egypt, where they were given sanctuary by President Sādāt. On 22 September the S͟hāh was admitted to the United States for surgery; on 15 December he and the Empress were moved to Panama, and on 23 March 1980 to Cairo, where the S͟hāh underwent further surgery. He died there on 27 July 1980.

The overthrow of Muḥammad Riḍā S͟hāh meant not only the end of the Pahlawī dynasty but the rejection of that dynasty's policies of Westernisation and secularisation. It was Riḍā S͟hāh who had created a secular educational and legal system; had taken the first steps toward the emancipation of women; had laid the foundations of an industrialised nation; and had created a rudimentary public health system. Muḥammad Riḍā S͟hāh continued and developed these policies, by combating illiteracy and providing health and educational services in rural areas; by enfranchising women; by liberating the peasants from an ancient tenurial system not far removed from serfdom, and by bringing into being a new professional middle class of technocrats and bureaucrats, most of whom had received their university education in the West. In regard to social policy, the S͟hāh was a revolutionary, but the more revolutionary his policies, the stronger the opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* and other vested interests. The S͟hāh rightly perceived the *ʿulamāʾ* as the main obstacle to his plans for the development of the country, but fatally underestimated their ability to mobilise the masses politically against a ruler whom they branded as an enemy of Islam. Moreover, political reform lagged behind social reform, and the S͟hāh's increasingly autocratic style of government alienated the intellectuals of the National Front, who disregarded the social and economic progress being achieved, and made the return to a more liberal and constitutional style of government, and the abandonment of the S͟hāh's pro-Western stance, the conditions for their support of the régime. Their hand was strengthened by the support of university students within Iran (in 1941 there was only one university in Iran, the University of Tehran, founded in 1935; by the 1974-5 academic year there were eight universities with an enrolment of some 55,000 students), and of the large numbers of Iranian students abroad, mainly on generous government grants. The students studied revolutionary movements in Algeria, China, Cuba and elsewhere, and read avidly the works of ʿAlī S͟harīʿatī, who fused Marxism and Islam into a revolutionary ideology. In November 1978 the leader of the National Front, Karīm Sand͟jābī, met K͟humaynī in Paris and accepted his terms. The resulting alliance between the intelligentsia, the students and the militant *ʿulamāʾ* made the fall of the S͟hāh inevitable.

In the final analysis, the S͟hāh failed to achieve his dream of a prosperous, modernised Iran because he failed to carry his people with him. He allowed himself to become isolated from his people, and this isolation damaged and eventually destroyed the myth of the S͟hāh's union with his people based on the mystique of the monarchy. A romantic, "he became the victim of his own public relations and believed his own romanticizing" (D. Harney, *Some explanations for the Iranian Revolution*, in *Asian Affairs*, 11 [O.S. No. 67, 1980], 141). When confronted by the Western media, his personal insecurity often made him seem arrogant and didactic, a weakness which his opponents exploited to the full. Yet he was sincere in his desire to see his country evolve, to cross the threshold from the Third World and enter into modern civilisation.

Bibliography: The bibliography is too voluminous to be given here. In addition to works cited in the text, see particularly the extensive bibliographies of works in English, Persian and European languages contained in: E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982; P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965; Fakhreddin Azimi, *op.cit.*; W. Behn, *Islamic revolution or revolutionary Islam in Iran: a selected bibliography of political publications from the overthrow of the Shah until his death*, Berlin 1980; idem, *The Iranian opposition to the Shah*, Inter Documentation Co. A.G., Zug 1984; J. Bharier, *Economic development in Iran 1900-1970*, Oxford University Press, 1971; J.A. Bill and W.R. Louis, *Musaddiq, Iranian nationalism and oil*, Austin, Texas 1988; F. Halliday, *Iran: dictatorship and development*, Harmondsworth 1979; J. Hooglund, *Land and revolution in Iran 1960-1980*, Austin, Texas 1982; A.K.S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969; Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Land reform and social change in Iran*, Salt Lake City 1987; Mohammad-Reza Pahlavi, *The White Revolution of Iran*, Tehran 1967; idem, *Mad͟jmūʿa-yi nuṭḳhā*, Tehran 1961; Rouhollah K. Ramazani, *The Persian Gulf: Iran's role*, Charlottesville, Virginia 1972; idem, *Iran's foreign policy 1941-1973: a study of foreign policy in developing nations*, Charlottesville 1975; B. Rubin, *Paved with good intentions: the American experience and Iran*, Oxford 1980; Sepehr Zabih, *The Communist movement in Iran*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966. Extremely valuable insights may be gained from Jane W. Jacqz (ed.), *Iran: past, present and future*, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1976. See also Asadollah Alam [Asad Allāh ʿAlam], *The Shah and I: the confidential diary of Iran's royal court 1968-77*, ed. A. Alikhani, London 1991; Sir Reader Bullard, *Letters from Tehran: a British ambassador in World War II Persia*, ed. E. Hodgkin, London 1991; M. Zonis, *Majestic failure: the fall of the Shah*, Chicago and London 1991. (R.M. SAVORY)

MUḤAMMAD AL-ṢĀDIḲ BEY, twelfth bey of the Ḥusaynid dynasty in Tunisia, who succeeded his brother Muḥammad Bey [*q.v.*] on the latter's death on 23 September 1859.

During the first years of the new reign, the constitutional texts promised by the deceased prince were drafted and new institutions set up (Supreme Council, tribunals etc.). The bey was also able to present to Napoleon III, whom he met in Algiers on 17 September 1860, a copy of the Tunisian Constitution, which was solemnly proclaimed in January 1861 [see DUSTŪR. i]; other copies were later addressed to various European courts. It quickly appeared, however, that the reforms undertaken above all allowed the minister Muṣṭafā K͟haznadār [*q.v.*] to practice more easily a policy of foreign borrowing, despite the disapproval of several dignitaries such as K͟hayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] who resigned from their main posts.

In December 1863 it was decided, in order to ensure the servicing of the debt, to double the personal tax (*mad͟jbā*) instituted in the preceding reign. This measure triggered off, from the beginning of 1864, a serious rebellion of the semi-nomadic tribes of the South and West, then, during the summer of 1864, of the sedentary population of the eastern coast (*Sāḥil*). Playing on the divisions among the insurgents and profiting from the slightest help that these offered, K͟haznadār succeeded, after several months, in suppressing the rebellion and imposing, in the last months of 1864 and the first months of 1865, a pitiless repression. The heavy fines and exactions to which the population was subjected resulted in the ruining of the country, while a succession of bad harvests led to

famine. The summer of 1867 brought cholera, and the following winter, an epidemic of typhus. The attempt at revolt by a brother of the bey led, in October 1867, to the execution of two elderly dignitaries without further ado, the constitutional guarantees having been suspended since the events of 1864. The prince who had revolted himself died in prison during the same month, probably poisoned, almost at the same time as ʿAlī b. Ghidāhum, the leader of the rebellion of 1864 [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM, in Suppl.].

Throughout these years, Khaznadār pursued his intrigues and financial plans. With successive conversions into more or less disguised new borrowings, the crisis of the Tunisian finances was aggravated from day to day. Long negotiations allowed the setting up in Tunis of an international commission whose tutelage of the Tunisian finances was defined by the decree of 5 July 1869. Khayr al-Dīn, president of this commission, was moreover charged, from January 1870, with the tasks of "Minister-Director". He undertook an overhauling of the administration, which he pursued with more efficacy when he occupied the post of first minister of the bey from October 1873 to July 1877. Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, convicted of misappropriating 2,000 bonds of the debt, had, in fact, to resign on 21 October 1873. During the four years of his government, Khayr al-Dīn attended to the scrupulous honouring of the financial engagements of the Tunisian state, while lightening the weight of the fiscal system. He reorganised the judicial system and fixed the regulation of its auxiliary branches. He defined the relations of landowners and workers in agriculture. He restored the value of the public *waḳfs* and organised the management of them within an autonomous administration called "Society" (*Djamʿiyya*). He interested himself in teaching and created "a new school", which he had named Ṣādiḳiyya in honour of the reigning bey, to give a modern training for the future officials of the state.

Nevertheless, he was not spared difficulties which were stirred up by the consuls of the European powers, anxious above all to obtain concessions and privileges for their nationals, and caused also by the intrigues of the bey's entourage and particularly of his favourite Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl. Khayr al-Dīn had to resign on 21 July 1877. He was replaced by a former official, Muḥammad Khaznadār, and then a year later, by Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl. The beylical administration returned to its errors as in the time of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār at the same time as the foreign consuls' interventions became more pressing in favour of the often unwarranted demands of their nationals. This situation led in 1881, under the pretext of disorders on the Algerian borders, to the occupation of Tunisia by French troops. On 12 May 1881, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ had to sign, at Kasser Saïd, the so-called Bardo treaty, by which he accepted this occupation and the protectorate of France. The resistance that these events aroused obliged the French army to multiply, until the last days of 1881, their expeditions of "pacification". Contrary to the statements of certain official circles, it was actually a permanent occupation. The term "protectorate" did not appear, however, in the convention of Marsa that the French Minister-Resident, Paul Cambon, made ʿAlī Bey, brother and successor of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ, sign on 8 June 1883. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ died on 27 October 1882.

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MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD [see KHALĪL EFENDI-ZĀDE; MĪR DJUMLA].

MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD SARMAD, Indo-Muslim poet, mystic and free-thinker of the 11th/17th century, who was executed by the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] for going about naked and holding heterodox views. Originally he belonged to a Jewish family of Kāshān but, later, he embraced Islam and received instruction in philosophy from Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] and Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1042/1632 he came to Sind as a merchant. In Thaffa he fell in love with a Hindu youth and suffered such emotional disturbance that he gave up his vocation, went about stark naked and took to aimless wanderings in jungles. In 1057/1647 the author of the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* saw him in Ḥaydarābād and sought his help in translating some portions of the Pentateuch into Persian. He remembered by heart Christian and Jewish scriptures (*Mirʾāt al-ʿālam*, 594). Later, he reached Dihlī and his views brought him close to Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*]. He is reported to have predicted kingship for Dārā. After the execution of Dārā, Awrangzīb turned his attention to him. The *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḳawī was ordered to enquire into and report about his religious views. He was summoned to the *durbar* and his free-thinking and his nude posture led the *ʿulamāʾ* to order his execution in 1070/1659. A grave was built at the place of his execution, in front of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Dihlī.

Two literary works are attributed to Sarmad: (a) a collection of 23 letters, *Ruḳaʿāt-i Sarmad* (Shāhdjahānī Press, 1926), and (b) *Rubāʿiyyāt-i Sarmad* (ed. Nawāb ʿAlī Ṣawlat Lakhnawī, Dihlī 1347 A.H.).

According to the *Dabistān*, Sarmad cited Israelite traditions in support of his nude living. He advocated a life free from physical pleasures and material struggles. He believed in Supreme Reality, rejected denominational approaches and lived a life in absorption in mystic contemplation. There is a ring of genuine sincerity in his verses which are soaked in cosmic emotion and reflect deep poetic sensitivity.

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MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ [see ʿINĀYAT ALLĀH KANBU].

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH, the third ruler of the Ḳādjār dynasty [*q.v.*], was born on 5 January 1808. He succeeded to the throne in 1834 on the death of his grandfather Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*]. He was the eldest

son of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. His mother was the daughter of Muḥammad Khān Beglarbegi Ḳādjār Develu. He had two full brothers, Ḳahramān Mīrzā and Bahman Mīrzā and twenty-three half-brothers. He died on 6 Shawwāl 1264/4 September 1848 and was buried at Ḳum. His chief wife, the mother of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*], was Malik Djahān Khānum, whose father was Muḥammad Ḳāsim Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla b. Sulaymān Khān Ḳādjār Ḳuwanlu (ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, *Tārīkh-i ᶜAḍudī*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran *shāhanshāhī* 2535/1976-7, 244). Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Ṣadr al-Mamālik Ardabīlī, a Ṣūfī, was for a while tutor to Muḥammad Mīrzā, as he then was (Mihdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, Tehran AHS 1347-50/1969-72, 5 vols., iv, 336). Subsequently, ᶜAbbās Mīrzā entrusted the education of Muḥammad Mīrzā and others of his sons to Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, also a Ṣūfī, who had studied under ᶜAbd al-Samad Hamadānī and belonged to the Nūr ᶜAlī Shāh dervish order (Humā Nāṭiḳ, *Īrān dar rāhyābī-i farhangī*, London 1988, 12-13). The relationship of Muḥammad Mīrzā to Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī was in the nature of *murīd* and *murād*; and after Muḥammad Mīrzā ascended the throne Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī continued to exercise great influence over him. Muḥammad Mīrzā and some of his brothers were taught French by Mde. Lamarinière, a French woman at the court of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā. She subsequently received a pension of 300 *tūmāns* per annum from Muḥammad Shāh (*ibid.*, 105). From 1842 Muḥammad Shāh had successively two French medical advisers, Dr. Labat and Dr. Cloquet.

After the resumption of the Russian war in 1826, Muḥammad Mīrzā was put in nominal command of part of the Persian forces and ᶜAbbās Mīrzā sent him, with Amīr Khān Sardār, his maternal uncle, to retake Gandja and Tiflis. The force was defeated at Gandja; Amīr Sardār was killed and considerable casualties suffered (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, ii, 217, v, 179). Muḥammad Mīrzā held various provincial governments, though he probably had little direct experience of administration himself. At one period he was governor of Marāgha on behalf of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā (*ibid.*, ii, 374). In 1239/1823-4 he was designated governor of Hamadān in the sense that it was made part of his *abwāb djāmᶜ* (the revenue allotted to him for his upkeep). He did not go to Hamadān but appointed Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳaragozlu governor, and on the latter's death in 1240/1824-5 made his son Rustam Khān governor (*ibid.*, iii, 257-8).

In the autumn of 1833 ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, having put down the disorders in Khurāsān, asked Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh for reinforcements to attack Harāt. Fatḥ ᶜAlī agreed to the expedition, but appointed Muḥammad Mīrzā to lead it and recalled ᶜAbbās Mīrzā to the capital. This may have been because Fatḥ ᶜAlī considered it expedient, in view of his failing health, for ᶜAbbās Mīrzā to be in, or near, Tehran. Muḥammad Mīrzā invested Harāt, but raised the siege on the death of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā en route for Tehran in Mashhad in November 1833 and returned to Mashhad. Fatḥ ᶜAlī summoned him to Tehran, gave him command of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā's troops and governments but did not immediately appoint him *walī ᶜahd*. He feared that such a step would be a sign for civil war between his sons. Meanwhile, Russia declared her readiness to acknowledge Muḥammad Mīrzā as *walī ᶜahd* and on 20 June 1834 he was duly nominated as *walī ᶜahd* and sent to Tabrīz as governor of Ādharbāydjān with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān Ḳāʾim Maḳām as his *pīshkār* or finance minister. His full brother Ḳahramān Mīrzā was appointed governor of Khurāsān (ᶜAḍud al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, 151-3). On 15 August it was rumoured that Russia had made a preemptory demand for the payment of the sum still due by Persia under the Treaty of Turkomānčāy and threatened to occupy Gīlān in case of delay over payment. Whether this was so or not, Muḥammad Mīrzā's situation was critical. He had almost no resources owing to the maladministration of Ādharbāydjān during the last four years of ᶜAbbās Mīrzā's life. His treasury was empty and burdened by the unpaid balance of the indemnity due to Russia. The pay of the army was four years in arrear; more than a third of their arms were unserviceable and the arsenal was almost without stores of any kind. In the south, the Bakhtiyārī were in open rebellion. The Mamassanī were plundering up to Shīrāz. The governor of Kirmānshāh was threatening to seize Sulaymāniyya (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F.O.60:34. Henry Bethune to Backhouse, Tabriz, 20 September 1834, pte.).

Because of the danger of civil war, an important exchange now took place between the British and Russian governments in which they agreed to act together over the matter of the succession in favour of Muḥammad Mīrzā. Their desire in this was to maintain not only the internal tranquillity but also the independence and integrity of Persia. This understanding with regard to the maintenance and integrity of Persia was subsequently reiterated in an exchange of notes in 1838 and also later in 1865, 1873, 1874 and 1888 (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F.O.65:904. Memorandum by Hertslet, Assurances on independence and integrity of Persia, 26 November 1874).

Fatḥ ᶜAlī set out from Tehran to collect arrears of taxation from Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, the governor of Fārs, and to put down various tribal rebellions in Fārs and among the Bakhtiyārī and died in Iṣfahān on 23 October 1834. Various Ḳādjār princes immediately disputed the succession of Muḥammad Mīrzā, who had received news in Tabrīz of Fatḥ ᶜAlī's death on 7 November. He was without means to march on the capital to assert his claim to the throne. The Russian envoy offered troops, officers and stores to any amount required to place him on the throne. The British envoy, Sir John Campbell, meanwhile came forward with funds to enable the troops to march. On 10 November the army set out for the capital under the command of Colonel (later Sir) Henry Lindsay-Bethune, one of the British officers who had served with the Persian army under ᶜAbbās Mīrzā in 1812 and had returned to Persia in 1834. Muḥammad Mīrzā left Tabrīz on 16 November accompanied by the British and Russian envoys. The governor of Tehran, ᶜAlī Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān, full brother to ᶜAbbās Mīrzā, had proclaimed himself as shāh, but his army, under the command of his brother Imām Verdī Mīrzā, surrendered at Ḳazwīn. On 21 December Muḥammad Mīrzā reached the outskirts of the capital, which he entered on 2 January 1835. His coronation took place on 31 January. In the south Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā had read the *khuṭba* in his own name in Shīrāz and sent a force under his full brother Ḥasan ᶜAlī Mīrzā Shudjāᶜ al-Salṭana to take Iṣfahān, where ᶜAbd Allāh Khān Amīn al-Dawla, first minister to the late Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shāh, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Shaftī, who had achieved a position of considerable influence in Iṣfahān during the reign of Fatḥ ᶜAlī, and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir supported him. Muḥammad Shāh, having established himself in Tehran, sent a force against Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Mīrzā. It took Iṣfahān and

then defeated Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shudjāʾ al-Salṭana at Ḳumisha and pushed on to Shīrāz, which fell after a brief siege. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā surrendered and was sent with his brother Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā to Ardabīl, but died en route. Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā was blinded, as were various others of Muḥammad Shāh's brothers, including Djahāngīr Mīrzā and Khusraw Mīrzā, whom Muḥammad Shāh had imprisoned in Ardabīl with two others of their brothers when he was governor of Ādharbāydjān. Amīn al-Dawla was finally sent to Tehran in Shawwāl 1251/January-February 1836 and eventually into exile in the ʿAtabāt. He died in Nadjaf in 1847. Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, Taymūr Mīrzā and Nadjaf Ḳulī Mīrzā, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's sons, escaped via the Ottoman Empire to England, whence they returned to the Ottoman Empire in 1836 and spent the rest of their lives there in exile. Various other Ḳādjār princes were seized in due course and kept in captivity at Ardabīl. Some others, including Imām Verdī Mīrzā, who had escaped from Ardabīl, fearing for their lives, fled to the Ottoman Empire, while others placed themselves under foreign protection.

For some time the country was in a state of disorder. In Khurāsān, only Mashhad, Nīshāpūr and Sabzawār were in the hands of the shāh. The khāns of Budjnurd and Daragaz and other local chiefs were in rebellion and taxes were withheld. Gradually, Ḳahramān Mīrzā restored order in Khurāsān. Luristān and ʿArabistān were also in a state of disorder, but were pacified by Bahrām Mīrzā, who had been made governor of Kirmānshāh. In June 1835 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān Ḳāʾim Maḳām, the first minister, to whom much of the current maladministration was attributed, was arrested. He was succeeded by Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, who held office to the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān was strangled on 26 June 1835. In the summer of that year, because of the ravages of cholera in the capital and elsewhere, Muḥammad Shāh nominated his son Nāṣir al-Dīn [*q.v.*], then a child of four, as his *walī ʿahd*. In view of his youth, he was not appointed to the government of Ādharbāydjān, which was given to Ḳahramān Mīrzā. In September there were renewed disturbances in Iṣfahān, raids by Balūč tribesmen into Kirmān and incursions by the Turkomans into Khurāsān.

Repeated tribal disturbances and outbreaks of religious unrest, especially in Iṣfahān and southern Persia, dominated internal affairs during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, though not to the extent of threatening his position once he had established himself on the throne or of deterring him from military expeditions against Harāt. However, by the end of his reign rebellion and disorder were again widespread. Allāh Yār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla, governor of Khurāsān, was recalled in 1847 and exiled to Turkey. His son Sālār al-Dawla remained in a state of rebellion: he was joined by local chiefs and was not overcome until 1850 after the death of Muḥammad Shāh.

No attempt was made to put the financial administration of the country on a sound basis, and when Nāṣir al-Dīn succeeded in 1848 the treasury was virtually empty. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī apparently made some effort to revive dead lands, possibly in the hope of improving the financial condition of the country. He asked for an irrigation expert to be sent by France but nothing came of this (Humā Nāṭiḳ, *op. cit.*, 26-7). In 1847 Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Shīrāzī was sent on an abortive mission to the French court to discuss the possibility of the sending of French engineers and craftsmen to Persia (*ibid.*, F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i āzādī*, Tehran AHS 1340/1961, 41 ff.).

Muḥammad Shāh and his minister Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī were, on the whole, well-disposed towards the religious classes and gave allowances and pensions to them. Patronage was also extended to the Shīʿī shrines in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and elsewhere. Special favour was shown to the Ṣūfīs. Shaykh Ṭah, the father of ʿUbayd Allāh, the Naḳshbandī *shaykh*, was given many gifts and several villages as *tuyūl* for the expenses of his *khānḳāh* (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, ii, 185). However, the heterodox views of Muḥammad Shāh and his minister upset the precarious balance which Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had established between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ*. New developments began to emerge during Muḥammad Shāh's reign, which were to become more clearly apparent in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (see further H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 103 ff.).

The fact that from the outset of Muḥammad Shāh's reign certain of the *ʿulamāʾ* were associated with movements of sedition led to attempts by the government to exercise greater control over them. Iṣfahān, in particular, was a centre of religious power and turbulence and of "popular" movements associated with the *ʿulamāʾ*. As stated above, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Shaftī and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir had supported Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā's attempt to seize the throne on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. In the winter of 1839-40, repeated disorders of *lūṭīs* [*q.v.*] occurred under the protection of the *mullās*. In the summer of 1840 Muḥammad Shāh marched on Iṣfahān, put the disturbances down and temporarily reduced the power of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The leader of the *lūṭīs*, Ḥādjdjī Ghulām Ḥusayn, was put to death on the orders of the shāh and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir and his son were exiled to Karbalā. Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, Luristān and Khūzistān and restored order (Bāmdād, *op. cit.*, iii, 109-10).

Indirect attacks were also made on the privileges of the *ʿulamāʾ* by attempts to limit rights of sanctuary, since it was mainly in mosques, shrines and houses of the *ʿulamāʾ* that sanctuary was taken. In 1843 Bahman Mīrzā, who had been appointed governor of Ādharbāydjān in 1842 on the death of Ḳahramān Mīrzā, sought to prevent criminals and bankrupts taking sanctuary in the province; and on 24 November of that year the shāh issued a *farmān* abolishing sanctuary except in certain mosques and holy places which had been sanctuaries from ancient times such as the dwellings of religious dignitaries and royal palaces (see further, A.K.S. Lambton, *The Persian ʿulamāʾ and constitutional reform*, in T. Fahd (ed.), *Le Shiʿisme imamite*, Paris 1970).

In 1841 Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī [see AGHĀ KHĀN], the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, raised the standard of revolt in Kirmān. He achieved considerable success in the spring of 1842, but was eventually defeated and retired to India, where his presence led to strained relations with the British government because the Persian government thought encouragement was being given by them to the Āḳā Khān to return to Persia to renew his rebellion. His brother Sardār Khān invaded Persia from Balūčistān in 1844. After holding Bam for a time, he surrendered.

Another heterodox movement, that of the Shaykhīs, spread in the 1840s. Its leader, Kāẓim Rashtī [*q.v.*], had sent disciples to all parts of Persia in search of the awaited Mahdī, the *ṣāḥib al-zamān*. In

1844, one of the followers of Karīm Khān, who had succeeded Kāẓim Rashtī, declared himself the Bāb [*q.v.*]. His public preaching in Shīrāz in 1845 raised opposition. In the following year, under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ*, he came to Iṣfahān, where he was protected by the governor Manūčihr Khān. On the latter's death he was summoned to Tehran, but arrested before he arrived in the capital and sent to Mākū, where he was imprisoned.

Persia's foreign relations were dominated during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh by fear and resentment of both Russia and Britain. The former, who had recently crushed Persia in military conflict and dictated terms of peace, was able to exercise a predominant influence because of her geographical position. The weight of Russian presence on the borders of Ādharbāydjān, the Russian guarantee to ensure the succession of Muḥammad Shāh and the fact that part of the indemnity due under the Treaty of Turkomānčāy was outstanding, made Muḥammad Shāh susceptible to Russian pressure. Relations with Britain were in a somewhat undefined state. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had been desirous of a positive declaration by Britain to uphold the independence of Persia against attacks by European powers to replace the subsidy articles which had been expunged in 1828 from the Treaty of Tehran of 1814. This had destroyed Persian reliance on British military aid in the event of an emergency, and the British government was not prepared to give a new undertaking. The transfer of control of the British mission from the government in London to the Indian government in 1822 had also caused resentment and given rise to a fear that Britain was less interested in the independence of Persia than formerly. Control was returned to the crown in 1835. Already by 1832 Britain, in view of the perceived advance of Russia towards India, was considering counter measures which involved a reassessment of policy towards Persian and Afghānistān. The British desire to avoid being drawn into hostilities with Russia and a wish to forestall the outbreak of civil war and anarchy in Persia on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh explains in some measure the events surrounding the accession of Muḥammad Shāh outlined above. In 1838 Russia occupied the island of Ashur āda, an event which attracted little attention at the time, and built there a naval station in 1842.

Various matters arose during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh to disturb Anglo-Persian relations. Most importantly there was the question of Harāt, for the conquest of which Muḥammad Shāh had harboured a desire since the raising of the siege on the death of ʿAbbās Mīrzā.

The consular issue had troubled Persian relations with Russia and Britain since the conclusion of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy under which Russia had acquired the right to nominate consuls wherever they were required. The Persian government feared that the establishment of consuls would be a pretext for designs of conquest and occupation. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh successfully resisted the appointment of Russian consuls and was reluctant to enter into a commercial agreement which recognised the right of the British government to appoint consuls in Persia, although the preamble of the Treaty of Tehran of 1814 had contained provision for the conclusion of a commercial treaty. With the accession of Muḥammad Shāh, some more permanent arrangement than the *raḳam* issued by ʿAbbās Mīrzā in 1832 was sought by which British trade could be carried on with the same privileges as Russian. Muḥammad Shāh, like Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, was reluctant to conclude a commercial agreement but in 1836 he issued a *farmān* which guaranteed protection and good treatment of British merchants in Persia and declared the duties payable by them would be the same as those to which Russian merchants were liable (text in C.U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads...*, Calcutta, 1933, xiii, 66). It was not until 1841 that British trade was placed on a more regular legal basis. The question of consular jurisdiction, because of the veiled and sometimes open interference by Russia and Britain with the course of justice did, in fact, give rise to much friction.

Foreign merchants in Tabrīz and Tehran were under the nominal charge of the *malik al-tudjdjār*. In 1843 a *farmān* was issued by Muḥammad Shāh to Bahman Mīrzā, governor of Ādharbāydjān, concerning the recovery of pecuniary debts by Russian subjects from Persian subjects and the prevention of fraudulent bankruptcies. A similar *farmān* was issued to Ḥusayn Khān, governor of Yazd, in the following year for the protection of British merchants (text in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 69-73).

Internal trade during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh was hampered by insecurity and bad communications. Foreign trade, concentrated on Istanbul and Tabrīz, was largely handled by Persian merchants until about 1837, when European merchants began to play a more direct part because of the difficulties Persian merchants were finding in paying for their purchases abroad. From 1837 onwards, a number of Greek merchants were settled in Tabrīz, some of whom carried on business under Russian protection. Commerce between Persia and Russia was in the hands of Georgians, Persians and Armenians and natives of Bākū and Dāghistān. The silk trade of Gīlān became increasingly important. In 1844 the Persian merchants of Tabrīz alleged that their business had been destroyed by the establishment of Greek merchants and petitioned that the importation of European merchandise should be prohibited. In the following year, the traders of Kāshān forwarded a memorial to the shāh asking for protection for their manufactures against European merchandise. In neither case was satisfaction given.

Another matter which caused friction between the Persian government and the British government was the slave trade. An approach made to the Persian government in November 1846 to ban the slave trade at Persian ports in the Gulf met with little success. In December, Muḥammad Shāh told Sir Justin Sheil, the British envoy, that such a ban would be contrary to the precepts of the Ḳurʾān and Islam in general. Subsequent approaches also met with refusal. Finally, on 12 June 1848, the shāh agreed to forbid the importation of slaves into Persia by sea, and *farmāns* to that effect were sent to the governors-general of Khūzistān and Fārs later that month (see further J.B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 593 ff.).

The question of "protection" was another matter which became increasingly important during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. It was closely related to Anglo-Russian relations in Persia and had originated in part in the capitulatory concession of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy; but its main cause was the sense of insecurity induced in the shāh's subjects by the arbitrary nature of government in Persia. It also became bound up with the question of succession to the throne, the most notorious case being that of Bahman Mīrzā. In February 1842 the state of Muḥammad Shāh's health gave rise to anxiety. The British and Russian governments, considering what steps they should take in the event of the shāh's death

to forestall disturbances, came to the conclusion that Bahman Mīrzā was the one whom the two governments would regard as the immediate successor to the throne if Muḥammad Shāh left no heir in the direct line. In the summer, he became severely ill but recovered. In 1845 the state of his health again caused alarm. In a despatch dated 14 January 1846 to the Russian envoy in Tehran, Count Vorontsov, stated that as soon as Muḥammad Shāh died the British and Russian envoys were to wait on Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been recognised by the British and Russian missions as heir apparent, to recognise him as shāh and to urge him, in view of his youth, to entrust the functions of regent to Bahman Mīrzā. Once more the shāh recovered.

Bahman Mīrzā, in spite of being a successful governor of Ādharbāydjān, had meanwhile fallen foul of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī and in 1847 he renounced his government and solicited the joint aid of the British and Russian ministers in obtaining a guarantee of safety if he returned to private life. The Russian minister Dolgorouki made strong remonstrances to the Persian government in favour of Bahman Mīrzā's reinstatement. On 1 March, the latter, alarmed for his safety, took refuge in Dolgorouki's residence. This gave rise to great indignation on the part of the shāh, and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī threatened to use force to expel Bahman Mīrzā from the Russian minister's residence. Dolgorouki referred the matter to the Russian Emperor, who approved his action in granting Bahman Mīrzā asylum and henceforth considered Bahman Mīrzā as under his special protection, offering him asylum in Russia, which offer Bahman Mīrzā accepted. The affair caused a great sensation in Tehran and in Ādharbāydjān; and the fact that a royal prince should have been forced to take refuge in a foreign mission aroused feelings of humiliation and resentment. At the same time, the intended establishment of Bahman Mīrzā in Georgia was viewed with some apprehension lest he should, with Russian support, disturb the tranquillity of Ādharbāydjān. It was feared that disorders on the frontier might give Russia a plausible excuse for interference and even lead eventually to her seizure of the whole of the province or to its conversion into an independent principality ruled by Bahman Mīrzā under Russian protection.

All these questions, the dispute with Britain over Harāt [*q.v.* and also ḲĀDJĀR], consular representation, the slave trade and protection, continued to disturb Persia's foreign relations under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh.

Perso-Turkish relations were in a state of tension for much of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. There were perennial difficulties over the conduct of marauding tribes in the frontier district north of Baghdād. In 1837 a Turkish force temporarily occupied and pillaged Muḥammara. In 1840 a Persian force occupied Sulaymāniyya, and in July of that year the shāh made preparations for an attack on Baghdād but was deterred. In the following year, the Persian governor of ʿArabistān made an expedition against Fallāḥiyya and Muḥammara. A Turkish force recovered Sulaymāniyya and in 1842 attacked the *wālī* of Ardalān. On this occasion, the Persian government invoked the good offices of the Russian and British ambassadors in Istanbul and warlike preparations were discontinued. Eventually, it was agreed that a joint commission of Turkish and Persian plenipotentiaries, to be assisted by delegates representing Russia and Britain, the mediating powers, should meet at Erzerum to investigate and if possible settle the territorial and other questions in dispute. They met on 15 May 1843. Their difficulties were aggravated by a massacre of Persians in Karbalā by Turkish troops. At length, on 31 May 1847 the Second Treaty of Erzerum was signed. It provided for the delimitation of the frontier, freedom of Persian pilgrims to carry out their pilgrimages in Turkey without molestation and the appointment of consuls by either power in the domains of the other (see further, J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOman and central Arabia*, Calcutta 1915, 1. *Historical Pt.*, 1B, 1373 ff.).

Towards the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, there was some French activity in Persia. Ḥusayn Khān, who had been sent to Europe in 1839 after the withdrawal from Harāt, engaged some French officers for the Persian army to take the place of the British military instructors who had been withdrawn as a result of the Persian expedition against Harāt in 1837-8. In 1840, or somewhat earlier, the French king Louis Philippe despatched a diplomatic mission to the court of Persia, headed by the Comte de Sercey, charged with the conclusion of a commercial treaty. In this he failed, and the French military officers found difficulty in obtaining their promised pay and allowances. Finally, in 1845 French trade was accorded most favoured nation treatment.

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(A.K.S. Lambton)

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH b. Djahān-Shāh b. Shāh ʿĀlam i, Nāṣir al-Dīn (1131-61/1719-48), surnamed Rawshan Akhtar, "Brillant Star", the last of the Mughal emperors in Dihlī to enjoy real power. His father had been one of three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their eldest brother Djahān-dār Shāh b. Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur.

Muḥammad Shāh was born on 24 Rabīʿ I 1114/7 August 1702, and hailed as emperor by the two Sayyid brothers, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh and Sayyid Ḥusayn, after the two brief reigns of Muḥammad Shāh's cousins Rāfiʿ al-Daradjāt and Rafīʿ al-Dawla (the latter the ephemeral Shāh Djahān II), on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1131/29 September 1719, to begin a 30 years' reign. The early years of this were dominated by the figure of the highly capable Turkish noble Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič Khān, called Niẓām al-Mulk, who in 1132/1723 came to Dihlī as chief minister, soon afterwards defeating a rival for power in the Deccan (1137/1724) and establishing the virtually independent power at Ḥaydarābād of his line, the Niẓāms or Āṣaf-Djāhs [see ḥaydarābād. b. Ḥaydarābād state].

The next years of his reign saw increasing depredations by the Marāthās [*q.v.*] into Gudjarāt. Mālwā [*q.vv.*] and Ḥaydarābād. The incursions into Mālwā by the Pēshwā Bādjī Rāo could not be halted by the emperor's general Muḥammad Khān Bangash [*q.v.*], and Niẓām al-Mulk was only with difficulty able to hold his own in Ḥaydarābād. However, a greater danger now faced the troubled Mughal empire, for it was during Muḥammad Shāh's reign, in 1151-2/1739, that the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] marched from Afghānistān into India on the pretext of the emperor's refusal to close his north-western frontiers to Afghān fugitives. Nādir defeated Muḥammad Shāh's general Khān Dawrān near Karnāl in Dhū 'l-Ḳaʿda 1151/February 1739, entered Dihlī without striking a blow and in company with Muḥammad Shāh, and had his name placed in the *khuṭba* there and coins minted in his name. He married his youngest son Naṣr Allāh Mīrzā to a Mughal princess; and he compelled Muḥammad Shāh to pay an enormous indemnity, including the famous Peacock Throne of Shāh Djahān I, and to cede all his lands north and west of the Indus before he returned to Kābul, leaving behind the devastated city of Dihlī.

The stunning effects of Nādir's sacking of the Mughal capital were soon apparent on the already disintegrating state of the empire. Provincial governors, such as Ṣafdār Djang in Awadh, Zakariyyāʾ Khān in the Pandjāb and Multān and ʿAlī-Verdī Khān, Mahābat Djang, in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, joined Niẓām al-Mulk in the Deccan as virtually autonomous rulers, whilst to the east of Dihlī, a new threat arose to Mughal imperial authority in the person of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān in Katahr [*q.v.*] or Rohilkhand. As a final blow, the Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī [*q.v.*] invaded northern India in 1160/1747, and was only repulsed after a sharp battle near Sirhind.

Muḥammad Shāh died on 27 Rabīʿ II 1161/16 April 1748, and was buried in the court before the mausoleum of the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*] at Dihlī, to be succeeded by his even less capable son Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur; for the remaining century of its nominal life, the Mughal empire was to be headed by emperors who were mere puppets in the hands of court nobles and military leaders.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I KHALDJĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (695-715/1296-1316), was the nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh II Khaldjī, whom he murdered by treachery at Ḳarā Mānikpūr, in the province of Allāhābād, in 695/1295, and ascended the throne of Dihlī in the same year. He reconquered Gudjarāt (697/1297), took Čitōr and temporarily subdued the Rādjpūts (703/1303). His eunuch general, Malik Kāfūr [*q.v.*], seized Deogīr and Warangal, and founded a Deccan province of the Dihlī kingdom. The empire is said to have flourished during his reign. Among contemporary poets, Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] and Khʷādja Ḥasan held the first rank; Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*], one of the greatest saints of India, flourished at the same time. Muḥammad Shāh died on 6 Shawwāl 715/3 January 1316, and was buried in the tomb which he had constructed in his life-time in Old Dihlī. Eventually, he was succeeded by his third son Mubārak Khān, as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak-Shāh, who reversed many of the harsh and oppressive financial measures which had made the latter years of his father's reign so burdensome.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF al-Nadjafī, historian of Mughal India, was born in the Deccan, where he spent the first twenty-five years of his life. He afterwards visited in an official capacity Gudjarāt, Mālwa, Adjmēr, Dihlī, Āgrā, the Pandjāb, Sind and Kashmīr. He went to the last country in the train of the emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] and under the command of Ḳāsim Khān (1031/1621). He is the author of the *Madjālis al-salāṭīn*, a short history of the kings of Dihlī and of the Deccan dynasties from the Islamic conquests to the accession of Shāh Djahān, completed in 1038/1628.

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(M. Hidayet Hosain)

MUḤAMMAD SHAYBĀNĪ [see SHAYBĀNĪ KHĀN].

MUḤAMMAD ṬĀHIR B. ʿALĪ PAṬANI GUDJARĀTĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN, Muslim Indian authority on the Ḳurʾān and traditions. He was born at Paṭan in Gudjarāt in 914/1508; after completing his education in his native land, he proceeded to Mecca, where he studied traditions with eminent scholars such as Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī al-Makkī and others. He acquired much learning from ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567) and also became his disciple in the Ḳādirī and Shādhilī dervish orders. After his return to his native country, he tried his utmost to spread learning and to uproot the doctrines of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Djawnpūrī [*q.v.*] who had claimed to be the *Mahdī* of his time and had a considerable following among the Bohorās [*q.v.*], a community to which Muḥammad Ṭāhir himself belonged.

In 980/1572 Akbar went to conquer Gudjarāt. After its conquest, he conferred honour on Muḥammad Ṭāhir by tying with his own hands a turban on his head, saying that it was incumbent on him, Akbar, to spread the true principles of Islam. Khān Aʿẓam ʿAzīz Muḥammad Kūkaltāsh was appointed governor of Gudjarāt and he helped Muḥammad Ṭāhir in uprooting the new doctrines of Mahdism. But when ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān succeeded him as governor, Muḥammad Ṭāhir suffered much at the hands of the followers of the Mahdī, and proceeded to the court of Akbar in Akbarābād for redress. On his way at Udjdjayn he was murdered by some followers of the pretended Mahdī in 986/1578.

Among his various compositions in Arabic the following may be mentioned:

1. *Madjmaʿ biḥār al-anwar fī gharāʾib al-tanzīl wa-laṭāʾif al-akhbār*, a copious dictionary of the Ḳurʾān and the Traditions, lithographed, Lakhnaw 1248, 1284, 1314;
2. *al-Mughnī fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, a dictionary of proper names of traditionists, lithographed on the margin of the *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, Dihlī 1290, 1308; and
3. *Tadhkirat al-mawḍūʿāt*, a treatise on traditions that have been incorrectly attributed to the Prophet, Bombay 1345, Cairo 1343.

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(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ BAHĀR [see BAHĀR].

MUḤAMMAD TAWFĪḲ [see BILLAWRĪ; TAWFĪḲ].

MUḤAMMAD I (759-76/1358-75), the second king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the eldest son of Ḥasan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, usually, but incorrectly, styled Ḥasan Gangū. On succeeding his father, on 1 Rabīʿ I 759/11 February 1358, he carefully organised the government of the four provinces of the kingdom and the administration of the army. The pertinacity of the Hindū bankers and moneychangers in melting down the gold coinage which he introduced led to a general massacre of the community and the measure involved him in hostilities with the Hindū states of Warangal and Vidjayanagar. He invaded the dominions of Kānhaiya of Warangal three times, put his son Nevāyek Deva to death, and compelled him to pay heavy indemnities and to surrender the town and district of Golkondā [*q.v.*]. After this success, he grossly insulted Bukka I of Vidjayanagar by paying some dancing girls with a draft drawn by him on Bukka's treasury. Bukka invaded the Rāičur Doāb, captured Mudgal [*q.v.*], and massacred its garrison. Muḥammad marched against him, attacked him with great impetuosity, defeated him, and recovered Mudgal, where he rested during the rainy season. In 768/1367 he met Bukka and Kawthal, again defeated him, and carried out an indiscriminate massacre of his subjects. The Hindūs were cowed by the slaughter of 400,000 of their race, and Bukka was compelled to sue for peace. He honoured the draft and paid an indemnity, and received in return a guarantee that non-combatants should be spared in future wars, and the agreement, though sometimes violated, mitigated to some extent the horrors of the long period of intermittent warfare between the two states. On returning from Vidjayanagar he completed, in 768/1367, the great mosque at Gulbarga [*q.v.*], and then turned against his cousin Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, who had for some years been in rebellion at Dawlatābād, defeated his army and drove its leaders into Gudjarāt. He died in 776/1375 and was succeeded by his elder son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mudjāhid.

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(T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMAD II (780-99/1378-97), the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the youngest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and was raised to the throne on 21 Muḥarram 780/20 May 1378, after the assassination of his uncle Dāwūd Shāh. Firishta's statement that this king's name was Maḥmūd has misled all European historians, but is refuted by inscriptions, legends on coins, and other historians.

Muḥammad II was a man of peace, devoted to literature and poetry, and his reign was undisturbed by foreign wars. He invited Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] to visit his court, and the great poet set out from Shīrāz in response to the invitation, but was so terrified by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he disembarked and returned to Shīrāz, whence he sent to Muḥammad his excuses in a well-known ode.

Between 789/1387 and 797/1395 the Dakan was visited by a severe famine, and the king's measures of relief included the free importation of grain, the establishment of schools at which children were taught, fed, and lodged at the public expense, and special allowances to readers of the Ḳurʾān and the blind, but only those of his own faith profited by his benefactions. He died of a fever on 21 Radjab 799/20 April 1397, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn.

Bibliography: See that to MUḤAMMAD I and to BAHMANĪS; also Haig, in *JASB*, lxxiii/1 (1904).

(T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMAD III, SHAMS AL-DĪN LASHKARĪ (867-87/1463-82), the thirteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was the younger son of Humāyūn Shāh, and succeeded his elder brother, Niẓām Shāh, on 13 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 867/30

July 1463, at the age of nine. His minister was the famous Maḥmūd Gāwān, Malik al-Tudjdjār, Khwādja Djahān [*q.v.*]. A campaign against Mālwā in 871/1467 was unsuccessful, but between 873/1469 and 875/1471 Maḥmūd Gāwān conquered the southern Konkan. In 876/1472 Niẓām al-Mulk Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī, a Brāhman who had been captured in Vidjayanagar and educated as a Muslim, led a successful expedition into southern Uṛīsa [*q.v.*] (Orissa) and was rewarded with the government of Telingāna. Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk, another Brāhman with similar history, was made governor of Berār [*q.v.*], and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, a Turk, was appointed to Dawlatābād [*q.v.*]. In the same year, Muḥammad captured the fortresses of Bankāpūr and Balgāṅw, and his conduct at the siege of the latter earned for him the title of Lashkarī, "the Soldier". In 879/1474 the Dakan suffered severely from a famine which lasted for two years, and in 881/1476 a rebellion in Kondawīr led the king into Telingāna. He relieved Malik Ḥasan, who had been besieged in Rādjamahendrī, invaded Uṛīsa and punished the *rādjā*, who had supported the rebels, and on his return, in 883/1478, captured Kondawīr and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*.

He then set out to invade the eastern Karnātak, but first divided the great province of Telingāna into two governments, mortally offending Malik Ḥasan the governor. The partition was part of a scheme, devised by Maḥmūd Gāwān, to be applied to all the provinces of the kingdom.

Muḥammad made Kondapallī, in the Karnātak, his headquarters, and returned thither after carrying out a daring raid to Kāndjeweram. From Kondapallī he issued an edict dividing the other three provinces of his kingdom, Berār, Dawlatābād, and Gulbargā [*q.v.*] each into two governments. The measure was intensely unpopular, but it was only the vindictive Malik Ḥasan that actively resented it. He regarded Maḥmūd Gāwān as the author of all the unpopular reforms, and by means of a forged letter persuaded the young king that his minister was in league with the foreign enemies of the state. Muḥammad, when under the influence of drink, summoned his faithful minister, and on 5 Ṣafar 886/5 April 1481, without any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, caused his head to be struck off. Maḥmūd's innocence was established immediately after his death, and from the day of his unjust execution may be dated the collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī kings. Of the two parties in the state all the foreigners, led by Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, who established himself at Bīdjāpūr, and the respectable portion of the Dakanīs, led by Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk of Berār, avoided intercourse with the king, who was thrown into the arms of the assassins, led by Malik Ḥasan. The *amīrs* accompanied Muḥammad to Bīdar [*q.v.*] and subsequently on an expedition to Balgāṅw, but encamped apart from the royal troops, and always saluted the king from a distance, refusing to enter his presence. Muḥammad attempted to drown his grief and humiliation in drink, from the effects of which he died at Bīdar on 1 Ṣafar 887/22 March 1482, crying out in his last moments that Maḥmūd Gāwān was slaying him. He was succeeded by his son Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was nevertheless a king only in name.

Bibliography: See that to MUḤAMMAD I and to BAHMANĪS. (T.W. HAIG)

MUḤAMMADIYYA, a term denoting four distinct ʿAlid groups: (1) The descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. In the 4th/10th century they are reported to have been few in number, but to have none the less held positions of leadership in Fārs, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm and Rayy. By the 6th/12th century their numbers appear to have grown.

(2) Believers in the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762 [*q.v.*]). This Ḥasanid pretender enjoyed widespread support among a variety of Shīʿīs long before his uprising against the ʿAbbāsids. The term Muḥammadiyya denotes two groups of his supporters:

(a) A sub-sect of the extremist Manṣūriyya [*q.v.*]. The members of this sub-sect asserted that Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIdjlī (d. between 120/738 and 126/744) had during his lifetime regarded himself merely as a temporary trustee (*mustawdaʿ*) of the imāmate after Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāḳir [*q.v.*], and that upon his death the imāmate had reverted to the ʿAlids in the person of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (rather than passing to Abū Manṣūr's son, as maintained by a rival sub-sect, the Ḥusayniyya).

(b) The Mughīriyya (followers of al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd, d. 119/737). The imāmate of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is said to have been upheld by al-Mughīra himself, though this may be a retrojection of the later views of the group. After the death of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, members of the Mughīriyya espoused the docetic doctrine that it was not he who had fallen in battle, but a devil who had assumed his bodily form.

Both groups held that al-Nafs al-Zakiyya had gone into occultation (according to some sources, in (*fī*) the mountain of al-Ṭammiyya in Nadjd) and would return as the Mahdī. The belief in his Mahdīship was not restricted to the Muḥammadiyya: the heresiographer Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ (alive in 250/864/868 [*q.v.*]) ascribes it also to a group of the Djārūdiyya [*q.v.*].

(3) Believers in the imāmate of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad, a son of the tenth *Imām*, ʿAlī al-Hādī al-ʿAskarī (d. 254/868 [*q.v.*]). These Muḥammadiyya argued, against the Imāmī Shīʿīs, that al-Hādī had conferred the imāmate on Muḥammad (who was apparently his eldest son), rather than on Muḥammad's brother al-Ḥasan. Some Imāmī Shīʿī traditions seem to imply (perhaps in response to this argument) that although Muḥammad was initially chosen as *Imām*, the nomination was transferred to al-Ḥasan as a result of a change in the divine plans (*badāʾ* [*q.v.*]). The Muḥammadiyya, however, maintained that the nomination of an *Imām* was irreversible, i.e. not subject to *badāʾ*. They further disputed the Imāmī Shīʿī claim that Muḥammad had died in Sāmarrā while his father was still alive, asserting rather that al-Hādī had concealed him out of fear for his life. A group among them claimed that Muḥammad was the last *Imām*, that he went into occultation, and that he would return as al-Mahdī al-Ḳāʾim. Others (who presumably denied that he went into occultation) maintained that he had male offspring (the implication being that one of them was to be the next *Imām*). The Muḥammadiyya must have posed a significant challenge to the Imāmiyya: Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (d. 299/911-12 or 301/913-14) composed a treatise attacking both their views and those of the Djaʿfariyya (who upheld the imāmate of al-Hādī's son Djaʿfar). The treatise, known as *K. al-Ḍiyāʾ fī 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-muḥammadiyya wa 'l-djaʿfariyya* or *K. al-Ḍiyāʾ fī 'l-imāma*, is no longer extant. By the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) these Muḥammadiyya were extinct.

(4) Believers in the divinity of the Prophet Muḥammad. These Muḥammadiyya (or Mīmiyya) originated in Kūfan *ghulāt* circles of the late 2nd/8th century, and were particularly active in the 3rd/9th century. They are sometimes referred to as Mukhammisa [*q.v.*], although this term is usually used in a

broader sense to denote all Shīʿīs who held the gnostic belief that the one, unknown God manifests himself as a pentad. In their system (as described by Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī) Muḥammad is both the unknown God, and God's only true manifestation on earth. God first appeared before mankind as a light, calling upon them to acknowledge his oneness. They refused, and this was apparently the act of rebellion that initiated the fall from heaven. God then appeared in human form so that his creatures might trust him and not fear him. He appeared (but only to the Arabs, it would seem) as successive prophets and messengers: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus; to the non-Arabs he appeared as successive kings and rulers of the world. Mankind still refused to confess his unity, and so he appeared in the form of a number of *Imāms*, and was then accepted. Of these *Imāms*, only members of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* [*q.v.*] are mentioned by name. They are (in addition to Muḥammad) ʿAlī, Fāṭima (God can assume the form of a woman), al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, who together constitute the divine pentad. The *Imāms* are reincarnations of God; as such they are mere illusions or "names" concealing the true "meaning" (*maʿnā*) which is Muḥammad. A parallel structure incorporates other elect members of the community, all of whom are arranged in a hierarchical fashion. Thus God's only true messenger or "gate" (*bāb*) is Salmān al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], who appears with Muḥammad before Arabs and non-Arabs; other *abwāb*, who include various leaders of the Kūfan *ghulāt*, are reincarnations of Salmān. The normal obligations of Islam (prayer, fasting, etc.) were imposed as a punishment on those who deny the truth, and are not incumbent upon believers who have passed the test (*muʾmin mumtaḥan*). The spirits of those who deny the truth transmigrate through both animate and inanimate bodies (*tanāsukh*), and end up as minerals or stones. The believer who acknowledges the truth, in contrast, passes through seven stages, each lasting 10,000 years, during which he wears seven different bodies like seven garments (*aḳmiṣa*): when he outgrows one garment, he puts on another. After 70,000 years he becomes a gnostic (*ʿārif*) and attains knowledge of the ultimate (*maʿrifat al-ghāya*): the veil is removed and he sees God, that is Muḥammad, in his essence and light.

No works of the Muḥammadiyya have survived, but we know the names of at least two authors who wrote in defence of the sect: al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyāḍ, whose father was a *kātib* for al-Muʿtaḍid (regn. 279-89/892-902), and who was executed during his caliph's reign; and al-Nahīkī [*q.v.*], mentioned as an *ʿāmil* (finance officer) of the Bādūrayā district of west Baghdād (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Damascus 1348/1930, 16-18; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 76-7). Both composed works attacking the *K. al-Ṣirāṭ* of Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. 286/899). Isḥāḳ was one of the ʿAyniyya (ʿAlyāʾiyya), who were among the upholders of ʿAlī's divinity. Al-Fayyāḍ's work is entitled *al-Ḳisṭās*; the title of al-Nahīkī's book is not recorded. In addition, Muḥammad b. Bashīr (who after the death of the seventh *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] claimed to be his legatee) can also be counted among the Muḥammadiyya (although this is nowhere explicitly stated), since he taught that Muḥammad was reincarnated in the *Imāms*.

The Muḥammadiyya caused concern among the mainstream Imāmiyya, who attempted in their writings to refute their doctrines. One such work (no longer extant) was composed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naysābūrī (d. 260/873-4) under the title *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghāliya al-Muḥammadiyya* or *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghulāt*.

The heresiographers mention several other unnamed groups who upheld Muḥammad's divinity. One such group maintained that Muḥammad was a demiurge empowered by God (*tafwīḍ*) to create this world and to direct its affairs. This belief is typical of the Mufawwiḍa, who are often mentioned together with the Mukhammisa.

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(E. KOHLBERG)

AL-**MUḤAMMADIYYA** [see FAḌĀLA].

MUḤAMMADZAYS [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN; AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. HISTORY (3) THE AFGHĀN NATIONAL STATE (B) THE BĀRAKZAY (OR MUḤAMMADZAY) DYNASTY; ḤABĪB ALLĀH KHĀN; MUḤAMMAD DĀWŪD KHĀN; and AMĀN ALLĀH in Suppl.].

MUḤAMMARA, the former name (in use till 1937) of the Persian town and port on the Ḥaffār channel to the lower Kārūn river [*q.v.*], now known as Khurramshahr. Hence for the history of Muḥammara, see KHURRAMSHAHR, and also KHAZʿAL KHĀN. To the references given in the *Bibls.* to these two articles should be added: H.G. Rawlinson, *Notes on Mohamrah and the Cha'ab Arabs*, in *Procs. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, i, 351 ff.; Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, index s.v. *Khurramshahr*; M.ʿA. al-Nadjdjār, *al-Taʾrīkh al-siyāsī li-imārat ʿArabistān al-ʿarabiyya, 1897-1925*, Cairo 1971; ʿA.N. al-Ḥulw, *al-Muḥammara, madīna wa-imāra ʿarabiyya*, Baghdād 1972; W.T. Strunk, *The reign of Shaikh Khazʿal ibn Jābir and the suppression of the principality of ʿArabistān*, doctoral thesis, Univ. of Indiana 1977, unpubl.; A.J. Cottrell *et alii* (eds.), *The Persian Gulf states, a general survey*, Baltimore and London 1980, 52-4, 59, 87-8, 227, 613-14; S. Soucek, *ʿArabistān or Khūzistān?*, in *Iranian Studies*, xvii/2-3 (1984), 195-213. (ED.)

MUḤAMMIRA [see KHURRAMDĪNIYYA].

MUHANNĀ, BANŪ, better known in the sources as the Āl Muhannā, an Arab Bedouin branch of the Banū Rabīʿa, descendants of a minor line of the Djarrāḥ family, who in return belonged to the larger tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. In genealogical terms, Ṭayyiʾ was part of Ḳaḥṭān, and consequently the Banū Muhannā were treated as Yamanī in their general allegiance. It is known that Ṭayyiʾ, who were well-established in southern Bilād al-Shām, formed part of the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḲARMAṬĪ] army, which in 360/971 took over al-Ramla [*q.v.*] in Palestine. The Ṭayyiʾ's power increased to the extent that they were able, in 401/1010-11, to appoint al-Ḥasan b. Djaʿfar al-ʿAlawī as a caliph under their tutelage, although they had to abandon him two years later due to Fāṭimid pressure. The Djarrāḥids were never trusted by the Fāṭimids, who recognised the political ambitions of the Arab tribes in Syria, a land contested by several political powers of the time.

In 410/1019, the three major Arab tribes of Ṭayyiʾ, Kalb and Kilāb in Syria formed a political alliance which lasted for one decade. The aim of that alliance, an unprecedented step, was to coordinate their policies in order to control the *bādiya* against any foreign dominance. This growth in the strength of Arab tribes in the affairs of Syria can be explained on the basis of the absence of strong administration there at the time. Such an administration was only realised through the Saldjūḳs after 1071. Consequently, the power of indigenous groups, including the Arab tribes, remained outside political control, and the Ṭayyiʾ's tribes and their alliances came to dominate tribal life in the Syrian desert for seven centuries to come. They advanced from their localities in Palestine and Trans-Jordan also to occupy the area stretching from Ḥawrān, east of Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamā and Aleppo, up to the banks of the Euphrates. This power reached its zenith when they even expanded their authority inside al-Ḥidjāz at the expense of other well-established tribes. Contemporary historians explain this on the basis of the competent leadership provided by a number of Ṭayyiʾ families, in particular the Banū Muhannā, while other tribes were feuding among themselves. Ṭayyiʾ tribes flourished in Syria when the region was exposed to threats by both the Franks and later the Mongols. Historians have observed that, whenever the administration in Bilād al-Shām was strong, the tribes, including the Banū Muhannā, gave their loyalty to the ruling dynasty. Occasionally, they and their cousins had contacts with the Franks or changed allegiances to the Il-Khānids in Baghdād.

Early references indicate that the Būrid governor of Damascus, the Atabeg Ṭughtigīn (497-522/1103-28) had the support of the leader of the Rabīʿa against the Franks. Similar support was lent to the Zangids, who in return awarded to a number of *amīrs* of Rabīʿa *iḳṭāʿ*s. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] attempted to organise the affairs of the Arab tribes in the region of Damascus through the office of the city governor. His brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (d. 615/1218) initiated the idea of a new institution: that of *amīr al-ʿArab*, in order to arrange comprehensively the relationship between the Arab tribes and the state, appointing Ḥāditha b. al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿa to that post. Several *amīrs* held this position during the Ayyūbid times, but due to the fragility of the Ayyūbid system, the *amīr* failed to prevail over all the Arab chiefs, for the *amīr* was no more than one among equals. Most of the chiefs were integrated into the *iḳṭāʿ* system and received customary payments from the Ayyūbid sultans.

The Mamlūk sultanate, contrary to the Ayyūbids, treated Syria as a frontier province facing the Franks, Mongols and later, the Ottomans. Arab tribes merited special attention from the Mamlūk sultans, who either needed their manpower as auxiliaries or feared their unstable loyalty.

In 663/1265, al-Ẓāhir Baybars dismissed ʿAlī b. Ḥāditha and appointed ʿĪsā b. Muhannā (d. 683/1284) to be *amīr* over all Arabs. ʿĪsā, who took part with other *amīrs* against the Mongols in 658/1260, at the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], was also addressed as the King of the Arabs. This regal title did not stop the Mamlūks from granting the title of *amīr* to other chieftains, specially to the heads of the Āl Murra [*q.v.*], a major Ṭayyiʾ clan dwelling in the region of Ḥawrān. ʿĪsā held the post for twenty years, only interrupted for a few months when he allied himself in 679/1280 with a rebellious Mamlūk *amīr*, Sunḳur al-Ashḳar. On his death, the position was assigned to his son Muhannā (d. 735/1334), who was given the title of Ḥusām al-Dīn and granted the village of Sarmīn in the region of Aleppo as an *iḳṭāʿ*. He was the head of a line of Rabīʿa after whom the Āl or Banū Muhannā came to be known. The relationship between Muhannā and sultan al-Ashraf Khālīl was characterised by enmity, to the extent that Muhannā and a number of his relatives in Radjab

692/June 1293 were jailed in the citadel of Cairo. On the sultan's death (693/1294), they were released and the *imāra* was given to Muhannā. During their detention, some members of the Āl Muhannā collaborated with the Il-Khānids in ʿIrāḳ against the Mamlūks. Cold relations prevailed between Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1340) and Muhannā; and when the Mongols invaded Syria in 702/1303, Muhannā was in a state of rebellion. However, due to the intervention of the famous theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327 [*q.v.*]) and other Damascus scholars, he joined the Mamlūks against the Mongols at the battle of Mardj al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*], where the Mamlūks emerged victorious. This step taken by Muhannā cemented temporarily his relation with the sultan, who in 711/1311 refused Muhannā's request to pardon three senior Mamlūk officers, Ḳara Sunḳur, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Afram and Zardkash, who feared the sultan's machinations against them. They then took refuge with Muhannā, who despatched them in the company of his son Sulaymān to Muḥammad Khudābanda Öldjeytü [*q.v.*] in Baghdād. They were well-received at the Il-Khānid court, and robes of honour were sent to Muhannā, who moved to Baghdād. His brother Faḍl was named as the *amīr* of the Arabs. The two brothers nevertheless secretly maintained relations with the Mamlūks. In ʿIrāḳ Muhannā was allegedly given Baṣra, Ḥilla, Kūfa and other towns in the Euphrates basin. This information, provided by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 742/1341), requires further investigation yet indicates the degree of prestige which he enjoyed in Baghdād. His son Sulaymān took an active part in the Mongol armies which in 712/1312 raided Raḥba and, in 715/1315, pillaged Tadmur. When Abū Saʿīd became Il-Khān in 717/1317, he exchanged letters with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. These resulted in 720/1320 in an agreement to stop the Āl Muhannā from attacking Mamlūk lands in Syria, and in return, the Mamlūks would stop Arab and Turkoman tribes from raiding ʿIrāḳ. Nevertheless, Muhannā and his followers who had left ʿIrāḳ mounted a series of raids against the pilgrims, and even the Mamlūks' emissaries were looted on their way back to Cairo. Muhannā's answer to his nephew Sayf b. Faḍl was that he was earning his livelihood by the sword since he was not dependent on the sultan of Egypt or on the sultan of ʿIrāḳ.

Muhannā remained in rebellion in the desert for 14 years. In 734/1333, he went in person to Cairo, where he was well received by the sultan, who reappointed him *amīr* of the Arabs. He returned to Syria, where he died in the following year near Salamiyya.

A number of his sons, Mūsā Fayyāḍ, Sulaymān, Aḥmad and Ḥiyār in addition to two nephews, ʿĪsā and Sayf b. Faḍl, subsequently held the position. The house of Muhannā suffered from continuous feuding and further fragmentation. In 738/1328, Ḥiyār b. Muhannā and his supporters fled to ʿIrāḳ, and in 752/1351 he took part with a certain Mamlūk *amīr* Bibgha Arūs and the Turkoman Ḳara Dhu 'l-Ḳadir against the sultan, causing his dismissal from the imāra. His brother Fayyāḍ contemplated establishing contacts with the Il-Khānids in ʿIrāḳ in order to invade Syria. Nuʿayr b. Ḥiyār b. Muhannā (730-808/1329-1400), who was given the name Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, represented the third generation of the Āl Muhannā, who held the position jointly with two other *amīrs* for a while till 781/1379, when he became sole *amīr*. He lost favour three times during the reign of sultan Barḳūḳ. He took a major role in supporting Tamir-Bugha al-Ashrafī, known as Mintāsh, in his rebellion which lasted from 791/1389 to 795/1393. He and his tribe shared in the battles waged against the Mamlūk armies sent from Egypt to quell the rebellion. Many defeats were inflicted on Mintāsh, to the extent that members of the Āl Muhannā prevailed on Nuʿayr to betray Mintāsh, and he agreed to hand him over to the governor of Aleppo in 795/1393. When Tīmūr [*q.v.*] was advancing on Syria, he sent a robe of honour to Nuʿayr, which he accepted with gratitude, but in 803/1400 he sided with the Mamlūks against Tīmūr. He remained influential till he was killed in a battle with the governor of Aleppo in 808/1406. It seems that the role of the Āl Muhannā in the 9th/15th century decreased. When the Ottomans advanced into Syria, *Amīr* Mudlidj clashed with the Ottoman armies. The Ottomans retained the office of *imāra* but restored the old title used by the Zangids of *amīr ʿArab al-Shām* rather than *amīr al-ʿArab*, in accordance with their administrative division of Syria into three provinces. This last was no longer a frontier province, but was within the Ottoman heartland. The 17th-century chroniclers refer to a certain *amīr* Nāṣir b. Muhannā as *amīr al-ʿArab* in ʿIrāḳ, and there are plenty of references to the Āl Ḥiyār as an offshoot of the Āl Muhannā in the region of Ḥamā.

Arab *amīrs* were treated by the Mamlūks as Arab people of the sword, *ʿArab al-Suyūf*. They formed part of the fourth grade in the Mamlūk military hierarchy. All *amīrs* were confirmed in their positions through a special diploma (*manshūr*) or order (*marsūm*) issued with a set of specific titles by the sultan himself. A special office was created in most of the Mamlūk provinces to deal with Arab affairs, headed by an expert referred to as a *Mihmindār* [*q.v.*]. The sources provide the names of many *amīrs* in Bilād al-Shām, most of them from Ṭayyiʾ tribes like the Banū Muhannā.

As cattle and camel-raisers, the Banū Muhannā were entrusted with a number of duties, such as guarding routes, bridges, and narrow passes, protecting pilgrims and merchants, and acting as guards for armies and official emissaries. In addition, they were expected to gather intelligence about the enemy, and participate in wars of the ruling power against its enemies or dissident Mamlūk *amīrs*. They were to help the state in collecting dues (*zakāt*) on cattle and sheep from the tribes. As a token of goodwill, they were expected to present the sultans' stables, whether in Cairo or Istanbul, with a number of noble horses and young camels annually. In return for these services, the *amīrs* were paid an annual customary payment, given honorific titles and had robes of honour bestowed upon them. Some Mamlūk sultans gave lavishly to Arab *amīrs*, to the extent that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was blamed for over-indulging Arab chiefs and their households.

The Arab *amīrs* were included as people of the sword in the *iḳṭāʿ* system in Syria under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*. Several towns were mentioned as *iḳṭāʿ*s for Arab *amīrs*, e.g., Salamiyya, Maʿarra, Tadmur, Sarmīn and Dūmat Dimashḳ. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 821/1418) states that ʿĪsā, the ancestor of the Āl Muhannā and his descendants, numbering 110, each had an *imra* and *iḳṭāʿ*, which exemplifies the special position that the family enjoyed within the *iḳṭāʿ* system; but in cases of rebellion, these grants, sometimes referred to as "bread" (*khubz*, pl. *akhbāz*), might be taken back by the state, a phenomenon occurring often enough for the Mamlūks to establish a new chancery under the name of *al-Murtadjaʿ min akhbāz al-ʿArab* to administer *iḳṭāʿ*s reclaimed by the state.

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MUḤĀRIB, the name of several Arab tribes (Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, 320, gives five of this name) of which the most important is that of the Muḥārib b. Khaḍafa b. Ḳays ʿAylān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, D, 8). They do not however seem to have been of very great importance either in the Djāhiliyya or in Islam; Ibn al-Kalbī only gives them two pages of his *Djamharat al-ansāb* (B.L. ms., Add. 23, 297, fols. 163b-165b; cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tabellen*, 92, *Register* 425) but these add considerably to the very meagre information in the *Tabellen* especially as regards the lines of ʿAlī b. Djasr b. Muḥārib and of Badhāwa (*sic*) b. Dhuhl b. Ṭarīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib. A typical Bedouin tribe, the Muḥārib lived in the mountainous region of southern Nadjd between Medina and al-Yamāma (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 320, following Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 41); several places in their territory are recorded in Yāḳūt's geographical dictionary (cf. the index of tribes, s.v.). We know very little about their history before Islam; they were closely connected with other tribes of the great group of the Ḳays ʿAylān, like the Hawāzin, with whom they are said to have shared the worship of the idol Djihār (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 167, ll. 2-3 = Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 65; cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 115, l.7 from below), and especially the Ghaṭafān (notably their clan Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān), alongside of whom the clan of the al-Khuḍr b. Ṭarīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib (the genealogy of the *Tabellen* is to be rectified inasmuch as al-Mālik is the name of al-Khuḍr and not that of his father) fought the war known as the *yawm al-ḥuraḳa* or *yawm Dārat Mawḍūʿ* alluded to by the poet of the Dhubyān Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥumām in some of his poems (cf. *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, nos. xii and xci, and the commentary of Ibn al-Anbarī, with the passages quoted in the notes).

The Muḥārib at the beginning of Islam were hostile to Muḥammad; this hostility was perhaps only the continuation of that which prevailed between the nomad tribes of the ʿĀliya of al-Nadjd and the citizens of Medina. Thus we find, in the early years of the Hidjra, that Muḥammad sent against them (and against the Ghaṭafān) a series of expeditions, of the nature of raids and counterraids rather than regular military enterprises (our sources give 30 or 40 men as the total of the Muslim forces); the details of their fighting are given in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, 537-8 (3 A.H., § 6), 596-7 (5 A.H., § 3), 689-90 (6 A.H., § 1), 694 (6 A.H., § 6) with reference to the sources utilised (we may add Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 23-4, 43-4, 61-2). One part at least of the tribute must, however, have been attracted within the growing sphere of Muslim influence, since we find Muḥāribīs in the cavalry led by al-Zubayr at the taking of Mecca (Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 8 A.H., § 390). But it was only in 10 A.H. that the Muḥārib sent their ambassadors to Muḥammad and gave their formal adhesion to Islam (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 43; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 344-5); even on this occasion they were conspicuous by their uncouthness, quite Bedouin, of which another example is given in the anecdote of the Muḥāribī (he is said to have been called Suwāʾ b. al-Ḥārith or b. Ḳays) who dared to doubt the Prophet's word in connection with the purchase of a horse (cf. Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 90-1, etc., and Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 627-8).

The Muḥārib abandoned Islam during the *Ridda* but were easily brought back to obedience (*Annali*, ii, 594, 596, 11 A.H., §§ 115, 118); they took part in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv, 20-1: biography of ʿĀʾidh b. Saʿīd, who fought at al-Ḳādisiyya and Djalūlā and again, in 36 and 37, at the Battle of the Camel and that of Ṣiffīn, where he was slain); they were encamped at Kūfa in the same quarter as the Usad and Ghaṭafān, not far from that allotted to the Tamīm (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2490, 2495). In the period after the conquests, many Muḥāribīs settled in Syria and thence went with the Syrian troops to Spain.

The contribution of the Muḥārib to the politics and literature of Arabia was practically nil; we need only mention the name of Laḳīṭ b. Bukayr b. al-Naḍr (d. 190/806), who belonged to a branch of the Banū ʿAlī b. Djasr b. Muḥārib, a poet (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 540), ascetic and historian (*Fihrist*, 94, and Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 218-20, give a list of his works, relating mainly to literary history).

Of the other tribes bearing the name of Muḥārib,

the best known is the Meccan tribe of the Muḥārib b. Fihr of the Ḳuraysh al-Ẓawāhir, to which al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays belonged [*q.v.*]; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tabellen*, 4, 34, *Register* 425. The Muḥārib lampooned by al-Farazdaḳ and celebrated by Djarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 817, l. 4, 1039 l. 2) are difficult to identify; it is not certain, although they are so identified in the index, that they were the Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-**MUḤARRAḲ**, a town on an island of the same name in the Baḥrayn archipelago. The low-lying, irregular, crescent-shaped island, which covers an area 5¼ sq. miles, lies 1½ miles to the north-east of the main island of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] and it is the second largest in the archipelago. The town, which is on the south-western side of the island, is located at lat. 26° 16′ N, long. 52° 37′ E. The only other settlement of any size on the island is that of al-Ḥadd, some three miles to the east. In the past, supplies of drinking water for the island came from a series of offshore, submarine, freshwater springs.

The early history of al-Muḥarraḳ is, like that of Baḥrayn, obscure. Some sources refer to the island under the name ʿArād. In the 19th century the ruling Āl Khalīfa dynasty [*q.v.*] usually resided at Muḥarraḳ for most of the year, moving to Manāma [*q.v.*] only in the hottest summer months. As well as being the administrative capital, al-Muḥarraḳ was then also the major centre of commerce and pearl fishing. According to Lorimer, the total population of the island in 1905 was approximately 38,500. The town contained 20,000 people and there were over 300 stalls in its bazaar. More than 700 local vessels used the harbour, of which nearly 300 were engaged in the pearl trade. The population of al-Ḥadd was then approximately 8,000 and it had 167 pearling vessels.

In the second decade of the 20th century, Manāma began to grow in importance and it became the capital of the amirate. It was linked by a causeway and a motor road to al-Muḥarraḳ in 1942. The fortunes of al-Muḥarraḳ had been damaged by the decline in pearl fishing in the 1930s, but the development of air routes between Europe, India and the Far East prompted the construction of landing facilities for both sea-planes and aircraft. In 1971, the runway near the town was lengthened, and the airport was modernised; it is currently one of the busiest in the region. According to the 1971 census, the population of the town was 38,000; ten years later it had risen to 62,000.

Bibliography: See the works listed in the articles BAḤRAYN, ĀL-KHALĪFA and MANĀMA.

(R.M. BURRELL)

AL-**MUḤARRAM** (A.), the first month of the Muslim year. The name is originally not a proper name but an adjective, as the article shows, qualifying Ṣafar. In the pre-Islamic period, the first two months of the old Meccan year were Ṣafar [*q.v.*] I and II, which is reflected in the dual *a potiori* of *al-Ṣafarān* for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar; in the old Arab year, the first half year consisted of "three months of two months each" (Wellhausen), as the two Ṣafars were followed by two Rabīʿs and two Djumādās. The first of the two Ṣafars, as the one that belonged to the sacred months, was given the adjectival epithet *al-muḥarram* which gradually became the name of the month itself. As Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja also belonged to the sacred months, three of the four sacred months came together except in leap year. The month intercalated to equate the year to the solar year was inserted after Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and was not sacred. It thus came about that learned Muslims described the intercalation as renaming the Muḥarram concerned as Ṣafar, i.e. as making Muḥarram not sacred; they meant that the month after the pilgrimage, which they consider as al-Muḥarram, following the custom, is not sacred, i.e. is *Ṣafar*, and the second month, i.e. in their view Ṣafar, is *al-Muḥarram*. In doing this they of course overlook the fact that Ṣafar proper now only comes third; but when the intercalary month was abolished in Islam, the proper conception of the state of affairs was lost [see NASĪʾ].

In the early period when an attempt was made to equate with the solar year by inserting intercalary months—which was not successful on account of the ignorance of the old Arabs in astronomical matters—al-Muḥarram introduced the winter half-year, as the names of the first six months show. The Arab year began, like the Jewish one, in autumn. After Muḥammad had forbidden the insertion of the intercalary months in sūra IX, 37, 1 Muḥarram, the beginning of the year, went through all the seasons as the year, which now consisted of 12 lunar months, had always only 354 or 355 days, as it still has. Whether the first month of the year was originally marked by a festival, we do not know. Wellhausen endeavoured to show that the *ḥadjdj* originally fell in the first month of the year, so that Muḥarram was *ḥarām* in its quality as *Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja*. This also suggests that there was originally only one sacred month, but it was observed at different times in different parts of Arabia. The Ḳurʾān always speaks of the sacred month (II, 194, 217; V, 2, 97); only in sūra IX, 36, in laying down the method of reckoning time, does it speak of four sacred months, in which it was sought to recognise a later declaration of the equal sanctity of four different sacred months of different districts, which was however illusory, as within Islam the peace of God reigns without this and, according to sūra II, 217, the defence of the faith takes preference over the sacred month. What the sacred month referred to in the Ḳurʾān is, we do not know; in sūra V, 2, at any rate, the month of the pilgrimage must be meant, which fits Wellhausen's theory excellently. The commentators think Radjab or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda is meant, at any rate not al-Muḥarram.

Al-Muḥarram has 30 days of which, in addition to the first as the beginning of the year, the following are specially noted: the ninth as the fast-day of the Shīʿī ascetics; the tenth as the anniversary of Karbalāʾ (60/680), on which al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] fell fighting against the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and therefore the great day of mourning for the Shīʿa (on the significance of 10 Muḥarram for the Sunnīs, see ʿĀSHŪRĀʾ), celebrated by pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Shīʿa, especially to Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], in which the passion play, representing the death of ʿAlī's sons [see TAʿZIYA], plays the most important part; also the sixteenth as the day of the selection of Jerusalem as the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] and the seventeenth as the day of the arrival of the "people of the elephant" (sūra CV [see AL-FĪL]).

Bibliography: J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*², Berlin 1897, 94-101; A. Moberg, *An-Nasīʾ (Koran IX, 37) in der islamischen Tradition*, in *Lunde Universitets Årsskrift.*, N.F., Avd. I, vol. xxvii, 1 (1931); F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 57 n., 129, 350-1 (p. 350, line 7 from below, read: intercalary month, for day); Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 60, 62, 196, 201, 328 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 66, 68 (where further events that happened on 10 Muḥarram are given).

(M. PLESSNER)

MUḤĀSABA (A.), literally, "accounting".

1. In mystical theology. Here the term is more precisely *muḥāsabat al-nafs*, "inward accounting, spiritual accounting".

The concept is connected both with the Ḳur'ānic symbolism of commerce and with that of the final end of man. It should be noted that, like all the verbal nouns of the *mufā'ala* type, linguistic creations in the fields of the Arab-Islamic sciences and of spirituality, the word *muḥāsaba* belongs neither to the lexicon of the Ḳur'ān nor to that of the Tradition. Ḳur'ānic vocabulary and the vocabulary of the Tradition only uses verbal nouns derived from form III (*fā'ala*) of the *fi'āl* type, and when a *mufā'ala* is a doublet of a *fi'āl*, the semantic difference is usually that of the abstract and the concrete, the moral and the physical. But, in both cases, it is a matter of a transitive action, a putting of something into effect, or sometimes an interaction (see the linguistic remarks of al-Ḳushayrī with regard to the word *mushāhada*, inward vision, in his *Risāla*, 43). *Muḥāsaba* is the learned doublet of *ḥisāb*, the "accounting" of God on the Day of Resurrection, to which allusion is made in the recommendation, generally attributed to 'Umar, "Take account of your souls yourselves (*ḥāsibu anfusakum*) before account is made of them, weigh them before they are weighed (sc. in the Divine Balance, *al-Mīzān*), and prepare yourselves for the supreme examination!" (cf. al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 38, Book of the Resurrection, ch. 25; the two first phrases are found, reversed, in a *khuṭba* of 'Alī, *Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. with Muḥammad 'Abduh's commentary, Beirut n.d., i, 159; the first phrase is attributed to the Prophet by Ibn 'Arabī, in ch. 32 of his *Futūḥāt*).

It is to al-Ghazālī that we owe the most detailed study of the concept and practice of *muḥāsaba*, in Book 38 of his *Iḥyā'* (iv, 336-61) entitled "On spiritual surveillance (*murāḳaba*) and inward accounting". He takes up and develops a certain number of formulations of al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, "the man of *muḥāsaba*" (in his *Ri'āya*, ch. 7, 36-43), and of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (in his *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, i, ch. 23, 114-22). It is the concept of *murābaṭa* (a learned doublet of *ribāṭ*, literally, "to mount guard") which is fundamental in al-Ghazālī's exposition, and Book 38 is divided into 6 chapters, corresponding to the six degrees of *murābaṭa* or "measures of vigilance": *mushāraṭa*, which is simply the anticipatory accounting of the soul (*al-muḥāsaba ḳabl al-'amal*) made in the morning every day, and which consists of instructing it in the engagements that it is to fulfill, like a trader who specifies to his associate what he is to do and the responsibilities that are incumbent upon him. The second measure of vigilance is *murāḳaba*, spiritual surveillance, intervening notably before action and submitting the soul to three questions, sc. why? how? for whom? (cf. al-Makkī, *Ḳūt*, i, 121, 155). It is an examination of the motives of the action and the soul's hidden intentions, in order to reject everything that would serve to satisfy egoism or any passion and that is not performed with a view to God alone. The question "how"? concerns the action's methods, which ought to conform with precise and detailed divine prescriptions, and not surrender to ignorance and individual opinions. The third measure of vigilance is *muḥāsabat al-nafs ba'd al-'amal*, inward accounting after the action. This examination of conscience, which should take place at the end of each day, is aimed at evaluating "gain" or "loss" realised on the spiritual level and which may lead in future life to bliss or misfortune. Spiritual "capital" is constituted by the ritual acts of canonical obligation (*al-farā'iḍ*), "gain" being supererogatory works (*al-nawāfil*) and virtues (*al-faḍā'il*), while "loss" is constituted by transgressions (*al-ma'āṣī*). This recapitulatory inventory should thwart the soul's tricks and sift the slightest deeds performed during the day, such as looks, and the smallest fleeting or considered thoughts and even silences. The fourth and fifth measures of vigilance are immediately connected with the accounting of actions and thoughts each day: they are intended to chastise the soul for its inadequacies, *mu'āḳabat al-nafs 'alā taḳṣīrihā*, so that it does not persevere in them. Practically, the penitence to be inflicted will correspond to the organ or member which has sinned or tried to sin. If the examination of conscience reveals a certain negligence in the pursuit of virtues or in the accomplishment of acts of devotion, one must conduct spiritual struggle, *al-mudjāhada*, in order to impose on oneself further efforts and to multiply pious works. The sixth measure will consist of reprimanding and admonishing the soul constantly, *tawbīkh al-nafs wa-mu'ātabatuhā*, for it was created as an "inciter to evil", *ammāratan bi 'l-sū'*. Thus it is proper not to leave it a single moment without reproaching it.

The practice of inward accounting is not the act only of beginners in the spiritual way. It is associated with the greatest saints throughout their life. Here we may cite the testimony of Ibn 'Arabī, who confides in ch. 32 of his *Futūḥāt* that his masters were accustomed, after the night prayer, to write down in a notebook all that they had said and all that they had done during the day, and that he himself used to do it for all the thoughts (*khawāṭir*) that had occurred to him. This testimony is taken up by al-Munāwī [*q.v.*] in his commentary *al-Fayḍ al-ḳadīr* on al-Suyūṭī's collection of traditions *al-Djāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, with reference to *ḥadīth* no. 6468 (v, 67) in which it is stated "The prudent man is he who submits his own soul to judgment and who acts with consideration for what will happen after death".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(R. Deladrière)

2. As a financial term in the Ottoman empire. In Ottoman official usage, this term referred to financial accounting. The Ottomans' chief financial officer was known as the *defterdār* [*q.v.*]. Eventually, more than one official bore this title, the highest being the "chief" or *bash defterdār*; under him developed a number of subordinate treasurers, starting with one for Anatolia (*Anadolu defterdārī*). In time, the treasurers' staff developed functionally specialised bureaux, most of which performed accounting functions; the term *muḥāsebe* appeared in the name of several of the bureaux. For example, a source of 976/1576 list the *Rūm-eli muḥāsebesi* among offices with ten clerks (*kātib*) each, the *Anadolu muḥāsebesi* among offices with six clerks each (Uzunçarşılı, 336).

The so-called *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror (1451-81)—actually a compilation including later material (Dilger, 14-36)—implies the existence of well-established accounting procedures by referring to the *defterdārs*' annual presentation of accounts of income and expenditure before the sultan (Meḥmed 'Ārif, ed., *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, in *TOEM*, *Suppl.*, 22: *yïlda bir kere rikāb-ï hümayūnuma defterdārlarïm īrād ve maṣrafïm okuyalar*). Distinctive traits of Ottoman accounting practice included records-keeping in a special script (*siyāḳat*) and Persianised language, a formalistic identification of the accounting function with maintenance of registers (*defter*) of stereotyped genres, and the assignment of specific revenues (*īrād*) to cover specific expenses (*maṣraf*), as opposed to the unification of receipts in a central fund against which

expenses in general could be drawn (Fekete, *Siyāqat*; Uzunçarşılı, 370-3; Aktaş and Binark, *al-Arshīf al-ʿUthmānī*, 99-106). This fiscal decentralisation reflects the realities of an incompletely monetised agrarian economy in which many revenues had to be collected in kind and land was the basic resource [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ].

An undated archival source of *ca.* 1777-97 (TPK, D3208; on dating, see Findley, *Bureaucratic reform*, 363 n. 41) indicates that the *Bāb-î defterī* then had some thirty bureaux. Except for two or three charged with correspondence and related functions, such as preparing warrants of appointment or decrees, all of these performed accounting functions. Some idea of the offices' functions, and of the scale of their responsibilities, emerges from the following examples.

The Great Daybook Office (*Rūznamče-i evvel ḳalemi, büyük rūznāme ḳalemi*) kept a daily record of treasury operations, in summary, as well as of the operations of the other financial bureaux. Annually or semi-annually, this office drew up a financial summary (*idjmāl*) bearing somewhat the character of a retrospective budget for the empire (TPK, D3208; Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 145-6; d'Ohsson, vii, 264).

The Chief Accountant's Office (*bash muḥāsebedji ḳalemi*) had responsibility for keeping records on all the state's income and expenditure (*djemiʿ-i īrādāt ve mukāṭaʿāt ve meṣārīfātîn ḳaydlarî*; TPK, D3208), preparing all contracts for government purchases, and authorising all demands for payment from public funds. Clerks selected from the staff of this office were also assigned to serve as accountants in a variety of agencies, including the mint, palace kitchen, naval arsenal, and government powder works (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 146-8; d'Ohsson, vii, 265).

Certain bureaux had responsibilities pertaining to military corps. The Office of the Comptroller for the Cavalry (*Süwārī muḳābelesi ḳalemi*) oversaw the pay of the six palace cavalry regiments and several other categories of palace servants. The Infantry Comptroller's Bureau (*Piyāde muḳābele ḳalemi*) kept the rolls and controlled payments for Janissaries, armourers, artillery-men, and cannon wagoneers (*piyāde odjaḳlarî olan yeničeri ve djebedji ve topdjî we ʿaraba neferātî*; TPK, D3208). Subordinate to these two offices were secretaries for each of the regiments or services, to perform the detail work of preparing muster rolls and salary vouchers. These secretaries headed offices of their own, most of them located outside the Bāb-î Defterī but all subject to one of the two comptrollers' offices. In 1815, the number of personnel served by the Cavalry and Infantry Comptrollers' Offices was reportedly 177,000. Of these, 80,000 were Janissaries; their secretary (*Yeni-čeri kātibi*)required a staff of over 100 to service their pay records (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 149, 155, 273).

The Accountancy for the two Holy Cities (*Ḥaremeyn muḥāsebesi*) kept the records for Mecca and Medina, producing yearly accounts for the *awḳāf* and revenue farms (*muḳāṭaʿāt*) attached to them (TPK, D3208). Its responsibilities more inclusive than its name implies, this office also kept the records on the supervisorships (*tawliya*) of the *awḳāf* supporting all imperial mosques; on the appointments and compensation of mosque functionaries in general (*imām, muʾadhdhin, wāʿiẓ, khaṭīb, ḳāʾim*); on pious foundations at Istanbul and throughout the empire; and on all the life-term tax farms (*mālikāne*) that were located in Rūm-eli and dedicated to the two Holy Cities (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 150; cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 267).

The *djizye muḥāsebesi* kept the records on the non-Muslim population subject to pay the *djizye* [*q.v.*], prepared the papers (*djizye ewrāḳlarî*) used to collect the tax, and turned them over at the appropriate time each year to the bonded agents (*küfelāʾ*) of the tax farmers responsible for collection (TPK, D3208; Uzunçarşılı, 348-51). In *ca.* 1815, some fifteen million *djizye* forms had to be prepared each year (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 151).

The functions of the *Anadolu muḥāsebesi*—no longer the accountancy for Anatolia alone—included keeping records on pensions (*waẓīfe*) assigned to worthy individuals out of customs receipts and certain other revenue farms; pensions from certain *awḳāf* were also recorded here (TPK, D3208; Uzunçarşılı, 347, 355-6). Hammer gives the number of pensioners as 60,000 throughout the empire, and says that paying them, by drafts on revenue farms or other means, overwhelmed the office with work (Hammer, *SSOR*, ii, 148-9).

By the time Maḥmūd II had organised the Ministry of Financial Affairs (*Umūr-î māliyye neẓāreti* [see MĀLIYYE]) in 1253/1838, financial practice was beginning to change (Cezar, 235 ff.). Archival documents show that by mid-century, accounting practices and concepts had begun to come under European influence. The growing organisational complexity of the financial agencies, coupled in time with the dispersion of authority among a growing number of agencies, including the Palace Treasury (*khazīne-i khaṣṣa*) and the Public Debt Administration, makes these developments difficult to follow. So does the progressive weakening of the Ottoman economy. Clearly, many of the reforms were unsuccessful or did not go far enough; the struggle to centralise receipts and disbursements in the Ministry of Finance was never decided before the 1908 revolution (Heidborn, ii, 42). *Muḥāsebe* and related terms retained their centrality, however, in the nomenclature of the evolving system, as witnessed, for example, in the European-inspired creation of a *dīwān-î muḥāsebāt* (*cour des comptes, Rechnungshof*), in 1275/1879 (Heidborn, ii, 108-12).

Bibliography: TPK [Topkapî Sarayî Archives], D3208, draft document of *ca.* 1777-97 on scribal bureaux; Necati Aktaş and İsmet Binark, *al-Arshīf al-ʿUthmānī*: *Fihris shāmil li-wathāʾiḳ al-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya al-maḥfūẓa bi-Dār al-Wathāʾiḳ al-tābiʿa li-Riʾāsat al-Wuzarāʾ bi-Istānbūl*, ʿAmmān 1406/ 1986; Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi*, n.p. 1986; K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1967; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire*: *the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; J. von Hammer (later Hammer-Purgstall), *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des osmanischen Reichs*, 2 vols., Vienna 1815 (repr. Hildesheim, 1967); A. Heidborn, *Manuel de droit public et administratif de l'Empire ottoman*, 2 vols., Vienna-Leipzig 1908-12; Ziya Karamursal, *Osmanlı malî tarihi hakkında tetkikler*, Ankara 1940, 1989; Meḥmed ʿĀrif, ed., *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, in *TOEM*, *Suppl.*, Istanbul 1330/1912; I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, vii, Paris 1824; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Maliye teşkilâtı tarihi*, 4 vols., Ankara 1977; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948.

(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤĀRITH (d. 243/857), Muslim mystic.

Amongst these, he is the one whose contemplation is the most psychological; it is marked by attachment to moral values, and not by a more or less extreme

theological system. In this sense, L. Massignon has legitimately described his mystical doctrine as "more circumspect" (*Passion*², i, 120). He proceeds from introspection and confines himself to analysing and developing it in its relations with the circumstances of life. It is no doubt this which explains his cognomen of *muḥāsibī*, signifying "he who calculates his actions", in other words, one who practises examination of conscience; many Ṣūfis considered this practice dangerous, in that it tends to make the man the judge of his actions, a role which belongs only to God. Al-Muḥāsibī was furthermore reproached for this practice by Ibn Ḥanbal [*q.v.*]. It will be observed below how he avoids this danger and this criticism. It should also be noted that he does not confine himself to subjective descriptions of states of conscience, but that he examines them with his reason and with a "concern for precise philosophical definitions", as noted by L. Massignon (*Essai*, revised ed., 242); furthermore, he always relies on intellectual meditation on texts of the Ḳurʾān and the prophetic tradition. Included among his works is an epistle concerning the quiddity and meaning of intelligence (*Risālat māhiyyat al-ʿaḳl wa-maʿnāh*). Thus his thought has evolved into a "science of hearts". It is in this sense that he is opposed to the excessively abstract rationalism of the Muʿtazilīs, affirming the uncreated simplicity of the divine Word while teaching that the letters of the Ḳurʾān are created.

Born in Baṣra, al-Muḥāsibī came at a very early stage to Baghdād, where he spent the greater part of his life and where he died. Nothing is known of his life other than that he devoted it to teaching. But from 232/846 onward, he was obliged to abandon his teaching, confronted by the blind reaction of the Sunnīs who did not understand his use of dialectic in opposing the Muʿtazila. It was at this point that Ibn Ḥanbal began to attack him.

Among his numerous works, listed by L. Massignon in his *Essai* (243-4), there are two which have been edited and which deserve particular attention.

"The book of observance of the rights of God" (*K. al-Riʿāya li-ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*) has been edited by Margaret Smith (London 1941) who writes in her introduction that this book "is his masterpiece, by far the greatest, as it is the longest and most comprehensive of his writings. It is written in the form of counsels, given to a disciple in reply to his questions, to enable believers to find the way of life in which they could render to God the service which is his due" (pp. xvi-xvii). Al-Muḥāsibī reveals what the soul of a believer should be, to conform with what God wills it to be. It will be noted in particular that he speaks of pious fear (*taḳwā*) and of repentance (*tawba*). He examines, for example, fear at the level of the members of the body, in order to avoid the offences which they are capable of committing, and fear at the level of the conscience (*fi 'l-ḍamīr*), and he shows that fear engenders *waraʿ*, which consists in avoiding all that is displeasing to God. The study of the "repentant ones" (*al-tawwābūn*) is very detailed. In this context, al-Muḥāsibī distinguishes three degrees in human conduct. First there is the young man who has been brought up well, who inevitably makes some mistakes, but who returns at once to the purity of his heart which God protects because He loves him, since the one who loves (*al-ḥabīb*) is unwilling to lose the one whom he loves (*al-maḥbūb*). Then there is the case of the man who, from his ignorance, returns to God. God gives him the resolution (*al-ʿazm*)to observe His Commandments in the future. But the soul which tends towards evil continues in its efforts. Then God helps the man who persists in his wrong-doing (*al-muṣirr fī dhanbih*); the awareness that he has of the promises of Paradise and the threat of Hell is insufficient to detach him from worldly pleasures. He is in need of something "which unties in his heart the knots of persistence in evil, in such a way that he may return to his Lord in repentance of his offence". This result is to be achieved by fear (*khawf*) and by hope (*radjā*), which are evidently to be understood here as gifts and blessings of God.

Al-Muḥāsibī wrote a particularly fine book, the *Kitāb al-Tawahhum*, which André Roman has translated and which he presents as a "vision of the last things". It could be said that it is a *Dies Irae* which ends up in an *In Paradisum*.

In his *Essai*, Massignon has translated or summarised several passages drawn from manuscripts of al-Muḥāsibī. In a kind of autobiography, al-Muḥāsibī shows himself troubled by the divisions which rend the Muslim community. He insists that salvation can only be attained through pious fear, the observation of canonical obligations and *waraʿ*: abstaining from that which God forbids, acting in all things only for God and taking the Prophet as a model. L. Massignon also quotes the opening passage of *al-Faṣl fi 'l-maḥabba*, on Love, where al-Muḥāsibī shows that all initiative comes from God through a kind of anticipatory grace, and this constitutes a response to the criticisms applied to examination of conscience. It is not a man who judges himself but it is God who, in His love, enlightens the hearts of those who love Him and enables them to see their faults and their omissions.

Comprehension of the thought of al-Muḥāsibī is difficult if taken as a whole. J. van Ess has studied the intellectual climate in which al-Muḥāsibī lived, revealing in particular his relations with *kalām*. Here there is an important point of view which should serve as a starting-point in any effort to evaluate what is represented by the mystical doctrine of al-Muḥāsibī.

He wielded an immense influence, which Massignon has analysed in detail in his *Essai* (254). Despite persistent attacks, his "powerful personality" ensured the survival of his prestige. Al-Sarī al-Saḳatī, the maternal uncle of Djunayd, was his pupil, and, through him, his teaching affected the nephew. The great mystic al-Ghazālī willingly acknowledged the authority of al-Muḥāsibī.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929; Margaret Smith, *An early mystic of Baghdad, a study of the life and teaching of Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī*, London 1935; Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, new revised and augmented ed., Paris 1954; J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṯ al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961; Massignon, *La Passion de Hallāj*², Paris 1975, index of names, iv, 229; A. Roman, *Une vision humaine des fins dernières*: *le* Kitāb al-Tawahhum *d'al-Muḥāsibī*, Paris 1978; R. Arnaldez, *Les grands siècles de Bagdad*, i, Algiers 1985, 244-9.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

MUḤAṢṢIL (A.), a term used under the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and Ottomans for various types of revenue collectors (Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 569; Uzunçarşılı, *passim*). It acquired special significance amid extensive Ottoman financial reforms of 1838-9. Bidding for European support against Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt, the Ottomans began adopting classical liberal doctrine, starting with free trade in the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty of Balta Liman (1838; Hurewitz, i, 265-7), and then egalitarianism

with the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gül-khāne (Ramaḍān 1255/November 1839; *Düstūr*, i, 4-7; Hurewitz, i, 269-71). In didactic terms reflecting the unfamiliarity of the ideas articulated, the *khaṭṭ* proclaimed security of life, honour and property for all Ottoman subjects, as well as regular systems for military conscription and tax assessment. The text further denounced tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) as a "harmful practice ... which never yielded any fruitful results" (*ālāt-i taḥrībiyyeden olub hič bir vakitde themere-i nāfiʿasī görülmeyen iltizāmāt uṣūl-i muḍirrasī*; Cezar, 282 n. 1; *Düstūr*, i, 5).

Regularising taxation and eliminating tax-farming implied an opportunity to centralise receipts and disbursements in the treasury and to minimise the loss—inevitable under tax-farming—between tax-payer payments and actual government receipts. Realising this benefit required appointing officials as tax collectors (*muḥaṣṣil-i emwāl, muḥaṣṣil*). The collectors would have to be paid salaries, unlike the tax-farmers. Indeed, to carry through fiscal centralisation, the salaries would have to be assigned to government employees in general (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, v, 121, 132-3, 180-1), to replace the hodgepodge of revenue collection rights that had provided many of them with compensation under the previous system of fiscal decentralisation (Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom*, 80-5). The *muḥaṣṣils*' role in tax reform was pivotal, in that the salary system could not be financed without increasing the central government's revenue receipts. Centralisation would prove impossible, however, if the salary system did not function properly to project officials who were now to lose their rights to the various exactions off which they had historically lived. A key problem of the fiscal reform was, then, that each of these two essential components—salaries and centralisation—was a prerequisite for the success of the other.

The reforms proclaimed in the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gül-khāne were to be introduced on a pilot basis in specific provinces and later extended to others. Appointed basically to the various *kaḍās* in those provinces, the *muḥaṣṣils* were responsible, not only for tax collection, but for introducing the *Tanẓīmāt* in all aspects of financial administration. They were to evaluate the existing tax-burden of their districts, assess the cash value of revenues previously collected in kind, and take charge of the exploitation of all types of revenue sources, replacing historical anomalies and exemptions with a consolidated tax (*virgü/vergi*) assessed on real estate and "profits" (*emlāk ve temettüʿ*; Cezar, 283-4). Each *muḥaṣṣil* was to have a small clerical staff selected from the bureaux of the Finance Ministry and was to work together with local administrative and police officials. In addition, a local assembly (*muḥaṣṣillik medjlisi*) was to bring together certain other local officials, local notables, and the religious and communal leaders of the non-Muslim communities with the *muḥaṣṣil* and his clerks to decide on the apportionment and collection of taxes and other matters. These assemblies mark the first step toward the local councils (*memleket medjlisi*) which later became characteristic adjuncts of Ottoman administration (Ortaylı, 13-29; Kaynar, 224-83).

Evaluated at just under 130 million *kurush* for the financial year 1256/1840-1, the revenues which the *muḥaṣṣils* were supposed to collect became—at least nominally—the state's largest single revenue item (Cezar, 292-301). However, the new system proved a failure. Collection rates in different districts proved inconsistent. The local councils became hotbeds of contention and abused their authority. Local opposition led to at least one *muḥaṣṣil*'s death. As a result, an important part of the revenues for 1839-40 could not be collected. The leading proponent of the reforms, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*] fell from the grand vizierate in Ṣafer 1257/March 1841; conservative interests assumed power; the *muḥaṣṣils* were abolished; and tax-farming was restored (Luṭfī, vii, 35-36; Ortaylı, 29). While the salary system survived to lead a troubled existence, the failure of fiscal centralisation proved quick and final, helping—together with free trade—to set off the financial decline that led to bankruptcy and foreign financial control [see MĀLIYYE].

Bibliography: Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Tarīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., the 8th ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, Istanbul 1290-1328/1873-1910; Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Kâmil Kepeci coll., *defter* 60/7, instructions to and correspondence with *muḥaṣṣils*, 1255-8/1839-42; Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı maliyesinde bunalım ve değişim dönemi (XVIII. yy'dan Tanzimat'a mali tarih)*, Istanbul (?) 1986; *Düstür*, i, Istanbul 1289/1872-3; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; idem, *Ottoman civil officialdom: a social history*, Princeton 1989; J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in world politics: a documentary record*, i, 2nd ed., New Haven 1975; Halil İnalcık, *Application of the Tanzimat and its social effects*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, v (1973), 97-127; idem, *Tanzimatın uygulanması ve sosyal tepkileri*, in *Belleten*, xxviii (1964), 623-49; Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Paşa ve Tanzimat*, Ankara 1954; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan sonra mahalli idareler (1840-1878)*, Ankara 1974; Mehmet Zeki Pekalın, *Maliye teşkilâtı tarihi (1442-1930)*, 4 vols., Ankara 1977; idem, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlügü*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1971-2; Süleymān Sūdī, *Defter-i mukteṣid*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1306-7/1888-90; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1328-1330/1910-12.

(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-MUḤASSIN B. **ʿALĪ** (now pronounced MUḤSIN), according to Shīʿī tradition, the truth of which is challenged by the Sunnīs, the third son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, a still-born child whose mother gave birth to him prematurely during the search of the house ordered by the new caliph Abū Bakr, and carried out by ʿUmar and Ḳunfudh b. ʿUmayr, who ill-treated her.

In the 4th/10th century a *maḳām* was built in his honour at Aleppo. The Mukhammisa [*q.v.*] Shīʿīs (who include the Nuṣayrīs) have a particular devotion to al-Muḥassin. Under their influence the Persian *taʿziyas* representing the Last Judgment and the resurrection of the ʿAlid martyrs end with the appearance of al-Muḥassin covered with blood in the arms of the Prophet; his grandfather raises him towards the heavens to call down divine justice.

Among the extremist Shīʿīs, the triad al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and al-Muḥassin in the final cycle, are said to have appeared before in the Mosaic cycle as the three sons of Hārūn, sc. Shabbar, Shubbayr and Mushabbir.

This praenomen, now without *tashdīd*, is particularly common in the feminine form Muḥsina and in the theophoric form ʿAbd al-Muḥsin (e.g. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Saʿdūn, ʿIrāḳī politician and Prime Minister in the later 1920s).

Bibliography: M. Sobernheim, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, 1909, 379-90; J. Sauvaget, *Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep*, in *REI*, v (1931), 74-6; L. Massignon, *Les origines shīʿites ... des Banû 'l-Furât*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935, 38, nos. 2 and 3. (L. MASSIGNON)

MUḤDATHŪN [see Suppl.].

MUḤIBB AḤMED "DIRANAS", Turkish poet and dramatist, born in Sinope in 1909 and died in Ankara in 1980. He worked for a number of newspapers and state institutions. His first poem was published in a magazine in 1926, and several magazines published his poems throughout the years. He wrote three plays, *Gölgeler, O böyle istemezdi* and *Çıkmaz*, in which he deals with the conflict between reality and fantasy, past and present, fate and willpower, life and death.

He is one of the important poets of modern Turkish poetry, using *hece* metre and daily language and attempting to create a new language and structure for Turkish poetry; for him, sound, harmony and form are important. But also he talks about what he observes and then probes beyond the obvious; and influenced by Baudelaireian symbolism, he portrays the condition of the individual in relation to nature and the universe, showing the infinity of human emotions.

Most of his poems are romantic, but he has written many that are realistic and national and local in treatment. Yet the national and local characteristics in his poems are not there for ideological reasons, since he uses them in a highly personal and aesthetic manner with the aim of creating something beautiful. His collected poems appeared as *Şiirler* (1974), and his translation of some of Tewfīḳ Fikret's [*q.v.*] poems into contemporary Turkish as *Kırıksaz* (1975).

Bibliography: Mehmet Kaplan, *Şiir tahlilleri*, 2. Istanbul 1984; Şükran Kurdakul, *Çağdaş Türk edebiyatı-cumhuriyet dönemi*, Istanbul 1987.

(NÜKET ESEN)

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN [see AL-ṬABARĪ].

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN AL-KHAṬĪB [see Suppl.].

MUḤIBBĪ [see SÜLEYMĀN I].

AL-**MUḤIBBĪ**, a family of scholars and jurists in Damascus of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, of which three members distinguished themselves in literature:

1. MUḤIBB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ b. Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Taḳī al-Dīn al-ʿUlwānī al-Ḥamawī al-Dimashḳī al-Ḥanafī, born in the middle of Ramaḍān 949/Dec. 23, 1542 in Ḥamāt, studied there, in Ḥalab and Ḥims, and after a journey to Istanbul obtained a post as teacher in the Madrasa al-Ḳuḍāʿiyya in Damascus. In 978/1571 he accompanied the *shaykh al-islām* and chief *ḳāḍī* Čiwī-zāde [*q.v.*] to Cairo, was for a period a *ḳāḍī* there and after a second journey to Istanbul was appointed *ḳāḍī* in Ḥimṣ, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and several other towns of northern Syria. In 993/1585 the post of a chief *nāʾib* (*al-niyāba al-kubrā*) was given to him; at the same time he was military judge, judge of the Syrian caravan, taught in several *madrasas* and gave *fatwās* at the Sultan's request. He died on 23 Shawwāl 1016/18 February 1608. Of his numerous writings only three have survived: (1) his commentary written in 969/1561 (according to al-Muḥibbī, iii, 322, on the other hand, prepared at the age of 16) on Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna's (d. 815/1412) *Urdjūza al-bayāniyya (Manẓūma fi 'l-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān)* in the Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, nos. 7256-7 and Gotha, Pertsch, no. 2789 mss.; (2) his *Travels, al-Riḥla* or *Hādī 'l-aẓʿān al-Nadjiyya ilā 'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya*, in the Paris cat., de Slane, no. 2293; Cairo, *Fihrist*, vii, 646; Istanbul, ʿĀṭif Efendi, no. 2030 (see Rescher, in *MFOB*, v, 496) mss., which he wrote when *ḳāḍī* in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān; and (3) his commentary written in 1011/1602 on the authoritative verses in al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* entitled *Tanzīl al-āyāt*, printed Būlāḳ 1281, Cairo 1307-8, and on the margin of the *Kashshāf*, Cairo 1318.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 322-31; Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī in Damaskus*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Hist.-Phil. Cl., xxx/3 (1884), 5-9.

2. His grandson FAḌL ALLĀH b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥibb al-Dīn was born on 17 Muḥarram 1031/2 December 1621 in Damascus, at an early age showed great linguistic ability, received in 1048/1638 from Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) (see Brockelmann, II², 376, S II, 402) the *idjāza* for *ḥadīth*, and, after failing to secure something in Ḥalab through the *shaykh al-islām* Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, was given by his father the latter's post at the Darwīshiyya. In 1051/1641 he accompanied Muḥammad ʿIṣmatī to Istanbul, was appointed to the Madrasa Arbaʿīn there, but dismissed a year later, when he returned home. In 1059/1649 he accompanied the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Bursawī to Egypt and became his deputy. After a quarrel with him, he resumed his studies in al-Azhar and came home the next year. In 1073/1662 he again went to Istanbul, and four years later was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Beirut but returned to Damascus in 1079, where he died on 23 Djumādā II 1082/27 October 1671. While his own *Dīwān* and his description of his journeys to Istanbul have not been preserved, his editions of the poems of his friend Mandjaḳ Pasha (d. 1080/1669 in Damascus) are still in existence. He first of all arranged them chronologically, beginning with a poem on Sultan Ibrāhīm I of the year 1055/1645 (see Brockelmann, II², 356-7, S II, 386), then alphabetically, including poems of a later period down to 1071/1660; this edition was printed at Damascus in 1301. In 1078/1667 he edited the biographical work of al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), *Tarādjim al-aʿyān min abnāʾ al-zamān*, and published it with a supplement (see Brockelmann, II², 374-5, S II, 401).

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *op. cit.*, iii, 277-86; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 15-19.

3. His son MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī, born in 1061/1651 in Damascus, went with his father in 1077/1666 to Beirut but returned home several times from there. A friend of his father's, Muḥammad b. Luṭf Allāh b. Bayrām al-ʿIzzatī, who had been *ḳāḍī* in Damascus in 1065/1655 and was military judge in Anatolia in 1078/1668, provided him with funds to study in Bursa. He returned home after a brief stay there on 8 Ṣafar 1086/4 May 1675, in company with the *muftī* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm. Al-ʿIzzatī had in the meanwhile been appointed military judge in Edirne and was able to procure him a post there. But his patron fell ill soon afterwards and had to resign. Muḥammad accompanied him to Istanbul and looked after him till his death on 10 Shawwāl 1092/24 October 1681. He then returned to Damascus and began to write. When in 1101/1690 he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was appointed deputy *ḳāḍī* and then a teacher in the Amīniyya in Damascus. He died there on 18 Djumādā I 1111/11 November 1699.

His principal work is a collection of 1,289 biographies of scholars, poets, etc. of his time and the period immediately preceding it, arranged in alphabetical order and entitled *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, the first fair copy of which he finished in 1096/1685 (printed Cairo 1284, 4 vols., repr. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir). The draft of a number of biographies from the Ḥidjāz and Yemen, which is

preserved in the Brill-Houtsma ms., no. 112, appears to be part of the preliminary work on this collection; the draft of a synopsis is in Berlin (Ahlwardt, no. 9895). A synopsis was prepared by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥadjdj al-Ghazzī al-ʿĀmirī (d. 1191/1777; Murādī, iii, 215); ms. in Tübingen (Seybold, no. 9). A second great biographical work on celebrities of all ages entitled *al-Iʿlām* was to give under each letter *al-aʿlām wa 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-abnāʾ wa 'l-nisāʾ wa 'l-ummahāt* separately. In the draft in Leipzig (Vollers, no. 683) giving the letter *mīm*, the sources, which from the articles are taken usually word-for-word, are generally quoted. He also wrote a continuation of al-Khafādjī's *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ* entitled *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-rashḥat ṭilāʾ al-ḥāna*, which survives; see Brockelmann, II², 377-9, S II, 403-4; an anonymous selection from it called *Mukhtārāt* is in Cairo, *Fihrist²*, iii, 342. A supplement (*dhayl*) to it was written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Suʾālātī in 1111/1699; mss. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, no. 7422; Copenhagen, Mehren, no. 170; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., no. 251; B.L., Or. 6516 (*Descript. list*, no. 57); Yale-Landberg, no. 179; Damascus, Zayyāt, no. 78, 64. A companion work of the middle of the 11th/17th century is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shāshū's *Tarādjim baʿḍ al-aʿyān min ahl Dimashk min ʿulamāʾihā wa-udabāʾihā*, printed Beirut 1886. His *Dīwān*, mainly *kaṣīdas* on friends and patrons which are as a rule also included in his *Khulāṣa*, is preserved in the autograph copy in the library of Aḥmad Taymūr in Cairo; see *MMIA*, iii, 342, and the Berlin ms., Ahlwardt, no. 8007; cf. no. 8008; Flügel, *ZDMG*, ix, 224. In the *Urdjūza* entitled *Barāḥat al-arwāḥ djālibat al-surūr wa 'l-afrāḥ*, Berlin, no. 8162, he collected sayings and proverbs. Al-Thaʿālibī's *Kitāb Thimār al-kulūb fi 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb* was arranged alphabetically by him as *Mā yuʿawwalu ʿalayhi fi 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-muḍāf ilayhi*, Istanbul mss., Ṭop Kapi, 2455; ʿĀṭif Efendi, no. 2247 (see *RSO*, iv, 727); Aya Sofya, no. 4136 (*MS*, vii, 132); Cairo, *Fihrist²*, iii, 285. The monograph on grammar *Djany al-djannatayn fī nawʿay 'l-muthannayayn* is preserved in a ms. belonging to A. Taymūr Pasha (*MMIA*, iii, 340, iv, 147) and printed Damascus 1348. The lexicological work *Sawāʾ al-sabīl fī-mā fi 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya min al-dakhīl* is preserved in a Damascus ms.; see *MMIA*, iii, 340.

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, iv, 86-91; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 590; idem, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī*, 19-28.

(C. Brockelmann)

AL-**MUḤILLŪN** (A., from the form IV verb *aḥalla*), literally, "those who make lawful [what is unlawful]", an expression used in early Islamic historical texts to denote those who had shed the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]; it was accordingly especially used by those seeking vengeance against the Umayyads for the clash at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] and by the partisans of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the proto-Shīʿa. Above all, it was used by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] at the time of his revolt in Kūfa (66-7/685-7), including by al-Mukhtār himself when he extracted allegiance (*bayʿa*) from his supporters on the basis of "the book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, exacting vengeance for the blood of the members of the House [of the Prophet], combatting the *muḥillīn* ..." (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 633; cf. also ii, 598-9, 691).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

MÜHIMME DEFTERLERI (T.), a term of Ottoman Turkish administration. This series of "Registers of Important Affairs" is for the most part kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul. Two hundred and sixty-three registers are catalogued as Mühimme Defterleri (MD), but in addition, we find registers and fragments of registers in other series which help fill some of the gaps in the MD series. On the other hand, thirteen registers catalogued as MDs are really appointment registers (*ruûs defterleri*). Two registers in the Kâmil Kepeci section are also MDs, and two others have been located in the Topkapı Sarayı, one in the archives (E 12321) and one in the library (Koğuşlar, 888). The two Topkapı registers constitute the oldest in the series, pertaining to 1544/45 and 1552 respectively. The series was continued until 1905, but the 18th- and 19th-century volumes are reputed to be of limited interest and have rarely been used. Certain registers survive only as fragments; these have been catalogued under the heading Mühimme Zeyli.

From 1059/1649 onward a special series, known as the Şikâyet Defteri was instituted, which in 1155/1742 was split up into a number of different series, each bearing the name of the province with which it was concerned. It is often difficult to separate MDs from Şikâyet Defterleri, since only a few items are unambiguously characterised as one or the other. However, Şikâyet Defterleri rarely if ever contain entries concerning warfare or the pilgrimage to Mecca, while commands relating to penalties and amnesties were also recorded almost exclusively in the MDs. Even though both MDs and Şikâyet Defterleri were prepared in the chancery known as the Beylikçi Kalemi, affairs recorded in the MDs are of a kind demanding decisions on a fairly high level, while Şikâyet Defterleri are concerned with matters of less far-reaching significance. But since the relevant criteria are quite vague, registers are easily misclassified. Thus the register catalogued as MD 92 is in reality a Şikâyet Defteri.

MDs contain copies of sultans' rescripts, for the most part addressed to governors and *kāḍīs*, but also to foreign rulers. However, not all *fermāns* found in the foreign archives have been located in the MDs. This may be due to the fact that, because of physical loss and mistaken classification, there are significant lacunae in the MDs. *Fermāns* addressed to foreign ambassadors, consuls and individual merchants are recorded in a separate series (Ecnebi Defterleri), which also has been but partially preserved. From 1111/1699 letters to foreign rulers were kept together as a special series: "*Nāme-i Humāyūn ile ṣūret-i ʿahd ve rikāb defteri*". Losses seem to have occurred early, since Grand Viziers on campaign carried a number of registers with them. An entry dated 1151/1738-9 specifies that registers from the last thirty years were to be taken along on a Rumelian campaign. The oldest were to be left in Edirne, while the registers dating from the "middle" decade were to be kept in Nish. Probably in earlier campaigns, registers had been carried all the way to the front, since the Grand Vizier on campaign (and his representative the *Kāʾimmaḳām* who remained in the capital) could issue commands in the sultan's name, and his chancery probably needed the older registers for purposes of reference; see G. Majer (ed.), "*Das osmanische Registerbuch der Beschwerden*" (*Şikâyet Defteri*) *vom Jahre 1675*, i, Vienna 1984, 15-21.

It is not clear at which stage the *fermāns* were entered into the MDs, whether the entries constitute drafts which had not yet reached their final stage of elaboration or whether they are abridged copies of texts which already had been expedited. Practice differed from one instance to the next: some entries are clearly drafts, and show traces of reworking and editing. Moreover, MD 14 and MD 70-5 probably

consist of loose papers on which drafts had been written, and which were later bound together, an assumption confirmed by the often very careless handwriting. Corrections were later added by the *re'īs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*] and in exceptional cases by the *nishāndji* [*q.v.*]. Drafts were sometimes reused, particularly in routine affairs (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Mühimme defterlerindeki muâmele kayıdları üzerinde*, in *Tarih Boyunca Paleografya ve Diplomatik Semineri*, Istanbul 1988, 104-6).

In MD entries, the addressee's honorific titles were usually left out or much abridged. Following the addressee's name or function, we find the formulas *nāme yazīla ki* or *ḥüküm ki*. The text then gives an account of the events which led to the promulgation of the *fermān*, including, where applicable, queries and complaints from people who had been involved in the events, often but not necessarily officials. This section, which contains most of the evidence of interest to the historian, ends with the formula *buyurdum ki*, which introduces the measures to be taken. The latter are often comparatively routine; thus a *ḳāḍī* may be instructed to deal with a given case, if the latter is not covered by the statute of limitations. We also find the admonition to proceed with fairness and moderation and avoid molestation of the innocent. Two stages can sometimes be discerned in the decision-making process; after instructions had been given by the sultan or Grand Vizier, discussion in the *Dīwān* determined the exact words to be used in the *fermān*, which were then copied out by the scribes. *Fermāns* frequently end with a formula of corroboration and promulgation, which the MDs often record in abridged form.

The dating of *fermāns* recorded in the MDs poses serious problems, since the texts do not indicate at which stage in the often lengthy process of drafting a date was affixed. Not all *fermāns* are dated, and while most registers follow a more or less chronological sequence, this is not always true because many fragments have been badly misbound. Dates may occur as the heading of an entry and (rarely the 10th/16th century is concerned) as the final section of the text itself. It has been suggested that dates used as headings refer to the times at which the *fermāns* were entered into the MD, shortly after they had been drafted in the *Dīwān*. But in many cases there are inconsistencies within the dates difficult to explain if the *fermān* was entered into the register shortly after its composition. Certain notes indicate that *fermāns* were sometimes entered into the registers a long time after they had been completed (Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.*, 101-2). In certain instances, there is a record of the time at which a *fermān* was dispatched. Where the 10th/16th century is concerned, the latter can often be verified by checking the *ulaḳ ḥüküms*. Listed separately at the end of the register, the latter record the messengers sent to different localities within the Empire. (As a result of these problems, catalogues sometimes give misleading dates; cf. Geza David, *The Mühimme Defteri as a source for Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry in the 16th century* (unpubl. paper) for a new chronology of the 10th/16th century registers.)

Scribes employed in the writing of MDs were known as *mühimme-nüwīs* and subject to special rules so as to ensure that the *fermāns* they wrote out remained secret. Top secret matters were written by the head of the *beylikči ḳalemi* in person, or under his immediate supervision. Less important matters were dealt with under the supervision of the *kīsedār*. When multiple copies were needed for despatching to a large number of governors or *ḳāḍīs*, the text was dictated to a group of scribes. Until 1776 the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* chancery was located in a single chamber. But in 1776, in order to ensure secrecy, the different subsections were housed in separate rooms; the *mühimme-nüwīs* were also assigned a chamber of their own.

Due to the wide range of their contents, the MDs have been used for studies of political and diplomatic history, social and economic life, as well as provincial administration. Ottoman policies in the Habsburg, Polish and Persian border areas can be reconstructed on the basis of this evidence. The same thing applies to the relations of the Ottoman central administration with the states bordering the Red Sea. There has been some disagreement among specialists whether we can assume the existence of a coherent Ottoman policy toward the states of the northern steppes; this discussion is based largely upon an interpretation of *fermāns* recorded in the MDs. Work on the Ottoman Empire's "Northern" and "Southern" policies has been hampered by the fact that minor Indian principalities, local Yemeni rulers, Ethiopians, and Crimean or Nogay Tatars have not left extensive archives, so that scholars have had to depend almost exclusively on Ottoman records (and in the case of the Indian Ocean region, on Portuguese materials). When dealing with political relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs, Iran, Poland and Venice, chronicles and archival documents from the relevant countries are available to supplement information contained in the MDs. In the realm of social and economic history, *fermāns* contained in the MDs provide information on the history of the pilgrimage to Mecca (although documents of this kind are more abundant in the 10th/16th century than in later periods). There is also a large body of information available on the Djelālī rebellions [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, and on the revolts of impoverished and frustrated *medrese* students which accompanied them. Repression against the Anatolian Ḳīzīlbash as potential allies of the Shāh of Persia is also amply documented. On internal trade and craft production, evidence is less systematic, since disputes concerning such matters were generally resolved in the local *ḳāḍīs*' courts. But then those disputes important enough to be submitted to the sultan's *Dīwān* are often most instructive, even though their context is difficult to reconstruct. With respect to foreign trade, evidence in the MDs is particularly concerned with the enforcement of export prohibitions; these encompassed grain, cotton, certain types of leather and a multitude of other goods. The relevant *fermāns* can serve as economic indicators, but also reflect the twists and turns of official policy.

Relations between the Ottoman central administration and the provinces are extensively documented in the MDs. Conflicts over taxation, recruitment of auxiliaries for campaigns, repression of robbers, negotiation strategies on the part of provincial notables and official attempts to legitimise the Sultan's rule have been studied, both by historians whose aim it is to show the integrative policies pursued by the centre and by those whose interest is focussed upon autonomous provincial life. Special MDs dealing with preparation for war have been used for the study of logistics. Thus the MDs with some justification are regarded as one of the most important series in the Ottoman archives.

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al-MUḤĪṬ [see al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ].

MUHR (p., Sanskrit *mudrā*) seal, signet or signet-ring, the equivalent of Arabic *k̲h̲ātam* [*q.v.* for the use of seals in the Arab and Iranian worlds]. *Muhr* (Turkish *mühür*, popularly *möhür*, also Arabicised to give barbarous derivatives like *tamhīr* "act of sealing" and *mamhūr* (synonym of *mühürlü*) "sealed, hidden") was used by the Persians and Turks alongside or instead of *k̲h̲ātam* to express ideas also taken directly from the Arabs, as in the phrase *muhr-i Sulaymān* or *muhr-i D̲j̲am* "Solomon's seal" (also for the name of the plant) or *muhr-i nubuwwat* "seal of prophecy", the mark on Muḥammad's back.

In Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, the seal (*muhr*, with its synonym of *nigīn* or ring, sometimes with the two together, *muhr-i nigīn*, ed. J. Mohl, vi, 51, v. 557) is an attribute of sovereignty, like the crown and throne, and thus may be delegated to governors. There is also a reference there to seals of amber (i, 545, v. 692), which actually existed (cf. J.T. Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris 1828, i, 129), and which were sometimes steeped in Chinese musk (vi, 351, v. 2288).

1. In Ottoman Turkey.

In Turkey the seal was again the emblem of power. The imperial seal (*mühr-i hümayūn*) was handed to the grand vizier, hence also called *ṣāḥib-i mühr* [cf. ṣadr aʿẓam], with great solemnity (cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 120), and Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, iv, 430) in speaking of ambition to become grand vizier uses the phrase *mühür arzūsu* ("desire for the seal").

We may mention here that according to d'Ohsson (*ibid.*), the sultan had four seals with a *tug̲h̲ra*, set in rings; one was square and remained in his possession; he entrusted the others, which were round, to the Grand Mistress or Lady Treasurer of the Harem (*k̲h̲azna-dār*) and to the *k̲h̲āṣṣ oda bas̲h̲ī*, a white eunuch who at one time held the office of first chamberlain.

The seal was changed at each accession of a new monarch (cf. Naʿīmā, i, 117) as was the *tug̲h̲ra* itself. Ewliyā Čelebi's statement, which implies the contrary, is therefore rather strange (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii, 300, l. 4 from below). In Persia, the seal was retained but the name was changed [see k̲h̲ātam].

The grand vizier produced the imperial seal on the *dīwān* days for the *čawus̲h̲ bas̲h̲ī* to seal the bag (*kise*) for the registers of the *rūznāma* and the archives of the Finance Department or *māliyye defterk̲h̲ānesi*, the Treasury (*k̲h̲azīne*) and the general Archives (*defterk̲h̲āne*) (*MTM*, i, 499). The grand vizier also had, like all the viziers or governors of provinces, two other seals, one, a large one, impressed at the top of *buyuruldu* or "ordinances", and the other, a small and modest one, placed at the foot of letters from the vizier, including official ones (cf. Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlī taʾrīk̲h̲i*, iii, 1514).

The use of seals in Turkey (we know very little of those of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs (cf. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i, 121 n.) was exceedingly widespread. They were used for impressions in wax (*mühür mumu*) and for stamping in a particular kind of ink to which saliva was added, as in Persia (cf. Le Père Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1890, 129). In more modern times, the seal was carried in the purse (cf. a verse by Meḥmed ʿĀkif [*q.v.*] in his poem *Sayfī Baba*). It is only in the early 20th century that under the influence of the West, the *mühür* has been displaced by the signature, receiving its *coup de grâce* with the adoption of the Roman alphabet in 1928 and of rubber seals.

The industry of seal-engraving has thus been gradually disappearing. It had at one time reached a high degree of perfection and the artists used to sign their work. These signatures were usually very brief, Mit̲h̲li, Sāʿī, Aḥmed, etc. They were written in characters so minute that they could only be distinguished with a lens and only when very clearly engraved.

Ewliyā Čelebi gives the following information about the seal engravers of Istanbul (i, 575). He distinguishes:

1. Engravers on stone, *ḥakkākān*, 105 workmen in 30 shops. They engraved on stones such as agate, garnet, turquoise and jasper. Their patron saint or *pīr* was ʿAbd Allāh Yamanī, a disciple of Uways al-Ḳaranī [*q.v.*] who is buried in Taʿizz.

2. The engravers of *mühür*, *mühürkenān* who worked especially for the viziers, 80 workmen in 50 shops. Their *pīr* was the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān. In the reign of Murād IV, the most noted were Maḥmūd Čelebi, Riḍā Čelebi and Ferīd Čelebi, who charged from 100 to 500 piastres for their work.

3. The engravers of silver seals and talismans, *mühürkenān-i sīm ü heyākil*, 40 workmen in 15 shops. *Pīr*: ʿUkkās̲h̲a who is buried near Marʿas̲h̲, who, having seen on the Prophet's back the *mühr-i nübüwwet* (see above), began to engrave talismanic formulae (two of these are quoted). These workmen "cannot engrave Yemen agate". They were established in the area called *Seyisk̲h̲āneler*.

One may mention the custom of making partisans, whose loyalty one wished to be sure of, stamp their seals on a Ḳurʾān (*Ḳurʾān mühürletmek*); see in the Turkish newspapers of 8 June 1925, statements by a rebel Kurd.

The word *memhūr* in the old language of the Janissaries meant vouchers for their pay (d'Ohsson, vii, 337).

In figurative language, Persian and Turkish uses the expression "to break the seal", *muhr bardas͟htan, mühür almak* (or *bozmaḳ, açmaḳ, götürmek*), for "to deflower a virgin" [see further TAMG͟HA].

The *muhrdār*, Turk. *mühürdār* [see K͟HĀTAM], keeper of the seals or better "private secretary" (see below), was therefore a very important personage. Mīr ʿAlī S͟hīr Nawāʾi [*q.v.*] was the *muhrdār* of Ḥusayn Baykarā [*q.v.*] before becoming *dīwān begi* and first minister (cf. Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir ʿAli-Chir-Nevâi*, in *JA*, xvii [1861], 13; de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, 261, 282). He was succeeded in these offices by another poet, Marwārīdī (*ibid.*). On the *muhrdār* in Persia, cf. du Mans, 21. In Central Asia, the title of *muhrdār* seems to have replaced that of *tamg͟hači* which occurs as early as the Ork͟hon inscriptions.

In Turkey, each vizier had his *mühürdār* (Aḥmed Rāsim, *op. cit.*, i, 455). Cf. the account of the career of a *mühürdār* in *Sid͟jill-i ʿot͟hmānī*, ii, 31 below (Behd͟jet Pas͟ha, the same as is mentioned in the Memoirs of Saʿīd Pas͟ha, i, 4).

The *rūznāmed͟ji* had also their own *mühürdārs* (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, 136). At Ḳāḍī Köy there exists a quarter called Mühürdār. For the work bearing the title *Mühürdār taʾrīk͟hi*, cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 216 ff. Finally, in the quarters of the *Ag͟ha* of the Janissaries in the palace there is mentioned at the beginning of the 19th century a *mühürdār odasî* (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, 391-2).

In the 19th century, under the viceroys of Egypt, the *mühürdār* was a "private secretary" of the Khedive. The title of *mühürdār* was abolished in 1884 but the office remained under the monarchy. His salary was the same as that of the chief of the cabinet (cf. *ibid.*, 92, 476).

Bibliography: See that to K͟HĀTAM, to which should be added Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pacha*, Berlin 1931, 23 and n. 5, where reference is made to a little-known article by Riza Efendi Mudezirovic. Cf. also von Hammer, *Histoire*, xii, 425, 539, xvi. 2; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, index s.vv. *mühr-i hümâyun, mühürdār.*

(J. DENY)

2. In Muslim India.

Used mainly for purposes of authentication and identification, seals had a value in India as emblems of magic, power and sovereignty. Harappan excavations have brought seal-stamps to light. In Indian mythology Rāma is reported to have sent his *anguliyakam* (signet-ring) incised with the letters of his name to Sītā.

All grants of land by the Dihlī Sultans were sealed with the royal *tug͟hrā*, the name and title of the sovereign elaborated in highly ornamental form. The administrative orders were sealed with the royal *tawḳīʿ* (motto). A significant use of the term appears on the token currency of Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ, where the words *muhr s͟hud tanka* ("sealed as a *tanka*") appear (F. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, 249). An officer known as *muhrdār* ("keeper of the seal") worked in the *Dīwān-i Wikālat*. The Mug͟hal seals were of different shapes: circular, oval, rectangular, square, triangular, lozenge-shaped, hexagonal and octagonal. The name of the reigning monarch was given in the centre, while those of his ancestors in the outer rings.

Abu 'l-Faḍl refers to five kinds of seals: (a) a small round seal known as *ūzuk*, used for *farmān-i sabtī* (relating to titles, high appointments, *d͟jāgīrs* and the sanction of large sums); (b) a large seal in which the name of the king and those of his ancestors back to Tīmūr were engraved, and was used initially for letters to foreign rulers; (c) a square seal for documents besides *sabtī-farmāns*; (d) a *miḥrābī* or lozenge-shaped seal used for judicial matters; and (e) a separate seal used for all matters concerning the seraglio. The *ūzuk* seal was the most important.

Some seals of Akbar bore the legend *Allāhu Akbar D͟jalla D͟jalāluhu*. D͟jahāngīr had the figures of Jesus and Mary on some seals. In the beginning, D͟jahāngīr had round lined seals but later he adopted rectangular dynastic seals. S͟hāhd͟jahān used seals of circular pattern. Mug͟hal queens, like Ḥamīda Bānu Bēgum and Nūr D͟jahān, and princes, like Dārā S͟hukōh, had their own seals.

Silver or copper was used for making matrices. The engraving as an art required long training. Abu 'l-Faḍl mentions Mawlānā Maḳṣūd of Herat, Tamkīn and Mīr Dōst of Kābul, Mawlānā Ibrāhīm and Mawlānā ʿAlī Aḥmad of Dihlī as masters of the craft.

During the early years of Akbar's reign K͟hʷād͟ja D͟jahān was in charge of the royal seal, which was referred to as *muhr-i muḳaddas-i kalān* ("the great royal seal"). The small round seal, called *ūzuk*, was kept by one of the queens. According to Father Monserrate, the important *farmāns* were sealed by one of the queens, who kept the royal signet ring in her custody, eight days after they were received from the *wazīr*. Very special *farmāns* had the mark of the royal hand (*pand͟ja-i mubārak*) under the royal seal.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, i, 52; Father A. Monserrate, *Commentary on his journey to the Court of Akbar*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Cuttack 1922, 209; D͟jahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, G͟hazipur-Aligarh 1863-4, 8, 192, 404; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pāds͟hāh-nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72, i, 406; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal Empire*, London 1936, 100-6; J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1952, 216-27; K.D. Bhargava (ed.), *Indian seals, (problems and prospects)*, National Archives of India, 1959. For clay-seals of the early period, *The Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, ii, 38; *Report of the Arch. Survey of India for 1903-4*, 101-25.

(K.A. NIZAMI)

MUḤRIZ B. K͟HALAF, the patron saint of Tunis, today generally called SIDI MAḤREZ; in the classical texts, his name is sometimes followed by the epithet al-ʿĀbid owing to his legendary piety (e.g. in the *Madārik* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ: Sayyidī/Sīdī Muḥriz al-ʿĀbid), but his name is more often preceded by the title Muʾaddib. This famous personality actually dispensed, in his dwelling which was not yet the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Maḥrez, religious instruction of a kind that was followed by children as well as adults, and which gave to his cousin Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] the idea of composing a manual sufficiently simple to be accessible to his pupils; this is how the famous *Risāla* came to be written and dedicated to him.

The date of his birth, which is not known exactly, may have been around the year 340/951-2, since he was more than 70 years old when in died in 413/1022. If the genealogy which appears in his *Manāḳib* could be regarded as authentic, he allegedly descended from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ. It is actually presented as follows: Abū Muḥammad (later replaced, on occasion, by Maḥfūẓ) Muḥriz b. K͟halaf b. Razīn b. Yarbūʿ b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥanẓala b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr,

but this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān does not appear to have had a son called Ḥanẓala (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 21); further, it is hardly likely that only a half-dozen generations covered about three centuries.

Like so many other Muslim saints, he was made the subject, from the year 430/1038, due to the efforts of the son of one of his daughters, Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī (d. around 450/1058), of a collection of *manāḳib* [*q.v.*], that is, of traditions of a hagiographic character in which it is nevertheless possible to glean some biographical information which appears authentic. Among them we will point out the mention of his pilgrimage to Mecca, the marks of veneration that surrounded him, his strenuous defence of orthodoxy against official Shīʿism and especially the political role which he played in the time of Ḥammād b. Buluggīn, the eponymous ancestor of the Ḥammādids [*q.v.*], who rebelled in 405/1015 against his uncle Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] and in the following year had the Shīʿīs of Tunis massacred, with the encouragement of Muḥriz b. Khalaf; if we are to believe his *Manāḳib* (145, Fr. tr. 313), it was in the latter's presence that the evidence was given against the "Easterners" (Mashāriḳa [*q.v.*], i.e. the Shīʿīs), leading to their condemnation to death, when they were not released for lack of sufficient proof. It is no less remarkable that, according to H.R. Idris (*Zīrides*, 119) the *Manāḳib* may be "the only document attesting to the massacre of the Shīʿīs".

The end of the text of the *Manāḳib* is occupied by a *dahir* (*ẓahīr* [*q.v.*]) whose date causes difficulty. This rescript, signed by the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (who ruled from 406 to 454/1016-62 [*q.v.*]) contains a eulogy in support of Muḥriz and enjoins on all the community, and in particular the authorities, to take care of him, protect him, watch over his entourage, defend his property (fields, gardens, houses) and exempt him from the tithes and *kharādj*. This document is dated 20 Rabīʿ II 417/10 June 1026, although the beneficiary of these privileges died in the odour of sanctity in 413/1022; no doubt 417 should be corrected to 407 and we should regard al-Muʿizz as having wanted also to recognise his merits and compensate him for his attitude with respect to the Shīʿīs. In addition, the *dahir* would serve to confirm and amplify a *sidjill* of Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (who ruled from 386 to 406/996-1016), probably before 396/1005; according to the *Madārik* (iv, 715), the sovereign had granted all the students safeguard and protection and to those of the *shaykh* exemption from taxes.

If we are to believe Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī (*K. al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, *apud* Ibn Khallikān (see also al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, Fr. tr. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits*, Algiers 1924, 257; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *Ḥulal*, 874-5), at the time when he was threatening Tunis, the same Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr, who had aroused resentment against Muḥriz b. Khalaf, perished, slain by his own sword at the call of the latter (in 406/1016). It is not impossible that, seven years later, the Shīʿīs may have exacted revenge for the *shaykh*'s hostility, since it is said that he died following a nocturnal attack or by poisoning.

The tomb in Tunis of Sīdī Maḥrez has never ceased to be made the object of a particular veneration on the part of the population. According to Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (*Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, in *JA* [1925], 138), sailors used to invoke the saint's help and to throw into the sea, when it was rough, a little of the earth taken from his tomb (cf. al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar. text, 53, Fr. tr. 121-2; Yāḳūt, i, 899). The Jews of Tunis consider him their protector, for it is he who is said to have authorised them to settle in a special quarter, the Ḥāra. The town probably possessed several *muḥriziyya khalwas*; one of them was inserted in the old rampart to whose building Muḥriz b. Khalaf is supposed to have contributed. His mausoleum, his *zāwiya* and his recently-built mosque are situated in Rue Sīdī Maḥrez, not far from the square of Bāb Suwayḳa (Swīḳa); this gate previously called Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn, owes its name to the "little market" which is held in its house and over which the authorities had no right of inspection.

Muḥriz b. Khalaf, who had begun to teach the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in the outskirts of Tunis before settling in the town, acquired a sound reputation as a Mālikī *faḳīh*, but he certainly had more devotion than knowledge; this renown for piety merited his receiving visits from passing strangers, and he is also cited for example in Andalusian biographical works such as the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl (no. 707), the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār (no. 1671) and also the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī (ed. Cairo 1949, iv, 63).

He left behind no book, but a certain number of verses are attributed to him, notably a description of the ruins of Carthage (see Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, 2nd ed., Tunis 1944, 58-60). Among the poems that he inspired one should note the verses of al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, 875-8).

Bibliography: The essential source consists of the *Manāḳib Muḥriz b. Khalaf* of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir al-Fārisī, which have been edited, translated and annotated by H.R. Idris, with the *Manāḳib* of al-Djabanyānī, Tunis 1957, Ar. text 89-154, followed by various extracts (155-93), Fr. tr. of the whole, 271-344. Among the appendices appears the biography of Muḥriz taken from the *Madārik* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyaḍ, which is to be found in the ed. of A. Bakīr, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, Beirut n.d., iv, 712-15; an extract of *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya* of al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, the text of which has since been published by M.H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970 (see 624, 853, 873, 874-5); the passage of the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Khallikān (Cairo 1310, i, 87) on the death of Bādīs; the lines of the notice of Yāḳūt (i, 899) on Tunis concerning the sailors; the passage of the *Tuḥfat al-albāb* published and translated by Ferrand (see above). H.R. Idris often cites Muḥriz b. Khalaf in his *Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1959 (esp. 119-22); Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Tūnisī devoted a monograph to him, *Muḥriz b. Khalaf zaʿīm al-thawra ḍidd al-Shīʿa*, Tunis 1981. See also M. Bel Khūdja, *Taʾrīkh maʿālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa-fi 'l-djadīd*, Tunis 1358/1939. (Ch. Pellat)

MUḤṢAN (a.), a term of Islamic law denoting a certain personal status.

The Ḳurʾān's impersonal uses of the root *ḥ-ṣ-n* refer to warehousing, shelter, fortification and protection, (XII, 48; XXI, 80; LIX, 2, 14). Used personally of the Virgin Mary (XXI, 91; LXVI, 12), the verb refers to chastity. A cluster of participial derivatives (IV, 24-5; V, 5) relate to the intent underlying the Islamic marriage contract where *muḥṣin*/*muḥṣana* are perhaps best understood in terms of the provision of accommodation. The *muḥṣana* need not be Muslim (V, 5); if Muslim, she need not be free (IV, 24-5). *Muḥṣanāt* are thus marriageable women: free *muslimāt* or *kitābiyyāt*, or Muslim slave women. *Muḥṣanāt*/*muḥṣinūn* are contrasted with *musāfiḥāt*/*musāfiḥūn*, i.e. with such as engage in illicit sexual relations. The category *muḥṣanāt* may include slave women (IV, 24) yet be contrasted with slave women (IV, 25).

The form *muḥṣan* does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, occurring only in *fiḳh* discussions and *ḥadīths* where it

denotes persons liable, in the event of sexual misconduct, to death by stoning. They may originally have included slaves, but the *fuḳahāʾ* eventually settled on three qualifications: marriage, duly consummated; liberty; and Islam. The quality of *iḥṣān* resides in each spouse when both satisfy all three criteria. *Muḥṣin(a)* denotes a spouse competent to confer *iḥṣān* on the marriage partner. Some insisted that every *muḥṣin* be *muḥṣan*, but both Mālik and Shāfiʿī would include slave spouses and *kitābī* wives in this category. When the *fiḳh* declares that no slave can be *muḥṣan* this merely means that no slave is stoned. That accords with IV, 25, which states that, in the event of sexual misconduct, certain slave women are liable to half the penalty established for the *muḥṣanāt*. Unresolved disagreement as to whether this refers to married slave women, or to converted slave women, generated two distinct readings and two interpretations, both of which were adopted into the *fiḳh*. One interpretation led to the exclusion of married female slaves, and by analogy, of male slaves from the stoning penalty. The alternative interpretation yielded the *fiḳh* conclusion that, in the event of sexual misconduct, unmarried slaves incur the same penalty as married slaves, i.e. one-half of the flogging penalty (XXIV, 2) which, however, the *fuḳahāʾ* taught was the penalty established for the free non-*muḥṣan* offender.

Bibliography: Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, 4 vols., Cairo 1355/1936, ii, 213-15; Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta, 4 vols., Cairo 1979-87; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348/1929, *nikāḥ, mā djāʾa fi 'l-iḥṣān; ibid., riwāyat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī*, Cairo 1399/1979, *ḥudūd, bāb al-radjm*; Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1321, 20, 36; idem, *K. al-Umm*, 7 vols. in 4, Būlāḳ 1322-4/1904-6, iv, 129, v, 134, 210, vii, 167; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols. in 3, Cairo 1314/1896 (*K. al-muḥārabīn, bāb radjm al-muḥṣan*); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2 vols., Cairo n.d., *K. al-ḥudūd, bāb ḥadd al-zinā; bāb radjm al-thayyib fi 'l-zinā*; Ṭabarī, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān*, ed. M. and A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1374-/1955-, 15 vols., viii, 151-67; Ṭaḥāwī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, Cairo 1370/1951, 262; Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, 3 vols., Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 191-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 12 vols., Cairo 1352, xi, 227-35; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, 30 vols., Cairo 1324, ix, 36-41; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, 4 vols., Cairo 1376/1957, i, 380-9; Nawawī, *al-Minhādj fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, in margins of Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, 12 vols., Cairo 1326/1908, ix, 154; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 17 vols. Cairo 1378/1959; J. Burton, *The meaning of iḥṣān*, in *JSS*, xix (1974), 47-75; idem, *The origin of the Islamic penalty for adultery*, in *Trans. Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xxvi (1978), 16-26; H. Motzki, *Koran 4,24 und die koranische sexual-ethik*, in *Isl.*, lxiii (1986), 192-218; A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en islam*, Paris 1975, 24.

(J. BURTON)

MUḤSIN ʿALĪ MUḤSIN, minor Urdu poet of the 19th century; the exact dates of his birth and death do not seem to be recorded.

He was the son of another poet, Shāh Ḥusayn Ḥaḳīḳat, and he achieved fame through his remarkable *tadhkira* [*q.v.*] of Urdu poets, *Sarāpā sukhan*, completed after ten years' work in 1269/1852-3 and first published in Lucknow in 1288/1860-1. *Ghazals* by over 700 poets are included. What makes this work unique is its arrangement. The poetry is grouped in about 50 chapters, each representing a part of the human body ranging from head to foot, hence the title *Sarāpā* [see KAṢĪDA. 4. In Urdu]; moreover, for each part of the body, its name forms part of the rhyme (*radīf*). Though many poems are merely quoted in extracts of various lengths, quite a large proportion are given in full. The book is particularly rich in poems by Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*], ʿIshḳī, Muḥsin himself and his father Ḥaḳīḳat; needless to say, many little-known poets are included. Whenever a poet is quoted, whether in one or more poems and in any chapter, brief biographical information is given, seldom stretching to more than two lines. This is normally restricted to full name and *takhalluṣ*, parentage, place of residence, teacher(s) and pupil(s). Where a poet is the author of a *tadhkira*, this also is mentioned. This information is repeated verbatim in every chapter in which a poet is quoted, which in some cases may be 20 or more times. Though the information thus given may seem sparse, it was enough to warrant republication of the work several times, minus the poetical extracts, during the last 100 years, quite apart from several new editions of the whole work during the late 19th century.

Muḥsin's arrangement appears to have been imitated only once, sc. by Gōgul Prashād Rasā, in his *Armughān Gōgul Prashad* (1299/1882). But although this includes more poets (over 1,100), the poetical extracts are shorter and fewer in number.

Muḥsin also translated—or, more properly, adapted—two of the three sections (*ṭabaḳāt*) of a *tadhkira* of Urdu poets from the original Persian into Urdu. This is the *Makhzan-i-nikāt* by Muḥammad Ḳāʾim (died at Rampur, 1208/1793-4); this has not yet been published.

Bibliography: After the first edition mentioned above, several editions of *Sarāpā sukhan* were produced by the celebrated Lucknow publisher Neval Kishore (Nawāl Kishōr) (on whom see MAṬBAʿA. 4. In Muslim India). For this article, that of 1898 has been used. For accounts of this and other *tadhkiras* mentioned, see Farmān Fatḥpūrī, *Urdū shuʿarāʾ kē tadhkirē awr tadhkira nigārī*, Lahore 1975, as follows: *Sarāpā sukhan*, 376-80; *Armughān Gōgul Prashād*, 569-97; *Makhzan-i-nikāt* (original Persian), 121-3; *ibid.*, Muḥsin's Urdu adaptation, 432-40. Muḥsin the poet is mentioned briefly in several *tadhkiras*, including Nassākh, *Tadhkira-i-shuʿarāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, 419. For further references, see Fatḥpūrī, *op. cit.*, particularly the footnotes.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MUḤSIN-I FAYḌ-I KĀSHĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. MURTAḌĀ (1007-90/1598-1679), usually called Mullā Muḥsin or simply Fayḍ, the latter being a *takhalluṣ* that was given to him by his teacher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640 [*q.v.*]); one of the greatest scholars of Ṣafawid Persia.

Life. Fayḍ was born into a family that has continued to produce respected *ʿulamāʾ* down to modern times. He studied *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, and related fields with his father and maternal uncle in Kāshān. At the age of twenty, he went to Iṣfahān to further his studies; within a year he went on to Shīrāz to study *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence with Sayyid Mādjid Baḥrānī (d. 1028/1619). Returning to Iṣfahān after some months, he studied *ḥadīth* with Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621 [*q.v.*]). Perhaps it was at this time that he studied philosophy with Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631 [see AL-DĀMĀD]). Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh claims in his *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* Tehran 1319, ii, 143-4) that both ʿĀmilī and Fayḍ were *khalīfas* of the Nūrbakhshī Karakhī *shaykh* Muḥammad Muʾmin Sadīrī. Fayḍ left for the Pilgrimage in 1029/1620 and studied *ḥadīth* in Mecca with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1621). On returning to Persia, he wandered from teacher to teacher until he found Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī) in Ḳum in

1033/1624 or 1034/1625. He remained with him in Ḳum for eight years, occupying himself not only with study but also with ascetic practices. Eventually, he tells us, he gained mystical insight (*baṣīra*) into the esoteric dimensions of the sciences (Mis̲h̲kāt, *Mahad̲j̲d̲j̲a*, iv, 7). He married Mullā Ṣadrā's daughter, then went to S̲h̲īrāz with him in 1042/1532-3. He returned to Kās̲h̲ān in 1045, where he wrote and taught. S̲h̲āh Ṣafī (1038-52/1628-42) invited him to the capital, but he declined. In 1064 S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) summoned him and he accepted. He was made leader of the Friday prayer and advised the *s̲h̲āh* on religious matters. In at least two of his works, *S̲h̲arḥ-i ṣadr* (written in 1065/1655) and *al-Iʿtidhār* (1067/1657), he complains of the intrigues at the court and the difficulties he faced in trying to help the *s̲h̲āh* in his sincere desire to support Islam (*ibid.*, iv, 9). He wrote at least five works at the *s̲h̲āh*'s request, including *Āʾīna-yi s̲h̲āhī* on true kingship and *Waṣf-i k̲h̲ayl* on horses in the teachings of the Imāms. He returned to Kās̲h̲ān some time after 1067/1657, where his tomb is a place of pilgrimage. Among his students was the well-known scholar Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳumī (d. 1103/1692).

The biographers demonstrate great respect for Fayḍ's learning and moral qualities. In his *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, however, Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī criticises him because of his extreme *ak̲h̲bārī* views [see AK̲H̲BĀRIYYA in Suppl.], which he expressed in works like *Safīnat al-nad̲j̲āt*, and because he supported the ideas of "Ibn al-ʿArabī *al-zindīḳ*" (*ibid*,, i, 29). Various *ʿulamāʾ* have complained that he departed from *id̲j̲māʿ* in certain questions of jurisprudence, such as the legitimacy of music and the definition of impurity (*ibid.*, i, 34-40; iv, 16-17). Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh D̲j̲azāʾirī (d. 1112/1700-1), one of Fayḍ's well-known students, blames him in *Kas̲h̲f al-asrār fī s̲h̲arḥ al-istibṣār* for encouraging his students to listen to music (*ibid.*, i, 37). Muḥammad Bāḳir Mad̲j̲lisī's son-in-law, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ K̲h̲awātūnābādī (d. 1116/1704-5), gives him a notice in his *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-muḳarrabīn* as one of the thirty great S̲h̲īʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of history (*ibid.*, i, 53-54).

Works. Fayḍ wrote his first book *Naḳd al-uṣūl fiḳhiyya*, in his early twenties and continued writing until the year of his death. He composed three annotated lists of his own works (texts in *ibid.*, ii, 5-23, 39-46). The second, written in 1090/1679 shortly before his death, lists 116, while the third, written in the same year, divides the works into twenty groups of five according to subject matter or genre, adding three works not found in the second list and leaving out thirteen. In his thorough bibliographical study, S.M. Mis̲h̲kāt (*ibid.*, ii, 3-46, iv, 10-11) has shown that Fayḍ wrote 122 works for a total of over 550,000 lines; of these, about forty have been published. He wrote some 20,000 verses of Persian poetry, mostly in Ṣūfī style, and thirty Persian prose works. Almost 90% of his writing is in Arabic. Most of his works can be placed in the following categories:

1. *Ḥadīt̲h̲* (4 books, about 33% of his total output). The most important of these is *al-Wāfī* (Tehran 1324/1906), which is usually ranked on the same level as Mad̲j̲lisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*. It is by far the longest work, about 150,000 lines, three times as long as his major Ḳurʾān commentary. In it Fayḍ rearranges and comments on the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s found in the four basic Twelver S̲h̲īʿī collections (al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*, al-Ṣadūḳ's *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh*, and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahd̲h̲īb* and *al-Istibṣār*).

2. Philosophy, theoretical Ṣūfism (*ʿirfān*), and *kalām* (37 works, 20%). The longest of these works is a selection of texts from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. The most important are probably *ʿAyn al-yaḳīn*, written in 1036/1626-7, and *ʿIlm al-yaḳīn*, written in 1042/1632-3 (published together in Tehran 1303/1885-6). The first is oriented more toward rational philosophy and the second toward mystical philosophy; Fayḍ warns us that the latter should be kept away (*maḍnūn*)from those not worthy of it. He wrote an epitome of the first, *Uṣūl al-maʿārif* (ed. S.D̲j̲. Ās̲h̲tiyānī, Mas̲h̲had 1354/1975) in 1089/1679, and an epitome of the second, *al-Maʿārif*, in 1090/1679.

3. Ethics (10 works, 16%). The longest and most important of these, completed in 1046/1636-7, is *al-Mahad̲j̲d̲j̲at al-bayḍāʾ fī iḥyāʾ al-Iḥyāʾ* (a four-volume critical facsimile edition in the hand of Fayḍ's son, the well-known scholar Muḥammad ʿAlam al-Hudā, was published by Mis̲h̲kāt, Tehran 1339-40/1960-1). In it, Fayḍ rewrites al-G̲h̲azālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, replacing the weak *ḥadīt̲h̲*s and accounts of the pious forbears with appropriate and reliable reports from S̲h̲īʿī sources. He follows the structure of the *Iḥyāʾ* almost exactly, except that he drops book 7 of volume 2, on *samāʿ*, and adds at the end of volume 2 a new book, *Ak̲h̲lāḳ al-imāma wa-ādāb al-s̲h̲īʿa*. He wrote an epitome of *al-Mahad̲j̲d̲j̲a* called *Kitāb al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī asrār al-dīn* in 1090/1679.

4. *Tafsīr* (4 works, 13%). Fayḍ's major *tafsīr*, written in 1075/1664-5, is known as *al-Ṣāfī* (Tehran 1375/1955-56). It consists mainly of sayings of the twelve Imāms concerning Ḳurʾānic verses. Most of it sticks to the outward meaning, but, he tells us, it also has "something of esoteric interpretation (*s̲h̲ayʾ min al-taʾwīl*)".

5. Jurisprudence and its principles (28 works, 8%). Neither of his two major works in this field, *Muʿtaṣam al-s̲h̲īʿa*, completed in 1027/1618, and *Mafātīḥ al-s̲h̲arāʾiʿ*, completed 1042/1632-3, has been published. *Mafātīḥ* is more important and has been the subject of at least eight glosses and fourteen commentaries.

6. Poetry (20 collections, 4%). Several of these works are excerpted from his *Dīwān*, which has been published (Tehran 1338/1960), but without his several *mat̲h̲nawī*s.

7. Prayers and supplications (12 works, 3%). These are mostly collections of prayers by the Imāms.

Bibliography: S.M. Mis̲h̲kāt quotes from the standard biographical sources and gathers a great deal of information on the editions and manuscripts of Fayḍ's works in the introductions to the four volumes of *al-Mahad̲j̲d̲j̲at al-bayḍāʾ*. Fayḍ's autobiographical *S̲h̲arḥ-i ṣadr*, partly translated into Arabic by Mis̲h̲kāt (iv, 5-9), was published in *D̲j̲ilwa* (1/8, Bahman 1323, 393-409). *Āʾīna-yi s̲h̲āhī* was translated by W.C. Chittick in A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and political culture in Shiʿism*, Albany 1988, 269-84. See also H. Corbin, *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens*, ii, Tehran 1975, 32-49; S.H. Nasr, *The School of Ispahan*, in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ii,Wiesbaden 1966, 926-30.

(W.C. CHITTICK)

MUḤSIN-ZĀDE [see ʿABD ALLĀH PAS̲H̲A].

AL-**MUHTADĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRUN AL-WĀT̲H̲IḲ, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 255-6/869-70.

After al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ's death, a number of officials wished to pay homage to the young Muḥammad, son of the deceased caliph and a Greek slave; instead, however, al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ's brother al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] was proclaimed his successor and only after the deposition and murder of the unfortunate al-Muʿtazz

(1 Shaʿbān 255/15 July 869) did Muḥammad ascend the throne on 7-8 Shaʿbān/21-2 July with the name al-Muhtadī. His ideal was the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Buḥturī praises him for ridding his court of musical instruments, and he presided personally over *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] sessions. Like the latter, he was distinguished for the strictness with which he conducted his life; with piety and simplicity, however, he combined strength and ability and during his brief reign he did his best to raise the caliphate from its degradation and to restore the power of the Commander of the Faithful. In several provinces there were risings by ʿAlids, real or alleged; but the most dangerous enemy of the caliph was the Turkish general Mūsā b. Bughā. When the latter, who was fighting against the ʿAlids in Persia, heard of the accession of al-Muhtadī, he returned home. Reaching Sāmarrā in Muḥarram 256/December 869, he forced the caliph to take an oath to bring to justice the Turkish chief Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, who had robbed Ḳabīḥa, the mother of the caliph al-Muʿtazz, of all her priceless treasures. When Ṣāliḥ concealed himself, the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and were intending to depose al-Muhtadī but were appeased by the resolute action of the latter. Al-Muhtadī then promised Ṣāliḥ's followers that he would pardon him; but as the latter did not appear, they went to Sāmarrā and began to pillage it until they were scattered by Mūsā. Ṣāliḥ was soon afterwards discovered and killed by one of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā had taken the field against the Khāridjīs, al-Muhtadī began to incite the people against him and his brother Muḥammad b. Bughā and accused them of embezzlement. Muḥammad was brought to trial and put to death, although al-Muhtadī had expressly guaranteed his pardon. The only course left for the caliph was to dispose of Mūsā if he wished to keep his throne. But his plan was betrayed; Mūsā advanced with superior forces and the caliph suffered a disastrous defeat. As he declined to abdicate, he was murdered on Thursday, 18 Radjab 256/21 June 870, in horrible fashion, and al-Muʿtamid b. al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] raised to the throne in his place.

During this period of anarchy in Sāmarrā after al-Mutawakkil's death, the civilian administration was eclipsed by the continued ascendancy of the Turkish military. For the first half of al-Muhtadī's reign, effective power in the state was exercised by Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, and it does not seem that there was an effective vizier. In the latter six months of his caliphate, however, the long-serving and experienced official Sulaymān b. Wahb [see WAHB, BANŪ] acted as vizier, with al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as chief secretary, although civilian control still remained substantially impaired, with the bureaucracy's main task being to find money for the avaricious soldiery.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 200; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 590-1, 616-19; Ṭabarī, iii, 1368, 1372, 1537, 1712-1834; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 398-9, viii, 1-41 = §§ 3097-3157; *Aghānī*, xx, 64-9; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 23, 134-8, 149-62; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 335-41; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 270-1, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iv, 50-1; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 296 ff.; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 409-21; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 529-30; W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed., by Weir, 539-43; E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, vi, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 251 ff.; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 299-304; M. Forstner, *Al-Muʿtazz billah (252/866-255/869)*, Gemersheim 1976, 56-60; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphate*, London 1986, 174-5. (K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUḤTĀDJIDS, a local dynasty of mediaeval Central Asia which ruled in the upper Oxus principality of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries.

At the time of the Arab invasions of the early 2nd/8th century, Čaghāniyān had been ruled by a dynasty of Čaghān-Khudās, probably of Iranian stock like the princes of Soghdia and Khʷārazm, who, *pace* other local rulers, seems to have co-operated with the incoming Arabs (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 9, 32). The eponymous ancestor Muḥtādj may have been a descendant of these princes, or possibly one of the invading Arabs, speedily Iranised, as seems to have happened with the Banīdjūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or Abū Dāwūdids in the neighbouring provinces of Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān [*q.vv.*].

The first historically attested Muḥtādjid was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Muḥtādj, successively governor in Farghāna, Ṭukhāristān and Khurāsān for the Sāmānids, d. 329/941. His son Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Čaghānī became head of the family and played a leading rôle in the military and political affairs of the Sāmānid amīrate during the middle decades of the century, first as governor of Khurāsān and spearhead of Sāmānid attempts to extend their control over northern Persia, but subsequently, after his dismissal by the *amīr* Nūḥ b. Naṣr after complaints of his harsh rule, as a king-maker in Bukhārā. Despite his failure to place his protégé Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr on the throne there, he for long retained his commanding position in the upper Oxus principalities until military failure against the Būyids led to a further dismissal, with Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad dying in 344/955 in exile at Ray. His son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar ʿAbd Allāh had already died at the Sāmānid court in 340/951-2, and the palmy days of the Muḥtādjids were now over. Yet later members of the family continued to rule in Čaghāniyān during the decades of Sāmānid decline, and possibly as tributaries of the rising power of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], who extended their authority over the upper Oxus lands; thus the Abu 'l-Ḳāsim mentioned by the historian Bayhaḳī as *wālī* of Čaghāniyān and as son-in-law of Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] may have been a Muḥtādjid. After this, however, Čaghāniyān passed under Saldjūḳ control and all mention of the Muḥtādjids disappears.

The Muḥtādjids have a minor part in Persian literary history as patrons of leading poets of the time, such as Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*], whilst the Ghaznawid poet Farrukhī Sīstānī [*q.v.*] in early life secured the support of the prince of Čaghāniyān Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad, conceivably a grandson of Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, and composed for him a famous ode at the *amīr*'s branding-ground (cf. E.G. Browne, *LHP*, ii, 124-9).

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 234, 242, 246-9, 254, 282, 298-301; Spuler, *Iran*, 94-7; *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 149; Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, xix (1981), 1-20, in which the primary sources (Gardīzī, ʿUtbī, Narshakhī, Miskawayh, Bayhaḳī, Ibn al-Athīr) and numismatics are utilised, and with a genealogical table at p. 14 which corrects Zambaur, *Manuel*, 204; idem, *Encycl. Iranica*, i, art. *Āl-e Moḥtāj*. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤTASHAM-I KĀSHĀNĪ, SHAMS AL-SHUʿARĀʾ KAMĀL AL-DĪN, Persian poet of the early Ṣafawid period, born *ca.* 1500 in Kāshān. According to the most reliable sources, he died in 996/1587-8; a

less likely dating of his death, given by Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī in *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (see Storey i/2, 878), is 1000/1591-2. For some time he was a draper (*bazzāz*) like his father, but he abandoned this trade for the more profitable career of a professional poet. His work was appreciated at the Ṣafawid court at Ḳazwīn. He seems to have continued, however, to live in Kāshān. He wrote panegyrics to Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, his sons Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad Khudābanda and Ḥamza and his daughter Parī-Khān Khānum. Muḥtasham also established contacts with the Mughal court and the king of the Deccan through the intermediary of his brother ʿAbd al-Ghanī. Among his Indian patrons were the Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] and the Khān-i Khānān Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*].

Besides composing these conventional *ḳaṣīdas*, Muḥtasham specialised in other genres of court poetry. He became an expert in enigmatic verse and poetical chronograms. In 984/1576 he celebrated the accession of Ismāʿīl II to the throne in six quatrains from which 1,128 different datings of the event could be derived (the poems, together with a chronographic explanation, are to be found in Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1317 *sh.*/1938, 473-74; a commentary by the Ḳādjār poet Waḳār was published in *Armaghān*, xi, 1309 *sh.*/1930, 271-2, 351-2).

Muḥtasham was also a prolific writer of love poetry. His collected works contain several collections of *ghazaliyyāt*. A cycle of 64 *ghazals* bears the title "Djalāliyya", after Shāṭir Djalāl, a dancer from Iṣfahān. When in 970/1562-3 the latter performed in social gatherings at Kāshān, Muḥtasham expressed in these poems his infatuation with Djalāl (the letters of his name add up to sixty-four). Afterwards he added linking texts in prose explaining the occasion for each poem at the bequest of a friend who wanted to enter the cycle in a *tadhkira*.

Elegies (*marāthī*) constituted another element of importance in his art. He wrote poems at the deaths of Prince Ḥamza and his own brother ʿAbd al-Ghanī. However, his best achievements in this genre were of a religious nature. Iskandar Munshī reports that the ageing Shāh Ṭahmāsp refused to award Muḥtasham any longer for his panegyrics because such praise only befitted the holy Imāms (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿĀlamārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1350 *sh.*/1971, i, 178; cf. Dh. Ṣafā in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vi, 954). This royal injunction stimulated the development of Shīʿī poetry in Ṣafawid Iran. Apart from hymns to God and the Prophet, Muḥtasham wrote elegies on the martyred Imāms. The latter poems in particular gave him lasting fame as a religious poet. His best known poem is a *duwāzdah-band* (i.e. a poem in twelve stanzas) in mourning of the Imām Ḥusayn. It became part of the répertoire of the *rawḍa-khwāns* (see, for instance, the collection of texts described by E.G. Browne, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the University Library of Cambridge*, Cambridge 1896, 122-42).

In accordance with the last will of the poet, his works were collected by a friend, the anthologist Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāshānī, who also added a preface to this *kulliyyāt*. It is divided into seven parts: 1. *Shaybiyya*, religious and secular panegyrics; 2. *Shabābiyya* and 3. *Ṣabāʾiyya*, two volumes of *ghazals*; 4. *Djalāliyya* and 5. *Naḳl-i ʿushshāḳ*, both mingling *ghazals* with prose; 6. *Ḍurūriyyāt*, versified chronograms; 7. *Muʿammayāt*, riddles (Rieu, *loc. cit.*). However, manuscripts of varying contents and with other arrangements of the poems, some dating from the poet's lifetime, are also extant.

Bibliography: A lithographed edition of the *Risāla-yi Djalāliyya* and the *Dīwān* was printed at Bombay 1304/1887; other editions were published in Tehran 1337 *sh.*/1958 and 1344 *sh.*/1965. On manuscripts, see A. Sprenger, *A catalogue of the ... manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, i, Calcutta 1854, 500; G. Flügel, *Die ... Handschriften der k.-k, Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, Vienna 1865, 591; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 665-6; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, London 1903, 795-6; Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore*, ii, Calcutta 1910, 186-9; Ahmed Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 487-9; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, iii, 1892-7 (*kulliyyāt*), 2514-16 (*dīwāns*). See further: Browne, *LHP*, iv, 172-7; Ḥusayn Partaw-Bayḍāʾī, in *Armaghān*, xviii (1316 *sh.*/1937), 465-75; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *A religious subject on a Persian Qalamkār*, in *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Volkenkunde, Leiden*, xv (1962), 3-11; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 298; H. Massé, *Le chant funèbre de Mohtacham-e Kāchāni en mémoire de son frère Khādje Abd-al-Ghani* (with a French translation), in *Yâd-name-ye Irâni-ye Minorsky*, ed. M. Minovi and I. Afshar, Tehran 1969, 131-8; idem, *Poèmes consacrés aux Imāms, in Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970, 273-76; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v, Tehran 1364 *sh.*/1985, 792-9 (with a list of *tadhkira* sources); idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 954, 958.

(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

MUḤTASIB [see ḥisba].

MUḤYĪ al-**DĪN IBN** al-ʿ**ARABĪ** [see ibn al-ʿarabī].

MUḤYI 'L-DĪN LĀRĪ (d. 933/1526-7), Persian writer and author of the famous *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, a poetical description of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which also contains a full account of all the rites of the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*).

This book, written in 911/1506 and dedicated to Muẓaffar b. Maḥmūd Shāh of Gudjarāt (917-32/1511-26), was for a long time wrongly attributed to the celebrated poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*]. Muḥyī Lārī was a pupil of the great philosopher Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawānī (d.907/1501 [*q.v.*]) and made use of his extensive philosophical knowledge in a commentary on the great *Ḳaṣīda* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ which is known as *al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*. In this work he endeavoured, following in the footsteps of his teacher, to reconcile the principles of orthodox Islamic mysticism with the teachings of Aristotle in the form in which they were disseminated in the east.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Pers. mss. Brit. Mus.*, ii, 655a. Persian text of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, lith. Lucknow 1292. A full description of the contents in *Wiener Jahresbüchern*, lxxi, Anzeigblatt, 49; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 385; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 306; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tehran 1328/1949, iii, 493; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 462.

(E. Berthels)

MUḤYI 'L-DĪN MEḤMED b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Djamālī, called Mollā Čelebi, a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selīm I (918-26/1512-20) and Sulaymān II (926-74/1520-66). His father was the famous *muftī* Zanbīlī ʿAlī al-Djamālī, a grandson of Djamāl al-Dīn Meḥmed of Aḳ Seray (hence the epithet Djamālī). He received his theological training first from his maternal grandfather Ḥusām-zāde Efendi, then from his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and later from Muʾayyad-zāde Efendi. He

worked as a *müderris* in several *medreses*, in Istanbul at the Murād *medrese* and at the eight schools of the Fātiḥ mosque and in Edirne where he was also a *mollā* for a period. He died in retirement and was buried at Zeyrek, at the side of his father, in 957/1550.

His main importance lies in the fact that he edited the anonymous Ottoman chronicles, the *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, under the title *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*. These chronicles, which run from the beginning of the Ottoman empire, were continued by him down to 956/1549, i.e. till shortly before his death.

Two versions of his *Chronicle* exist, both of which go back to him: (1) a shorter one, to which corresponds the translation of the Beck manuscript by Gaudier-Spiegel, *Chronica oder Acta von der Türckischen Tyrannen herkommen und geführte Kriegen, aus Türckischer Sprachen verdeutschet. Vorhin nie in Druck ausgangen*, Frankfurt a/O. 1567; it was also published in Latin and German by Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, Frankfurt 1588, 2nd edition with index and German tr., *Newe Chronika Türckischer Nation von Türcken selbs geschrieben*, Frankfurt a/Main 1590; and (2) a longer version, the so-called Verantian Chronicle (Codex Verantianus), edited in Latin and German by Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exsciptae libri XVIII*, Frankfurt 1591. There were 18 books instead of the 30 planned. As early as 1590 the first three books were published in German at Frankfurt, *Neuwer Muselmannischer Histori, Türckischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichte vnd Taten; drey Bücher, die ersten vnter dreyssigen*, followed by the complete German translation of the *Annales, Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Türckischer Nation*, Frankfurt a/M. 1595.

In addition to his chronicle, which exists only in manuscript (at Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, London, Istanbul, etc.), Muḥyī al-Dīn is also credited with poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (also extant in manuscript) and a theological work.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1311, 218; Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1269, 389; tr. O. Rescher, Istanbul 1927, 247; Djamāl al-Dīn, *ʿOthmānlî taʾrīkh we-müwerrikhleri* (Āyīne-i Ẓurefā), Istanbul 1314, 10, 25; Rifʿat, *Rawḍat al-ʿazīziyye*, 180; Meḥmed Thurayyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 488; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, iii, 63; Babinger, in *GOW*, 72-4; J.H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, x, 160, xiii, 153 ff.; C. Ausserer, in *ibid.*, xii, 226; F. Giese, in *MOG*, i, 49-75; P. Wittek, in *ibid.*, i, 77 ff. See also *İA* art. *Muhyi-d-Din Mehmed* (Menzel and Bekir Kütükoğlu). (TH. MENZEL)

MUʿĪD [see MUSTAMLĪ].

MUʿĪN AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN PARWĀNA, the *de facto* ruler of the Saldjūḳ state in Anatolia (*Rūm*) during most of the Mongol Protectorate.

His father, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Daylamī (d. 642/1244) the vizier of Kaykhusraw II, interceded with the Mongol general Baydjū after the battle of Köse Dagh (641/1243) and secured the survival of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, albeit as Mongol vassals. His son, Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, is first mentioned in the sources as commander of Tokat. In 654/1256, through the good offices of Baydjū, he was given the titles *amīr ḥādjib* and *parwāna* (the latter term denoting the "personal assistant of the sultan", Cahen, 221). Thereafter he became the real ruler of the Saldjūḳ state for over two decades, though nominal authority remained with the puppet Saldjūḳ sultans. In Hülegü's time, the Saldjūḳ realm was partitioned, the eastern provinces being given to the pro-Mongol Ḳîlîdj Arslan IV, for whom the Parwāna acted as vizier, and the remainder to Kay-Kāwūs II. After the latter had fled to Byzantium, Ḳîlîdj Arslan IV became sole sultan in Rūm, entering Konya on 14 Ramaḍān 659/13 August 1261. The Parwāna visited the new Īlkhān, Abaḳa [*q.v.*], in 663/1265 and was officially awarded the port of Sinope which he had taken from the Greek ruler of Trebizond two years earlier. When Ḳîlîdj Arslan IV came of age he grew weary of the Parwāna's authority. Perceiving this, the latter arranged for his murder at Aksaray in 663/1265 and the installation of his infant son, Kaykhusraw III, as sultan. The Parwāna later forged marriage ties with the new sultan—an inscription on the Sünbül Baba Zaviyesi at Tokat mentions the Parwāna's daughter as the wife of Kaykhusraw III (Rogers, 35; Gabriel, 103).

The next decade (663-73/1265-75) was turbulent. Certain Anatolian *amīrs*, probably with the complicity of the Parwāna himself (the sources mention letters allegedly written by him to Baybars), invited the Mamlūk sultan to invade their land and rid it of the Mongol yoke. Baybars' Anatolian expedition and his victory over the Mongol army at Albistān (Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda 675/April 1277) are well documented in Mamlūk sources. The Parwāna still fought on the Mongol side but was already under some suspicion. His son and grandson were taken prisoner by Baybars. When the Mamlūk sultan made his triumphal entry into Kayseri, the Parwāna—who had retreated to his stronghold at Tokat—did not come to acknowledge him. Soon afterwards, Baybars withdrew to Syria on hearing the news that Abaḳa himself was on his way to Rūm with a large army. The Parwāna joined Abaḳa on his visit to the battlefield at Albistān and was there blamed for the massacre of the Mongol army. He then accompanied Abaḳa eastwards, where the Īlkhān, inflamed by his grief-stricken female relatives, ordered the Parwāna's execution (1 Rabīʿ I 676/2 August 1277). The Armenian historian, Hayton, is the source of the widespread story that "in accordance with Tartar custom", the Parwāna's corpse was cut in half and then eaten.

The career of the Parwāna represents a key phase in the history of the Rūm Saldjūḳs as well as shedding light on the wider power struggle between Mamlūks and Mongols. Internally, the Parwāna attempted to maintain stability both amongst the Turkish *amīrs* and between them and the ever-increasing number of Mongols resident on Anatolian soil. The Turcomans, especially the Ḳaramānids, were kept under control only with great difficulty (there were rebellions in 659/1261 and 675/1277).

As for the Parwāna's relationship with his Mongol overlords, it is clear that at the beginning he was unreservedly on their side and that he cultivated his special links with Abaḳa by frequent visits to Tabrīz. Saldjūḳ weakness after Köse Dagh allowed talented ministers, such as the Parwāna and his friend and rival, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, both of whom were of Persian stock and were directly nominated by the Mongols, to exercise semi-independent power within Anatolia. Later on, however, the Parwāna co-existed uneasily with Abaḳa's representatives in Rūm and especially with Adjāy, Abaḳa's brother, whose removal he requested in 672/1273-4. Clearly, the Parwāna had begun to resent increasing Mongol encroachment on Saldjūḳ territory and the Mongols' systematic exploitation of its economic resources.

The Parwāna's own rôle in the detailed but confused accounts of the events preceding Baybars' Anatolian expedition remains ambiguous. Certainly,

the myth of Mongol invincibility had been exploded, and it seems likely that the Parwāna's loyalty shifted, for a while at least, to Baybars, whose power was increasing in the 1270s in the face of Mongol disunity and their apparent inactivity against Egypt. It is possible too that the Parwāna may have been influenced in his more pro-Mamlūk stance by the reproach addressed to him by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*Fīhi mā fīhi*, 17) that by making common cause with the Mongols he had ruined the *Dār al-Islām*. Once Baybars had reached Rūm, the Parwāna seems to have reneged on his arrangement and to have invited Abaḳa to attack Baybars. Whatever the true motivation of the Parwāna's dangerous double game, he aroused the ire of both Baybars and Abaḳa and provided a convenient scapegoat for the Mongol defeat at Albistān.

The Parwāna is said to have enjoyed a close relationship with Rūmī. Some of the discourses in *Fīhi mā fīhi* are addressed directly to the Parwāna. According to Aflākī, it was often in the Parwāna's house that Rūmī held spiritual concerts and the Parwāna and his wife provided funds for the building of Rūmī's mausoleum (Huart, ii, 80, 92-3, 267). The Parwāna also settled the Ṣūfī Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*] near Tokat. He was responsible for the construction of a limited number of religious buildings. An inscription (661/1263) on the *madrasa* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn at Sinope celebrates the Parwāna's conquest of the city (*RCEA*, xii, 76). The Sulṭān Muḥammad mosque at Merzifon bears a foundation inscription (663/1265) in the name of the Parwāna, who has the Mongol title *iftikhār-i nūyān* (*ibid.*, 94-5). Its unique occurrence in Anatolian epigraphy demonstrates the Parwāna's close relationship with his Mongol overlords (Rogers, 276).

The demise of the Parwāna marked the end of even semi-independent Saldjūḳ rule in Anatolia, which was henceforth governed directly by the Mongols. Since they were primarily interested in eastern Anatolia, the Turcoman amīrates were able to prosper in the west. The sons of the Parwāna (the Parwāna-oghullarï) continued for several generations (676-722/1277-1322) to hold on to Sinope and Tokat, the area which the Parwāna had made his personal domain.

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MUʿĪN AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD **YAZDĪ** (d. 789/1387), Persian historiographer of the second half of the 8th/14th century, during a confusing period of Persian-Islamic history. After the decay of Mongol power, the despotic dynasty of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] had taken over political control in Fārs, Iṣfahān and Yazd (Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 613-755, see *Bibl.*). Yazdī adopted an avowed positive attitude towards the representatives of this dynasty, who were the patrons of his works (A. Hartmann, *Eine orthodoxe Polemik*, 275 ff.).

Yazdī's works contain only a few data on his life (e.g. *Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, 94). Born in Yazd, his date of birth is not known. Later biographers celebrate him as "one of the greatest *fuḳahāʾ* and scholars of his time", and he became known as *muʿallim-i Yazd.* Having received a traditional education in his native town and in Shīrāz, where he was ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī's [*q.v.*] (d. 756/1355) pupil, Yazdī attracted the attention of the Muẓaffarid sultan Mubāriz al-Dīn, who took the young scholar into his employment as a political and religious mouth-piece. From 744/1343-4 onwards, he belonged to the court circles and accompanied the Muẓaffarids on most of their travels. Being assigned to carry through or to settle their political interests and quarrels, he was intimately involved in them, an activity which, whether successful or not, must have marked his personality (*Mawāhib-i ilāhī*, 149; *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 686; *Tārīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, iv, 511 f., 516 f.).

Yazdī also ranked as a religious authority with the Muẓaffarids. Mubāriz al-Dīn appointed him as teacher of his son Shāh Shudjāʿ, and in 755/1354 he nominated him professor at the Dār al-Siyādat *madrasa* in Kirmān, where mainly descendants from the Prophet were lodged and educated (*Mawahib-i ilāhī*, 209-11; *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 650, 653; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 277). Here Yazdī became quite influential in religious matters, for on the one hand he taught a strict Sunnism, but on the other hand stood aloof from the immense influence of the monistic ideas of Ṣūfism. He may in fact be considered as a classic example in Persia of the union between traditional, Sunnī orthodoxy, including a strongly marked hatred of philosophers, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's [*q.v.*] theosophy.

Yazdī's intellectual attitude is most articulately expressed in his *Tardjama-i Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍāʾiḥ al-yūnāniyya* (see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 282-8; for the mss., *ibid.* 288-91; ed. Tehran 1365/1986), a polemic against the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], containing an extensive paraphrase and independent adaptation of the *Rashf*, written by the Baghdādī court theologian and mystic ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234), who himself had been still far removed from Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. Yazdī's *Tardjama-i Rashf* is a noteworthy document for the process of popularisation of *taṣawwuf*, far advanced in Persia at a time when state policy was still to remain Sunnī for about one hundred more years.

While in Yazd in 744/1372-3, the author dedicated his work to prince Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 795/1393), a nephew of Shāh Shudjāʿ's. At that time the poet Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] probably was also staying in the town, but no recognition was allotted to him there. It is also remarkable that Yazdī does not quote one single verse of Ḥāfiẓ, his contemporary, in the *Tardjama-i Rashf*, though this work is adorned with hundreds of Persian poems by Saʿdī [*q.v.*], in par-

ticular. It may be assumed that Yazdī belonged to that group of religious scholars who stimulated and promoted Shāh Shudjāᶜ's "clericalism", and so in the end made things hard for Ḥāfiẓ. This keeping of the "prince of poets" under wraps may thus be seen as a first indication that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry was not considered by his contemporaries as being allegorical or mystical, as has been customarily thought later and up to the present time (see Hartmann, *Orth. Polemik*, 287 ff.).

Yazdī's main work is his stylistically inflated *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* ("Divine gifts"), also known under the title *Tārīkh-i muẓaffarī* or *Humāyūn-nāma*, the only contemporary account of the Muẓaffarids. Rypka says of it that, among the most famous ornately written historical works in Persian, it is second only to Waṣṣāf's history of the Īl-Khānids (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, 302, enlarged Eng. tr. *History of Iranian literature*, 318 n. 7, 443). Yazdī thus imitated the style of Waṣṣāf (see the comparison of the two in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 685). In 757/1356-7 Yazdī read in Iṣfahān the first chapters of his chronicle to Sultan Mubāriz al-Dīn and his son Shāh Shudjāᶜ. Mubāriz al-Dīn having died in 765/1364, shortly before the *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* was concluded with the year 767/1363-4, the chronicle was dedicated to Shāh Shudjāᶜ. Two generations later, Maḥmūd-i Kutubī (d. 823/1402-3) completed the work, inside Ḳazwīnī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, up to the downfall of the Muẓaffarids, brought about by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] in 795/1392-3, and simplified the style. Only about half of the work has been edited (vol. i, ed. Saᶜīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326/1947-8).

Other works by Yazdī are listed in Djaᶜfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, 78 (cf. Afshār, *Yādkārhā-i Yazd*, i, 205-7).

Not much is known about Yazdī's final years. In 789/1378, the year of his death, he had a sumptuous mosque and a mausoleum built for himself and his family at the periphery of the town of Yazd, where teaching sessions were held after his death. The constructions were repaired in 1081/1670-1, and their present state can be assessed as satisfactory.

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MUᶜĪN AL-FUḲARĀʾ [see AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, in Suppl.].

MUᶜĪN AL-MISKĪN, whose full name was Muᶜīn al-Dīn Muḥammad Amīn b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad al-Farāhī al-Harawī and whose *takhalluṣ* was Muᶜīnī (d. 907/1501-2), a celebrated traditionist. He studied *ḥadīth* for 31 years, and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Harāt. He was for one year *ḳāḍī* of Harāt, but gave up the post by his own request. In 866/1461-2, at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. Out of this little book, there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Maᶜāridj al-nubuwwa fī madāridj al-futuwwa*, which was not finished till 891/1486 and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *muḳaddima*, four books and a *khātima*; it has been frequently printed. Besides this gigantic work, Muᶜīnī also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Baḥr al-durar* and a collection of forty *ḥadīths*, *Rawḍat al-wāᶜiẓīn*. His study of the history of the prophets produced a larger history of Moses entitled *Muᶜdjizāt-i Mūsawī* (also called *Taʾrīkh-i Mūsawī* or *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mūsawī*), which was completed in 904/1498-9, and the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, *Aḥsan al-ḳiṣaṣ*.

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(E. BERTHELS)

AL-**MUᶜIZZ** B. **BĀDĪS**, Abū Tamīm Sharaf al-Dawla (407-54/1016-62), fourth ruler of the Zīrid dynasty who governed Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] from 362/972 to 543/1148. His reign was not, as H.R. Idris thought, that of an apogee. If there was an apogee, it would have to be placed early on, before the plague and the terrible famine of 395/1004-5 which severely reduced the population. From this date, and throughout the reign of al-Muᶜizz, calamities succeeded one another in a sustained rhythm, revealing the deficiencies of a disorganised and rundown economy. The years 409/1018-19, 423/1022-3, 425/1033-4, 432/1040-1, and 447/1055-6 were all marked by disaster (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 149, 161, 227, 274 and 293).

Al-Muᶜizz, whose qualities were confused and embellished at leisure by Sunnī historiography which made him *a posteriori* a "Sunnī" prisoner of the Shīᶜīs from his earliest infancy, remains in the history of Ifrīḳiya the artisan of the restoration of Mālikī orthodoxy, itself linked to the "catastrophe" of the Hilālī invasion. His father, Bādīs [*q.v.*], died suddenly on the eve of the final assault which would deliver to him the Ḳalᶜa [*q.v.*] founded in 398/1007-8 by his uncle Ḥammād. His sudden death (30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 406/10 May 1016) marked the definitive partition of the Zīrid kingdom to the benefit of the Ḥammādid branch [*q.v.*] (405-547/1015-1152).

The young prince—he was less than nine years old on his father's death—was then at al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], a delicate situation which was not mastered without difficulty and subterfuge (Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, 128-30). His enthronement, on 21 or 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 406/31 May or 2 June 1016, passed off without being contested. He had, we are told, a swarthy complexion,

and was acknowledged to have a lively intelligence and good level of culture which could not have been acquired later. The following month al-Muʿizz left al-Mahdiyya, and in the middle of Muḥarram 407/24 June 1016, he made his entrance into his capital al-Manṣūriyya founded around 336-7/947-9 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr half a mile from Ḳayrawān, the turbulent citadel of Sunnism, to which the new *amīr*, as a matter of good policy, owed a visit, a visit which unleashed, in conditions which remain confused and obscure, a huge anti-S̲h̲īʿī revolt.

On 16 Muḥarram 407/25 June 1016, the princely procession which paraded through the streets of the holy city was at first greeted with acclamation and applause. But suddenly, certainly at a signal or word of command that the chroniclers misinterpreted, rioting broke out. No doubt it was directed at the very life of the young *amīr* and, beyond him personally, at the regime that the Sunnīs wanted to bring to an end once and for all throughout the Mag̲h̲rib in circumstances which then appeared to them particularly favourable. Had Ḥammād, miraculously saved by the sudden death of Bādīs, rejected from 405/1015 the S̲h̲īʿī dogmas and recognised the ʿAbbāsids of Bag̲h̲dād? The possibility cannot be ruled out that he was in league with the rebels, if only to distract Ḳayrawān from a new offensive against the Ḳalʿa. It also seems certain that the Sunnīs acted in complicity with some in the ranks of the official army who, at first, displayed a curious half-heartedness. As for the relative passivity of the governor of Ḳayrawān, it is easily explained by the fact that he had got wind of his forthcoming deposition.

The princely guard was quickly overrun. Once rioting broke out, the rioters killed with and without good cause, guided as much, if not more, by their instinct for looting than by their horror of heresy! "The hands of the people turned against the S̲h̲īʿīs. Their houses and goods were looted. The situation worsened, and the rioting spread everywhere. The S̲h̲īʿīs were massacred in large numbers and where there was a slight doubt many people were also killed whose doctrine was not reliably known" (Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 268). Venerable Ḳayrawānī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* even advised the unfettered crowds to act quickly. "If indeed the victim is a good Sunnī, it will only hasten his entrance into paradise!" (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, ed. Beirut 1967, iv, 625). Abu 'l-Bahār b. K̲h̲alūf, who was a special target and who was to accede some years later to the rank of vizier, only escaped the popular verdict thanks to the troops of his nephew, who was lynched in his place. The rioters finally invaded al-Manṣūriyya and sacked it in its turn. Several other towns of Ifrīḳiya experienced anti-S̲h̲īʿī pogroms.

Our sources, all Sunnī for these events, only wished to preserve the memory of a great victory over S̲h̲īʿism. In fact, the revolt, whatever its scale, had a long-term definitive effect. The S̲h̲īʿī régime, while probably showing clemency, stayed in place. It goes without saying that al-Muʿizz, if only on the grounds of his age, could not have had at the time of the events any personal policy. It was no doubt the staff left in place by his father who conducted the operations. About a month after the beginning of the revolt, on 19 Ṣafar 407/28 July 1016, a new vizier was appointed: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the old governor of Tripoli. Was this a concession to restore calm?

Sunnism, emboldened no doubt by the state's clemency, did not meanwhile disarm. Some months later, on going to the open-air oratory (*muṣallā*) in Ḳayrawān on the occasion of the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* (the feast of the fastbreaking, 1 S̲h̲awwāl 407/3 March 1017), al-Muʿizz narrowly missed becoming the victim of a new attempt. This time the régime decided to strike at the head and to strike hard. Al-Muʿizz, writes ʿIyāḍ (*Madārik*, iv, 626) "had become seriously afraid of the Sunnīs and decided to crush their provocation. He executed the leader (*zaʿīm*) of Sunnism and the guide (*s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*) of this movement (*daʿwa*)." On Thursday, 12 S̲h̲awwāl 407/14 March 1017 the "guide of the movement", Abū ʿAlī Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, was besieged in his mosque, from which he was doubtless orchestrating events, and put to death. At once Ḳayrawān was in an uproar. But this time the state was not caught off guard. "The troops of al-Manṣūriyya, infantry and black guards, then moved against this city and sacked all its shops so completely that they left nothing unpillaged. They set fire to the great commercial arteries and looted the merchants' goods" (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, iv, 626). The Sunnī provocation was definitively crushed, and the threat that they presented to the régime removed. Practically there would no longer ever be a problem, throughout the reign of al-Muʿizz, of anti-S̲h̲īʿī disturbances.

Less than three months later (at the end of D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 407/end of May 1017) the caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*], doubtless in recognition, sent him from Cairo robes of honour, and conferred on him by a rescript the title of S̲h̲araf al-Dawla (Nobility of the State). At once al-Muʿizz resumed against his great-uncle Ḥammād the campaign that had been interrupted by the sudden death of his father. Despite a frightfully bloody victory (30 Rabīʿ I 408/26 August 1017), the campaign resulted in a Pyrrhic success. The peace concluded between the two belligerents and which would only be broken by Ḥammād's successor, al-Ḳāʾid, in 432/1040-1, left the Ḥammādids masters of the Ḳalʿa and also confirmed the loss of the central Mag̲h̲rib for the Zīrids of Ḳayrawān.

Meanwhile, relations remained excellent with the Fāṭimids. At the beginning of 411/end April 1020, al-Ḥākim renewed his confidence and favours to al-Muʿizz, to whom he had sent among other gifts, a sabre inlaid with precious stones. His successor, al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1021-36), who had nominally under the tutelage of his aunt Sitt al-Mulk (d. 415/1024-5) assumed power at the age of 16, in 414/1023-4, enhanced his honorific title by rendering it even more high-sounding: S̲h̲araf al-Dawla wa-ʿAḍuduhā (Nobility and Right Arm of the State). And, of course, at the same time he heaped on him sumptuous presents. Egypt and Ifrīḳiya were then both governed by adolescents more or less under tutelage.

Al-Muʿizz moved first to free himself from the control of his omnipotent and, allegedly, unscrupulous vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. When he was unsuccessful in persuading him through a go-between to resign from power, he deposed him and had him executed on 7 Rabīʿ II 413/11 July 1022, also inaugurating at the age of about 15 his personal reign. He appointed as new vizier a man dishonoured by the Sunnīs who had come close to lynching him during the revolt of 407/1016: Abu 'l-Bahār b. K̲h̲alūf. His nomination had a double political significance: for the Sunnīs it was a warning, and for the Fāṭimids of Cairo a sign of loyalty. The same year al-Muʿizz married, with a great feast.

For more than 35 years, i.e. until the Hilālī invasion, his reign was overall quite calm, despite several minor revolts, particularly in the south of the country. The edifice seemed solid. But this was only an appearance. Behind the feasting of the court, enriched

by the censers of the regular incense-bearers, was hidden the collapse of economic structures more and more deprived of the support of servile manpower, a collapse generating repeated shortages and famines—not less than five mentioned by the chroniclers—with their train of disorders, epidemics and demographic depression, particularly in the country areas which became deserted for the towns. When the Hilālī waves struck directly at the country's shores, the land was already quite drained and incapable of supporting or neutralising the shock. Certainly there were already internal religious, but also economic, difficulties, which had gradually driven al-Mu^cizz to conciliate the masses who were impoverished and remained solidly faithful to Mālikī Sunnism, to change his views by exchanging Fāṭimid suzerainty, which actually only imposed on him insignificant obligations, for that of the distant ^cAbbāsids, which was hardly more onerous. Helped by the decline of the Fāṭimids, particularly after the death of the vizier al-Djardjarā'ī (436/1045 [*q.v.*]), the break with Cairo took place in fits and starts, at the mercy of circumstances and perhaps also moods, which explains why the chroniclers assign different dates to it spanning a decade between 433 and 443/1041-51. Numismatics allow us to state that in 441/1049-50 it was well and truly achieved (Idris, *Zīrides*, i, 190).

The decisive invasion campaign that the caliph al-Mustanṣir, on the advice of his vizier al-Yāzūrī, launched against Ifrīḳiya in order to punish his vassal for his rebellion, took place in the region of Gabès, at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*], on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 443/14 April 1052. Despite the courage of the *amīr* and the advantage of numbers in favour of the Ifrīḳiyans, it was the rout of an army without strategy and cohesion, an army which, a colossus on feet of clay, was threatened by ethnic rivalries and the alleged resentment of the Berber contingents towards the strong black guard of some 30,000 slaves. The Zīrid edifice, deeply flawed behind a deceptive façade, crumbled at one blow. To lose a battle is not to lose the war. As the country collapsed and was unable to recover, it must have been without material resources and moral resilience.

The Hilālīs, pillaging and sacking all in their path, spread everywhere like a cloud of locusts, according to Ibn Khaldūn, and the principal towns of the land set themselves up as independent kingdoms. Ḳayrawān, finally given up by al-Mu^cizz, who sought refuge at al-Mahdiyya (27 Sha^cbān 449/29 October 1057), was two days after the flight of the *amīr*, on 1 Ramaḍān/1 November, looted and sacked from top to bottom, inspiring heart-rending accents of distress from two famous poets, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1 [*q.v.*]) and especially Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067 [*q.v.*]). The extent of the "catastrophe" is debated. J. Poncet goes as far as to deny it. We think that there is no good reason to doubt the extensive evidence, all in agreement, that has come down to us. Even allowing for the poetic emphasis of Ibn Sharaf, who has left a poignant eyewitness description of the misfortunes of the refugees scattered on all the roads in total destitution when they could save their lives (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1945, iv/1, 177-84), such emphasis may not be gratuitous. Nevertheless, one may recover from an invasion, however severe. Real and lasting catastrophe is something more. It is in the blow directed at an economy that was certainly very sick, but still curable. The Hilālīs provoked the transformation of this economy, definitely in crisis, but traditionally agricultural, artisan and urban, into a largely nomadic and pastoral economy with all the political and economic freezes that such a mutation represents. They caused the regression on a vast scale of peaceful urban life in favour of the adventurous existence of the nomads, whose bellicose vocation severely restricted rural, urban and commercial life, and weighed heavily over the centuries on the political fate of the country.

At bay, not knowing where to turn, al-Mu^cizz actually sought safety in vain and unnatural matrimonial alliances with the rough invaders. Always in the vain hope of averting or at least limiting the disaster, he also returned to Shī^cī obedience, perhaps at the end of 446/beginning of 1055 and certainly from 449/1057-8, as the *dīnārs* minted at al-Mahdiyya from this date attest. His return to his Shī^cī allegiance, to which al-Mu^cizz remained faithful until the end of his life, took place amidst the total indifference of a land both plunged in anarchy and confronted with preoccupations of too immediate vitality for it to be concerned any longer with heresy.

The Mediterranean policy of al-Mu^cizz was inherited from that of the Aghlabids and Fāṭimids, with this difference that the Zīrids were no longer in a strong position. Confusions in dates, omissions and contradictions do not allow us, in any case, to follow this policy with certainty. Let us bear in mind that an expedition against central Italy in 411/1020 ended in failure, with the Pisans and the Genoese succeeding in despoiling the Zīrid fleet of its booty on the return journey. In 416/1025-6 a powerful Zīrid fleet which had appeared near Sicily was destroyed by storm off Pantelleria before achieving its goal. In 426/1034-5 the Pisans briefly seized Bône. In 427/1035-6, an army commanded by ^cAbd Allāh, son of al-Mu^cizz—a youth of not more than 13—intervened in Sicily, at that time in complete anarchy and about to fall into the hands of the Normans, against al-Akhal who had seized power there in Muḥarram 410/9 May-7 June 1019. After storming Palermo and beheading al-Akhal and his father, ^cAbd Allāh was finally checked. In fact before this expedition, in 426/1034-5, al-Mu^cizz had received an ambassador from Byzantium bearing valuable gifts. Could the two events be linked despite the silence of the sources?

Until the Hilālī invasion, al-Mu^cizz had lived very ostentatiously, spending with prodigality and cultivating his reputation as a generous and enlightened patron. He had as his teacher one of the most prestigious Ifrīḳiyan men of letters, Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v.*], a famous poet and astronomer, whose *al-Bāri^c* was translated into several European languages as well as into Latin and Hebrew. Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl later became the astrologer and head of chancellery of al-Mu^cizz, in whose reign the literary school of Ḳayrawān shone with particular brilliance with masters such as al-Ḳazzāz [*q.v.*] and the two al-Ḥuṣrīs [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm (d. 413/1022) and his father ^cAlī who, fleeing Ḳayrawān after the Hilālī invasion, wandered throughout Muslim Spain where he died in 488/1095. But the two stars of the court were indisputably two rival poets of great talent, Ibn Rashīḳ and Ibn Sharaf, between whom al-Mu^cizz liked to provoke some still famous poetic jousts. Ibn al-Raḳīḳ [*q.v.*] (or al-Raḳīḳ, d. after 418/1027-8), famous above all as a historiographer, was also secretary of chancery, a diplomat and poet not devoid of talent. In the field of Mālikī *fiḳh*, among a pleiad of celebrities, the dominant figure is that of Abū ^cImrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) who "played a considerable role in the genesis of the Almoravid movement" (Idris, *Zīrides*, ii, 727).

Al-Mu^cizz, as a child, had inherited a kingdom

economically disorganised and weakened and politically already amputated from its Western part. His attempt, in the wake of his father's policy, to reunite it, resulted in failure. On his death, on 24 S̲haʿbān 454/2 September 1062, at the age of 56 or 58 and after a long reign of forty-seven years, he left it to his successor Tamīm, a kingdom economically ruined and politically divided and in complete anarchy.

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(M. Talbi)

MUʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī S̲hud̲jāʿ Fanāk̲husraw Būya, b. 303/915-16, the youngest of the three Būyids of the first generation, founder of Būyid rule in Bag̲hdād, d. 356/967. While serving under ʿAlī, his eldest brother (the later ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*]), who had taken power in central and southern Iran, Aḥmad subdued Kirmān in 323/935. In 326/938 ʿImād al-Dawla ordered him to K̲hūzistān to support Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad al-Barīdī [*q.v.*], who ruled this province as independent governor, but was threatened by Ibn Rāʾiḳ and Bad̲jkam [*q.vv.*], the chief *amīrs* (*amīr al-umarāʾ*) of Bag̲hdād, and therefore sought protection with the Būyids. Having fought against Bad̲jkam, Aḥmad turned against al-Barīdī himself and took hold of K̲hūzistān, which he ruled on behalf of his brother. Next to his brother's, his name appears on coins minted in K̲hūzistān, insofar as they are known to us, from 330/941 onwards. From 332/943-4, Aḥmad undertook several expeditions from K̲hūzistān against southern Mesopotamia, but without success. Finally, the governor of Wāsiṭ joined forces with him, and so the road to the city of the caliphs was free. Aḥmad marched on Bag̲hdād, and on 13 D̲jumādā I 334/21 December 945, the caliph al-Mustakfī bi'llāh [*q.v.*] appointed him *amīr al-umarāʾ* and granted him at the same time the *laḳab* [*q.v.*] of Muʿizz al-Dawla, while his brothers ʿAlī and Ḥasan received the *laḳabs* of ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The rule of the Būyids was now established in ʿIrāḳ. It was to last for more than one hundred years.

Though S̲hīʿīs of the Zaydī branch, the Būyids, for reasons of internal and external policy, did not undermine the caliphate fundamentally. They limited themselves to making the caliphs instrumental to their policy. During the public audience of 22 D̲jumādā II 334/29 January 946, Muʿizz al-Dawla had the caliph arrested, deposed and replaced by al-Muṭīʿ li'llāh [*q.v.*], a nephew of al-Mustakfī. Until the summer of the same year, a period during which the Būyids' position was not yet well established in Bag̲hdād, he kept al-Muṭīʿ under arrest, and released him only after a treaty had been concluded about reciprocal obligations. One of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*'s sons was given an honorary function at the caliphal court. However, the change on the throne was not recognised everywhere outside the realm of the Būyids: in eastern Iran, the Samānids held on to Mustakfī until 344/955, beyond the latter's death in 338/949.

From the very beginning, the realm of the Būyids formed a complex structure. Although appointed *amīr al-umarāʾ* by the caliph, Muʿizz al-Dawla remained under the command of his elder brother ʿImād al-Dawla in S̲hīrāz. The names of the two brothers appear on the coins minted in ʿIrāḳ, while on the coins minted in his own realm, ʿImād al-Dawla carried the title *amīr al-umarāʾ*. In the spring of 336/948, both *amīrs* met in Arrad̲jān [*q.v.*] to settle government affairs. On this occasion, questions of the inner structure of the Būyid realm must have been discussed.

Once established in Bag̲hdād, Muʿizz al-Dawla had to defend himself against external and internal enemies. His most dangerous opponents were the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] in Mawṣil. Although he had concluded a peace treaty with them in the summer of 334/946, he nevertheless had to take the field three times against them, in 337/949, 348/959 and 355/964. In 336/947 he succeeded in chasing the Barīdids from al-Baṣra, where they had settled after the loss of K̲hūzistān. ʿImrān b. S̲hāhīn [*q.v.*], who ruled al-Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], the marshy region between Wāsiṭ and the S̲haṭṭ al-ʿArab, was able to withdraw from the *amīr al-umarāʾ*'s direct control, and Muʿizz al-Dawla was obliged to recognise his rule. Muʿizz al-Dawla was more successful in the S̲haṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Gulf. In 341/952 he was able to defend al-Baṣra against an attack of the combined forces of the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] and the Wad̲jīhids, the rulers of ʿUmān. In 355/966, shortly before his death, the lords of ʿUmān submitted to the Būyids, but it was only ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] who succeeded in incorporating ʿUmān definitely into the Būyid realm.

The Daylamī [*q.v.*] mercenaries, who had helped the Būyids to build their power, were not reliable troops. Three times Muʿizz al-Dawla had to defend himself against mutinies and conspiracies of Daylamī officers. He therefore began to rely more and more on Turkish mercenaries. Their position in ʿIrāḳ had already been strong for a long time; in the pre-Būyid period, they had deposed the *amīr al-umarāʾ* several times. For the payment of the troops, Muʿizz al-Dawla used the income of several districts in ʿIrāḳ,

and he also used the method of distributing leases (*iḳṭāᶜ* [*q.v.*]). Contrary to the practice used so far, he granted them without any financial return, and this was to become a characteristic of the financial policy of the Būyids and their successors. The distribution of tax leases (*ḍamān*), a practice which had already taken root and which the Būyids continued without change, was also disadvantageous for state finances. Yet Muᶜizz al-Dawla took trouble to redress the economic bases in the regions under his control. From 334/955-6 he restored the irrigation systems which had been neglected during the upheavals of the preceding decades. He is said to have lent his own hand at this, in order to encourage the works. He also took trouble to promote health organisation, but the construction of a hospital on the site of the Ḥabs al-djadīd in Baghdād remained unfinished. The palace which he ordered to be built in Baghdād on the eastern side of the Tigris, in front of the Bāb al-Shammāsiyya, seems to have been an important complex. For this construction were used remnants from the round city (*Madīnat al-Manṣūr*), which was increasingly decaying, as well as from other cities in ᶜIrāḳ.

Muᶜizz al-Dawla was uncultivated. Instances of his ignorance of the political and cultural relations in the centre of the ᶜAbbāsid empire, were transmitted in the form of anecdotes. He favoured the Zaydīs and was in relation with Muᶜtazilī theologians. From 352/964 onwards, the Twelver Shīᶜīs were able to celebrate their religious feasts under official favour and with great pomp.

Muᶜizz al-Dawla was undoubtedly an able commander and ruler. After the function of *amīr al-umarā*ʾ had changed six times between 324/936 and 334/945, he put an end to the upheavals which had shaken the country and took care of its economic interests. In foreign policy, too, he put Būyid power in Mesopotamia on a firm basis, though he did not succeed in eliminating completely the Ḥamdānids. On the other hand, he initiated the period of the almost total powerlessness of the caliphate by reducing the caliph to a puppet without any real power.

In 343/955 he fell severely ill from priapism, and in the same year appointed his eldest son Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], the later ᶜIzz al-Dawla, as successor to the throne and at the same time as *amīr al-umarā*ʾ. During a campaign against the ruler of the Baṭīḥa, he fell ill again, returned to Baghdād and died there on 17 Rabīᶜ II 356/1 April 967. He was buried in the Shīᶜī sanctuary of al-Kāẓimayn. About his family relations there is only known that he was married to the daughter of the Daylamī grandee Ispahdūst. He left four sons: Bakhtiyār, al-Ḥabashī, Abū Isḥāḳ, Ibrāhīm and Abū Ṭāhir; and a daughter Zubayda, who was married to Muʾayyid al-Dawla, a son of Rukn al-Dawla's.

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(K.V. Zetterstéen-[H. Busse])

AL-MUᶜIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Maᶜadd, fourth and last caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty of Ifrīḳiya.

He acceded to the throne of his ancestors at an early age on 29 Shawwāl 341/19 March 953; having been born on 11 Ramaḍān 319/26 September 931, he had barely come of age. According to his biographer, the famous *ḳāḍī* al-Nuᶜmān [*q.v.*], the designation of the young Maᶜadd to the imāmate does not seem to have been surrounded by the traditional secrecy of the period of *satr* [*q.v.*], his father al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh [*q.v.*] having for long hesitated as to the choice of his successor from among his five sons. It was only after having been justified with regard to Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] and at Tāhart, where he fell seriously ill, at the end of his long, tough campaign against the Khāridjite rebel, that he decided to make him his presumptive heir and informed his followers of his choice. But the designation of the young Maᶜadd was not proclaimed until long after, at the beginning of the year 344/952.

At the moment when he assumed power, the young caliph seems, according to the account of the author of the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, to have been distressed, fearing a violent reaction on the part of his brothers, uncles and great-uncles who had been deprived of the throne, and having inherited moreover a difficult political situation. His father had indeed restored royal authority by putting an end to Abū Yazīd's revolt, but he had not had enough time to suppress completely the insubordination of the Berbers of the Aurès and to re-establish his dynasty's prestige within the realm as well as outside. However, as nothing occurred to justify the young ruler's fears and as peace reigned in the land as well as on its borders, he was not slow to make public his father's death which had been kept secret until then, by celebrating in the Manṣūriyya mosque the ᶜĪd al-Aḍḥā and marking the beginning of his reign with an enthronement sermon in a solemn manner. In this *khuṭba*, whose text has been preserved intact in the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, the new master of Ifrīḳiya shows that he has overcome entirely the momentary confusion which had seized him on his father's demise. From now on he has the firm and decided tone of the ambitious young monarch who is determined to bring his arduous task to a successful conclusion. He has a very clear view of his programme of action and the vast work which will be demanded of him both inside and outside his realm: to pacify the territory which he governs, to extend his hegemony over it from its frontiers in the West to the East and to realise also the imperialistic aims of his predecessors founded on their belief in the ineluctable return of the throne of Islam to the Prophet's family in a line of descent from ᶜAlī.

Al-Muᶜizz was to devote himself to achieving these vast designs throughout his reign in Ifrīḳiya, during some twenty years, without ever wearying, revealing as he advanced in age some exceptional qualities and leaving behind him the image of the most prestigious ruler of his period. His Ismāᶜīlī biographers, like the Sunnī chroniclers, actually agree in recognising in him all the gifts which make up the majestic presence of the monarch: tenacity and courage, farsightedness and determination, *ḥilm* and magnanimity, benevolence and extreme modesty, that al-Nuᶜmān takes pleasure in submitting as evidence in his *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*. But some dominant qualities throw more light on his personality: broadness of outlook, vast erudition in doctrinal matters and an innate sense of royal dignity. All this surrounds his name with a remarkable halo of grandeur and glory.

The discovery and publication of basic sources that constitute Ismāᶜīlī documentation, notably works of the *ḳāḍī* al-Nuᶜmān and the *Sīrat Djawdhar*, have thrown new light on the reign of al-Muᶜizz, giving more detail and enriching our information. It has also been possible to revise certain currently-accepted theses and to modify certain well-established judgments (see F. Dachraoui, *Le caliphat fāṭimide au Maghreb*, notably the conclusion). When one calls to mind al-Muᶜizz, it is with the conquest of Egypt and

the expansion of Fāṭimid power in the East to the heart of the ᶜAbbāsid empire that one tends to associate his name. However, it was during his reign in Ifrīḳiya that the apogee of their power was achieved. It was only towards the end, during the last four years, that al-Muᶜizz succeeded in realising the primordial objective of his ancestors, that of displacing the ᶜAbbāsid usurpers, amputating their Egyptian possessions from their empire and establishing his forces in the south of Syria, the Holy Places and Yemen. On the other hand, for a long time his essential preoccupation was with maintaining his hegemony in North Africa itself and pursuing there an unflagging struggle for influence against the Umayyad monarchy of Spain. Al-Muᶜizz was in fact eager to press hard from the Far Maghrib in a serious threat to the Cordovan throne, a subject on which al-Nuᶜmān fortunately informs us, casting new light on this episode by providing evidence of the ardour of the politico-ideological war to which the Ismāᶜīlī Shīᶜīs of Ifrīḳiya and the Mālikī orthodoxy of al-Andalūs dedicated themselves. Parallel to this, on the alliance of necessity concluded between Cordova and Byzantium against Fāṭimid Ifrīḳiya, al-Nuᶜmān provides us with direct and exact information which traces in detail the intensification of the *djihād* on land and sea in the Byzantine apanages of Sicily and southern Italy, as well as the considerable development of the Fāṭimid navy in the Western Mediterranean.

Immediately after his enthronement, the first concern of al-Muᶜizz was to pacify the mountainous zone of the Aurès, traditional refuge of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], the ardent supporters of the Khāridjite rebellion. At the beginning of the year 342/953, he personally led the operations which gave the *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja Zīrī b. Manād and his son Buluggīn, the opportunity to distinguish themselves in his service and to achieve the submission of Muḥammad b. Khazar, chief of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], the principal branch of the Zanāta.

Then, having asserted his control over the central Maghrib thanks to the support of the Ṣanhādja, the Fāṭimid ruler next undertook to renew hostilities with his Umayyad rival in Cordova, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, suspended during the reign of his father al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh. The rich contents of the *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* offer all the information we would wish on the evolution of the Hispano-Fāṭimid conflict, the essential advantage of its contribution being that it is not limited to a simple account of events but reflects also on the motives of a political and doctrinal order that animated the ardent struggle pursued by al-Muᶜizz against his hereditary enemy.

At the beginning of his reign, it was thus to the throne of Cordova that the Fāṭimid monarch turned his attention. Al-Nuᶜmān's account actually supplies some evidence of his ambition to invade Muslim Spain. It became a sacred duty to dislodge there the "accursed" enemy, "the wicked usurper", and to restore the territory to its legitimate owners, the children of Fāṭima. He also denied his rival the right to style himself caliph and *amīr* of the believers, the Umayyad caliphate being for him illegitimate. "When Muᶜāwiya usurped the caliphate, he left it as an inheritance for his own lineage, taking care not to give the right to Marwān or Marwānid descendants. The Marwānids seized it from the first usurpers. Their possession of the caliphate was thus doubly illegitimate... God instituted the caliphate exclusively in the family of the Prophet's descendants through his daughter Fāṭima."

But undoubtedly not having the means to undertake the conquest of al-Andalūs through the Far Maghrib, where his Cordovan rival had at his disposal strong garrisons in Tangiers and Ceuta and kept them constantly on the move thanks to his trustworthy Zanāta, al-Muᶜizz ordered his lieutenant in Sicily Ibn al-Kalbī to lead a strong expedition against the Mediterranean coast of the Umayyad realm. A demonstration of spectacular decisive force, the raid against Almeria and its region, in 344/955, was destined to prove to the Andalusians that their land was going to have to live from then on under the threat of invasion. An Umayyad counter-offensive led by Ghālib took place without delay, but remained without notable effect. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III then sought and obtained the alliance of the emperor of Byzantium Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, with the aim of dispersing the Fāṭimid naval forces by opening a second front in Sicily. At the same time, he sent an emissary to Manṣūriyya to ask for a truce and "to preserve the blood of the adherents of Islam".

The unavowed objective of his Cordovan rival being to reduce the conflict to the level of diplomatic polemic and to turn the bellicose attention of the Fāṭimids to the Greeks, al-Muᶜizz found in his enemy's step the opportunity to denounce vigorously the Hispano-Byzantine alliance by branding its character "sacrilegious", since it ranked Muslims on the side of the infidels. He had a good chance, moreover, to refute the accusations brought against his régime by Cordova: the assassination of the *dāᶜī* Abū ᶜAbd Allāh by al-Mahdī bi 'llāh [*q.v.*], the prohibition of Andalusian pilgrims from passing through Ifrīḳiya, the absence of religious tolerance in Ḳayrawān, the sacrilege of the caliphal title in which the caliph was exalted and placed in the rank of prophets. To his rival's emissary he asserted his intention not to disarm, doubtless counting on turning to his advantage the difficulties encountered by Andalusian arms facing the Christian kingdoms of Leon and Pamplona. He was also not slow to launch the powerful expedition of the year 347/958-9 under the command of his freedman Djawhar [*q.v.*], the future conqueror of Egypt. The chroniclers assigned to recount great deeds supply abundant information which has allowed certain studies to trace the developments of events in an exhaustive manner (see notably Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, and Gibb, in *EI*[1] art. AL-MUᶜIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH; the advantage of al-Nuᶜmān's account in his *madjālis* is in stating the objectives exactly: to extend the hegemony of the Fāṭimids to the West and an obligation to make war (*djihād*) on whoever lays claim to the caliphate and is opposed to the universal authority of the Fātimid *imām*.

The pretender to the caliphate that al-Muᶜizz intended to punish while waiting to strike at his Cordovan rival was, according to al-Nuᶜmān, the Midrārid prince of Sidjilmāssa, Ibn Wāsūl, surnamed al-Shākir li 'llāh [see MIDRĀR, BANŪ]. As soon as he captured the capital of Tafilalt and its dynast, Djawhar took care to mint money in the name of his master to replace that which Ibn Wāsūl had had issued in his own name and to intimate clearly that only al-Muᶜizz had the right effectively to style himself Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*). Then Djawhar conquered Fez, but he withdrew to Manṣūriyya without marching on Tangiers and Ceuta, having achieved the basic objective of his master, i.e. to annex the territories of the Far Maghrib and to remove them from Andalusian tutelage, in order to be able to exert there a direct threat to Muslim Spain. A fruitful and resounding campaign was destined on the whole not so much to

invade al-Andalūs as to seriously undermine the prestige of the Cordovan monarchy. Furthermore, the enterprise would have required more powerful forces and the combined intervention of the fleet maintained in this period on the eastern front in Sicily and off Calabria to face up to the aggressive designs of the new emperor Romanus II and his servant Nicephorus Phocas. The death of the Umayyad monarch only some months after Djawhar's return to Manṣūriyya provoked no military reaction on the part of al-Mu'izz who, from the time of Nicephorus Phocas's conquest of Crete, turned all his attention to the eastern front. The Fāṭimid was thus going to confine himself to maintaining under his tutelage the Moroccan territories conquered by Djawhar and to intensifying the intrusion of the Shī'ī *da'wa* within the Umayyad realm. The evolution of the conflict was thus to take on a strictly ideological character for many years, during which the new master of Cordova, al-Ḥakam II, was to devote himself to countering Fātimid propaganda in his country by consolidating the power of Mālikī orthodoxy and by pursuing with the greatest vigour the partisans of Shī'ī heresy. On this subject, the case in Cordova—that the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Sahl is alone in reporting in *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*—of a missionary of al-Mu'izz, a certain Abu 'l-Khayr at the beginning of al-Ḥakam II's reign, illustrates the latter's firm resolution to prevent all Shī'ī infiltration in his realm: being accused of the crime of treason against Islam (*zandaḳa*) in resorting to heterodoxy put into action against the security of the state, the Shī'ī agent was judged and executed for having organised a vast propaganda movement in favour of the Fāṭimids and having attempted to prepare on their account an uprising in Cordova.

Preoccupied by hostilities with the Greeks, al-Mu'izz thus left his Andalusian rival full scope to bring the Zanāta back under his influence thanks to the skill of his Moroccan policy based on intrigue and the granting of large subsidies. The defection of the lord of Masīla, his foster-brother Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn, who had gone over into the service of his Cordovan enemy with his brother Yaḥyā, and the serious reverses suffered by his Ṣanhādja auxiliaries opposed to the Zanāta, aggravated by the death of their chief Zīrī b. Manād, succeeded in striking a savage blow at his anti-Umayyad policy. Over the years since the victorious excursion of Djawhar following the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the situation had thus not evolved in his favour, and the impetus with which he had wanted to threaten the realm of Cordova from Morocco had petered out completely. On the other hand, the development of his conflict with Byzantium was more favourable to his arms. On this topic al-Nu'mān expatiates in his *madjālis*, completing and supporting the scanty information gleaned from the chroniclers.

Hostilities with Byzantium were resumed in 344/955-6 on the initiative of the Greeks, the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus having had to lend assistance to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III by virtue of their alliance established at the time when the Fāṭimid fleet undertook its raids on the Andalusian coast. Encouraged, besides, by the success of their arms against the Ḥamdānids of Syria, the Greeks carried out some successful operations against the Fāṭimid forces in Sicily, notably at Termini and Mazara, and on sea, near the island of al-Rāhib. But the fleet under the orders of Ibn al-Kalbī, having returned from its expedition against Muslim Spain, succeeded in containing their offensive. Anxious to regroup his forces with a view to a decisive campaign against Sayf al-Dawla in Syria, Constantine VII finally resolved to reach a settlement with al-Mu'izz, to consent to his province of Calabria paying the traditional tribute and then to conclude, in 346/957, a peace treaty for a period of five years. However, this truce was broken before its time, in 349/960, in conditions that al-Nu'mān is the only one to recount in detail. The rupture took place on the initiative of the Fāṭimid monarch in reaction to Nicephorus Phocas's conquest of Crete for Byzantium at the beginning of the reign of Romanus II. Although belonging to the 'Abbāsid community and thus recognising the nominal authority of Baghdād, the Cretans depended in practice on the Ikhshīdids of Egypt who, being preoccupied with the Ḳarmaṭī or Carmathian peril, were not in a position to lend energetic military assistance. So they had to address themselves, with the agreement of the Ikhshīdid *amīr* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, to al-Mu'izz, requesting his protection and military intervention against Byzantium. The Fāṭimid caliph, happy to turn this step to his advantage by presenting himself as the defender of Islam and proving the deficiency and impotence of the 'Abbāsids and Ikhshīdids at the same time, hastened to inform Romanus II of the breaking of the truce concluded with his predecessor and his sacred right to come to the aid of any Muslim territory, should it escape his direct authority. Ably exploiting the situation to the benefit of his eastern policy, he formed an alliance with the Ikhshīdid and gave orders to his fleet to manoeuvre in concert with the Egyptian navy from the port of Ṭunba in Cyrenaica, not far from Alexandria, in the direction of Crete.

However, given short notice by the capture of the capital, Candia, by Nicephorus Phocas on 6 March 961, al-Mu'izz was slow to carry out the planned military intervention in Crete itself and had to limit himself to a resumption of hostilities in Sicily, where Ibn al-Kalbī captured Taormina in 962 and Rametta in 963, destroying the Byzantine expeditionary body led by the *patricii* Manuel and Niketas, who were killed in battle. This battle for Sicily, which resulted in a disaster for Byzantium, prompted Nicephorus Phocas, preoccupied with the war against the Bulgars, to come to an agreement with al-Mu'izz. The latter, with peace restored, immediately turned his attention to Egypt.

In the last part of his reign in Ifrīḳiya, the conquest of Egypt constituted the principal event and absorbs all the attention of the chroniclers from Ibn Zūlāḳ to al-Maḳrīzī. When we examine their various accounts, we perceive that the basic source is Ibn Zūlāḳ, whom Ibn Sa'īd makes use of in his *Mughrib*, al-Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* and his *Itti'āẓ*, as well as an Ismā'īlī author, the *dā'ī* Idrīs, in his *'Uyūn al-akhbār*. A native of Egypt, d. in 387/997, Ibn Zūlāḳ has the advantage, like al-Nu'mān, of having been contemporary with the events that he relates. On the four years during which Djawhar occupied Egypt and governed it until the arrival of al-Mu'izz, he has left us an eloquent picture of the political and social disorder provoked by the eruption of the Fāṭimids on the eastern scene. All these sources already having provided a sufficiently exact account of the conquest of Egypt in *EI*[1] [see AL-MU'IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH], we will not dwell here on the event except to stress more the significance of the development of al-Mu'izz's eastern policy at the moment when his relations as *imām* of the Ismā'īlī community deteriorated vis-à-vis the Ḳarmaṭī branch.

When he undertook to invade Egypt, al-Mu'izz had reached the apogee of his power. His renown went far beyond the frontiers of his realm to the East. His

ʿAbbāsid contemporary, al-Muṭīʿ, a simple plaything in the hands of the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla, was a helpless witness to the dismemberment of his empire. After Khurāsān and Syria became disaffected, his distant province beside the Nile, given up to drought and anarchy, had become since the death in 357/968 of his Ikhshīdid vassal Kāfūr an easy prey to his redoutable enemies, the Ḳarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn [see KARMAṬĪ]. It was certainly the advance of the latter in the direction of Egypt through Southern Syria that incited al-Muʿizz to precede them to Fusṭāṭ. Indeed, from the time of the deviation of the Ḳarmaṭī movement, a branch of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* which was to remain, however, a destructive force in the service of the Fāṭimid cause in the heart of the ʿAbbāsid empire, and especially with the accession to the direction of the movement of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Djannābī and his son al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam, hostile to his imāmate, al-Muʿizz saw no more in Ḳarmaṭism than an obstacle to his expansion to the east. The relations entered into by al-Aʿṣam with the Būyids and Ḥamdānids, equally opposed to the Fāṭimids and, above all, his repeated incursions against the Ikhshīdid apanages of Syria, succeeded in providing proof that the Ḳarmaṭīs were intending from now on to act only to their own account in their encounter with the Fāṭimids and were preparing to march on Fusṭāṭ.

Organised with the greatest care, the expedition to Egypt was powerfully endowed: innumerable troops, the support of a strongly equipped fleet and a war treasury of more than 1000 chests of gold. At the head of his heavy contingents, Djawhar took three months to reach Alexandria in Djumādā II 358/April-May 969. A delegation of notables from Fusṭāṭ came to meet him at Tarudja, not far from Alexandria, which he occupied without striking a blow, in order to conclude with him a treaty of capitulation guaranteeing the population security for their persons and their goods. This treaty, whose full text Ibn Zūlāḳ has preserved, constitutes an eloquent witness to the able policy by which the Fāṭimid general intended to win to his masters' cause a population marked by Sunnī orthodoxy: to protect the country from the Ḳarmaṭī threat and the Byzantine peril, to palliate also the ʿAbbāsids' deficiencies, to establish order and security, to implement justice, to redress wrongs and improve the social and economic situation, and above all to ensure complete religious tolerance, everyone being free to follow the doctrine to which he belonged.

Some Ikhshīdid officers, having refused to approve the treaty, tried in vain to resist, But Djawhar made a peaceful entry into Fusṭāṭ, renewing the *amān* to the population on 17 Shaʿbān 358/7 July 969. Having established his camp to the north of the town, he there traced out the location of a new city, imitating the act of al-Manṣūr in which he had seen to the founding of al-Manṣūriyya on the day following his victory over Abū Yazīd, also naming it al-Manṣūriyya (but it was also to be called al-Ḳāhira).

His power having scarcely been established, Djawhar set about realising the second phase of his mission, the conquest of Syria, where the remains of the Ikhshīdid troops had taken refuge, supported by powerful Arab tribes, the ʿUḳayl, the Murra and the Fazāra, and which, for the sake of the population, he made into a sacred duty to deliver them from the Ḳarmaṭī peril. Responsibility for this was entrusted to his lieutenant, the Kutāmī Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, who besieged Ramla, Tiberias, and finally Damascus in 359/969. But being severely beaten by the Ḳarmaṭīs and with their commander killed, the Fāṭimid forces had to evacuate Syria and fall back on the Palestinian port of Jaffa.

Thus the Fāṭimids' attempt to penetrate to the heart of the ʿAbbāsid empire came to a sudden end with the restoration of Syria to Ḳarmaṭī authority. Even worse, the way to Egypt was opened up once more to the Ḳarmaṭīs after Ibn Falāḥ's defeat. But instead of venturing to meet them in the vast desert lands of Sinai or the plains of the Delta, Djawhar preferred to give battle to them within trenches at the foot of the fortified stronghold of his new base, Cairo-Fusṭāṭ. Being inspired also by al-Manṣūr's strategy at Ḳayrawān against Abū Yazīd, he succeeded in holding in check the Ḳarmaṭī leader al-Aʿṣam and in forcing him to fall back on his capital al-Aḥsāʾ, where serious dissensions were about to erupt in the heart of his movement.

It is to the seriousness of this Ḳarmaṭī thrust, although contained by Djawhar, that we must attribute the decision of al-Muʿizz to join his faithful officer on the banks of the Nile. The threat that Carmathianism from now onwards presented to the unity of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and the prestige of the Fāṭimid caliphate in the East thus incited him to transfer the seat of the imāmate to Egypt without further delay and to leave Ifrīḳiya for ever.

The choice of a viceroy able to take on the government of the Maghrib was bound to be a matter of serious concern to the ruler, as his confidences reported in the *Sīrat Djawdhar* bear witness. This valuable source has the merit of confirming that he had the intention of entrusting the charge to the lord of Masīla, Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, consequently correcting the incoherent information of the chroniclers on Buluggīn's appointment to head the realm. That al-Muʿizz's choice had fallen on the *amīr* of the Ṣanhādja conforms moreover to the logic of history in a country where the cause of his ancestors had only been able to triumph and maintain itself thanks to the support of the Kutāma and Ṣanhādja Berbers. But the *ʿaṣabiyya* of the Kutāma being blunted by service to the state for half-a-century, it was for the Ṣanhādja, whose power had remained intact and the force of their *ʿaṣabiyya* much alive, to exercise power in the Maghrib on behalf of their Fāṭimid masters and to keep the turbulent Zanāta in check there. In any case, as a proved warrior, a worthy successor to the prestigious Zīrī b. Manād at the head of the Sanhādja nobles and warriors, Buluggīn appeared in the eyes of al-Muʿizz to have the proper qualities for a viceroy. In addition to his apanages in the central Maghrib augmented by those of Ibn Ḥamdūn, the sovereign thus left to his lieutenancy the government of the realm of Ifrīḳiya, separated nevertheless from Sicily, which had remained under the authority of the Banu 'l-Kalbī, and the provinces of Tripoli and Barḳa, which had been attached to the seat of the caliphate in Egypt. Al-Muʿizz set out in the direction of Egypt on Thursday 5 Ṣafar 362/15 November 972, accompanied by Buluggīn, after a stay in Sardāniyya, where he spent four months in organising his journey from which he would not return. Then the viceroy having taken leave of his sovereign on his halt at Gabès, the last Fāṭimid ruler of Ifrīḳiya went on his way to the new seat of his dynasty.

During the last three years of his life spent in Cairo, al-Muʿizz was occupied with trying to chase the Ḳarmaṭīs out of Syria by assuring himself of the support of Arab tribes, especially the chief of the ʿUḳayl. But his troops commanded by the Kutāmī Abū Maḥmūd b. Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, were not able to assert his authority in Damascus, which was not slow to fall into the hands of Aftakīn, a Turkish officer supported by the Ḥamdānids. The latter took advantage of the

Byzantines' incursions into Syria to extend his power over this land and to provide an obstacle there to the Fāṭimids' penetration. Al-Muʿizz died on 11 Rabīʿ II 365/19 December 975 without having been able to seize Damascus permanently, nor to open up victoriously the route to the ʿAbbāsid capital.

But his work as a great ruler is still associated with the period of his reign in Ifrīḳiya, during which he set about endowing the state, which had barely emerged from the Khāridjite disruption, with a rigorous administrative and financial organisation and solid political and religious institutions, promoting the rise of intellectual and artistic life and initiating the development of a brilliant civilisation which reached its full flowering on the banks of the Nile. If his name evokes dazzling military exploits, it also remains linked to the domestic level, with a policy of moderation and realism, a reform of Ismāʿīlī doctrine centred on the elaboration under his aegis of a clear and homogeneous juridical and doctrinal system adapted to his designs for expansion and hegemony. The correspondence which he exchanged with his rival in Cordova al-Nāṣir, his famous letter to the Ḳarmaṭī chief al-Aʿṣam and the one which he addressed to Romanus II, emperor of Byzantium, bear witness to the extent to which he subjected the universality of the dogma to the services of a farsighted and able policy and to the extent to which he left of himself an image of majesty and glory.

Bibliography: In addition to those in the *EI*[1] article, the sources with an Ismaʿīlī basis, notably al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, 1st and 2nd eds. Fyzee, Cairo 1951; idem, *Kitāb al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt*, ed. Fakī, Chabbouh and Yaalaoui, Tunis 1978; idem, *Kitāb al-Himma wa-adab ittibāʿ al-aʾimma*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1960; idem, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1975; Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr, ʿAzīzī, *Sīrat al-Ustādh Djudhar*, ed. K. Ḥusayn and A.A. Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954, Fr. tr. M. Canard, *Vie de l'Ustadh Jawdhar*, Algiers 1957; ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Dachraoui, Tunis 1979, under the title *Taʾrīkh al-Daʿwa al-fāṭimiyya bi-'l-Maghrib*; idem, ed. Yaalaoui, under the title *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ al-fāṭimiyyīn bi 'l-Maghrib*, Tunis 1985; Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1939), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamat in ein Frühen Ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.* xxxvii-xxxviii (1961), 43-135; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis 1981 (with bibl.). (F. DACHRAOUI)

MUʿIZZĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Persian panegyrist of the Saldjūḳ period and poet laureate (*amīr al-shuʿarāʾ*) of Malik Shāh and Sandjar [*q.vv.*], born in Nīshābūr around 440/1048-9, died between 519-21/1125-7. His *takhalluṣ* Muʿizzī (or Amīr Muʿizzī) was given him by his patron the Kākūyid prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Farāmarz, son-in-law of Sandjar, after Malik Shāh's *laḳab* Muʿizz al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn, according to an anecdote recounted by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī in the *Čahār maḳāla* (tr. E.G. Browne, Hertford 1899, 67-70). His name, *takhalluṣ*, and origin are attested to by references in his poetry; his *Dīwān*, containing over 18,000 *bayts*, has been edited and published by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Tehran 1939).

Muʿizzī, the son of ʿAbd al-Malik Burhānī (*ca.* 409-65/1018-73), panegyrist of Alp Arslān, was entrusted by his father to the care of Malik Shāh shortly before Burhānī died while residing in Ḳazwīn. After composing panegyrics for a number of his father's patrons (including the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla), he was presented to Malik Shāh when the latter visited Ḳazwīn; in the anecdote cited above, he complains of having been at Malik Shāh's court for a year, composing panegyrics but receiving no reward. He remained at court until the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] in 485/1092 and the death of Malik Shāh some months later (his *Dīwān* contains elegies on their deaths); there followed a period of instability during the struggle for Malik Shāh's succession, during which he praised various patrons including Arslān Arghūn (who attempted unsuccessfully to achieve autonomy in Khurāsān), Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī (the Ismāʿīlī ruler of Ṭabas) and Abū Shudjāʿ Yaḥyā Ḥabashī (who supported Sandjar's brother Barḳyāruḳ [*q.v.*]), Barḳyāruḳ himself, and a variety of ministers and officials. From 490/1097 onwards he served as Sandjar's personal poet. According to a famous anecdote, well supported by evidence from the *Dīwān*, in 511/1117-18 he was wounded, under circumstances which remain obscure, by an arrow shot at him by Sandjar; the wound caused him much suffering (several poems tell of his being ill and absent from court for a year), and may finally have caused his death, as suggested in the elegies composed by his contemporary Sanāʾī [*q.v.*].

Despite his great popularity, no early manuscripts of Muʿizzī's *Dīwān* survive, the earliest dating from Ṣafawid times, and the poems appear to be in some disarray (especially those of the latter portion). The *Dīwān* consists mainly of panegyric *ḳaṣīda*s dedicated to over sixty rulers, officials and other notables, as well as *tarkībāt*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *rubāʿiyyāt* and *ḳiṭaʿāt*. It provides much valuable information not only about the political events of the period but about the poet's profession (for example, the sending of poets to vassals of the sultan to compose *ḳaṣīda*s celebrating specific occasions). While panegyrics dedicated to Malik Shāh and Sandjar predominate, Muʿizzī's other *mamdūḥ*s include, in addition to those mentioned above, Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, and the Khʷārazm Shāhs Atsïz and Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. A large number are dedicated to Niẓām al-Mulk and his offspring, in particular his sons Muʾayyad al-Mulk and Fakhr al-Mulk; the poet seems to have had a close friendship with the latter, and composed a moving elegy following his assassination in 490/1096. Another important patron was Niẓām al-Mulk's son-in-law the Sayyid al-Ruʾasāʾ Muʿīn al-Mulk Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, head of Malik Shāh's *dīwān al-inshāʾ wa 'l-ṭughrā*, blinded in 478/1083-4 in punishment for his role in a plot against Niẓām al-Mulk.

Muʿizzī tends to favour the polythematic form of the *ḳaṣīda*. Many of his poems include passages of self-reference describing his impoverished condition, requesting the patron's favour, or praising his own poetry. His *ḳaṣīda*s show the influence of early Ghaznawid poets such as ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūčihrī; for example, a Mihragān [*q.v.*] poem employs the same prosodic scheme as one by ʿUnṣurī and quotes its *maṭlaʿ*. Quotations from Rūdakī and Farrukhī are also frequent. Muʿizzī often uses extended metaphor and personification; several *nasīb*s consist of dialogues, e.g. between the poet and Reason (*ʿaḳl*), and another with Fortune (*iḳbāl*), which consists of four questions and answers, each passage ending with a title of the *mamdūḥ*. Several poems anticipate the "erotic panegyrics" which became popular at the Ghaznawid court slightly later; one, dedicated to Fakhr al-Mulk, consists of a dialogue between jasmine and rose, who voice their praise of the patron. Such poems must be seen as precursors of the panegyric *ghazal* later developed by Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. In addition, though some of the pieces classed as *ghazaliyyāt* are

clearly fragments of longer poems, a significant number are complete *ghazals* (in the early sense of sung lyrics) and anticipate the characteristic diction of the later, formal *ghazal*. Not without reason was Muᶜizzī considered the foremost poet of his time; the variety and subtlety of his lyricism, his mastery of panegyric topics, the personal note of his *ḥasb-i ḥāl*, and his skilful use of transitions, had a clear and considerable influence on later poets, and he must be recognised as one of the outstanding poets in the Persian language.

Bibliography: Although Muᶜizzī is mentioned by *tadhkira* writers such as ᶜAwfī, Dawlatshāh, and later sources, their information is scarcely reliable. He receives scant attention in more recent Persian sources (for a listing, see ᶜA. Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanvarān*, Tabrīz 1961, 552), and almost none in Western histories. (Julie S. Meisami)

MUḲĀBALA (a.), a technical term in a number of different disciplines.

1. In astronomy.

Here it corresponds to Gr. διάμετρος, in the Almagest ἀχρόνυκτος, Lat. oppositio, the term for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another. In opposition, the difference in longitude between the two heavenly bodies is 180°; while the modern use is to take no note of the deviations of latitude from the ecliptic, al-Battānī expressly emphasises (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, iii, 196) that we can only have the true *muḳābala* when both bodies are either in the ecliptic itself or are in equal ecliptical latitudes when opposed: in other words, when they are diametrically opposite one another in the heavens (cf. διάμετρος!). Opposition with the sun can only occur for the moon and the outer planets (in ancient astronomy, only for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), not for the two inner ones, Mercury and Venus. When an outer planet is in opposition to the sun, its conditions of visibility are at their best; at midnight it passes through the meridian and is above the horizon the whole night. When the moon is in opposition to the sun, we have the full moon; the usual technical expression for this in Arabic astronomy is *al-istiḳbāl*, which is derived from the same root as *muḳābala* (Greek ἡπανσέληνος) and is rendered by Plato Tiburtinus and other mediaeval translators by *praeventio*; but we not uncommonly find the general term *muḳābala* applied to the opposition of sun and moon, while on the other hand we never find *al-istiḳbāl* used in the general sense of opposition of the planets (cf. al-Battānī, ii, 349, s.v. *ḳ.b.l*).

Al-muḳābala, opposition, forms along with *al-tarbīᶜ*, quadrature (Gr. τετράγωνον, Lat. *tetragonum, quadratum*), *al-tathlīth*, trigon (Gr. τρίγωνον, Lat. *trigonum, triangulum, triquetrum, aspectus trinus*), and *al-tasdīs*, hexagon (Gr. ἑξάγωνον, Lat. *hexagonum, sexangulum, aspectus sextilis*), the four astrological aspects (*ashkāl*, sg. *shakl*, Gr. σχήματα, σχηματισμοί, συσχηματισμοί, also ὄψεις, Lat. *aspectus* or *radiationes*), which are applied to the ecliptical differences in longitude of two planets to the amount of 180°, 90°, 120° or 60° respectively. The *ashkāl* also play a part in the astrological arrangement of the signs of the zodiac (*burūdj*) (see mintaḳat al-burūdj and al-Battānī, iii, 194). It should be noted that the conjunction of planets (*muḳārana*, Greek σύνοδος; for moon with sun [new moon] always *idjtimāᶜ*) is not included among the *ashkāl*, nor the position when the difference of latitude is 30° or 150° (cf. al-Battānī, *op. cit.*).

In horoscopes, *muḳābala* and *tarbīᶜ* are as a rule regarded as unfavourable in principle, *tathlīth* and *tasdīs* on the other hand as favourable.

Bibliography: Battānī, *Kitāb al Zīdj al-sābiʾ (Opus astronomicum)*, ed. C.A. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, i-iii; Boll-Bezold, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 3rd ed. W. Gundel, Leipzig 1926, 63-4.

(W. Hartner)

2. As a technique in manuscript production.

Here it has the meaning of "collation", i.e. the textual comparison of a manuscript with another of the same work, preferably, with one from which it was copied. A synonym is *muᶜāraḍa* (*ᶜarḍ, ᶜirāḍ*; for the less common use of the latter, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi [1953], 86-7, pls. XIX, XXI, mss. Köprülü, i, 1551, 1522, see also Köprülü, i, 1530). *Muᶜāraḍa* is the older, originally less technical, and somewhat broader term, as shown by its use in the *ḥadīth* literature. An oral procedure of collation remained throughout, conceptually undistinguished from the written one. Discussion of the supposed semantic development of *muḳābala* is found included already in al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kātib*, Cairo 1341, 120-1, and repeated later on, e.g., in al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*.

The practice. About the middle of the 3rd/9th century, we find the procedure described in connection with the more complicated case of translation by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Risāla*, nos. 3, 20, 36-7, 39, 53, 74, 84, 86, 113, 123; the most famous passage (no. 20) speaks of Ḥunayn being "confronted" by the Syriac translator with himself checking the Greek original, a somewhat unusual description of *muḳābala* in personal terms. While Ḥunayn's involvement suggests non-Arabic antecedents, the internal Muslim situation which had its principal starting point in the science of *ḥadīth* is well documented. It resulted in the express indication in manuscripts of *muḳābala*, and *muḳābala* notices are found very frequently in preserved scholarly manuscripts; collation can also be inferred on occasion by other means. The notices allowed of a variety of phrases; the basic forms are listed in R. Şeşen, *Cat. Köprülü*, i, 20 (Ar.), i, 31 f. (in Turkish), Istanbul 1406/1986. The simple *balagha* "done to this point" (*balaghat al-m., balagha muḳābalat^an^*), when not followed by *muḳābala* or followed by *ḳirāʾa*/*samāᶜ*, refers, strictly speaking, to the process of study in general (which, however, presupposed *muḳābala*).

The mention of *muḳābala* characterises serious scholarship. Famous scholars are represented in the notices, e.g., al-Sīrāfī, whose notice is dated in 343/954-5 (see Köprülü, i, 1507, and *Cat.*, ii, pls. I and VI). Intended to confirm the correctness of the text as copied, the form III of *ḳ-b-l* is often followed by the form II of *ṣ-ḥ-ḥ* "to provide a correct text" (although *taṣḥīḥ* was, of course, also practiced freely without recourse to *muḳābala*). Not surprisingly, notices are found where a copyist wished to make it clear that he was aware that his *Vorlage* was faulty (*saḳīm*); at the same time, it was acknowledged that absolute correctness was unattainable, thus various forms of "(corrected) as much as possible" were often added. Occasionally, the need for collation (Köprülü, i, 244, 596) or the hope of future access to another manuscript for renewed collation was expressed (e.g., Aya Sofya 4360/Fatih 5323, see M. Grignaschi, in *Muséon*, lxxx [1967], 215 ff.; Beşir Ağa 494 [*Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*]; Ahmet III 1975 [al-Rāzī, *Tadjārib*]; Üniversite 1458, fol. 219a). *Samāᶜ* notices and *idjāzāt*, since they implied *muḳābala*, required no express mention of it, but it was occasionally mentioned in them (e.g. Ahmet III 2951, see Ş. al-Munadjdjid, *RIMA*, ii [1956], 101-2 [al-Birzālī]; Cairo, muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth 65, fol. 191 [al-Dhahabī, *Muᶜdjam*]). *Muḳābalas* are not infrequently dated, sometimes within a couple of days after the manuscript was written (as indicated by

al-Birzālī in Fatih 4304 of al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb*), or within less than a couple of months (as indicated in Rabat 1988 of al-Kāfiyadjī's commentary on Ibn Hishām), but often also considerably later (e.g. Murad Molla 1236 of Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya*). The mention of *mukābala* came to be a way of asserting that the text of a given manuscript was approved as correct, as in the case of Ibn Khaldūn (see tr. Rosenthal, i, pl. I). Routine use of *mukābala* notices is also implied by a statement about a scholar who, whenever he copied a book and collated it with its *Vorlage*, added this note: "Correct by means of *muʿāraḍa* and safe, by means of *mukābala*, from contradiction, from the first words to the last" ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Muḥammad b. al-Musallam al-Ḥayfī, according to al-Silafī, *Muʿdjam al-safar*, but see al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*, ii, 169). The practice of *mukābala* seems to have been institutionalised, as we hear about a *bayt al-mukābala wa 'l-naskh* with its own personnel in the palace of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] in Spain, see ʿIyāḍ, *Ilmāʿ*, 165.

The theory. Possibly already in the later 2nd/8th century, the *mukābala* was accepted as being of particular importance for the rapidly developing science of *ḥadīth* and, in the course of time, found a small niche in its theoretical framework (*ʿilm uṣūl al-ḥadīth*). Among the first to write a book on the subject (according to Ibn Ḥadjar, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhabat al-fikar*, beg.), Ibn Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī (latter part of the 4th/10th century) included a chapter on *muʿāraḍa* in his *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*. Practically all later authors paid special attention to it, among the most prominent among them al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and, after him, ʿIyāḍ, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, and al-Sakhāwī who quoted copiously from many of the earlier authors. Their interdependence is expectedly great. The discussions differ with respect to their authors' views on correct procedure. A large number of questions as to the "conditions" governing *mukābala* were raised, for instance: When should it take place, during the lecture or at any time thereafter? Can it be based on the teacher's oral exposition? Is the original *Vorlage* to be used or what other copies are suitable? Must it be done by the student personally? Should every student in class have a manuscript of the studied text in front of him (recommendable, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, 238), with the teacher himself on occasion providing the students with a sufficient number of copies (al-Sakhāwī, *Mughīth*, ii, 169, with reference to earlier authors)? and so on. The purpose of it all was to establish whether a manuscript, and the person who wrote or relied on it, could function in the process of *ḥadīth* transmission. It was widely agreed that *mukābala* was a necessary requirement. Strict interpreters of the conditions granted the right of transmission only if they were punctiliously preserved. Much more numerous were those who did not subscribe to strict observance. Some authorities held that transmission was permitted when the absence of *mukābala* was expressly stated. Some even went so far as to dispense with the requirement of it (al-Djurdjānī, *R. fī fann uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, 6 [in al-Tirmidhī, *Djāmiʿ*, Dihlī 1266/1849-50], see E.E. Salisbury, in *JAOS*, vii [1862], 76). In sum, however, the theory of *mukābala* and the added stimulus which it provided for the practice contributed immeasurably to accuracy in bookmaking.

Bibliography: Ḥunayn, *R. fī dhikr mā turdjima min kutub Djālīnūs*, ed. G. Bergsträsser. Abh. K.M., xvii/2, Leipzig 1925; Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī*, Beirut 1391/1971, 544 (see Weisweiler, *Ist. Handschriftenstudien*, 5, Bibl. Isl., x, 1937); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo n.d., i, 77-8; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938-9, 237-40, cf. also *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāk al-rāwī wa 'l-sāmiʿ*, Kuwait 1981, Oman 1983? (not seen); ʿIyāḍ, *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-takyīd al-samāʿ*, Cairo-Tunis 1389/1970, 158-61; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Mukaddima*, Aleppo 1350/1931, 175-7; Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth, sharḥ Alfiyyat al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1968-69, ii, 165-71. As an example of minor works, see F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 14b, 16b, 22b, 25 ff., cf. M. Mursī al-Khūlī, in *RIMA*, x, 167-84. The few references to *mukābala* notices given here can, of course, be multiplied. Such notices should be reproduced in manuscript catalogues, as in Şeşen (above), and in all text editions that contain descriptions of the manuscripts used. As explained, general studies of *samāʿ*s and *idjāzas* are largely unproductive with respect to *mukābala*, but see, e.g., P.A. Mackay, *Certificates of transmission on a manuscript of the Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī*, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, lxi/4 (Philadelphia 1971), 7b, 13b, 17a, 29b. (F. ROSENTHAL)

3. In literary theory.

In scholastic rhetoric (*ʿilm al-balāgha*), *mukābala*, variously translated as "opposition" or "correspondence", refers to a type of antithesis [see ṬIBĀḲ], in which both sides of the opposition consist of two or more terms, as in sūra IX, 82: *fa-l-yaḍḥakū kalīlan wa-l-yabkū kathīran*, "therefore let them laugh little, and weep much," where "laugh little" corresponds to its two respective opposites "weep much" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ*, 352-4, *Īḍāḥ*, 485-88; Mehren, 99-100). In its earliest attestation, the term appears in the form of *ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt*, "correct correspondences" and covers both parallelisms of contraries and non-contraries (Ḳudāma, *Nakd*, 72-3; note that *takāfuʾ*, "antithesis" of single terms, is treated separately on 78-81). Since al-Khwārazmī lists this term under the technical terms of the state scribes (*Mafātīḥ*, 73-4: *muwāḍaʿāt kuttāb al-rasāʾil*), but not among the terms used in the critique of poetry (94; *nakd al-shiʿr*, where, however, the word *mukābala* is used to explain the term *muṭābaka*, "antithesis"!), it is likely that *ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt* originally belonged to the professional jargon of the epistolographers, who used the technique denoted by it to construct pleasing isocola. Due to the preponderant use of contraries in these "correspondences", the term was gradually drawn into the category "antithesis" as used by the literary critics. However, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ (d. 654/1256) still clearly distinguishes between *muṭābaka* and *mukābala*: the former being a contrast between two single contraries, whereas the latter balances two or more terms on each side which, in addition, need not be contraries, although they often are (*Taḥrīr*, 179).

Bibliography: Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Nakd al-shiʿr*, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 72-3 (*ṣiḥḥat al-mukābalāt*), 121-2 (*fasād al-mukābalāt*); Isḥāk b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Wahb al-Kātib, *al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadīdja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1967, 175-6 (*ṣiḥḥat al-mukābala*); Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, ²1968, 73-4; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn, al-kitāba wa 'l-shiʿr*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī and Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed., Cairo n.d. [1971], 346-9; Bāķillānī, *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣakr, Cairo 1963, 87-8, cf. G.E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arab literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950, 25-6; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa 'l-nathr wa-bayān*

i^cdjāz al-Ḳurʾān, ed. Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf, Cairo 1383/[1963-4], 179-84 (ṣiḥḥat al-muḳābalāt); Sidjilmāsī, al-Manzaʿ al-badīʿ, ed. ʿAllāl al-Ghāzī, Rabat 1980, 344-50; Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī, Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ wa-sirādj al-udabāʾ, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khudja, Tunis 1966, 52-5; al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, 3rd ed., [Beirut] 1391/1971, 485-8; idem, [Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ], al-Talkhīṣ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha, ed. and comm. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barḳūḳī, [Beirut] n.d. [1982], 352-4; Tahānawī, Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn, ed. A. Sprenger, 2 vols., Calcutta 1862, repr. Tehran 1967, 1205-6; A.F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1970, 99; J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 83-4.

(W. Heinrichs)

MUḲADDAM (A.), literally, "placed in front". Applied to persons, the word means the chief, the one in command, e.g. of a body of troops or of a ship (captain). Dozy, *Suppl., s.v.*, gives a number of police appointments which have this name. In the dervish orders, the word is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery.

As a neuter noun, the word is a technical term in logic and arithmetic. In logic, it means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence, e.g. "If the sun rises (it becomes day)", where this whole sentence is to be regarded as premise of a syllogism. But as every sentence can be a premise, *muḳaddam* is really identical with the condition in the conditional sentence. In arithmetic, *muḳaddam* means the first of two numbers in a proportion, i.e. 3 (:5) or in other words, the divided number in a simple division. In logic and in arithmetic, the portion following the *muḳaddam* (in brackets above) is called *tālī*.

Bibliography: Dozy and other dictionaries; Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des isl. Vereinswesens* (Türk Bibl., xvi), 106; Tahānawī, *Dict. of technical terms*, ed. Sprenger, 1215, 1362.

(M. Plessner)

MUḲADDAM b. **MUʿĀFĀ** al-Ḳabrī ("of Cabra", Córdoba Province), Hispano-Arab poet, d. *ca.* 299/911-12. According to the Andalusian historian al-Ḥidjārī (500-49/1106-55) (on whom see *EI*² I, 602b and, in particular, III, 926a) and to such authors as relied on him, Muḳaddam was the originator of the *muwashshaḥ* genre [*q.v.*] of poetry. Although he is described as such without qualification by Rachel Arié in her article ḳabra [*q.v.*] (cf. also her *España musulmana (siglos VIII-XV)*, Barcelona 1982, 396), it should be noted that Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147 [*q.v.*]) gives the name of the genre's inventor as Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḳabrī, the Blind (*not* "Muqaddam ibn Muʿāfā al-Qabrī, the blind", a gratuitous emendation, appearing without comment or explanation, in J.T. Monroe's translation of the relevant passage from Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1942, ii, 1-2, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975, i, pt. i, 469), in his *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1974, 28). S.M. Stern took the view that al-Ḥidjārī's "Muḳaddam" rather than "Muḥammad" was probably an error (*Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974, 65 f.), apparently on the ground that the value of al-Ḥidjārī's testimony, reaching us indirectly through the *Kitāb al-Muḳtaṭaf min azhār al-riyāḍ* of Ibn Saʿīd [*q.v.*], "cannot be compared with that of Ibn Bassām" (*ibid.*, 65).

That there were two different poets each bearing the *nisba* "al-Ḳabrī" seems demonstrable beyond a reasonable doubt on the evidence of the sources cited by Stern (*ibid.*, 92 f.), who, presumably on the balance of probabilities, suggested that "the invention [of the *muwashshaḥ*] was credited to the second [Muḳaddam] in error because his name was slightly better known than that of the first [Muḥammad]" (*ibid.*, 92). Such an assumption may or may not be correct, but of this much we may be sure: there was indeed a poet by the name of Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Ḳabrī. From two passages preserved in the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] from the—apparently no longer extant—*Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* of the well-known *washshāḥ* ʿUbāda b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ [*q.v.*] we know that he flourished in the reign of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (*reg.* 275-300/888-912 [*q.v.*]), seventh Umayyad *amīr* of al-Andalus, and we have evidence of his existence from passages in other sources (cited by Stern, *ibid.*, 93). At the same time there is nowhere in any of these passages a single mention of *muwashshaḥs*, though, as Stern so rightly points out, this is "no proof by itself that he was no *washshāḥ*" (*ibid.*). If, however, he was a *washshāḥ*, not a single *muwashshaḥ* of his, or even part of one is known to be extant, nor, so far as we know, is there any *muwashshaḥ* that has been attributed to him.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): *Crónica anónima de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III*, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, Madrid 1950, 150 and n. 3; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica del califa ʿAbdarraḥmān III ... (al-Muqtabis V)*, tr. Mª.J. Vigueira and F. Corriente, Saragossa 1981, 166; E. Terés, *Ibn Faraj de Jaén*, in *al-And.*, xi (1946), 156 n. 2.

(J.D. Latham)

AL-**MUḲADDASĪ**, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannāʾ al-Shāmī, also known by the name al-Bashshārī (Yāḳūt designates him as such, *Udabāʾ*, *passim*) is the best representative of Arabic geography in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

His life, which is not well known, is only available to us through his own work. Very much attached to the Palestine of his birth and to the town whose name he bears (Muḳaddasī or Maḳdisī, from Jerusalem, al-Bayt al-Muḳaddas or Bayt al-Maḳdis), he probably belonged to a middle-class family. His paternal grandfather, Abū Bakr, an architect (*bannāʾ*), has his claim to fame for having built, on the orders of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the maritime defences of Acre. His mother's family came originally from Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a small town of Khurāsān: the author's grandfather, Abū Ṭayyib al-Shawwā, being reasonably well off and himself also an expert in the art of construction, emigrated to Jerusalem (on this information relating to his family, cf. al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 46, 163, 188, 357, 367).

From certain events reported in his own work, it can be inferred that he lived at least until about 380/990 (cf. A. Miquel, partial Fr. tr., Damascus 1963, pp. XVI-XVII). Some few dates only mark out this life: two pilgrimages to Mecca in 356/967 and 367/978, a journey to Aleppo, perhaps, around the years 354-64/965-75, a visit to Khurāsān in 374/984, and the decision to compose the work, taken in Shīrāz, in 375/985, at a time when al-Muḳaddasī tells us (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 8-9) that he had passed—but by how much?—the age of forty.

It can reasonably be supposed that he received the education that his social origins merited; the use, in his work, here and there, of rhymed prose, and even poetry, bear witness to a classical training in grammar and literature, while the arguments on a basis of *fiḳh* and the discussions of the various theological and

juridical schools provide evidence of a marked interest—and no doubt one awakened very early—in these fundamental disciplines. But these displays of a culture that could be termed classical, as well as the other traces of different fields of learning, history philology and *ḥadīth*, are kept in the background to the benefit of the work itself, which brings them together in a project of singular unity.

Al-Muḳaddasī is probably the first, as he explains in the preface of his book, to have desired and conceived an original science, inspired perhaps by his predecessors, but surpassing them all to the advantage of what should certainly be called a true geography. Far removed from the "science of countries" inaugurated by al-Djāḥiẓ and systematised by Ibn al-Faḳīh, but also from the cosmography of the *ṣūrat al-arḍ* and the genre of *al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [*q.v.*], al-Muḳaddasī belongs to the school called the "atlas of Islam", founded by al-Balkhī, continued by al-Iṣṭakhrī, and himself relayed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, a contemporary of our author.

In relation to the latter also, al-Muḳaddasī stands out as a pioneer. No doubt he draws on his heritage, this innovation introduced by al-Balkhī and consisting of describing the world of Islam, giving it priority and even exclusivity. But it is the systematisation of the subject matter and method which makes al-Muḳaddasī the finest representative of this science of geography of Islam in the 4th/10th century. Through his ambition, above all, an ambition in ordering and content, al-Muḳaddasī intends to create a useful science, notably for merchants and the cultivated man (*adīb*). This last point is particularly important; by invoking authorities, one should say challenging them, by injecting, when necessary, a noble tone aided by rhymed prose and poetry, the new discipline was to be given its letters-patent of nobility in the field of literature as well as in that of strict learning. As for ambition in content, the programme that the author assigns, from as early as the preface, to the science that he intends to found covers all the fields that it is agreed upon to call geography today: physical, economic, political and human.

On the map, it is then to the world of Islam that study is devoted, and to it alone, apart from some very rare excursions into foreign lands and recollections of the universal cosmography of the *ṣūrat al-arḍ* outlined in the introduction to the work. This world, which is made up of two parts, *mamlakat al-ʿArab* and *mamlakat al-ʿAdjam*, al-Muḳaddasī joins together in a unique concept, that of *mamlakat al-Islām*, at times, simply, *al-mamlaka* or *al-Islām*: the Domain of Islam, the Domain or Islam. It is within this whole, as soon as unity has been reconstituted and established in principle, that there reappears the distinction between Arabs and non-Arabs. On the one hand, six Arab provinces, sc. the Maghrib, Egypt, Arabia, Shām, ʿIrāḳ and Aḳūr (Djazīra, Upper Mesopotamia); on the other, eight non-Arab provinces: Riḥāb, (Armenia-Arrān-Ādharbaydjān), Daylam, Djibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind and the Mashriḳ, the latter term covering all the lands coming, more or less directly, under the authority of the Sāmānids, sc. Sidjistān, Afghānistān, Khurāsān and Transoxiana (Mā warāʾ al-nahr). In order the better to assert the unity of the whole beyond this major division into two blocs, a rigorous parallelism allocates to each of them a sea (Mediterranean and "Sea of the East"); a desert (Bādiyat al-ʿArab and Mafāzat Khurāsān); and two double provinces with two capitals: Andalus (Cordova) and the Maghrib properly so-called (Ḳayrawān) for the Maghrib, a land to the south and to the north of the Oxus (Nīsābūr and Samarḳand) for the Mashriḳ. Another way of asserting the unity is the conception of the heart of Islam, Arabia, being also itself a province with two capitals, Mecca and Zabīd.

The definition of the province is no less remarkable: the *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*] is seen as a geographic whole, strongly individualised through its physical characteristics and ready, in consequence of this very situation, at a given moment in history, to transcribe this individuality into a more or less asserted autonomy. At the head of the province is the *miṣr*, metropolis, ruling several surrounding districts (*kūra*), themselves containing main towns (*madīna*) around a *ḳaṣaba*. Thus is brought to its conclusion, in the most minute detail, this ordered presentation of the *mamlakat al-Islām*, a new geography that al-Muḳaddasī also wanted to baptise with a new name, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm*, "the best division for the knowledge of the provinces"

This science required a specialised vocabulary. Apart from the words cited, the author uses the distinguishing words *nāḥiya* and *rustāḳ*, the latter too small to constitute a *kūra*, but benefiting from a separate status within a fixed *kūra*, the former occupying a situation of the same order, but in relation, especially, to the *iḳlīm*, taking account of its superior status as against the *rustāḳ*. Other specific terms touch on current vocabulary, of which certain specialised words relate for example to the scale of values for products; finally, others appear in the form of tables or are designed, according to the different countries visited, as the terms of crafts, water transport, tools, weights and measures, and money.

The global presentation is clothed in the same rigour. The description of each province, after a general presentation which aims at a more elevated tone, opens into the division of the *kūra*s and their towns followed by the description of them. After this, a general chapter of the province presents, in an order which may be varied and not always complete, the following information: climate, products and specialities, waters, mines, mountains, holy places, money, taxes, weights and measures, customs, marvels, calendar, political power, factions, schools and Ḳurʾānic readings, marvels and—always present and ending the list—routes.

The work is also of value as a whole, less perhaps due to its gross data—Ibn Ḥawḳal is possibly richer in information—as due to its plan. It remains to be said that the project, in the very size of its seale, is ultimately more of a dream than a reality. The superb construction of the *mamlaka* was already condemned by history, pending the following centuries which would see the political reality, the concept and even the expression disappear. Although he continues with others the eulogy of Baghdād, presented as the living and unifying symbol of this world, al-Muḳaddasī cannot fail to stress its decline, as against the two powers who were challenging it, Cordova and especially Fāṭimid Egypt, which he acknowledges is quite ready to take over from its rival. The work itself bears witness to these tensions, even in its composition: the two manuscripts of Berlin and Constantinople differ not only in variations of date, content and title (cf. Miquel, Fr. tr., *op. cit.*, p. XXVII), but in the references made to the two powers of the Muslim East at the end of the 4th/10th century, the Fāṭimids and Sāmānids.

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(A. Miquel)

MUKADDĪ (a.), pl. *mukaddūn*, defined by al-

Djāḥiẓ (*Bukhalā*ʾ, ed. Ḥādjirī, 46) as a man who practices *kidā*ʾ (*ṣāḥib al-kidā*ʾ), a term often replaced at a later date by *kudya* or *takdiya* and defined as "begging", in fact denotes a wandering beggar or vagrant who, with the help of a remarkable talent for plausible lying and a knowledge of certain effective dodges, succeeds in opening up the purses of those simple persons who allow themselves to be taken in by his eloquent but mendacious words. The different words just cited do not appear in the classical dictionaries with the meanings indicated here, and if al-Djāḥiẓ feels the need to define—too briefly—the word *mukaddī* (together with, as we shall see, a whole series of other "technical terms"), this is because he considers them as slang words belonging to the argot of the rogues and vagabonds and intelligible only to initiates; in any case, as C.E. Bosworth suggests (*Underworld*, i, 40), it derives possibly from the Persian *gadā* "indigent person, beggar".

Whatever the position, al-Djāḥiẓ was probably the first to have introduced vagabonds into Arabic literature by devoting several opuscules to their activities and by consecrating a complete chapter of his *K. al-Bukhalā*ʾ (ed. Ḥādjirī, 39-46; tr. Pellat, 65-75) to a *mukaddī* called Khālid b. Yazīd. This person sets forth a discourse in which he enumerates the terms denoting his confederates and boasts that he has had under his control the members of the band of which he claims to be chief, before going on to list at length the pieces of advice which he is now giving to his son. Whether this personage was a historical one or not, it is worthy of note that Yāḳūt (*Udabā*ʾ, xi, 42-7) has borrowed the introduction of the chapter and the latter part of the discourse in order to make out of these a bibliographical notice on Khālid b. Yazīd. The terms cited are explained by al-Djāḥiẓ, but the readings for these have been more or less satisfactorily established, and C.E. Bosworth (*op. laud.*, i, 34-41) has made it his task to correct and comment upon these. If the reading *kādjār* is correct, we have here the first attestation of a word which denotes the gypsies; then comes *m.kh.ṭ.rānī*, whose vocalisation is uncertain, but denotes a person of ascetic appearance who indicates that his tongue has been cut out; a *kāghānī* gives out that he is demonaically possessed or an epileptic; a *bānuwānī* stands before a door, rattles the bolt and cries "O Master!", in order to get alms; an *ʿarsī* stops the circulation of blood in an arm or leg so that people might think the limb is gangrenous; a *mushaʿʿib* maims a child at birth in order to make use of it at a future time for begging purposes; a *filawr* simulates a hernia or ulcer or tumour or some similar affliction with his testicles or anus, or with her vulva, in the case of a woman; a *kāghān* is a boy who acts as a male prostitute; an *ʿawwā*ʾ begs between sunset and the evening worship, at times singing; an *isṭīl* pretends to be blind; a *mazīdī* gives out that he just needs a little more money to purchase what he needs; a *muḳaddis* makes a collection for buying a shroud; a *kaʿbī* derives his name from Ubayy b. Kaʿb al-Mawṣilī, who had presided over a gathering of vagabonds around a water-hole; and *zakūrī* is bread collected as alms and intended for prisoners and beggars.

The above gives only an incomplete list of the constituent elements of a remarkable assemblage of persons whom al-Djāḥiẓ was able to observe at Baṣra and at Baghdād. Among his other writings on the same subject, one page only of the *K. Ḥiyal al-mukaddīn* has been preserved by al-Bayhaḳī, in his *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, iii, 622-4; Eng. tr. D.M. Hawke, in Pellat, *The life and works of Jāḥiẓ*, London 1969, 255-6; Ger. tr. W.W. Muller, in idem, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1967, 410-12). This contains a vivid portrayal of the vagabond in the mouth of an old *mukaddī*, who rebukes a young beggar who has been too easily discouraged by his experience of *kudya* but who is in the end convinced by the advantages which it offers. It is a noble craft or calling (*ṣināʿa*) which brings happiness to those who practice it. These last range through the whole world in every direction, stop where they will and enjoy total freedom; they do not have to devote any care to a family or to material goods, and are able to live on whatever they find when they halt. This vagabond recounts how he installed himself in a mosque in one of the towns of Djibāl, with his body draped in a large towel and with a robe of palm fibre wound round his head; in his hand he held a staff made from a branch of the oleander. He retailed the following discourse to the public assembled round him, as if he had been, so he says, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], in his pulpit: "Good people, I am a man from Syria, more specifically from a town called al-Maṣṣīṣa. I am the descendant of fighters in the holy war and warriors of the *ribāṭs*, who travel in the way of God and are the guardians of Islam. Together with my father, I have taken part in fourteen raids, seven by land and seven by sea. I have fought with al-Armanī (Say: May God have mercy on Abu 'l-Ḥasan!) and with ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh (Say: May God have mercy on Abū Ḥafṣ!). I have gone on raids with al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*] b. al-Ḥusayn [and many others]. I have entered Constantinople and prayed in the mosque of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. If you recognise my name, well and good; if not, well, I am now going to let you know it: I am the son of al-Ghuzayyil b. al-Rakkān (?) al-Maṣṣīṣī, well known and famed in all the frontier marches... I am one of the barriers of Islam. I fought with the ruler [of Byzantium] at the gate of Tarsus; he killed the children and enslaved the womenfolk, and seized two sons of ours and carried them off into the land of Rūm. I fled precipitately in the company of a group of merchants, but some brigands cut the route of my escape. I have sought the protection of God, and now I seek it of you. If you think it good to restore one of the pillars of Islam to his homeland and to his home town, [then I appeal to you!]." The *mukaddī* added that the *dirhams* began to rain in from all directions and that he departed richer by more than 100 *dirhams*. The greater part of the heroic figures cited in this text are also to be found in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj* (viii, 74 = § 3201), who reproduces a tale regarding the terror which they were reputed to inspire among the Byzantines, and one discerns that the character presented by al-Djāḥiẓ could on occasion himself also exploit this in order to make a firm impression on an audience very ready to listen to the promises, real or imaginary, made by the Muslim warriors.

The above text is followed by a listing of the kinds of beggars which does not necessarily come from al-Bayhaḳī's own pen and may possibly have been part of the original. It includes some new names additional to the list given in the *Bukhalā*ʾ: a *makkī* pretends to be a rich merchant who has been robbed of his goods; a *saḥarī* begins to ply his "trade" before the dawn; a *shadjawī* pretends to have been imprisoned and loaded with chains for fifty years; a *dharāriḥī* feigns serious wounds; a *ḥādjūr* is similar to the *filawr* mentioned above; a *khāḳānī* paints over his face in order to make it swell up, but this may be a case of a male prostitute; a *zukaym al-mughālaṭa* feigns inability to speak; a *kān* is the confederate of a *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]; a *mufalfil* works together with a confederate and, like the *makkī*, pretends to have been the victim of a robbery; *zukaym*

al-Ḥabas̲h̲a apparently denotes a fraudulent warrior engaged in *d̲j̲ihād*; *zukaym al-marḥūma*, a band of blind men led by an *isṭīl* (see above); and finally, a *muṭayyin* smears himself with mud and feigns madness.

This veritable professional corporation, composed of various "specialists" arranged more or less in a hierarchy and under the leadership of a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, was to continue to exist with varying fortunes over the course of the ensuing centuries and, with the aid of the public's taste for *suk̲h̲f* and *mud̲j̲ūn* [*q.v.*], was to inspire the so-called *sāsāniyya* variety of *ḳaṣīdas*, sc. those devoted to the Banū Sāsān [see SĀSĀN], a name reserved henceforth for vagabonds of all kinds. The one by al-Aḥnaf al-ʿUkbarī (d. after 355/964; see al-T̲h̲aʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 122) is lost, but it was this which was allegedly at the origin of the better-known poem, preserved moreover by al-T̲h̲aʿālibī (*op. laud.*, iii, 176-94), written by Abū Dulaf al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]) which in its turn has inspired C.E. Bosworth to write his magistral study (*Underworld*) on this Islamic "milieu", based precisely on this poem which he has edited, translated and commented upon in detail. Another *ḳaṣīda sāsāniyya*, the work of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677-750/1278-1349 [*q.v.*]), is likewise studied by Bosworth (*op. laud.*, i, 132-49), who furthermore takes care to note that the celebrated Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310 [*q.v.*]) introduced the character of the vagabond into the shadow plays. From another aspect, a kind of theoretical justification for *kudya* which al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and perhaps also Ibn S̲h̲uhayd (d. 426/1035 [*q.v.*]), author of a *Kas̲h̲f al-dakk fī īḍāḥ al-s̲h̲akk*, had first outlined, finds its full development from the pen of al-D̲j̲awbarī (first half of the 7th/13th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who has left behind a *K. al-Muk̲h̲tār fī kas̲h̲f al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār* on the various types of swindlers who used methods which they kept secret in order to extract money at the expense of their fellow-men.

The Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's circle [see IBN ʿABBĀD], to which Abū Dulaf al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī belonged, also included some vagabonds whose company the vizier enjoyed. Hence it is not surprising that the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] was born into this environment under the pen of Badīʿ al-Zamān (d. 398/1008 [see AL-HAMAD̲H̲ĀNĪ]) who, in comparison with al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ—who seems to have limited himself to recounting anecdotes which were independent of each other and in any case to put forward for consideration several *mukaddūn* who were probably real persons—and with the authors of *ḳaṣīda sāsāniyyas* who related adventures which were more or less imaginary, actually succeeded in creating a type of rogue, ʿĪsā b. His̲h̲ām, and was imitated with varying degrees of success by all the writers who, until recent times, cultivated this literary genre. The hero of the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (5th/11th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bag̲h̲dādī, is equally clearly delineated; he represents the type of roguery as found among the bourgoisie of Bag̲h̲dād which the author was seeking to describe with accuracy.

The use made of the *mukaddī* by Arabic literature presents an extremely valuable social and historical viewpoint, since it raises the veil from a particularly lively and cunning section of the urban plebs and from a class of thieves and rogues which was tolerated and even, to some extent, admired. On the literary plane, the introduction of the rogue in an original genre assumes a fairly considerable importance from the fact that it was subsequently to constitute, in a clearly-defined sector, a link between Arabic literature and the picaresque novel, since it is clear, as has been shown in MAḲĀMA, that the *mukaddī* is the prototype of the *pícaro*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see esp. D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 378-81; F. Schwally, *Ein arabische Liber Vagatorum*, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 28-42; W.Ṭ. al-Nad̲j̲m, *S̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣiyyat al-mukaddī ʿind al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ*, in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Bag̲h̲dād, i (1379/1959), 1-10; C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 2 vols.; M. Tarchouna, *Les marginaux dans les recits picaresques arabes et espagnols*, Tunis 1982; and the bibls. to these last two works and the art. MAḲĀMA.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUḲADDIMA (A.), foreword, preface, introduction.

In Arabic literature, the preface to prose works developed, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, into an independent literary form. To be sure, it does not constitute a literary genre by itself, but is used to introduce the literary work concerned. Afterwards, the foreword becomes more and more independent from the work itself, and develops into a stereotyped form, consisting of initial commendations, a middle part and closing praises. Initial commendations always begin with the *basmala* [*q.v.*], often followed by the *ḥamdala* [*q.v.*]. In the central part, almost always introduced by the rhetorical formula *ammā baʿdu* ("now, then, now to the point"), the author states the real reason for writing his book. For this, he mostly uses topoi, which consist largely of schematic patterns of thought and expression belonging to literary tradition, and which have parallels in European literatures of the late classical, mediaeval and early modern times. On the other hand, several authors also show personal approaches based on reality.

In the cities, a literary market, with a class of its own, came into development. Against this background, the exordial topos, which began to flourish in the 4th/10th century, continued to remain obligatory right into modern Arabic literature.

Amongh the best-known topoi are expressions dealing with the reason and the justification for composing a literary work ("I have been requested to write a book on the subject", or, "I write a book, so that other works dealing with the subject can be forgotten", or "I shall report briefly and avoid prolixity"). To these topoi belongs also the modesty topos which, as *captatio benevolentiae*, can be traced in almost all literatures. In this context must also be mentioned the well-known "querelle des Anciens et des Modernes", which played an important role in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as the praise of the virtues of the ruler.

Finally, in the third part of the preface there follow renewed praises to God. As far as the form is concerned, the prose of the three parts is characterised by the use of *sad̲j̲ʿ* [*q.v.*], in particular for the initial and final praises.

As a literary genre, the *mukaddima* was developed in particular by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/868) and Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) [*q.vv.*]. From the latter onwards, the independent development of the preface, which becomes separated from the work, is clearly discernible in both content and form. After the 4th/10th century, the obligatory outer form remains unchanged, and is found above all in the *adab* literature, but also in the 19th century in the work of al-Ṭahṭāwī, and in the 20th century in Rās̲h̲id al-Bārāwī's translation of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*.

The *muḳaddima* has an importance of its own, because the author there turns directly to the reader and thus steps out of the context of his work. Because of its conformity to the established tradition in form and language, the author is able to solve, right into

our own time, the problem of finding an appropriate beginning for his work.

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AL-**MUKALLĀ**, port in the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] on the shores of the Indian Ocean (14°31' N., 49°08' E.), some 550 km. (300 miles) east of Aden. The name is probably the noun of place of form II of the Arabic radicals *k-l-*ʾ with the meaning of "station of ships" (cf. Lane, *s.v.*). Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) knows of a port which he names Lahsā. He located it in al-Aḥkāf [*q.v.*] and identified it with al-Shiḥr (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat § 1343, cf. vii, 618; cf. al-Idrīsī, *lasʿā*, "a small town on the seacoast"). Locally, the port is called al-Shiḥr, Bandar al-Aḥkāf or Sūḳ al-Aḥkāf. Von Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge*, 66, identify Ptolemy's Makkala (vi, 7) with the actual fortress *m-Ḳalʿa* situated inland. Besides, the co-ordinates of modern al-Mukallā do not agree with those of Ptolemy's town. The Portuguese apparently had no knowledge of the port. Niebuhr, who did not visit the port, writes Markalla (*Beschreibung*, 283), and Wellsted notes Makullah (*Travels*, ii, 427 ff.).

In ancient and early Islamic times, when Kana (Κανὴ ἐμπόριον, Ptolemy, vi, 7; *Periplus*, 15; cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 312 ff.) and Aden [*q.v.*] monopolised the incense trade of the Ḥaḍramawt, al-Mukallā seems to have been of little importance.

In the 18th century, al-Mukallā, overshadowed by al-Shiḥr [*q.v.*], became an object of the struggle between the Āl Kathīrī [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB. 3; ḤAḌRAMAWT. 1. History (in Suppl.)], the Āl Kasādī and the Āl Ḳuʿayṭī. Around 1840 the Āl Kasādī, originating from Lower Yāfaʿ [*q.v.*], were *naḳībs* of al-Mukallā. The Āl Ḳuʿayṭī, also of the Yāfiʿī tribe, became masters of the port in 1880. In 1850 and again in 1867 the Turks, having failed to re-establish themselves in Ṣanʿāʾ, tried to annex the ports of al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr. On both occasions the Kasādīs, desiring protection, offered the port to the British, but the offer was turned down. However, in 1863 and 1873 treaties for the abolition of the slave trade were concluded.

In 1866 ʿUmar b. ʿAwadh al-Ḳuʿayṭī, who had served in the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād's army since around 1830, and had interfered from there in the fight between the Kathīrīs and the Ḳuʿayṭīs over Shibām [*q.v.*], returned from India and forced the Kasādīs to sell him half of al-Mukallā. By 1878 the Kasādī *naḳīb* threatened to hand the port over to anyone who would take it: Turkey, France, Italy or Zanzibar, but not the Ḳuʿayṭīs. The British government of India finally decided to support the Ḳuʿayṭīs. The Kasādī *naḳīb* retired on a pension to Zanzibar, and in 1881 ʿUmar took full possession of the port. In 1902 he was recognised as sultan by the Government of India with al-Mukallā as capital of the Ḳuʿayṭī Sultanate, Sayʾūn becoming the capital of the Kathīrī Sultanate. The history of the Kathīrīs and the Ḳuʿayṭīs, their genealogical trees and the organisation of the Ḳuʿayṭī Sultanate during the British Protectorate, are described by Ingrams, *A report*, 27 ff., 78 ff., 174-5; for pictures of al-Mukallā, see e.g. idem, *Arabia and the Isles*, 143 ff., and *Western Arabia*, 556-7.

Al-Mukallā stretches out along the small coast-line between the Indian Ocean and the steep cliffs of the Ḳatat al-Mukallā. The al-Bilād quarter, the oldest part of the town, is built on a promontory protruding into the sea like a bird's tail and is thus surrounded by the sea on three sides. It is dominated by the seven-storied Kasādī palace. The open anchorage on the west side of the promontory is not used during the south-west monsoon (June-September), the anchorage at Raʾs Burūm being used instead. There are no reefs, and the water deepens rapidly. Large vessels anchor a mile off shore; small craft at high water can unload directly on the Custom Wharf. On the land-side, a single gate leads to the slopes of the Djabal Ḳatat, across a broad level space called Tharib, used as an encampment for the numerous camel caravans. In times of Bedouin raids, four little white forts on the escarpment used to be manned.

The population, estimated at 10,000 in 1931, contained not only Arabs, but numerous Banyans (Indian traders) who controlled trade, especially of frankincense and of the so-called *humūmī* tobacco, Somalis, who bought from the Bedouins the right to harvest the incense in the interior, Zanzibaris, Persians, some Jews and Levantine Greeks. The Bedouins were not allowed to come into town and the *ṣubyān* (sing. *ṣabī*, "boy"), negroids from Wādī Ḥadjar, believed to be descendants of African slaves of the time of Abraha [*q.v.*], were not permitted to live inside the town. The slave trade used to be important; in 1834 Captain Haines saw 700 Nubian girls offered for sale.

For industry, import and export in the 1920s and 1930s see Grohmann, *Südarabien* and *EI*[1] art. MUKALLĀ. Fishing has always been important, fish being also used as camel fodder. On the shipyards were built, among others, the *ʿabarīs* (see Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 133). There was a regular shipping line with Batavia (now Jakarta; see Van der Meulen, *Aden*, 1). Goldsmiths' work was only done by Muslims.

At present, al-Mukallā falls within the fifth governorate of the Republic of Yemen. It is the biggest town and port of the Ḥaḍramawt, with a population estimated at *ca.* 80,000. Fish is dried or salted, then carried inland or exported to Sri Lanka and East Africa. There is also a small tuna-canning factory. The town is linked with Aden by a newly-built road (early 1970s).

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(E. van Donzel)

al-**MUḲALLAD** b. al-Musayyib, Ḥusām al-Dawla Abū Ḥassān, member of the Arab ʿUḳaylid dynasty of ʿIrāḳ and al-D̲j̲azīra (d. 391/1000).

After the death in 386/996 or 387/997 of the ʿUḳaylid *amīr* Abu 'l-D̲h̲awwād Muḥammad b. al-Musayyib, a quarrel arose between his brothers, ʿAlī and al-Muḳallad, each of whom claimed power. ʿAlī was the elder, but al-Muḳallad wrote to the Būyid *amīr* Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and promised him an annual tribute, and then told his brother that Bahāʾ al-Dawla had appointed him governor of al-Mawṣil and asked ʿAlī's help to take the town. Bahāʾ al-Dawla's general in al-Mawṣil, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, took to flight and the two brothers agreed to share the government. Disputes between al-Muḳallad's representative in Bag̲h̲dād and Bahāʾ al-Dawla's officials gradually led to open hostilities. A reconciliation was soon brought about, and al-Muḳallad promised to pay 10,000 *dīnārs* and in return received the title Ḥusām al-Dawla with al-Mawṣil, al-Kūfa al-Kaṣr and al-D̲j̲āmiʿayn as a fief. In 387/997 he took ʿAlī prisoner. As a result, the third brother advanced with a strong army against al-Muḳallad; before they came to blows, however, their sister Rahīla succeeded in making peace among the brothers. ʿAlī was released and received his confiscated property back and al-Muḳallad turned his attention to the lord of Wāsiṭ, ʿAlī b. Mazyad [see mazyad, banū], who was on the side of ʿAlī and Ḥasan. But when al-Muḳallad learned that ʿAlī had designs on al-Mawṣil, he turned back, but through the intermediary of Ḥasan, the two brothers were again reconciled. Soon afterwards ʿAlī and Ḥasan left al-Mawṣil. After long negotiations, it was agreed that ʿAlī should be al-Muḳallad's representative in al-Mawṣil whenever the latter had to leave the town. On ʿAlī's death in 390/999-1000, Ḥasan succeeded to his privileges but was driven out by al-Muḳallad and had to take refuge in ʿIrāḳ. In Ṣafar 391/December 1000-January 1001 al-Muḳallad was murdered in al-Anbār by a Turkish Mamlūk.

Bibliography: Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 745, tr. de Slane, iii, 415; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 88-9. 94-6, 116; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 255-7; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 49-50; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 74-7, 186, 323, 376, 501-2; and see ʿuḳaylids.

(K.V. Zettersteen)

MUḲALLID [see taḳlīd; also ḳāṣṣ; maddāḥ].

MŪḲĀN, Mūg̲h̲ān, a steppe lying to the south of the lower course of the Araxes, the northern part of which (about 5,000 square km.) belongs to the Azerbaijan SSR and the other part (50-70 x *ca.* 50 km.) to Persia. The steppe which covers what was once the bottom of the sea has been formed by the alluvial deposits from the Kur (in Russian, Koura) and its tributary the Araxes. (The latter has several times changed its course and one of its arms flows directly into the gulf of Ḳizil-Aghač.) In the interior, the only water in Mūg̲h̲ān is from a number of springs, but it is covered with tells and shows traces of the old system of irrigation. Mūg̲h̲ān has a very mild climate in winter (al-Ḳazwīnī calls it *d̲j̲urūm Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān*) and in the spring is covered with a rich carpet of verdure, but in summer the heat makes it a regular hell and it is infested with snakes (Monteith says "in June the snakes literally covered the ground"; cf. Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲arnāṭī, in al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 379).

The name. The old Arabic transcription (al-Balād̲h̲urī, al-Ṭabarī) is Mūḳān (without article), but quite early in certain manuscripts of the Arab geographers we find Mūg̲h̲ān (probably etymology *mūg̲h̲ān*, "Magi") which becomes general in the Mongol period. Markwart, in *ZDMG* (1895), 633, connects the name of Mūḳān with that of the people mentioned by classical writers as inhabiting this region: Hecataeus, fragment 170: ἐκ Μυκῶν εἰς Ἀράζην; Pomponius Mela, book iii, ch. v: *Mochi ("ad Hyrcanium fretum Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani"). This tribe is to be connected with the Caspians who lived in this region (cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, Leipzig 1904, 269; cf. in Yāḳūt, iv, 676, the genealogy invented by Ibn al-Kalbī, according to which Mūḳān and D̲j̲īlān—both inhabitants of Ṭabaristān—were the sons of Kamās̲h̲ah (?) b. Yāfit̲h̲ b. Nūḥ; cf. Genesis, x). The *Chronicle* of Theophanes, 363, has Βουχανία (var. Βουχαχία), the Armenian geography Mukan and the Georgian chronicle Mowakan (another Mowakan lay near the confluence of the Alazan with the Iora).

History. The Byzantine general Leontius in 678 subdued Iberia, Albania, Bukania (cf. above) and Media. The district of Mūḳān was conquered in 21/642 by an officer of Surāḳa b. Bukayr, who addressed a letter guaranteeing peace to "the people of Mūḳān of the mountains of al-Kabd̲j̲" (the Caucasus; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2660). According to al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 327-9, in 25/645 al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba undertook a campaign against the people of Mūḳān (*ahl Mūḳān*), of al-Babr [cf. ṭārum] and al-Ṭaylasān (= Tālis̲h̲). Another campaign of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī against the people of Mūḳān and D̲j̲īlān, although successful, entailed severe losses. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 395, 15, in 123/741 the future caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad undertook a campaign in D̲j̲īlān and Mūḳān. Mūḳān figures several times as a stronghold of Bābak (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1174, 1178). In the 3rd/9th century Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 119, mentions one S̲h̲akla (?) as chief of Mūḳān.

According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 5 = § 445, in his time the Sharwān Shāh [see SHĪRWĀN] had conquered the states (*mamlaka*) of Lāyirān (several variants) and al-Mūḳāniyya. It appears from Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i, 399), who mentions the *ispahbad* of Mūḳān b. Dalūla as ally of the Gīl chief Lashkarī b. Mardī, who rebelled against the Daylamīs in 326/937, that Mūḳān enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. In 339/950, the Kurd Daysam sent his vizier "into the mountains (*sic*) of Mūḳān to entrench himself". In 349/960, Mūḳān appears as a centre of rebellion (Miskawayh, ii, 136, 178-9). The poet Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*] mentions the rising of the *ispahbad* of Mūḳān against the Rawwādī Wahsūdan (344-78/955-89; cf. Aḥmad Kisrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām*, Tehran 1929, ii, 94). Later, we hear of Mūḳān mainly as an excellent area for the winter pasturage of the conquering nomads. In Yāḳūt's time (iv, 676) the majority of the people of Mūḳān were still Turkomans. In the history of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Mūḳān is constantly mentioned. The sultan sends his booty there, keeps his baggage and mobilises his troops there (al-Nasawī, *Sīra*, 210, 280, 366, etc.). But in 617/1220-1, the Mongol generals Djebe and Subutay spent the winter in Mūḳān (Djuwaynī, i, 116), and al-Ḳazwīnī, 379, says that Mongols took Mūghān for their winter pastures and drove out the Turkomans. In the time of Tīmūr, Mūḳān must have been included in the region of Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] where this conqueror liked so much to pass the winter. During the winter of 804/1401, Tīmūr restored an old canal which was given the name of his tribe Barlas. The canal left the Araxes at Kūshk-i Čangshī and at a distance of 10 *farsakhs* ended at Sardja-pīl (bel?). Since, in order to give the necessary instructions, Tīmūr (who was to the north of the Araxes) had to cross the river (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 395), we may suppose that the canal lay to the south of the Araxes, i.e. in the steppe of Mūghān. It must correspond to the Yegin G'aur arkhī of which traces can still be seen for a length of about 35 miles. Sardja-pīl may correspond to Čarčeli on the Russian map (according to the involved description by Monteith, the Barlas canal issued in the neighbourhood of Ḳara-su?!). The canal is in any case quite distinct from another canal which Tīmūr traced in 806/1403-4 to the north of the Araxes towards the town of Baylaḳān [*q.v.*] (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 543).

In the Ṣafawid period (and perhaps already under the Ḳaraḳoyunlu), Mūghān became the possession of the Shī'ī Turkoman tribes who formed the principal support of the dynasty and became known as Shāhsewen [*q.v.*]. By article ii of the Treaty of Gülistān of 1813, the steppe of Mūghān was divided between Russia and Persia. The boundary line was more precisely defined in article iv of the Treaty of Türkmānčay [*q.v.*] of 1828. In 1884 Russia forbade Persian nomads to cross into Russian territory. Towards the end of the 19th century, the project of irrigating the land of Mūghān was conceived and realised between 1902 and 1907. The four systems of canals were to make 200,000 hectares cultivable, particularly for cotton. From 1884 the steppe was occupied solely by nomads who were Russian subjects. But in 1917 there were already 46 Russian villages with 17,000 inhabitants, while the Turkish nomads who had become settled on the banks of the Kur and of the Araxes numbered 30,000 souls. As a result of the tragic events of 1918, the whole Russian population had to leave Mūghān and the canals became silted up. Between 1920 and 1924 the work of restoration was carried out and the fugitives began to return. The total area of irrigated land in Mūghān is estimated at 253,000 hectares, while immediately to the north of Mūghān the steppe of Mīl (from *Mīl-i Baylaḳān*, "the tower of Baylaḳān"; cf. Khanykov, *Mém. sur les inscriptions musulm. au Caucase*, in *JA* [Aug. 1862], 72) has another 165,000 irrigated hectares.

Historical geography. The Arab geographers were fairly well acquainted with Mūghān (see *Bibl.*). In the Mongol period, Mūghān must have comprised all the lands to the north of the Ṣalāwāṭ range (which is a western outlier of Russian Tālish and forms the watershed between the middle course of the Ḳara-su and the Bolgaru), to the east of the Ḳara-su (where it follows the northern direction) and to the south of the Araxes. Towards the East, Mūghān stretched to the Caspian Sea and included the coastal region of Russian Tālish. The mountainous part of the latter, held as in a vice, must also have belonged to Mūghān. The same condition must have existed in the Arab period, for the curious expression of Miskawayh, ii, 136, referring to the *Djibāl Mūḳān* can only refer to the mountainous part of Russian Tālish.

We may note al-Muḳaddasī's remark (380), who among other wonders mentions, at one *marḥala* (7-8 *farsakhs* = 20-5 miles) distant from Mūḳān, an imposing fortress calles al-Ḥ.s.r.a (?), below which are houses and palaces in which there are large quantities of gold (*dhahab 'aẓīm*) in the form of birds and wild beasts and "many kings made plans to seize it but never succeeded in reaching it". Al-Muḳaddasī does not definitely say that the fortress belongs to Mūḳān, and evidently speaks of it by hearsay. Is this a reference to Shindān-ḳal'a (which is about 50 miles = 2 *marḥalas* to the south of the presumed site of the *shahristān* of Mūghān)? On this imposing mountain (6,000 feet high) can still be seen ruins of important fortifications (Radde, 135; "ruins of a strong castle ... many ruins of brick buildings"). Also, in a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī, 186, 17, we read: "The Gīls and the Mūḳān are tribes on foot who rarely go on horseback" which can only refer to a few remnants of the old population settled in upper Tālish (where the highlanders are very distinct from the lowlanders).

In the important passage in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 5 = § 445, it is distinctly stated that the al-Mūḳāniyya conquered by the lord of Shirwān [*q.v.*] was situated near Ḳabala [see SHAKKĪ], i.e. to the north of the Kur, and was different from al-Mūḳāniyya on the shore of the Caspian Sea (cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 407). In the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, *Hist. de la Georgie*, i, 18) we read that Mowakan son of Thargamos received from his father "the north (*sic*) of Mtkwar (= Kur) from the junction with the Little Alazan (Iora?) to the sea and there founded the city (kingdom?) of Mowakneth". In *ibid.*, i, 397, the Shīrwānshāh (in the 6th/12th century) is called "lord of Mowakan and Shirwān". Prince Wakhusht in his *Georgian geography* (18th century) places Mowakan between the Kur and the Alazan. In Georgian, the same term Mowakan is also applied to the Mūghān situated to the south of the Kur (Brosset, i, 161). These facts indicate that the original territory bearing the name Mūḳān (from the people Μυχοί, Mochi?) was of much greater extent.

As regards the Mūḳān south of the Kur, this is what the Arab geographers tell us: al-Iṣṭakhrī, 182 (= Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 239) mentions Mūḳān among the towns of Ādharbaydjān, and (*ibid.*, 219) places it on the Gīlān road to the Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*, and see DERBEND]. According to an additional passage (*ibid.*, 190*g*), the town of Mūḳān is separated from Bākū by a gulf (*fawhat al-baḥr* = the Gulf of Ḳizīl-Aghač) where they

fish for the fish called *sūmāhī* (**sūfmāhī*? = "hake"). On the shores of this Gulf (?) is Mūḳān, which has many villages which had belonged to a tribe of Zoroastrians (*al-Madjūs*). Al-Muḳaddasī, 376, in enumerating the towns of Arrān, mentions a Mūghakān (between Shirwān and Bākū), but on the other hand, mentions a Mūghān, 378, among the very prosperous towns of Ādharbāydjān. Mūghakān was situated on the frontier (*ʿalā raʾs al-ḥadd*) and on the high road (*al-sikka*), and indeed the Caspian Sea (*ibid.*, 373, cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 219), from Sālūs (Čālūs) to Isbīdhrūdh, 1 *marḥala* and from there to Dūlāb (in the Persian Tālish) 10 *marḥalas*, from there to Kuhanrūdh 3 *marḥalas*, from there to Mūghakān 2 *marḥalas*, from there to al-Kurr 2 *marḥalas*, from there to Hashtādhar 2 *marḥalas*, from there to Shamākhiya 2 *marḥalas*. The itinerary, the distances of which are very short, could not have been far removed from the line of the shore. Mūghakān should therefore be sought in the Russian Tālish (in the region of Lankurān [*q.v.*]). In any case, the town of Mūghakān (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Mūkān*) was not on the road which connected Ardabīl with the seat of Arab government at Bardhaʿa, which crossed the whole region of Mūḳān from south-east to north-west. This route (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 192; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251 [important details]; al-Muḳaddasī, 381) went by Ardabīl-15 *farsakhs*—Barzand-7 *farsakhs*—Balkhāb-7 *farsakhs*—Yūnān (Yūmān, Tūmān, etc.)-7 *farsakhs*—Bardhaʿa. If we call the *farsakh* 3 miles, the identifications would be as follows: Barzand = the village of Ḳalʿa Barzand; Balkhāb = Bel-bulakh (a spring and a ruined caravanserai in the middle of the steppe; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251); Warthān = Altan (ruins of a fort on the bank of the Araxes and a canal which runs towards the steppe); Baylaḳān = Mīl (properly *Mīl-i Baylaḳān*, near the ruined fort of Uren-ḳalʿa; cf. Khanykov, in *JA* [August 1862], 72); Yūnān (?) = in the region of Bayat—Hind-arkhī [see BARDHAʿA]. Now just to the east of this route (south-east to north-west) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 181, gives a third itinerary (south-west to north-east): Ardabīl-8 *farsakhs*—Ribāṭ *Arshak-8 *farsakhs*—village of V.r.n.k (?)-4 *farsakhs*—Bādjarwān (to which in al-Iṣṭakhrī, 182, Djābarwān seems to correspond, perhaps by confusion with a place of this name to the south of Lake Urmiya; (see NIRĪZ)-8 *farsakhs*—Bēlasuwār-6 *farsakhs*—Djuy-i naw-6 *farsakhs*—Maḥmūd-ābād-i Gawbārī. The fixed points are Ardabīl and Bēlasuwār (Russian customs-house). Bādjarwān, which according to al-Ḳazwīnī was formerly the capital (*shahristān*) of Mūghān, should be sought on one of the sources of the independent river Bolgaru which rises in the district of Ūdjarūd and ends in a lake to the south of the estuary of the Araxes.

Bolgaru is the Russian pronunciation; the element *-rū* is certainly "river"; in Olearius and Struys the name is written *Balharu*, which is more accurate; the name must be connected with that of the spring Balkh-āb (Bakhlāb) (see above). Mustawfī specially notes that the road which he is describing passes one *farsakh* towards the east!) from Barzand [*q.v.*]. Now the river Barzand is the most westerly source of the Bolgaru. At one *farsakh* (3 miles) east of Barzand and parallel to the latter runs the river Dīza. The village of Dīza ("fort"; cf. Olearius: *Dizla*) is situated near the junction of the two sources of this river (which corresponds to the detail noted by al-Muḳaddasī, 378, for *Mūghān*). The identity of the *shahristān* of Mūghān (which is to be distinguished from Mūghakān) = Bādjarwān = Dīza seems fairly probable. The name Bādjarwān in the local Iranian dialect may mean the "market of Wān". The upper course of the Bolgaru is now actually called Bāzārčay; and there is a considerable village there called Wān. The name "Bādjirewān" is borne by two villages in Russian Tālish, which perhaps represent colonies from the old town.

Mustawfī, 89, deals with the *wilāyat* of Mūghān separately from Arrān. He indicates the extent of Mūghān as from the pass of Sang-barsang "which is opposite the *tuman* Pīshkīn" (now Mīshkīn) to the Araxes. The said pass seems to correspond to the pass of Ṣalawāt (*Tash-dere*) which separates the Ḳara-su from its right tributary the Sambur (district of Yāft) along which runs the most westerly road to the Araxes. He mentions five towns of Mūghān: 1. Bādjarwān (see above); 2. Barzand, on the western source of the Bolgaru, where at the present day there are still at least 7 villages called Barzand; 3. Bēlasuwār, called after a Būyid *amīr* (cf. Miskawayh, i, 401), whose name means "great horseman" (cf. in the dialect of Gīlān, *pilla* "great"); Bēlasuwār was situated on the river of Bādjarwān (= Bolgaru); now Bēlasuwār is the Russian customs-station northwest of the Russian Tālish; 4. Hamashara is an ancient fortress on the Russian Tālish about 12 miles south-east of Bēlasuwār; 5. Maḥmūdabād built by the Īlkhān Maḥmūd (Ghāzān Khān?) was situated near the sea in the Gawbārī plain. Mustawfī's itinerary (Bēlasuwār-6 *farsakhs*—Djūy-i naw ["the new canal"]-6 *farsakhs*—Maḥmūdābād) indicates for Djūy-i naw the environs of Ḳīzīl-Aghač, immediately south of the branch of the Araxes which flows into the sea, and for Maḥmūdābād, the environs of the village of Maḥmūdābād, about 12 miles south of Lankurān.

In the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* of Tawakkulī b. Bazzāz, Bombay 1329/1911, 12, we find a somewhat obscure reference to a Kurdish army which set out from Sindjān, led by a king descended from Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 166/783) and conquered Ādharbāydjān. It was then that the people of Mūghān, Arrān, Alīwān (?) and Dār-i Būm (?) who were all infidels were converted to Islam. There are certain reasons for believing that by the Kurds of Sindjān the author means the Rawwādī dynasty, representatives of whom reigned in Ādharbāydjān in the 4th-7th/10th-13th centuries [see MARĀGHA, RAWWĀDIDS, TABRĪZ].

Bibliography: *Djihān-nümā*, 192 (of little originality); Olearius, *Voyages*, 1633, book iv, ch. 21 (ed. 1656, 447-51): Shamākha — Djawād — Balharu river—Bedjirwān—Dizle—Aghīz—Sāmiyān—Ardabīl; J. Struys, *Les voyages*, Amsterdam 1720, ch. 27 (ii, 235): itinerary exactly identical with that of Olearius; J.J. Lerch, *Nachricht von d. zweiten Reise nach Persien* (1747), in *Büsching's Magazin*, part x, 367-476: Shamākha—Djawād—Bolgaru—Lankurān—Astārā—Rasht; Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerdbijan* (sic), in *JRGS* (1834), iii, 28-31: Ardabīl—Barzand—Ḳīzīl-ḳalʿa (at the confluence of the four rivers which form Balarood = Balharu?) — Ḳuyular-tapa — Agha-mazār — Jedi-Bölük — Altun [Altan]-takht—Aslanduz—Bayat (wrongly taken for the old Baylaḳān)—Bardhaʿa; Toporov, *Muganskaya steppe, Kavkaz, kalendar*, (1864), 242-98; Toporov, in *Kavkaz* (1864), no. 28; Ogranovič, *Uročishče Belasuwar*, in *Kavkaz* (1871), no. 32; Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875, index; Ogranovič, *Provintsii Persii Ardebilskaya i Serabskaya*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otdel. Imper. Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, x/1 (1876), 214: Udjarūd; Radde, *Reisen an der persisch-russischen Grenze, Talysch und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1886, *passim*; Belasuwar, etc.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175-6, 230-1; Schwarz, *Iran*, 1086-94; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr.

77, 142—On the flora and fauna of Mūghān and the plans for irrigating it, there is a whole literature in Russian. The most recent references are in W.S. Klupt, *Zakavkazye*, Moscow 1929, 50; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175-6, 230-1; Schwarz, *Iran*, 1086-94; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 77,142. (V. Minorsky)

al-**MUḲANNAʿ**, the nickname given to a person who rebelled in Transoxania during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85 [*q.v.*]) and who hid his face beneath a *ḳināʿ*, i.e., a veil (of silk), or, as a plausible tradition holds, a mask of gold which he had made for himself. His real name is not known with certainty, and there is a choice between ʿAṭāʾ, Ḥakīm, Hishām b. Ḥakīm and Hāshim; it is moreover related that he assumed this latter name for himself and that his partisans' war-cry was "O Hāshim, help us!". His story, not very well known, is envelopped in a tissue of legends to whose spreading the work attributed to one Shaylama (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl), *Akhbār al-Mubayyiḍa*, probably contributed.

A native of Marw [*q.v.*], he took part initially in the activity of Abū Muslim (d. 137/755 [*q.v.*]), whose memory he was subsequently to keep up. He launched his movement in his native land in *ca.* 160/777, after having recruited Turkish nomads and Soghdian peasants; and it was from the white garments of these last that the name given to the rebels of Mubayyiḍa stems (at the side of that of Muḳannaʿiyya), in opposition to the Musawwida [*q.v.*] (= the ʿAbbāsids). The term Mubayyiḍa would seem to be an Arabic translation of the Persian equivalent *sapīd djāmagān*.

Starting from the region of Marw, the revolt soon spread to Bukhārā and Samarḳand, and al-Muḳannaʿ's forces succeeded in holding in check the army sent by al-Mahdī to the governor of Khurāsān, before being besieged in a fortress in the region of Kish [*q.v.*], where they had entrenched themselves. As the siege dragged on, his troops gradually abandoned al-Muḳannaʿ, who refused to surrender; according to one tradition, he is said to have been poisoned, whilst another one affirms that, in order to ascend towards heaven, he lit a great pyre on to which he threw himself, his wives, his children and the last of his partisans who had not sought *amān*. This event is dated to 166/783.

The "doctrine" of al-Muḳannaʿ, so far as one can picture it from the information in the works of heresiographers, was connected with Mazdakism [see MAZDAK] and with the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], but it seems to have been rather strange. He claimed divinity, God having created Adam in His image and then becoming incarnate in Seth, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Muslim and finally, in the best of them all, al-Muḳannaʿ. To this anthropomorphism and incarnationism, he added the idea of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ* [*q.v.*]). He practised feats of magic in order to impress his followers, who were moreover left at liberty to cast aside the prohibitions of Islam (whence their name of *mubāḥiyya*).

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2. Studies. Browne, *LHP*, i, 318-23; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 199-200; Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens aux IIᵉ et IIIᵉ siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938; S. Moscati, *Studi storichi sul califatto di al-Mahdī*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., xiv (1945), 333-44; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstaniye Mukanni—Dviženiye l'udey v. belikh odeždakh*, in *Sov. Vostok*, v (1948), 35-54; B. Spuler, *Iran im früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 198-9; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 74; B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 495-503; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 137-47.

See also KHURRAMIYYA. (Ed.)

MUḲANṬARĀT (A.), an Arabic technical term borrowed in the Middle Ages by Western astronomers, under the form *almícantarat*, to denote the parallel circles at the horizon and normally called circles of height or parallels of height. On the flat astrolabe, the *ṣafīḥa* bears the stereographic projection of different circles and notably of the *muḳanṭarāt* [see AṢṬURLĀB]. On a spherical astrolabe, only the visible (*ẓāhir*) hemisphere is generally provided with circles of height; these number 90, but one can equally well mark one of them only in three, in five, etc. The use of the *muḳanṭarāt* is fairly clearly explained by the constructors of astrolabes who describe the instrument which they make (see, e.g., Ch. Pellat, *L'astrolabe sphérique d'al-Rūdānī*, Arabic text in *BEO*, xxvi [1973], tr. in *ibid.*, xviii [1974], index). (Ed.)

MUḲĀRAʿA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

MUḲĀRAḌA [see ḲIRĀḌ].

MUḲARBAṢ or Muḳarbas (A.), a term denoting a technique of architectural craftsmanship used in the Mediaeval Muslim West, yielding the Spanish word *mocárabe*. According to Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 167-8, and Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 324a, cited in J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, i, 153b, the verb *ḳarbaṣa*/*ḳarbasa* (of which the term would be a passive participle) derives from Greek κρηπίς, "base, plinth, foundation". The artistic technique which developed as *mocárabe* is defined in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia de la Lengua* as "work formed by a geometric combination of interlocking prisms, externally cut in concave surfaces and used as decoration in vaults, cornices, etc.". It forms a counterpart to, but is different in execution from, the *muḳarnas* technique [*q.v.*] of the Muslim central and eastern lands.

The *mocárabe*, in proportion $\sqrt{2}$, consists of 4 basic prisms, or *jairas*: one rectangular, with its minor side equal to unity, and length to $\sqrt{2}$; three others are isosceles triangles of 90°, 45°, 135°, with sides equal to unity, and base equal to $\sqrt{2}$; 0.766; 1.848. (figs. 2-5). The *jairas* are cut by *guillillo* in quarter-cylinder curves, transforming them into *adarajas* (fig. 1), by dividing the width of the piece into seven parts, taking six as the radius of a semi-circumference drawn on its length. The *guillillo* cuts one radius-length parallel to the border leaving a *patilla* 1/7 thick, and the other radius in quarter-cylinder. The oriental *muḳarnas* is usually cut with a *consa*, a broken cut, thereby differing from the *muḳarbaṣ* (*mocárabe*). Seven *adarajas* are primary. Four are obtained by using the *guillillo* on the "proportional" face; the other three, on the edges (figs. 6-12). The

seven secondary *adarajas* are obtained with two perpendicular *guillillos* on the "unity" face, or cut in the normal direction of the proportional face, thereby showing two *patillas* (figs. 13-19). The *adarajas* are then mounted by joining their "unity" sides at the same level, and their "proportional" sides when stepped, leaving $^1/_7$ between them (figs. 20-21). The *mocárabe* composes: capitals, sockets, corbels, arches, *racimos* and *cubos*; its hanging and inset *adarajas* are set on an octagonal central piece, *nabo*, of $\sqrt{2}$ or its proportional fraction (figs. 22, 23). Pendentives (figs. 24-27), squinches, vaults, cupolas can be built in modules separated by the *medina* (pieces whose proportional width is twice $^1/_{10} = {}^1/_5$ of the width of the *adaraja*), whose *guillillo* alters its proportion, giving $^1/_5$ by $^4/_5$ to the *patilla*, and another $^4/_5$ to the curved surface (figs. 28, 29). It is used in mixed crossed arches, which derived from the Hispano-Muslim caliphate vaults.

Al-ʿUd͟hrī (393-478/1003-85) used the noun *muḳarnas* when describing an Almería palace hall of the *taifa* al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ (428-84/1037-91). Al-D̲jaznāʾī in his *Zahrat al-ās* mentions a *ḳubba muḳarbasa*; and Ibn D̲jubayr mentions *muḳarbaṣ* in his *Riḥla*, perhaps to distinguish its proportional sectioning from the oriental *muḳarnas*. The *mocárabe* was carved in jesso, brick, wood, marble or stone and was frequently coloured. In glazed ceramic it is characteristic of the Persian Orient. The earliest remains of Western grooved ceramic prisms appear in the *Ḳalʿa* of the Banū Ḥammād, perhaps due to Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (reigned 481-508/1088-1105), the contemporary of al-ʿUd͟hrī, and probably came from the Orient. It appears under the Almorávids, formed of prisms and proportional cuts on $\sqrt{2}$: *Ḳubba Barūdiyyīn* in Marrākus͟h (*ca.* 513/1119); Tlemcen mosque vault (529/1135); vaults of the Ḳarawiyyīn (537/1143). In Sicily, in the palatine chapel of Palermo, richly coloured (526?/1132?), the Cuba (549/1154) and the Zisa (576/1180). The Almohads developed it further: mosque of Tinmall (548/1153-4); Kutubiyya mosque at Marrākus͟h (557/1162), Seville mosque (566/1171) and Banderas Patio vault, and the Ḥassān mosque minaret (593/1196). The royal chapel of Cordova mosque (656/1258), with mixed arches and vault sections of *mocárabe*, was perhaps imitating the lost Sevillian Oratory vaults. The Asunción chapel in Huelgas (Burgos) is Almohad artwork. The Naṣrid Alhambra palace of Riyāḍ (Lions) (*ca.* 782/1380) is considered the "cathedral" of Hispano-mauresque *mocárabe* for its rich variety of types. The surviving Marīnīd and Saʿdian versions are reiterative and dull. The Mudéjares [*q.v.*] made prodigious constructions of *mocárabe* in mansions, palaces, chapels, synagogues, and churches into the 17th century, and the technique passed to Spanish America.

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(A. Fernandez-Puertas)

MUKĀRĪ (A.), lit. "hirer", a dealer in riding beasts and beasts of burden (see *WbKAS*, Letter K, s.v., 164-5), usage being extended from the person buying and selling and hiring to the muleteer or other person accompanying a loaded beast. Terminology in this overlaps here with other, more specific terms like *ḥammār*, donkey driver and dealer, and *bag͟hg͟hāl*, mule driver and dealer, whilst in 19th century Damascus, *rakkāb* was also used for the hirer of donkeys and the man accompanying them on trading journeys.

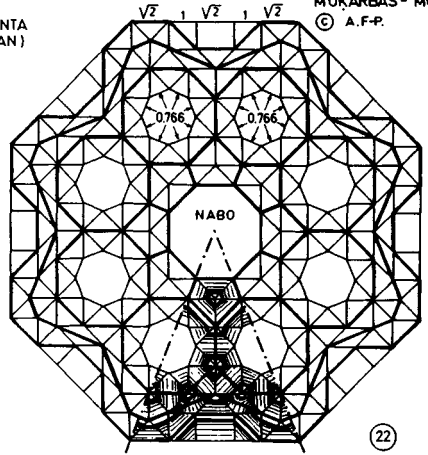
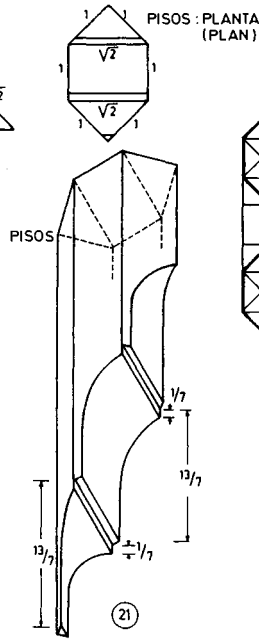
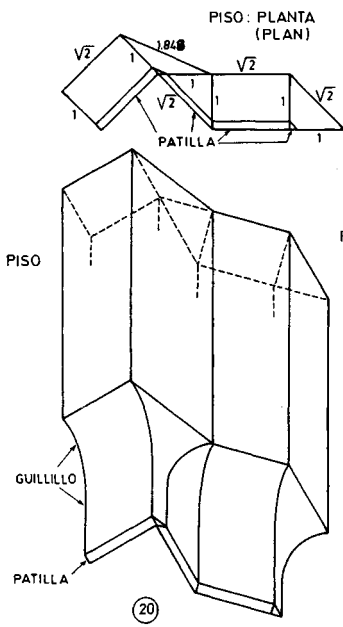
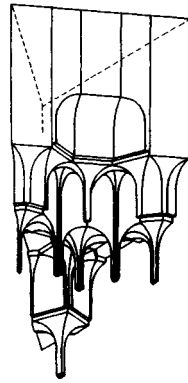
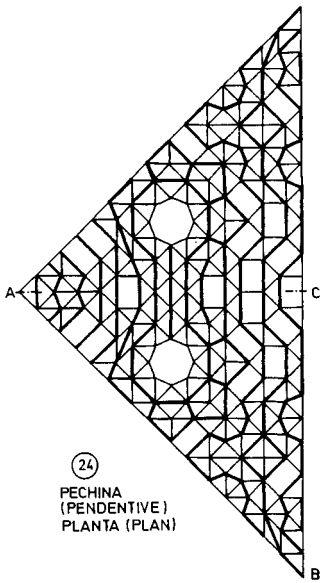
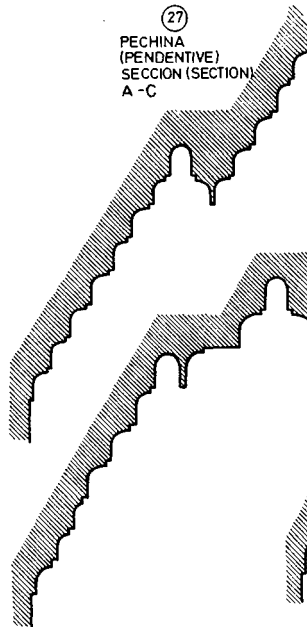
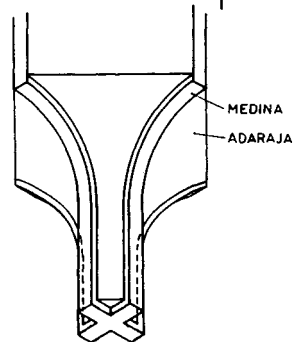
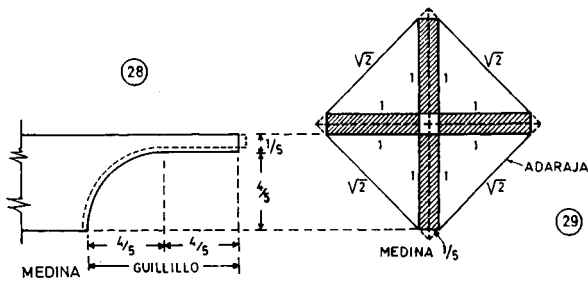
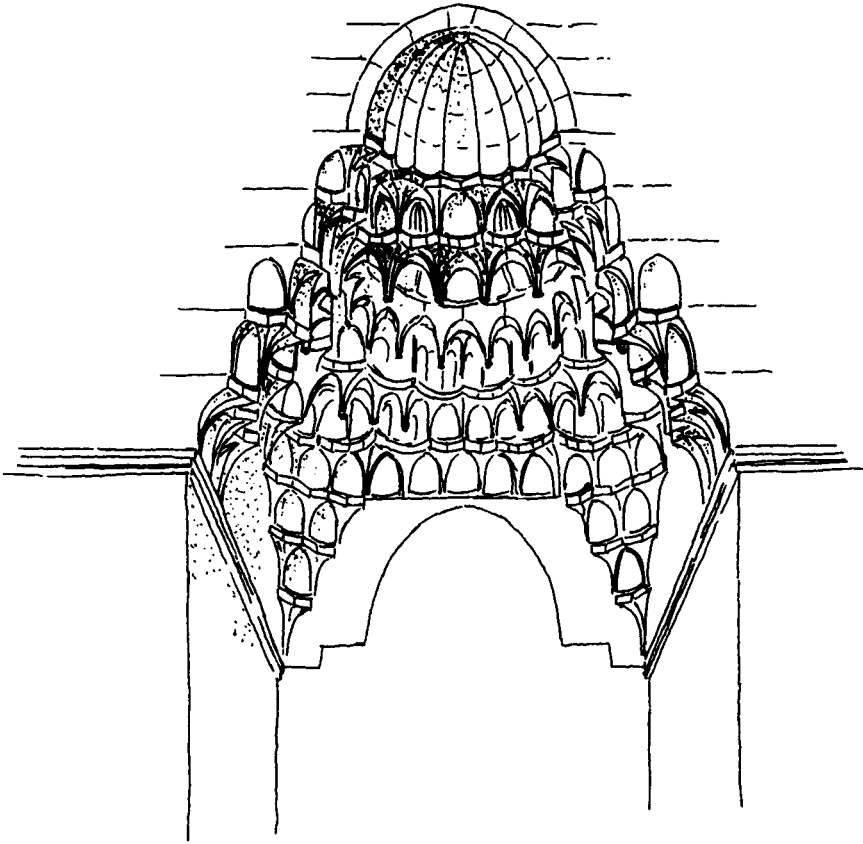
In pre-modern times, the *mukārūn/mukāriya* and their associated trades were a vital and numerous element in all Islamic towns. In 18th century Cairo, states Chabrol (in the *Description de l'Égypte*), there were some 22,000 beasts for hire under ʿAlī Bey (1156-68/1743-54 [*q.v.*]) and a little later, 30,000; there were a large number of *sūḳs* scattered all through the city for donkeys, since these were the mounts and beasts of burden used by the mass of population, whereas camels and horses were more connected with the Mamlūk military establishment, hence their *sūḳs* were concentrated near the Citadel (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, i, 347-8, ii, 383). Similarly, Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī says that, before the coming of the railway to Damascus (i.e. up to the first decade of the 20th century), there were at least 200 *mukāriya* in Damascus; but the advent of the train and the petrol-driven lorry had reduced the trades of *rakkāb* and *mukārī* almost to extinction (*Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-s͟hāmiyya/Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, i, 47-8, 156-7, ii, 466-7).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Subkī, *Muʿīd al-niʿam*, Cairo 1367/1948, 140-1 (the hirer must be careful not to hire beasts out to women bent on immoral purposes); M.A.J. Beg, *The Mukārī: a group of transport workers in ʿAbbasid Middle East*, in *Jnal. Pakistan Hist. Soc.*, xxiii (1975), 143-51. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUḲARNAS (A.), a type of decoration typical for Islamic architecture all over the central and eastern parts of the Muslim world; for its counterpart in the Muslim West, see MUḲARBAṢ. The term derives from the Greek κορωνίσ (Latin *coronis*, Fr. *corniche*, Eng. *cornice*), and has no explanation whatsoever in any of the Arabic dictionaries that could be associated with its function in Islamic architecture. It is therefore a popular term, or rather, a mason's technical term.

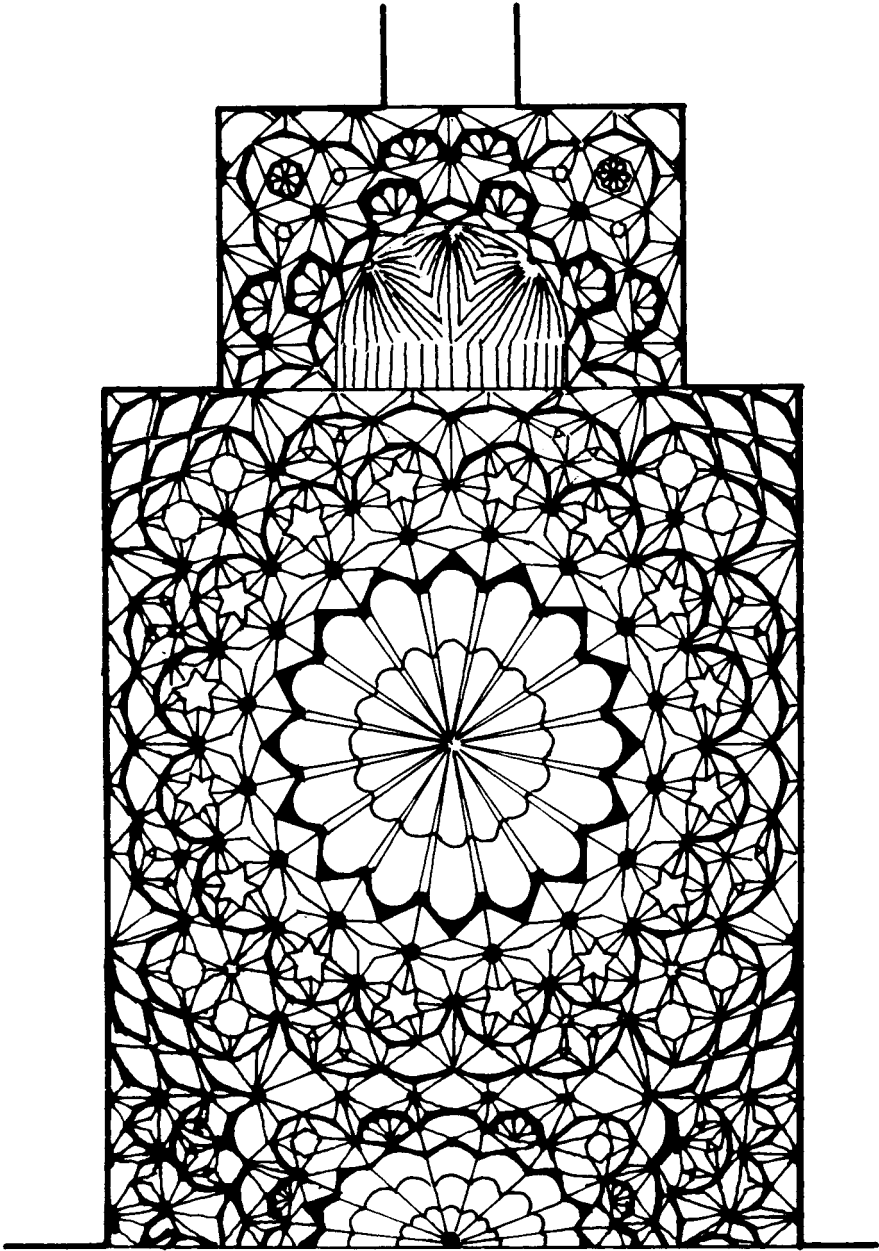
Muḳarnas decoration is composed of a series of niches embedded within an architectural frame, geometrically connected and forming a three-dimensional composition around a few basic axes of symmetry. It has often been compared with the form of a honeycomb. Its equation with stalactites, generally used in European languages to designate the *muḳarnas*, is not quite adequate because the comparison with the geological dripping stone formations is valid only for a certain later type of dripping *muḳarnas*.

The origin of the *muḳarnas* is still obscure, though it is usually attributed to 4th/10th century Eastern Persia. Excavations by the Metropolitan Museum at Nīs͟hāpūr have brought to light 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century fragments of carved and painted stucco niches of *muḳarnas* that seem to have been applied as facing of walls and corners in residential architecture. Stucco *muḳarnas* with Sāmarrā style paintings belonging to a bath at Fusṭāṭ and now in the Islamic Museum of

MOCARABES
MUḲARBAS - MUḲĀRAB
© A. F-P.
PATILLA
ADARAJA
GUILLILLO
√2 = 1.414
0.766
45°
90°
1.848
135°

Elevation of the *muḳarnas* portal of the *Ḳūṣūn*/Ya<u>sh</u>bak palace in Cairo (738/1337) by Bourgoin.

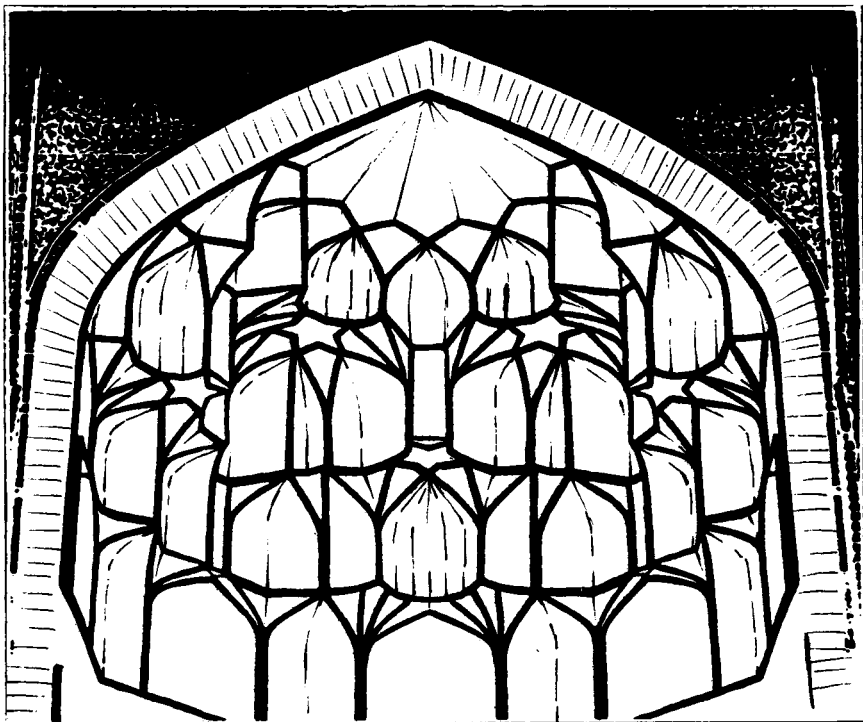
Cairo, could also be of the same period. Decorated with motifs showing a female dancer and a seated youth with a cup in hand, they once formed part of a vault or disguised a corner of the bath. If the paintings are to be attributed to the ʿAbbāsid period, i.e. to the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century, as recent studies suggest, (Grube, *A drawing of wrestlers*) and not to the Fāṭimid period as commonly assumed, these *muḳarnas* would be the earliest example known in Egypt and at the same time among the earliest known of the Muslim world. In that case, Ba<u>gh</u>dād as the capital of the ʿAbbāsid empire, could well be the place of origin of the *muḳarnas*.

The essential function of the *muḳarnas* is ornamental. It was widely used as a cornice to adorn the edges and disguise the joints of an architectural structure, especially projections. Most of all, it was closely connected with the transition zone of domes especially where the squinch was adopted as transitional device. Rosintal and other *muḳarnas* historians of the early decades of this century have therefore attributed its elaboration and development to Persia, where dome architecture was characterised by the squinch as form of transition from the cubic to the domical section of a building. Being itself an architectural composition of niche-like quarter domes, the unit of the *muḳarnas* which repeats and multiplies on a smaller scale the shape of the squinch would therefore have appealed to the mediaeval architect as a suitable motif for squinch filling and decoration. A parallel development, according to Rosintal, occurred in Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ Anatolia, where the triangular form of the pendentif, adopted there as formula of dome transition, was also repeated in decorative bands to adorn the transitional zones of Anatolian domes. This interpretation, which assigns an architectural and structural origin to the *muḳarnas*, finds less acceptance in more recent literature. It is still not quite clear whether the development of the *muḳarnas* in Persia started from the linear toward the three-dimensional, or the opposite way, or whether it went parallel in both directions. Since the excavations of Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr, and Pugačenkova's studies in Eastern Persia, the ornamental rather than structural origin is being favoured. The close association, however, of the *muḳarnas* with dome architecture, articulating the transitional zone, added a new dimension to its decorative role in architecture.

The *muḳarnas* spread in *ca.* the 5th/11th century all over the Islamic world becoming, like the arabesque and the inscription bands, a characteristic feature of its architecture from Egypt to Central Asia, a fact which led Diez to the idea that *muḳarnas* was not an individual invention whose inventor could be located; rather, it is rooted in Islamic mentality and culture. The device was universally used by Muslim world architects to cover or enhance all kinds of transitional zones on the interior as well as the exterior of buildings, to conceal the joints and create at the same time a fusion of structural with decorative elements, often conveying the illusion that it carries the thrust above it. The *muḳarnas* with its geometrically cut surface, has the quality, like a crystal, of breaking the

Plan of the *muḳarnas* dome at the portal of the *Ḳūṣūn*/Yas̲h̲bak palace in Cairo (738/1337) by Bourgoin.

light and forming the additional contrasts of light and shade that always have been sought after by Muslim architects and decorators.

In Persia, the *muḳarnas* appeared on the exterior of buildings as two superimposed rows, resulting in a more complicated cell composition (e.g. the tomb tower of Lād̲j̲īn at Māzandarān (413/1022) and a few years later the minaret of Sangbast). As for its internal use in domes, a trilobe arch, segmented by symmetrical niches, was elaborated to fill the squinch in the transitional zone. As a variation of the trilobe arch, the arch with a polylobed or stepped profile developed: the squinch at the dome of Gūlpāygān (498-512/1104-18) includes a stepped arch filled with *muḳarnas* niches, and at the Masd̲j̲id-i Ḥaydariyya at Ḳazwīn (first half of the 6th/12th century), such stepped arches, filled with *muḳarnas*, decorate also blind niches. A squinch that includes a trilobed segmented arch characterises the Sald̲j̲ūḳ dome architecture at the Great Mosque of Iṣfahān (last quarter of the 5th/11th century). Stucco and brick-work *muḳarnas* were followed by plaster covered with faience. This technique produces *muḳarnas* cells totally angular and without curves. Plaster *muḳarnas* were suspended on ropes and glued. .

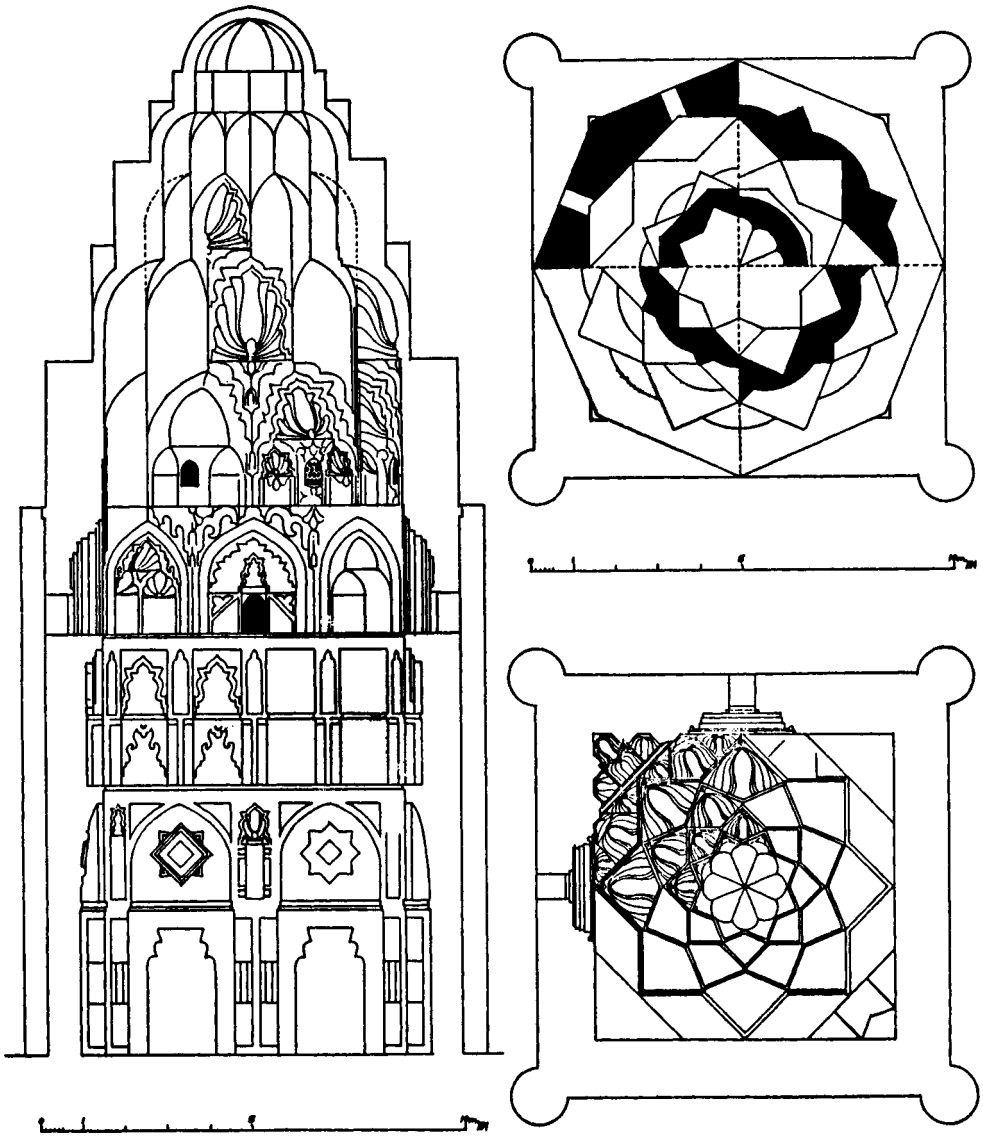
In Egypt, both squinches and pendentives were built with *muḳarnas*. Unless the *muḳarnas* of the Fusṭāṭ *ḥammām* should prove to be ᶜAbbāsid, the earliest

Mukarnas semi-vault at Masdjid-i Shāh, Iṣfahān (1038/1628-9).

extant occurrence of *mukarnas* in Cairene architecture has so far been attributed to the minaret of al-Djuyūshī, where a cornice of *mukarnas* (478/1085) adorns the top of the rectangular section of the shaft. It is the only *mukarnas* on this building, the squinches of whose dome are plain.

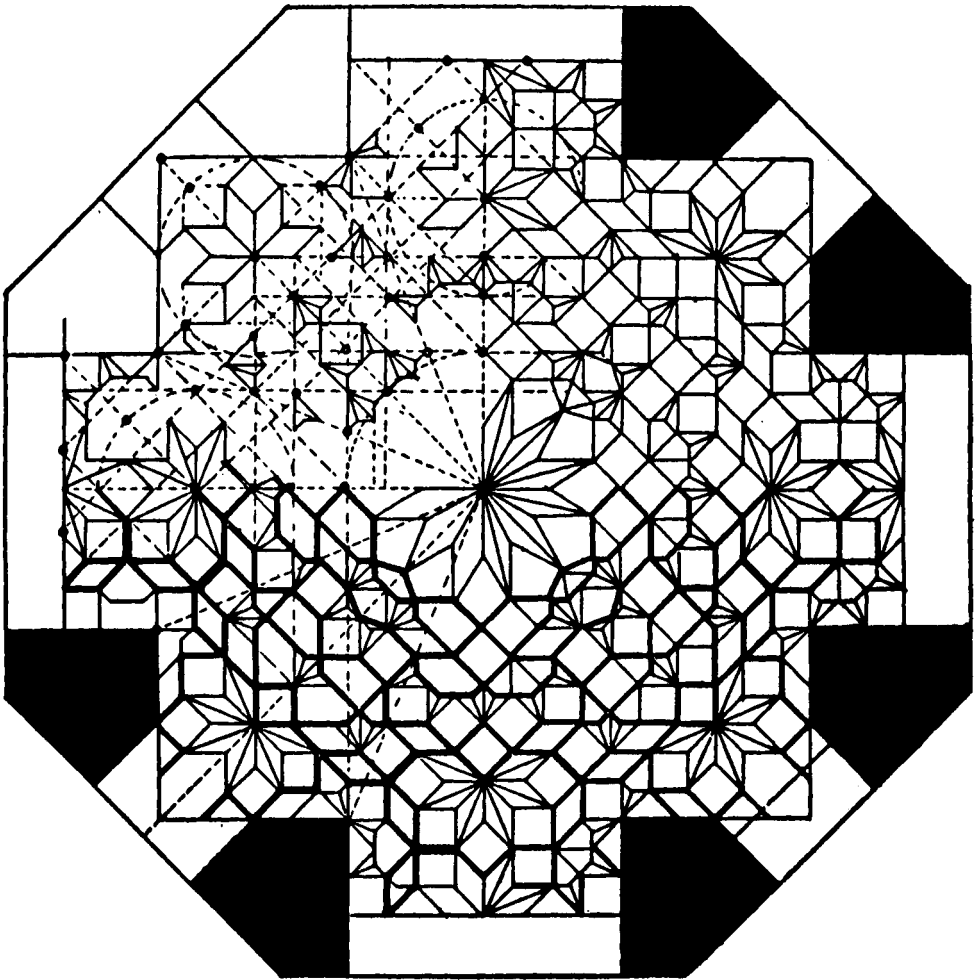
With the evolution of domes in Cairo towards more height, the transitional zone expanded and the squinches grew, with the result that the trilobe replaced the plain arch squinch. Although Creswell demonstrates that the evolution of the Cairene *mukarnas* pendentif and squinch followed a path independent from the Persian one, in Egypt as in Persia, the squinch was segmented, though in a different style. The trilobed was followed by a polylobed or stepped arch profile, segmented into smaller elements, which owing to their symmetrical arrangement, formed niches or cells of *mukarnas*. Such trilobed squinches carry the domes of Sayyida Rukayya (527/1133) and Yaḥyā al-Shabīh (*ca.* 1150). The dome of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, built in 608/1211, has subsequently undergone several restorations that leave doubts about the date of its *mukarnas* squinches. These, made of wood, have the shape of a stepped arch filled and flanked by *mukarnas* niches. The dome of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn, the next in development that is surely dated (648/1250), displays stepped squinch arches included within a ring of *mukarnas* niches carved all along the transitional zone of the dome, entirely made of wood. Simultaneously, *mukarnas* was used to decorate all kinds of niches, forming a natural frame for fluted conches, and also to fill façade recesses, like at the al-Akmar mosque (519/1125). On façades, it was made of stone, on prayer niches of stucco or stone and on domes it was of brick or wood, later also carved in stone.

In Cairo, where the triangular pendentif was adopted in Mamlūk architecture long after the squinch had been in use, the pendentives were carved with large trilobe or stepped *mukarnas*, simulating squinches. The windows in the domes which alternate with the squinches in the octagonal section acquired the same trilobe and stepped profile as the squinch. With the adoption of stone domes, squinches were replaced by triangular pendentives simply carved with linear *mukarnas*.

All over the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, *mukarnas* was applied on minarets, to "carry" the balconies, or lead from the lower thicker to the upper slimmer section. In Dihlī, on the Kuṭb Minār [*q.v.*] the balconies project above two rows of stone carved niches. In Cairo, it was traditional that each of three or four rings of *mukarnas* would display a different pattern. The *mukarnas* along the façade at the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is an architectural tour-de-force, built as a stone cornice boldly protruding from the top of this façade. In Anatolian architecture, *mukarnas* is often carved on the capitals of columns and as filling of prayer niches. Ottoman *mukarnas*, made of stone, is often carved with characteristic dripping structures, conical and covered with carvings.

Dripping stalactites are frequently in wood and stone. Wall recesses in Spain, North Africa and Egypt, arched or rectangular, are topped with *mukarbaṣ* or *mukarnas*. In Spain and North Africa, the soffits of the arches were often adorned with *mukarbaṣ*; this inspired the architect to develop an arch with scallops that simulate the profile of *mukarbaṣ* cells. Such arches characterise the mosque of Kutubiyya at Marrakesh (mid-6th/12th century), the mosque of Tinmāl (548/1153-4) and the Karawiyyīn mosque at Fez (530/1135-6) and the architecture of Granada. *Mukarnas*-vaulted arcades were built at Baghdād at the Kalʿa palace (576-622/1180-1225).

Imām Dawr, tomb of Muslim Ibn Ḳuraysh̲ (Herzfeld).

In ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Persia, there are a series of 6th/12th century *muḳarnas* domes with a conical shape, which have been compared to sugar-loaves. They have been associated in recent studies with symbolical meanings, such as representing "Domes of Heaven" (Grabar, *The Alhambra*) or being the physical representation of the As̲h̲ʿarī vision of the world (Tabbaa, *Muqarnas dome*). They appear from the outside as a conical heap of quarter-domes which form the exterior or back of the *muḳarnas* cells of which the entirety of the inner dome is composed. Such domes are not truly vaulted, but corbelled. The earliest datable one of such buildings is in ʿIrāḳ, the mausoleum of the Imām al-Dawr near Sāmarrā built before 483/1090-1. In Syria, the *muḳarnas* heaps were in the first stage haphazardly constructed (the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn at Damascus built in 549/1154) before they acquired, as in ʿIrāḳ, a geometrical axial composition (the *madrasa*-mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus built in 567/1172) (Herzfeld, in *Ars Islamica*, ix [1942]).

Whereas the *muḳarnas* domes whose vaults are visible from outside are brick constructions, there is another type of dome, whose *muḳarnas* are visible only inside and are made of stucco. Among such domes is the dome of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad at Naṭanz [*q.v.*] (707/1307-8), a masterpiece according to Herzfeld, who considers, however, ʿIrāḳ and not Persia as the place of origin of *muḳarnas* dome architecture. The dome at Naṭanz, which has an octagonal base and a twelve-pointed star at the summit, is made of suspended plaster glued to an upper vault. The stucco dome of the Two Sisters at the Alhambra (second half of the 8th/14th century) is perhaps the most spectacular *muḳarbaṣ* dome; it has the shape of a star composed of smaller *muḳarbaṣ* domes resting on *muḳarbaṣ* squinches and arches, the whole being a cascade of

Naṭanz, shrine of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, vault (Herzfeld).

carved and plain as well as dripping *muḳarbaṣ* elements. The Alhambra palace displays the largest variety of *muḳarbaṣ* shapes to be found in one place.

In Egypt, *muḳarnas* domes never played a major role; there are only a few examples built in stone, on a relatively small scale, in portal vestibules, the most prominent ones being at Sultan Ḥasan and the Palace of Yas̲h̲bak, both from the mid-8th/14th century. Al-Maḳrīzī, describing a palace of Sultan Ḥasan at the Citadel, writes that it had a one-piece *muḳarnas*, which suggests that it was made of stone (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, 211).

Portal vaults, being built on the principle of a half-dome above a half-cube, also display highly sophisticated forms of *muḳarnas*, with cells developing along multiple axes departing from the portal conch, which rests on *muḳarnas* squinches or pendentives. Persian, Syrian and Egyptian architects excelled in *muḳarnas* portals, in Persia using stucco and faience, whilst in Egypt and Syria using stone as material.

Bibliography: J. Rosintal, *Pendentifs, Trompen und Stalaktiten*, Berlin 1912; idem and E. Schroeder, *Squinches, pendentives and stalactites*, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1252 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Damascus: studies in architecture, I*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1952), 1 ff.; K.A.C. Creswell, *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952-9, i, 251 ff.; G.A. Pugačenkova, *Istorya zodčik̲h̲ Uzbekistana*, ii, Tashkent 1963; L. Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qalʿa des Banu Hammad*, Paris 1965; O. Grabar, ch. *The visual arts*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, v, 626 ff.; idem, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge 1978; U. Harb, *Ilkhanidische Stalaktitengewölbe*, Berlin 1978; E.J. Grube, *A drawing of wrestlers in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, iii (1985), 89 ff.; Yasser Tabbaa, *The Muqarnas dome, its origin and meaning*, in *Muqarnas*, iii (1985), 61 ff.; *EI*[1] Suppl., *Muḳarnas* (E. Diez).

(Doris Behrens-Abouseif)

MUḲĀSAMA (a.), lit. "dividing out", a system of raising the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* or land tax.

1. In the caliphate. This involved the levy, by agreement, of a percentage or share of the crops, usually taken when these last had ripened. The early sources on law and finance, up to the time of al-Māwardī [*q.v.*], distinguished it from the system of *misāḥa* [*q.v.*] "measurement" or assessment of a fixed lump sum on the land according to its fertility, location, etc., and from the system of *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] which implied a fixed annual sum payable without regard to the variations of prosperity and harvest and often the

subject of a tax-farming contract (see KHARĀDJ, I, II, and F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 102 ff.). In effect, the cultivator liable to *mukāsama* payments was a share-cropper. *Mukāsama* was primarily levied on cereal crops such as wheat and barley rather than on fruits and vegetables or date-palms, and seems to have been extracted by the state's agents on the actual threshing floor (cf. Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, i, 62). In fixing the percentage rate, factors like the ease or difficulty of bringing irrigation to the land were taken into account. As in many other areas of Islamic financial terminology, usage was not always precise or valid for all times. The encyclopaedist al-Khʷarazmī, [*q.v.*], *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 59, defines *al-istān* as *mukāsama*; Løkkegaard, *op. cit.*, 87, points out that, although this is in fact true, *istān* properly equals taxation levied from the peasants on state lands and *kaṭāʾiʿ*.

The early historians state (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 960) that the system of *mukāsama* goes back in ʿIrāḳ to Sāsānid practice, and that it was the general mode of levying taxation on cereal crops, with the proportion varying from one-third to one-sixth and account being taken of ease of irrigation, soil quality, etc., until the Emperor Kawādh (484-96) attempted a fiscal reform. Indeed, *mukāsama* must have continued to exist there up to the Arab invasions and into Umayyad times in certain districts, even if *misāḥa* became the prevalent mode. The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) put into effect a request from the peasantry of ʿIrāḳ at the end of the previous reign of al-Manṣūr that *mukāsama* be renewed there (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 272); thereafter, all three forms of levy must have continued to exist, but with *mukāsama* dominant (see Løkkegaard, 113-16).

Important information on the systems of taxation in the various parts of the caliphate can be found in the classical Arabic geographers. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī, 156-7, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 301-3, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 296-7, state that part of the revenue of Fārs was raised by *mukāsama*, this being of two kinds: (1) when the encampments of nomadic and transhumant Kurds and Lurs (*rumūm*, sing, *ramm*; read thus and not *zumūm*, according to A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm... la meilleure répartition*, Damascus 1963, 6 n. 12) had made agreements with the early caliphs, the state treasury received one-tenth, one-quarter or one-third, according to the arrangement; and (2) when villages had passed to the state treasury because of abandonment by their former owners or some other reason, the cultivators paid two-fifths of the crop or any other proportion which had been agreed upon. The *mukāsama* system certainly continued to be prevalent in ʿIrāḳ and the Iranian lands, for even under the Mongol Khān Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304) and the subsequent Il-Khānids, much of the *kharādj* was thus raised (I. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 517, 531, see also A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 33-4).

Finally, it should also be noted that *mukāsama* could be a polite synonym for *muṣādara* [*q.v.*], cf. Løkkegaard, 162.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see especially Løkkegaard and also his corrections, *passim*, to the earlier definitions of *mukāsama* of De Goeje, in *Glossarium* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 86-7, Dozy in *Supplément*, ii, 345, and Amedroz, *Glossary* to his ed. of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's *Wuzarāʾ*, 67-8; and in general, the arts. ḌARĪBA and KHARĀDJ.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Mukāsama is one of two terms by which the two parts of the Muslim *kharādj* or land tax may be described. One is the *kharādj muwaẓẓafa* and the other is *kharādj mukāsama*. The first refers to the fixed amount of money by which every piece of land was encumbered, the other to a certain proportion of the produce accruing to the state from every field. Under the Ottomans, substantial changes in the land system took place, involving the almost complete disappearance of any connection between the religion of the peasants and the status of the land occupied by them. The land taxation system that evolved under the Ottomans did not include *kharādj* as the main term, but what did develop bore a certain resemblance to the old taxes. The main land tax was *ʿushr* (Tk. *ʿösher*), that is, a tithe of the produce, as well as a certain amount of money levied on every piece of land according to its size, called *čift resmi* [*q.v.*]. The combined outcome was obviously strikingly similar to the old Islamic terms. It is noteworthy that for Syria and Palestine in the 10th/16th century we find the first tax under the term of *kasm*, not tithe. This was found for example in northern Palestine, and it came to a fifth, sometimes as much as a third, of the produce. It was considered that this was a direct continuation of the old Muslim *kharādj mukāsama*, well-known to be in vogue also under the Mamlūks (B. Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 16, 32; A.N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon, 1250-1900*, London 1939, 65-7). The question which is of particular interest in an Ottoman context is whether the tithe and the *čift resmi* are really to be considered as continuations of *kharādj mukāsama* and *muwaẓẓafa*. Despite the apparent continuation in the case of Syria and Palestine, it seems that the typical Ottoman land system (theoretical ownership held by the government; actual occupation in the hand of small peasants in lieu of land tax and continuous tilling; the *tīmār* system) is an outcome of the bureaucratic nature of the Ottoman state, so that one would expect the Islamic tax system to be at best only a partial source of inspiration for the Ottoman taxes. It is also noteworthy that very few Ottoman institutions, if any, are direct continuations of classical Islamic institutions. One also gets the strong impression that this system is a rather ancient one in Anatolia and the Balkans, although proofs of this are not readily available. It is to be noted that the agrarian *kānūns* (Ö.L. Barkan, *XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943) present a variable picture. Usually the term used is *ʿushr*, but occasionally both *ʿushr* and *mukāsama* are used interchangeably (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 326, art. 1). A discussion of Ebū Suʿūd Efendi's treatment of the term *mukāsama* may further help to elucidate this problem. Ebū Suʿūd most forcefully held the opinion that *kharādj mukāsama* and *muwaẓẓafa* were coterminous with *ʿushr* and *čift resmi* (see *Budin kanunnamesi ve Osmanlı toprak meselesi*, ed. Sadik Albayrak, Istanbul 1973, 111 and *passim*). Moreover, he had in fact issued several *fetwās* strongly denouncing those using the terms *ʿushr* and *čift resmi*, which he considered "a gross mistake of the common people" (*Şeyhülislam Ebussud Efendi fetvaları*, ed. M.E. Düzdağ, Istanbul 1972, 839). But it is noteworthy that Barkan was of the opinion that this view of Ebū Suʿūd should not be taken at face value; rather, he reasoned that Ebū Suʿūd was in fact trying to reconcile the *kānūn* and the *sharīʿa*, so as to make the former system more acceptable to Ottoman *kāḍīs* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. XL-XLI). It stands to reason that the new terms were in part new, emanating from new needs, and only in part a continuation of the classical Islamic terms.

Bibliography: In addition to sources cited, see H. Gerber, *The social origins of the modern Middle East*, Boulder, Col. and London 1987, 53, 195; Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥur*, Istanbul 1309, 89-90; H. Inalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rusumu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii (1959), 575-610; M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri*, i, Istanbul 1971, 734 ff.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʾidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 21-3. (H. Gerber)

MUḲĀSHAFA [see kashf].

MUḲĀṬAʿA (a.), the verbal noun of the form III verb *ḳāṭaʿa*, with the basic meaning "to come to an agreement on the basis of a certain sum". This might be in regard to a peace agreement, *ṣulḥ*, *muṣālaḥa*, cf. the *Glossarium* to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 90; or for the collection of taxation, a *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*] contract; or for the carrying-out of a certain piece of work, cf. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 70, where a special measure, the *azala*, is the basis of a piecework agreement for the excavation of canals and other irrigation works. In general, see the citations from the sources in Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 369, and BGA, *Glossarium*, 329.

1. In the mediaeval caliphate.

In regard to the taxation system here, *muḳāṭaʿa* was used for the sum handed over by a tax farmer, the *muḳāṭaʿ*, in return for the collection and management of the revenue from a given province or district. The implication from the texts is that this was a less permanent arrangement than an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] agreement, when land and its financial yield were handed over for a lengthy, often undefined period, whereas a *muḳāṭaʿa* might be for a fixed period only. By a simple transfer of meaning, *muḳāṭaʿa* could denote "the yield of a source of income derived from a certain agreement", as in Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 353, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 346, where the *muḳāṭaʿa* of a customs-post at Khūnadj between Ardabīl and Rayy, where dues were levied on the transit trade in slaves, beasts and other merchandise between Ādharbāydjān and northern Persia, is specified.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given above): F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 102-8.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

This term denoted tax farm, especially used by the Ottomans in connection with taxation imposed on the traffic in commodities in and out of the empire or at the entry to the big towns. Taxes on trade constituted one of the main sources of revenue for the Ottoman empire as soon as its major inroads into the Balkan Peninsula had turned it into a great power of the eastern Mediterranean. Being a land rather than a sea power, the Ottoman Empire faced a major technical problem of how to tax commerce effectively. The solution which it found was that of the *muḳāṭaʿa*: in large Ottoman towns, public weighing scales were installed and it was proclaimed that it was illegal to trade in any commodity brought into the city unless that commodity was first weighed in the public weighing scales special to it and the proper tax on it paid. Every commodity had a special such basis, and at an early date, the Ottomans started to auction the right to collect each of these taxes to a tax farmer who would undertake to pay to the government a sum agreed upon, no matter how much actual tax was eventually collected. An example may be given of the *muḳāṭaʿas* extant in 11th/17th-century Bursa. One finds here the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the silk-weighing scales, *muḳāṭaʿa* of the grain market, *muḳāṭaʿa* of the wine paid by non-Muslims, *muḳāṭaʿa* of textiles; *muḳāṭaʿa* of dried fruit; *muḳāṭaʿa* of sheep, etc. Other places may have had *muḳāṭaʿas* with other names, clearly according to local peculiarities: Several *muḳāṭaʿas* in Bursa at this time were not administered by way of tax farming, but rather by way of *emānet*, literally "trust", and in effect simply by an official for a fixed salary. This was mainly the case of several *muḳāṭaʿas* of an administrative nature, such as the *iḥtisāb* tax farm, a sort of real estate tax imposed on shops, and the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the *Beyt ül-Māl*, which had charge of collecting the estates of people dying with no known inheritor. Such *muḳāṭaʿas* were an important basis for the financial structure of the Ottoman empire. It appears that the Ottomans, rather than gathering in all the sums collected by the *muḳāṭaʿas* to the Treasury, used a roundabout way which successfully overcame the lack of banks or an efficient road system. They paid for many of their expenses through the institution of "assignment" (*ḥawāle*), whereby the official in charge of a certain service would come to a *muḳāṭaʿa*-holder and present an "assignment" entitling him to draw a certain sum of money from the revenue of the *muḳāṭaʿa*. The *firmān* bearing this assignment would then be left inside the safe of the *muḳāṭaʿa*. This system was an ingenious one for a vast and decentralised state like the Ottoman empire, and it thus seems quite clearly that the institution of *muḳāṭaʿa* was one of the most important bases for its financial functioning.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʾidi*, i, Istanbul 1328, 79 ff.; R. Anhegger and H. Inalcik, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, index; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978, 162; A. Cohen, *Palestine in the eighteenth century*, Jerusalem 1973, 180; H. Gerber, *Economy and society in an Ottoman city: Bursa, 1600-1700*, Jerusalem 1988; idem, *Jewish tax-farmers in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, x (1986), 143-54; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952. (H. Gerber)

MUḲĀTABA [see ʿabd].

MUḲĀTIL b. SULAYMĀN b. Bashīr al-Azdī al-Khurāsānī al-Balkhī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, traditionist and commentator on the Ḳurʾān, was born in Balkh and lived in Marw, Baghdād and Baṣra, where he died in 150/767 at an old age according to some biographers. He is also said to have taught in Mecca, Damascus and Beirut.

Muḳātil's prestige as a traditionist is not very great; he is reproached with not being accurate with the *isnād*. His exegesis enjoys even less confidence. The biographers vie with one another in telling stories which illustrate his mendacity and particularly his professing to know everything. Contempt is poured on his memory by stories of ludicrous questions which were put to him about the most impossible things and to which he either gave fantastic answers or could make no reply. His elaborations of Biblical elements in the Ḳurʾān and his tracing every allusion back to the "People of the Book" heightened his disrepute in later centuries. Overall, his exegetical work is infrequently cited; al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] makes no use of the work, for example.

The association of Muḳātil with sectarian Muslim leanings is widespread, as is the accusation of extreme anthromorphism. He is frequently associated with the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*] in theology and the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] in politics, but all these attributions are likely further condemnations of his authority on any matter without any necessary historical basis. Certainly, there is little or no evidence for any of these stances in his extant works.

Three texts of Ḳurʾānic interpretation ascribed to

Muḳātil exist and have been published; they are of great significance because of their likely (although not undisputed) early date. *Tafsīr Muḳātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd Shaḥāta (5 vols., Cairo 1979-88), provides an interpretation of the entire text of the Ḳurʾān; the work is characterised by its desire to elaborate as fully as possible all the scriptural narrative elements with very little emphasis on issues of text, grammar or the like. It is likely that it presents versions of the stories told by the early *ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]. *Kitāb Tafsīr al-khams miʾat āya min al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, ed. I. Goldfeld, Shfaram 1980, organises Ḳurʾānic verses under legal topics and provides some basic exegesis of them; the content of the book suggests a direct relationship to the larger *Tafsīr*. The significance of this text lies primarily in its early attempt at a legal classification scheme and the documentation of all the elements on the basis of scripture alone. *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fī 'l-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, ed. ʿA. M. Shaḥāta, Cairo 1975, studies Ḳurʾānic vocabulary by providing the number of meanings or aspects (*ashbāh*, usually called *wudjūh*) of each word and a gloss for each meaning and then by providing the parallel passages or analogues in which the word is used in that sense (*naẓāʾir*). An additional text ascribed to Muḳātil which deals with exegetical "constants" was included in al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd* (ed. S. Dedering, Istanbul 1936), first noted and published by L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 194-210, but its place within the actual œuvre of Muḳātil is uncertain.

Bibliography: A full survey of traditional sources for Muḳātil's life and works is available in Shaḥāta's introduction to *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, 9-85; also see Cl. Gilliot, *Muqātil, grand exégète, traditionniste et théologien maudit*, forthcoming in *JA*; I. Goldfeld, *Muqātil ibn Sulaymān*, in *Bar Ilan Arabic and Islamic Studies*, ii (1978), pp. xiii-xxx. On all the exegetical texts, see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies: sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, London 1977, section iv, *passim*. M.M. al-Sawwāf, *Muqātil b. Sulaymān, an early Zaidi theologian, with special reference to his Tafsīr al-khams miʾah āya*, Oxford University Ph.D. diss. 1969, unpubl., includes an edition of Muḳātil's legal text. *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* has been studied in N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, 92-106, with a discussion of the title of the work at 95-6, and P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 25-121. (M. Plessner-[A. Rippin])

MUḲAṬṬAʿĀT (a.) is one of the names given to the mysterious letters placed at the head of 26 sūras of the Ḳurʾān, see al-ḳurʾān, D, d.

Under kitʿa, there is a cross-reference to muḳaṭṭaʿa, with reference to the fragments of or extracts from a prose or verse work made by a compiler or anthologist, but a detailed consideration of these may be found under the heading mukhtārāt.

Finally, it has been judged useful to reprint the article kitʿa from *EI*[1] since it is essentially concerned with the use of this term in mathematics. In this connection, reference may also be made to M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 286-9. (Ed.)

al-**MUḲAṬṬAM**, the eocene limestone plateau that borders the city of Cairo to the east, between Ṭurā near the Nile in the south and *al-Djabal al-Aḥmar* in the north, the Red Mountain which is near the modern quarter of ʿAbbāsiyya. In Islamic tradition, the Muḳaṭṭam is considered as a sacred mountain. Before Islam, in Christian tradition, al-Muḳaṭṭam, like all the desert mountains of Egypt, was associated with monasteries, oratories and caves for meditation and seclusion. Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, who wrote in the early 7th/13th century, also designates it, perhaps under Muslim influence, as sacred (63).

In al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (i, 123 ff.) which brings together most of the traditions and geographers' accounts known at this time, al-Muḳaṭṭam is described—following Ibn Ḥawḳal's geography—as starting in China, passing through Farghāna, Persia, ʿIrāḳ and Syria to reach the shore of the Red Sea, where it is interrupted, starting again on the Egyptian shore where its name becomes al-Muḳaṭṭam. It borders the Nile up to Nubia in the south, from there it turns westwards via Sidjilmāsa down to the Ocean.

According to one tradition, the mountain was named after Muḳayṭam al-Ḥakīm, a saint and alchemist who used to practice in the mountain at the time when Miṣrāyim, the great-grandson of Noah, came to Egypt.

Another tradition which identifies the name Muḳaṭṭam with that of a son of Miṣrāyim, is reported by Abū Ṣāliḥ (*loc. cit.*) and refuted by al-Maḳrīzī, who denies the historic authenticity of a person called Muḳaṭṭam, stating that the name Muḳaṭṭam derives from *ḳaṭama* meaning "to cut". It was so-called because it was cut off from vegetation. Ibn Ẓahīra gives a different interpretation, the hill having been called so because its edges look cut off (191). According to another tradition, the name is not Muḳaṭṭam but Muḳaṭṭab (Kramers, *EI*[1], art. *al-Muḳaṭṭam*, quoting *Tādj al-ʿarūs*).

Among the legends associated with the sanctity of al-Muḳaṭṭam, some deal with Moses: God having announced that He would appear to a prophet on a mountain, all mountains grew higher to be chosen by God, except Zion which preferred to decrease its height and thus gained God's preference. As a reward, God ordered all other mountains to give up their vegetation in favour of Zion, which explains why al-Muḳaṭṭam is bare.

According to some Ḳurʾān interpretations, al-Muḳaṭṭam was Moses's mountain, where God spoke to him. The mountain referred to in the Ḳurʾān as al-Ṭūr (sūra XIX, 52) and the *wādī muḳaddas* (XX, 12) should be identified with al-Muḳaṭṭam (Ibn Mamātī, 82; al-Maḳrīzī, i, 124).

Following Ibn Ḥawḳal, several prophets were buried in al-Muḳaṭṭam, among whom the heads of the tribes of Israel. There is also an al-Muḳaṭṭam legend associated with Christ, who is said to have told his Mother that this place would one day acquire a cemetery for the people of Muḥammad. Such legends must have been produced after the location of the cemetery was chosen.

Al-Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*], the Coptic Patriarch during the Arab conquest, having read in old books about paradise vegetation hidden in the hill, is reported to have asked ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to sell him al-Muḳaṭṭam for 70,000 *dīnārs*. ʿAmr wrote to the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at Medina asking for advice, to which ʿUmar replied that the Believers are the vegetation of Paradise, therefore al-Muḳaṭṭam should not be sold but rather dedicated to Muslim burial. Since then it became the cemetery of al-Fusṭāṭ and later al-Ḳāhira. To satisfy the angry al-Muḳawḳas, however, ʿAmr let him have a piece of land near Birkat al-Ḥabash to be used as cemetery for the Christians (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 156 f.; al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*).

In Christian times, there was an important monastery on al-Muḳaṭṭam called al-Ḳuṣayr and

attributed to a Byzantine emperor. There, Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], the son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, had a belvedere, where he enjoyed sitting to watch the panorama of the city; it was later destroyed by the caliph al-Ḥākim (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 502; Abū Ṣāliḥ, 63 f.). Abū Ṣāliḥ speaks of 6,000 monks living in caves of al-Muḳaṭṭam in the Fāṭimid period (66). He also refers to the legend of Noah's descendant (through his son Ham), who learned alchemy from Hermes and made gold from lead and a white golden stone from mercury on the Muḳaṭṭam hill. Abū Ṣāliḥ further reports that the place called *tannūr* was, as the name indicates, the oven where glass was produced from sand. *Masdjid al-Tannūr* is mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī as having been erected on the site of *Tannūr Faraʿūn*, a place where in Pharaonic times fire was lit to guide travellers at night. At this place, Yahūdā, brother of Joseph, the Prophet of the Old Testament, was said to have stopped on his way to meet his brothers. For this reason, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn built a mosque there (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 455). Under the Fāṭimids, a domed mausoleum, which still stands, was erected at the foot of al-Muḳaṭṭam to commemorate Joseph's brothers (*Index of Islamic monuments*, no. 301, 6th/12th century; Ragib, *Deux monuments*).

All mediaeval reports on Egypt refer to the sacred character of al-Muḳaṭṭam. Al-Kindī, cited by al-Maḳrīzī, describes it as a place of meditation (ii, 444). Ibn Saʿīd saw the neighbourhood of hill and cemetery as "a white city with al-Muḳaṭṭam overlooking it like a wall" (*ibid.*).

Whereas al-Muḳaṭṭam, including Djabal Yashkur on which the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn stands, was considered as sacred, al-Djabal al-Aḥmar, which is further north and is also known as Yaḥmūm east of present-day ʿAbbāsiyya, was said to be cursed (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 125). The Muslims considered al-Muḳaṭṭam as sacred from the monastery of Ḳuṣayr (not to be confused with the city on the Red Sea) to the Yaḥmūm.

Besides the religious associations, al-Muḳaṭṭam was often reported to include gold and precious stones (Ibn Ẓahīra), a legend that was believed as late as the 11th/17th century, as Ewliyā Čelebī's account shows (x, 494). Ibn Ẓahīra further reports that it had the characteristic to preserve the bodies of the dead for a long time before decomposition. Al-Djawharī reports in the late 9th/15th century that people struck by opthalmia were cured when they applied in their eyes a certain powder from a stone at al-Muḳaṭṭam. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 796/September 1394 a woman, incurably ill, saw the Prophet in a dream who advised her to do this and she was cured (i, 390 f.).

Not only wonders but also horrors were associated with al-Muḳaṭṭam. A monster called *kuṭruba* [see KUṬRUB] was said to inhabit the mountain, from where she would come down, disguised as an old woman, and kidnap children. She would wander in the cemetery and open the graves to eat the dead (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 445). The most famous of the Muḳaṭṭam mysteries is the disappearance of the caliph al-Ḥākim in 411/1021 who, among his extravagances, used to ride on a donkey through al-Muḳaṭṭam at night.

Al-Muḳaṭṭam could be a threat to the city in times of heavy rains, as once happened in Ṣafar 1205/October-November 1790 when rain waters streaming down from the mountain submerged the cemeteries and the quarters north of Bāb al-Naṣr and killed a number of people (al-Djabartī, i, 189 f.).

As for its practical aspect, al-Muḳaṭṭam has since the time of the Pyramids been used as quarry. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, there was a quarry near Ṭurā (63). Al-Maḳrīzī mentions a site north of the Citadel (i, 161). There is still near the Citadel a street called *al-Maḥdjar* or quarry. According to Clerget, the mediaeval builders were not very selective when it came to the quality of the stone to be cut (i, 296 ff.).

Al-Muḳaṭṭam was (and is still) used for the installation of observatories. The Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh built a huge observatory there which gave this part of the mountain the name al-Raṣad (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 125). Also, the *ḳāḍīs* used to go to al-Muḳaṭṭam to observe the lunar crescent from an elevation called the Dikkat al-Ḳuḍāt, where later a mosque was erected (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 456).

In the eyes of such mediaeval physicians as Ibn Riḍwān and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, al-Muḳaṭṭam was a factor of pollution for the city of al-Fusṭāṭ (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 339 f.; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 5) because it prevented the escape of unhealthy vapours emanating from, among others, the multitude of furnaces of steam baths, and which accumulated between the city's high buildings and the hill. Therefore, the healthy residential areas of al-Fusṭāṭ were towards the hill, whereas in al-Ḳāhira they were along the ponds and canals. In this context, a legend attributes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's choice of al-Muḳaṭṭam as the location for his Citadel to its fresh and clean air that allowed meat to maintain its freshness for two full days. Within the city, it deteriorated after one day (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 203).

Al-Muḳaṭṭam witnessed important building activity during the Middle Ages. There was the *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* [*q.v.*], as its name indicates a belvedere on the site later occupied by the Citadel, where Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn used to watch the panorama of his city and palace (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 202). Mosques and oratories were constantly being built at all times, among others the *Luʾluʾa* or "Pearl", a small oratory of al-Ḥākim, ruins of which still stands (*Index*, no. 515, 406/1016), and the *mashhad* or memorial mosque (*Index*, no. 304, 478/1085) of Badr al-Djamālī, the Armenian vizier of al-Mustanṣir. This part of the mountain was later known as Djabal al-Djuyūshī after the vizier's title *Amīr al-Djuyūsh*.

With its caves used for meditation and retreat since the remotest past, al-Muḳaṭṭam was also a place of seclusion for Ṣūfīs. Shaykh Shāhīn of the Khalwatī order [see KHALWATIYYA] built there a mosque that has survived, although in ruins (*Index*, no. 212, 945/1538), where he used also to practice alchemy (al-Shaʿrānī, ii, 184). The Bektāshī order [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman period has a *takiyya* there that existed until modern times.

As for the role of al-Muḳaṭṭam in Cairo's urban development, it has been of some importance. The mediaeval city has always grown northwards, because the Nile to the west and al-Muḳaṭṭam to the east have prevented an extension on either side, so that the trade routes as well as political factors have always dictated the city's expansion to the north.

Bibliography: 1. Sources: ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, ed. and tr. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd al-Latif Médecin Arabe de Baghdad*, Paris 1810; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Kitāb Kanāʾis wa-adyirat Miṣr*, ed. and tr. B.T.A. Evetts, Oxford 1891; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-name*, x, *Mısır, Sudan, Habeş*, Istanbul 1938; Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-athār*, Būlāḳ 1236; ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī al-Djawharī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa 'l-abdān fī tawārīkh al-zamān*, Cairo 1970; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1899; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*[2], 150; Ibn Mamātī, *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, Cairo 1943; Ibn Ẓahīra, *al-Faḍāʾil al-bāhira fī*

maḥāsin Miṣr al-Ḳāhira, ed. Kāmil al-Muhandis, Cairo 1969, 6, 10, 83, 101-2, 108-9, 191; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270; Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954.

2. Studies: M. Clerget, *Le Caire*, Cairo 1934; J.H. Kramers, *EI*¹ art. *al-Mukaṭṭam*; Y. Ragib, *Deux monuments fatimides au pied du Muqaṭṭam*, in *REI*, xlvi (1978), 91 ff.; idem, *Un oratoire fatimide au sommet du Muqaṭṭam*, in *SI*, lxv (1987), 51-67.

(DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF)

AL-**MUḲAWḲIS**, the individual who in Arab tradition plays the leading part on the side of the Copts and Greeks at the conquest of Egypt.

ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād has written that it is difficult to find an individual as controversial as al-Muḳawḳis in the whole history of the world (*ʿAmr*, 92). This might be an overstatement, but one could still subscribe to what A.J. Butler wrote in his classic *The Arab conquest of Egypt*: "... it was impossible ..., to write about the conquest until one had determined who the Muḳauḳas was." Now it is in general accepted that the Arabic term was originally applied to the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus, although there is no doubt that the name was used by the Arab historians also to denote other persons than Cyrus. But the meaning and origin of this word are still open to questions.

The definitive study concerning the origin, meaning and first bearer of the name al-Muḳawḳis was made by Butler in 1901; it appeared revised and amended as an appendix to his *Conquest*, where he successfully managed to combine the possible origin of the name with its first bearer. According to Butler's view, the Arabic term al-Muḳawḳis came into being in Egypt to denote the Melkite Patriarch Cyrus who was transferred by Heraclius to Egypt, where he arrived in 631 A.D. Prior to his appointment as Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus has been Bishop of Phasis, located in Colchis near Caucasus. Now Butler assumed that Cyrus's origin led the Egyptians to call him in Greek καυκάσιος, in Coptic either **ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ/ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ** ("the Caucasian"); or as an alternative **ⲡⲕⲟⲗϫⲓⲟⲥ** ("the Colchian") from which the transference to **ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ** is very easy. This would then have given the Arabic form al-Muḳawḳis. It is in the *Vita* of Apa Samuel that we can find these Coptic precursors of the Arabic term al-Muḳawḳis: **ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ** in the fragments published by E. Amélineau (365 ff.); **ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ** or **ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ** in the complete unpublished *Vita*, ms Pierpont Morgan M. 578 (according to van Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, 103 ff.; Coquin, *Livre*, 56; and the partial translation in Cramer and Bacht, *Der antichalkedonische Aspekt*, 329 ff.). The Coptic recension of *Livre de la consécration* gives **ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥ** (ed. Coquin, 110). Already H. Zotenberg had in his edition and translation of John of Nikiu's *Chronicle* pointed out that the activities of Cyrus as described by John could be found in the Arabic traditions pertaining to al-Muḳawḳis (576, n. 2), but it was left to F.M. Esteves Pereira in 1894 to prove the identity of the two (*Vida*, 41-53). Unfortunately Esteves Pereira fell in with Amélineau's views concerning the origin of the name al-Muḳawḳis, as expressed in the latter's publication of some Coptic fragments. Amélineau derived the origin of the Arabic term from a Byzantine word καύχον, also written καῦχον and καύχιον, and said to signify a small hollow piece of bronze money (*Fragments*, 408). This name was then, according to Amélineau and supported by Esteves Pereira, given to Cyrus in derision at his rôle in the levying of taxes. This explanation is, however, as improbable as the earliest attempt to explain the name al-Muḳawḳis, made by J. Karabacek, from the Greek μεγαυχής. Admitting that the origin and meaning of the Arabic term is still debatable, other suggestions, more or less fanciful, may also be listed here. The Russian scholar V. Bolotov wrote an article, posthumously published, where he suggested two different solutions as to the origin and meaning of the name al-Muḳawḳis. His first theory took as a starting point the explanation given by the Arabic dictionaries for the word *muḳawḳis*: "ringdove, otherwise white but with black neckband" (al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ; TA*). Bolotov considered it possible that the *omophorion* of Patriarch Cyrus, unfamiliar to the Arabs, might have led their thoughts to a ringdove. As an alternative theory to this one, Bolotov offered another based upon the origin of Cyrus in the Caucasus. Bolotov assumed that the Monophysites of Egypt could have called their Caucasian oppressor κεκαυκασιωμένος ("savage from the Caucasus"). Butler also suggested another explanation besides the one mentioned above. He proposed that the Greek word καῦχος, in the sense *amatus, amasius*, connoting a form of vice, might have given the adjective καύχιος, denoting a person addicted to that form of vice. The Coptic equivalent would be **ⲡⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ**, and it would easily form the Arabic al-Muḳawḳis. D. Kallimakhos advanced in Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος his thesis that **ⲕⲁⲩϫⲓⲟⲥ** was derived from καῦσος, a snake (vi, 160 ff.). P. van Cauwenbergh does not give any new solutions to the problem; he is in total agreement with Butler, but he believes "the Colchian" variant to be the more probable one (*Étude*, 107). F. Nau offered as an alternative to "the Caucasian" a derivation from Greek κακός ("mean, bad"; p. 11, n. 4). Then we have the efforts of M. Hamidullah to prove that al-Muḳawḳis had developed from the Persian *Magupati*, i.e. the chief of the Magi—this in order to prove that a person called al-Muḳawḳis existed in Egypt in 628 A.D., when the country was under Persian rule (*Prophète*, i, 209).

Now if we accept that al-Muḳawḳis was originally applied to Cyrus, then the first appearance of this Arabic term must be dated to 631 at the earliest, when Cyrus was transferred from Phasis to Alexandria. This is of some consequence because, according to Arabic sources, contacts existed between the Arabs and the ruler of Egypt, al-Muḳawḳis, prior to this date. The earliest delegation, sent by the Banū Mālik and including al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, was, so the tradition goes, sent to al-Muḳawḳis in 5/627 (al-Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ii, 596). The best-known of these alleged missions to al-Muḳawḳis is the one sent by Prophet Muḥammad. The Prophet is said to have sent Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to al-Muḳawḳis with a letter in 6/628. The text of this alleged letter can be found for instance in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (45-6). The historicity of the embassies sent by the Prophet is more than questionable, and the story of this particular embassy to al-Muḳawḳis must be considered as legendary and devoid of any historical value. The parchment which was thought to be the original of Muḥammad's letter to al-Muḳawḳis—it was found in a monastery at Akhmīm in 1850 (cf. the publication by Belin, in *JA* [1854], 482-518)—has been recognised almost from the beginning as a fake, on both historical as well as palaeographical grounds (J. Karabacek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazjaditen*, Leipzig 1874, 35 n. 47; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, Leipzig 1909, 190). According to tradition, al-Muḳawḳis also sent with his reply to the Prophet many gifts, including two Coptic concubines, Māriya

and Shīrīn/Sīrīn. This story alludes, in the present writer's opinion, to another story relating how the Emperor Khusraw II (590-628) had two Christian wives, Shīrīn, a Monophysite, and Maria, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice. Besides this alleged al-Muḳawḳis *avant le lettre*, another apocryphal deputation is also mentioned in connection with his name. In 643 arrived the first Byzantine (Fu-lin) embassy to China sent by the King of Fu-lin, Po-to-li. This Po-to-li was, according to H.H. Schaeder, the Patriarch (Po-to-li = πατρίκιος or πατριάρχης of Alexandria, Cyrus, al-Muḳawḳis of the Arabic sources (*Iranica*, in *Abh. G.W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3 F., No. 10 [1934], 55-8).

After this excursus, we have to return to the real, historical al-Muḳawḳis of the Arabic sources and to consider those facts that support the view that the Arabs originally meant to refer to Cyrus when they wrote of al-Muḳawḳis. There are several pieces of what may be called decisive evidence for the identity of these two individuals, although the legend no doubt mixes up the activities of several other persons under the name al-Muḳawḳis. As a rule, we can notice that the main features of the activities of al-Muḳawḳis as depicted by the Muslim Arab historians correspond to the activities of Cyrus in the Christian (Arabic, Coptic and Ethiopic) sources. Several texts where either both names are used to indicate the same individual or combined to form one name, Cyrus al-Muḳawḳis, are of special importance. In the *History of the Patriarchs* by Severus of Ashmūnayn, the Patriarch and Governor of Heraclius is named both as Cyrus and al-Muḳawḳis(z) (ed. Evetts, in *PO*, i, 489 f.; ed. Seybold, in *CSCO*, 106; ed. Seybold, in *Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 98). The Hamburg ms. is of special interest because, besides being the oldest surviving version, it has Muḳawḳis at a point where the two other editions have Cyrus. Then we have three different texts where the names Cyrus and al-Muḳawḳis are combined to denote one individual. In the so-called *Apocalypse of Samuel of Ḳalamūn* we have Kabīrus (*sic*) al-Muḳawḳiz (ed. Ziadeh, in *ROC*, 377); in *Kitāb Taḳrīz haykal Binyāmīn*, a text preserved in both a Coptic and an Arabic version, we can in the Arabic recension read Kīrus al-Muḳawḳiz while the Coptic has correspondingly ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲙⲕⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥ (ed. R.-G. Coquin, 110); at the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo there is an unedited ms. with the incipit *Khabar Kār'ūs al-Muḳawḳiz*... ms. *Ta'rīkh* 54, f. 158a; = ms. 611 in Graf, *GCAL*, i; = ms. 659 in Marcus Simaika Pasha, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts ... of Egypt*, ii, Cairo 1942). This last, unedited source does not add anything new to our knowledge concerning al-Muḳawḳis. The facts are the same as in other Monophysite sources like Severus's *History* or the *Synaxars*, but this source leaves no doubts concerning the identification of Cyrus with al-Muḳawḳis as the adversary and oppressor of the Monophysite Copts and their Patriarch Benjamin. All this, taken together, must place it beyond cavil that Cyrus is identical with al-Muḳawḳis.

But, as many scholars have pointed out, the Arab writers are certainly referring to more than one person under the name al-Muḳawḳis. One whom we can with certainty identify is the Monophysite Patriarch Benjamin. Al-Balādhurī gives in his *Futūḥ* (222) a tradition according to which al-Muḳawḳis in 25/645 forsook the people of Alexandria when they violated the covenant made with the Arabs. This was during the revolt of Alexandria under Manuel, and the al-Muḳawḳis who fled the city must have been Benjamin, who a little earlier had been restored by the Arabs, since Cyrus had already died in March 642. It is of no use to speculate about other possible individuals incorporated by the Arabs in the name al-Muḳawḳis; the contradictions and obscurities on the part of the Arab historians show that they themselves used the name very open-handedly. While keeping in mind that al-Muḳawḳis was originally applied to Cyrus, and then after his death also to Benjamin, we may notice that the Arab lexicographers considered al-Muḳawḳis to be a title given to the ruler of Egypt (*al-Ḳāmūs; TA*).

Some words should be said concerning the names given to al-Muḳawḳis in the Arabic sources. We encounter three different names, with variations and mixed genealogies: Djuraydj as a personal name, Mīnā and Ḳurḳub as the father's name, and the last one also as the grandfather's name. Now if one accepts the above-mentioned identification of Cyrus with al-Muḳawḳis, there is no need to pay any attention to these names. They could be reminiscences of some other individuals included in the term al-Muḳawḳis, or, as the present writer believes, expressions of what A. Noth has so strikingly called the *Namenmanie* of the Arabs (*Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung. Teil I: Themen und Formen*, Bonn 1973, 115-17).

There is also another, totally legendary figure known in Arabic historical and pseudo-historical writing as al-Muḳawḳis. We meet him for the first time in the so-called Pseudo-Wāḳidī's work, a tendentious *Volksroman* that dates from the epoch of the Crusades. There are several *Futūḥ*-works circulating under al-Wāḳidī's name. This one, usually called simply *Futūḥ Miṣr* or something corresponding, was already in 1825 edited by H.A. Hamaker as *incerti auctoris liber*. The real author seems to be a certain Ibn Isḥāḳ al-Umawī (cf. mss. *Ta'rīkh Taymūr* 1058 and 2068 in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo; lithographed ed., Cairo 1275 A.H.; V. Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, i, St.-Petersburg 1881, 91-2; Brockelmann, S I, 208). The work is completely without value as a historical source. The main reason for mentioning it is that it has met the approval of some orientalists as well as of many Arab writers. Some consider it as the work of the Ibn Isḥāḳ, others as that of al-Wāḳidī. Two historical novels, at least, have been inspired by this Pseudo-Wāḳidī and have al-Muḳawḳis, with his alleged daughter Armānūsa, as main characters: Djurdjī Zaydān, *Armānūsat al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1896, and C.H. Butcher, *Armenosa of Egypt*, Edinburgh and London 1897.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārihā*, index; Ṭabarī, i, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, 302; Severus of Ashmūnayn (b. al-Muḳaffaʿ), *History of the Patriarchs*, ed. C.F. Seybold, in *CSCO*, ser. iii, tom. ix, 106 ff.; *ibid.*, ed. B. Evetts, in *PO*, i, 489-95; *ibid.*, ed. Seybold in *Veröffentlichungen aus der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, iii, 98 ff.; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. B.T.A. Evetts in *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, vii, 30/81, 38/100 f., 101/230, 110/244 (cf. Charalambia Coquin, *Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire*, i, *Bibliographie et topographie historiques, IFAO, Bibl. ét. copt.*, xi, p. ix, concerning the real author of this *History* attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ); ms. *Ta'rīkh* 54 at the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo, fols. 158a-164b; *L'Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de Deir el-Qalamoun*, ed. J. Ziadeh, in *ROC*, xx (1915-17), 377; *Livre de la consécration du Sanctuaire de Benjamin*, ed. R.-G. Coquin, in *IFAO, Bibl. ét. copt.*,

xiii, 55 ff., 110 f.; *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, ed. H. Zotenberg, in *NE*, xxiv, 335, 559, 562, 564, 570-8; M.J. de Goeje, *De Mokaukis van Egypte*, in *Études archéol. ling. et hist. dédiés à C. Leemans*, Leiden 1885, 7 ff.; J. Karabacek, *Der Mokaukis van Aegypten*, in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, i (1886), 1-11; E. Amélineau, *Fragments coptes pour servir à l'histoire de la conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes*, in *JA* (1888), 361-410; idem, *Samuel de Qalamoun*, in *RHR*, xxx (1894), 19-24; idem, *La conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes*, in *RH*, cxix (1915), 286-92; F.M. Esteves Pereira, *Vida do Abba Samuel do mosteiro do Kalamon*, Lisbon 1894, 41-53 (useful; cf. also Th. Nöldeke's discussion in *ZDMG*, xlviii [1894], 158-63); A.J. Butler, *On the identity of "al-Muḳauḳis" of Egypt*, in *PSBA*, xxiii (1901), 275-90; the same art. revised in A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman dominion*, Oxford 1902, 2nd ed. Oxford 1978, appendix C: *On the identity of "al-Muḳauḳas"*, 508-26 (fundamental study; cf. also the discussion by Karl Krumbacher in *BZ*, xi [1902], 249; anon. in *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 March 1903, 79; Butler's reply in *ibid*, 20 March 1903, 88; anon. in *The Athenaeum*, 11 April 1903, 455 ff.); idem, *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*, Oxford 1913, reprinted in the 2nd ed. of *The Arab conquest*, Oxford 1978, 54-83; S. Lane-Poole, *The First Mohammadan treaties with Christians*, in *PRIA*, xxiv (1903), 248-56; L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 725-32; iv, 86-96, 330, 337, 342 (useful); P. Casanova's tr. of al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *MIFAO*, iii, 114, n. 2, 116, n. 5; idem, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, Paris 1911, 26; V. Bolotov, *K. istorii imperatora Irakliya* ("About the history of the Emperor Heraclius"), in *Vizantiiskiy Vremennik*, xiv (1907), 68-73; Δ. Καλλιμαχος, Το Πατριαρχεῖον 'Αλεξανδρείας ἐν 'Αβυσσινίᾳ ("The Alexandrian Patriarchate in Abyssinia"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, iv (1909), 453; idem, Αἱ τελευταῖαι ἡμέραι τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς κυριαρχίας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ("The last days of the Greek rule in Egypt"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, vi (1910), 38-50, 135-62, 224-40, 397-408, 447-57; vii (1911), 191-8, 442-68; Ηλιας Στεφανου, Τίς ὁ Μαχοῦκας; ("Who is Makoukas?"), in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος, v (1910), 453-63; G. Wiet's ed. of Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *MIFAO*, xxx, 119, n. 2; *ibid.*, xxxiii, 163, n. 2, 190; P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640)*, Paris 1914, 91-109 (important); F. Nau, *La politique matrimoniale de Cyrus (le Mocaucas)*, in *Le Muséon*, xlv (1932), 8-17; Maḥmūd ʿAkkūsh, *Miṣr fī ʿahd al-islām*, Cairo 1941, 172-251; Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *al-Bābā Binyāmīn al-awwal al-baṭrīyark al-thāmin wa 'l-thalāthūn wa 'l-fatḥ al-ʿarabī li-Miṣr wa-Ḳīrush al-Muḳawḳis al-baṭrīyark al-malakī*, Cairo 1948, 142-65; ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, *ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ*, Cairo n.d., 92-130; M. Cramer and H. Bacht, *Der antichalkedonische Aspekt im historisch-biographischen Schrifttum der koptischen Monophysiten (6.-7. Jahrhundert)*, in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ii, Würzburg 1953, 328-34; E. Littmann, *Muḳauḳis im Gemälde von Ḳuṣair ʿAmra*, in *ZDMG*, cv (1955), 287 f.; C.D.G. Müller, *Benjamin I., 38. Patriarch von Alexandrien*, in *Le Muséon*, lxix (1956), 320, n. 27; M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, i, Paris 1959, 209; A. Alcock, *Cyrus the Mukaukas and Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria: Un trafiquant de chair blanche?*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 73 f.; Bāhūr Labīb, *al-Muḳawḳis aw Sīrus al-rūmānī*, in *Dirāsāt ʿan Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam*, Cairo 1975, 75-83; P.M. Fraser's *Additional bibliography* to the 2nd ed. of Butler, *The Arab conquest*, pp. lxv ff.

(K. ÖHRNBERG)

AL-**MUKHĀ** (al-Makhā; in European sources usually Mokha, Mocha, occasionally even Mecca; 13° 19′ N., 43° 15′ E.), seaport on the Red Sea in the Taʿizz province of the Republic of Yemen. According to Landberg, *Daṯînah*, ii, 1141, the name means "the place where [the water] is divided [by a dam]." A local tradition says that al-Mukhā was founded by Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Shādhilī (d. 821/1418), who allegedly offered a beverage (coffee) to an Indian captain as medicine. The renown of the good qualities of the beverage spread rapidly, and the mosque over the Shaykh's tomb attracted many pilgrims. Al-Mukhā's main spring and the town gate leading to the inland are named after him (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, pl. 72, p. 439; cf. *ibid.*, 359, 373; Landberg, *Daṯînah*, 1068; idem, in *Arabica*, iv [1897]). According to other sources, perhaps more reliable or to be connected with the tradition mentioned above, coffee was introduced into Arabia from Ethiopia by Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th century (see Glaser, *Tagebuch*, ii, 68; idem, *Über meine Reisen*, 25), or from Persia via Aden (Grohmann, *Südarabien*, i, 239). Al-Mukhā has given its name to mokha, the well-known blend of coffee. The two names became linked during the 11th/17th century when al-Mukhā, together with Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*], became the centres of the international coffee-trade. On the relation between the word coffee and Kaffa province in Ethiopia, the alleged homeland of the coffeebush, see ḲAHWA. A certain type of skins and gloves also derives its name from the Yemeni port.

On Ptolemy's map of South Arabia (see Von Wissmann-Höfner, *Beiträge*, pl. 10 and cf. *ibid.*, p. 89, and map, p. 64), μουζα ἐμποριον is marked as the seaport of Mawzaʿ, situated some eighteen miles to the east. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, nos. 65, 85, considers this emporium to be identical with al-Mukhā. Pliny (vi, 26 § 104) remarks that the *Indica navigatio* does not call at Muza. This, according to Sprenger, means that the port was not simply an anchorage on the voyage from Berenike, the southernmost port of Egypt, to Barygaza in India, but that it was the destination of ships trading with Arabia for incense, myrrh and alabaster (Pliny, xii, 15 § 68). In Aelius Gallus's time Muza was still dominated by the Gebaniti, who in a way were vassals of the Sabaeans (Pliny, vi, 28 § 161). The *Periplus*, § 21, 24 states that Muza (Mauzaʿ) was a market town without a harbour, but with a good anchorage, that it was important for trade between Berenike and Barygaza and that its inhabitants, ship-owners and seafaring men, were busy with the affairs of commerce. For the further history of al-Mukhā in Roman times, see Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie*, no. 383 ff.

D'Anville, *Description*, 253, on the other hand, identified μουζα ἐμποριον with Mawsidsh (or Mawshid), a few miles into the interior. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, 373, and *Beschreibung*, 222, was of the opinion that Ptolemy's emporium was identical with another Muza (Musa), also situated at some eighteen miles east of al-Mukhā, from where the rich inhabitants of the port got good drinking water. The famous Danish traveller even thought that al-Mukhā had hardly existed before 1300 A.D. (*Reisebeschreibung*, i, 438; cf. Viscount Valentia, *Voyages*, i, 344).

By 590 A.D. the Sasanids under Wahrīz [see ABRAHA] were masters of al-Mukhā, and remained in control until the Muslim conquest of the Yemen in 8/629-30.

Until the beginning of the 10th/16th century, al-Mukhā apparently was not of great importance. Abu 'l-Fidā, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Yāḳūt [*q.vv.*] do not name it, while ʿUmāra (Kay, *Yaman*, 11) mentions the town

just once as a halting place on the Tihāma—or lowland—road from Aden to Mecca. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 74, does not mention it among the towns of the Tihāma. He only remarks that the *wādī* al-Ghaṣīd flows to the sea via al-Mawzaʿ and across al-Mukhā. On the other hand, in the 4th/10th century al-Muḳaddasī speaks of a flourishing town (*madīna* [*q.v.*]) producing sesame-oil (85; cf. Landberg, *Daṯînah*, i, 300). According to the same author (101), amber [see ʿANBAR] was found along the shore between Aden and al-Mukhā.

In 1507 the expeditionary force under the *amīr* Ḥusayn Mushrif al-Kurdī, governor of Djudda [*q.v.*], sent by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*] to assist Maḥmūd Shāh, the ruler of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], against the Portuguese, called at al-Mukhā (Schuman, *Political History*, 61-2, no. 56). The port is mentioned just once by de Barros (*Asia*, Dec. ii, Book vii, ch. 1), but it grew in importance after Aden had been attacked by Albuquerque in 1513 [see ʿADAN] and after the Ottoman Turks, who considered themselves as successors to the Mamlūk spheres of influence, appeared in the Red Sea. Due to their exactions in Aden, coupled with a fall in its commerce, al-Mukhā began to supplant the other port.

In 1538 the castle of al-Mukhā, fortified by Aydînlî Muḥammad Pasha, was the last Ottoman foothold on Yemeni soil. The city walls and the two fortresses protecting the roadstead, described by Niebuhr more than two hundred years later, may well date from this period, as well as some fortified places on the road to actual Musa.

During this 10th/16th century, before the arrival of the Europeans, al-Mukhā was frequented by merchants from many parts of the Middle East and from India. The Indian merchants sailed thither with the first easterly winds, and left towards the end of the south-west monsoon in late August. They traded with the merchants who sailed from Suez with the north-westerly winds and returned in autumn. Exports from al-Mukhā consisted of coffee, aloes, myrhh, incense, senna, ivory, mother-of-pearl and gold, while crude metals such as iron, steel and lead, guns and textiles were imported.

In 1013/1604-5 the Ottoman general Sinān Pasha al-Kaykhiyā was appointed governor of the Yemen. Known for some remarkable public works (see Serjeant, *Ṣanʿāʾ*, 72b), he died at al-Mukhā, where he was buried besides Shaykh al-Shādhilī.

Al-Mukhā became more widely known in North-Western Europe when the English and the Dutch appeared. In 1609 the Englishmen John Jourdain and William Revett reported that al-Mukhā's buildings "were very much ruinated for want of repairing". Notwithstanding this, the Ottoman customs of the port amounted to £ 37,500 in 1611. In 1610 Sir Henry Middleton sailed to al-Mukhā. He was imprisoned, but escaped and extorted compensation by a blockade. Later, he came back, traded by force and seized Gudjarātī ships. In this he was joined by John Saris, who had brought an Ottoman trading permit. Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the Great Mughal (1615-19), wanted one ship from the East India fleet sent to the Red Sea every year. In 1618 Andrew Skilling was well received at al-Mukhā. Charts were made by the explorer Baffin. In spite of dislike of Roe's plan by the factors at Surat and by the Mughal government, a somewhat irregular trade was maintained, though it was for a time disorganised by the Yemeni war of independence against the Ottomans.

The Dutch merchant Pieter van den Broecke visited al-Mukhā in 1616. While he was there, a caravan of 1,000 camels arrived. At his return from Ṣanʿāʾ, he traded profitably in the port. In 1620 he had to leave his goods at Aden, whence they were taken to al-Mukhā by dhow. In 1621 Dutch ships attacked craft from India; the Ottomans then took the officials and their stock at the factory at al-Mukhā as a reprisal. The factor, Willem de Milde, died a prisoner. The Dutch then traded from their ships, sometimes going to Assab for supplies. For the attack of the Dutch against al-Mukhā in 1659-60, see Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 117 ff.

Coffee is not mentioned in the English East India Company's sale lists until 1660, although by that time the commodity had already become by far the most important export of al-Mukhā. The first important cargo of coffee was sent to Holland in 1663. Having been closed off and on, the Dutch factory was opened again in 1708 and the Dutch were given the right to export 600 bales of coffee annually free of duty. But by that time coffee was being grown in Java.

After a private French voyage to the east had been made in 1529, Beaulieu sailed along the south coast of Arabia in 1619-20. Later, Colbert wanted to revive the Red Sea trade with the help of the Ottomans and to have consuls in the ports, but nothing came of his plans. In 1708-9 and again in 1711-13 the French Company of St. Malo sent two armed ships to al-Mukhā (De la Grélaudière, *Relation*). A commercial trade was set up, a factory opened, and coffee bushes procured to be planted in Réunion. Offended because their goods were paid for only by remittance of future customs dues, the French bombarded al-Mukhā in 1737. Though coffee sold in France for about twice its cost in Arabia, yet the trade ceased to be profitable and was gradually abandoned.

In the 11th/17th century there was also a Danish factory at al-Mukhā for a time, and about 1720 several ships sailed thither from Ostend. About 1755 C.H. Braad, an agent of the Swedish East India Company, visited al-Mukhā and reported on the commercial prospects.

In 1620 the Zaydī Imām al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] attacked al-Mukhā, where the Ottomans, at least in 1609, kept a garrison of only 40 men. The Zaydī troops were expelled by Ottoman gunfire from the roofs and from ships in the harbour. After an Ottoman relief force, sent from Egypt, had deserted, the Tihāma was recovered in 1630 by a joint Ottoman expedition by land and sea under Aḥmed Ḳānṣawh, but when the Imām invaded it in 1635, the Ottomans evacuated it on terms. In 1636 they gave over al-Mukhā, Zabīd and Kamarān to the Imām. In spite of some interventions of Arab tribes (see below), the port, governed by a *dola* in the name of the Imām at Ṣanʿāʾ, was to remain in the hands of the Zaydīs until 1849.

The conquest of Ḥaḍramawt brought the Zaydīs into confrontation with the rising maritime power of ʿUmān [*q.v.*]. In 1079/1669 the ʿUmānīs raided the coast of Aden and al-Mukhā. At that time al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar al-Djarmūzī, the author of the *Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyya*, was governor of al-Mukhā. His biography is found in al-Shawkānī's *Badr al-ṭāliʿ* (ed. Cairo 1348, i, 210).

In March 1661 Bārī Ṣāḥiba, the Dowager Queen of Bīdjāpūr, sailed from Vengurla (north of Goa) on pilgrimage on a Dutch ship. At al-Mukhā the vessel was not allowed to sail until all the Muslim shipping was ready to leave. The Dutch then applied to Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. The relations between Ottomans, Portuguese, English and Dutch

on the one hand, and the inhabitants of al-Mukhā on the other are described in Serjeant, *The Portuguese*, 121 ff.; cf. idem, *Sanʿāʾ*, index.

In 1107/1695-6 Imām al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, known as Ṣāḥib al-Mawākib, sent Ibrāhīm Bāshā to Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*], the port on the African coast which since 1630 had been dependent upon the governors of al-Mukhā. A large port, a mosque and town wall were built there; slaves were exported to the Yemeni port. Al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, who proclaimed himself Imām in 1128/1716, sent a *dola* to al-Mukhā in order to control the port revenues.

In Niebuhr's days (1763), an English East Indian ship came every second year to load coffee, while the Dutch arrived only very rarely; the French had not been there for seven years and the Portuguese had since long disappeared. Port taxes were at 10%, but the Europeans paid only 3% and furthermore were permitted to put their goods into their own factories; the remaining 7% had to be paid by the Arab buyers. For coffee export, the Europeans also paid 3% only, and, if loading a big European ship full with coffee, they received a premium of 400 dollars from the *dola*. Although the Portuguese economic blockade of southern Arabia in the 17th century had caused a decline of the glass industry on the Aden litoral, Niebuhr speaks of the quite recent establishment of a glass-factory at al-Mukhā. His companion Von Hagen died here, and in August 1763 the Danish traveller sailed from al-Mukhā to India.

In 1801 the port was visited by Sir Home Popham, who had been sent to the Red Sea to attempt to revive the once extensive trade between the Yemen and the English East India Company's possessions. Viscount Valentia, casting anchor at al-Mukhā in 1801, saw three high minarets, the round dome of the main mosque, many *ḳubbas* [*q.v.*], the palace of the *dola* and the great serail built by the Ottomans (*Voyages*, ii, 327). His description, however, shows a town in decay. Date liquor and palm wine, made by Jews, were sold to European sailors, who often misbehaved, even after becoming Muslim (cf. Grohmann, *Südarabien*, i, 102). American ships now also called at the port, but coffee-export had dwindled. Al-Mukhā's decay in the 19th century was mainly caused by the resurgence of Aden, the port also losing to al-Ḥudayda [*q.v.*]. Between 1824 and 1884 the population fell from 20,000 to 1,500 (Botta, *Relation*, 134).

In 1832 Muḥammad Aghā, nicknamed Turkče Bilmez ("the one who speaks no Turkish"), an officer of Muḥammad ʿAlī's [*q.v.*] Ḥidjāz forces whom the Ottoman Sultan encouraged to rebel against the Pasha, bombarded and conquered al-Mukhā, al-Ḥudayda and Zabīd. Al-Mukhā was then blockaded by Ottoman-Egyptian forces, while the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of Abū ʿArīsh [*q.v.*], with the help of the Banū ʿAsīr, carried the port by assault on land. The next year, the Ottoman-Egyptian commander Ibrāhīm Pasha forced the Banū ʿAsīr to surrender al-Mukhā to him after Muḥammad Aghā had been expelled. The Egyptians, however, withdrew in 1840 and in 1841 the port was recovered by Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAlī. Later, again with the help of the Banū ʿAsīr, the port fell again in the hands of the Sharīf Ḥusayn, who was to rule it on behalf of the Porte and had to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 *riyals* to the Pasha of Egypt. Al-Mukhā, Bayt al-Faḳīh and Zabīd were reconquered by Imām al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, but in 1849 the Ottomans regained possession of the port until the First World War.

After the Second World War, al-Mukhā was a *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] of the *liwā* of Taʿizz, which was divided into the *nāhiyas* al-Mukhā and al-Maḳbara. The town faces west on the shore of a shallow bay between two headlands, and is situated in an arid plain relieved by scattered palm-trees mainly to the south. There was an unprotected anchorage for large vessels about 1½ miles off shore in depth up to 4 fathoms. Small craft found anchorage in 7-10 feet within the bay, one quarter of a mile off the town. The water-front was encumbered by flats and shoals except at the southern end, where a channel with 3 feet of water led south past the town wall into the Khor Ambaya lagoon.

In 1946 the town was about half-a-mile long and one-quarter wide (photograph in *Western Arabia*, 263). Many of its stone houses were ruined and abandoned. To the many reasons of decay given above, the ruinous effects of earthquakes must be added. Al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*] records in 796/1393-4 about forty successive shocks in one single day in Mawzaʿ and its environs (Redhouse, *The Pearl-strings*, GMS, ii, 238); other shocks were recorded in 1896-7. Part of the inhabitants (*ca.* 1,000 in 1946, including Arabs, Somalis and Jews) was living outside the town. Streets are narrow, but some of the mosques are still impressive with their lofty minarets, particularly the tomb of Shaykh al-Shādhilī within, and that of Shaykh al-Amūdī outside the town. Like in Niebuhr's time, good water is brought by conduit from Musa, 27 miles to the south. In the 1950s reconstruction started with the help of French engineers. In 1970 the population was estimated at 25,000.

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MUKHADDIRĀT [see AFYŪN; BANDJ].

MUKHAḌRAM (A.), a term denoting a person who lived in the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] and in the time of Islam. It has been applied in particular to poets, *al-mukhaḍramūn* constituting the class of pagan poets who died after the proclamation of Islam. The meaning has been extended to poets living in the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid period, who were referred to as *mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn*, "poets of the two dynasties". It is also a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], where it signified a transmitter who accepted Islam but had not seen the Prophet (cf. W. Marçais, *Le Taqrîb de En-Nawawi*, in *JA*, xvii [1901], 127-8).

1. Etymology. In Arabic lexicography, various explanations of the term are given. Thus it is derived from *khaḍrama*, "to cut the ear of one's camel" or "to cut the ear in halves". Its semantic evolution is explained either metaphorically as signifying a man "cut off from disbelief" (*kuṭiʿa ʿan al-kufr*), or with reference to a *ḥadīth* which reports that the Prophet ordered his followers to cut the ears of their camels in a way differing from pagan usage, as a sign of their being Muslims. Accordingly, some lexicographers adopt the reading *mukhaḍrim* (act. part.) "who cut his camels in the new way", whereas *mukhaḍram* would mean a person "who knew both ways of cutting" (*adraka 'l-khaḍramatayn*). The reading *mukhaḍrim* is also derived from *khaḍrama* denoting "to mix", i.e. "someone who mixed *Djāhiliyya* and Islam" (*LA*, xii, 185; *TA*, viii, 280-1). In addition, Ibn Rashīk [*q.v.*] mentions the derivation from *khiḍrim*, "copious, ample", applied in particular to a well "having much water", and explains the term as referring to a man who fully experienced both periods (*al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo ³1383/1963-5, i, 113). Some scholars limit its application to those who passed half of their life in the *Djāhiliyya* and half of it in the time of Islam.

2. Al-mukhaḍramūn. According to Ibn Rashīk (*loc. cit.*), the successive generations of poets are to be divided into four groups: pre-Islamic (*djāhilī kadīm*), *mukhaḍram*, Islamic (*islāmī*) and "modern" (*muḥdath*). His classification has been accepted by later authors (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ch. 49). The first three groups are already mentioned by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]) in the *Ṭabakāt al-shuʿarāʾ (Die Klassen der Dichter)*, ed. J. Hell, Leiden 1916, 9), but the book is divided into two main sections only, the *mukhaḍramūn* being treated within the class of pagan poets. The same tendency to group the two classes together is apparent in other sources, too. Thus in the Book of "the two Khālids", al-Khālidiyyān [*q.v.*], *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir min ashʿār al-mutakaddimīn wa 'l-djāhiliyya wa 'l-mukhaḍramīn* (ed. M. Yūsuf, Cairo 1958-1965, i, 1), the "ancients" (*al-kudamāʾ*) and the *mukhaḍramūn* are treated as one category to be contrasted with the "moderns".

A similar view prevailed until recently in modern research, i.e. it was taken for granted that pre-Islamic oral tradition continued virtually unchanged up to the Umayyad period. There are several monographs by Arabic scholars investigating the influence of Muḥammad's preaching on contemporary poets and studying their political commitments. However, except for occasional allusions to the new religion and the introduction of Islamic subjects into the verses of his followers, e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.vv.*], no changes with regard to conventional genres and motifs are recorded. The question has been approached from a different aspect in western research. By analysing early Islamic texts from a literary point of view it has been established that famous *mukhaḍramūn*, e.g. al-Aʿshā Maymūn, Labīd, Abū Dhuʾayb and al-Ḥuṭayʾa [*q.vv.*], deviated from tradition in several respects, both on the formal and on the conceptual level, thereby anticipating some of the innovative features attributed to Umayyad poets. It is to be assumed that these changes in poetic convention are due to the same socio-economic factors which favoured the rise of Islam. The following aspects have been noted: (a) structural changes in the polythematic ode; (b) the emergence of *ghazal* poetry; (c) individual narrative units, sometimes introduced as similes; (d) a change of attitude towards love and the beloved; and (e) a new experience of time (cf. R. Jacobi, *Altarabische Dichtung*, in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ii. ed. H. Gätje, Wiesbaden 1987, 28-31).

3. Mukhaḍramū 'l-dawlatayn. The designation is first attested in the title of a lost book by Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim (d. 300/913), *K. al-Bāhir fī akhbār shuʿarāʾ mukhaḍramī 'l-dawlatayn*. It is mentioned in *al-Fihrist* (143), where the poets belonging to that group are enumerated, starting with Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*]. Parts of the book are preserved in the *K. al-Aghānī* (cf. M. Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, in *Wiss. Zeitschrift der Univ. Halle*, xvii [1968], 77-83). The term is used occasionally in the *Aghānī*, e.g. with regard to Bashshār (iii, 20) or Ibn Mayyāda [*q.v.*] (ii, 89), but is not generally accepted for classification. Poets of that period are usually included in the class of the "moderns", as evidenced by the *Ṭabakāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-muḥdathīn* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*].

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(RENATE JACOBI)

MUKHALLEFĀT (A.) "things left behind (at death)", an Ottoman financial-judicial term alluding to the property of deceased officials and of those who died without heirs that the Ottoman Treasury confiscated. The inheritances of the minors or the mentally handicapped who could not oversee their shares were also seized and kept until they reached puberty; the Treasury also approved the expenditure of the money for them. All of these estates appeared in the lists of sources of revenue as *mukhallefāt*, things left behind. The movable and immovable goods left behind were recorded in a register known as the *mukhallefāt defteri* by a clerk, *mukhallefāt meʾmūru*, whose responsibility comprised inscribing these goods and then liquidating them. *Mukhallefāt akčesi* referred to the money accruing from the liquidation. The sub-department of the Ottoman bureaucracy which registered these revenues was called *mukhallefāt kalemi*, and the title of the clerks working in this department was *mukhallefāt khalīfesi*.

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AL-**MUKHAMMIS** [see AL-MUSAMMAṬ].

MUKHAMMISA (A.), Pentadists is the name applied to a doctrinal current, rather than a specific sect, among the Shīʿī extremists (*ghulāt*) which espoused the divinity of the five members of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* [*q.v.*], Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

The Ismāʿīlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/945-5) defines the Mukhammisa as those who considered the five members of the pentad as equal in rank and as embodying a single divine spirit. Representative of this type of pentadist doctrine is the *Umm al-Kitāb* preserved by the Ismāʿīlī community in Badakhshān. The Imāmī heresiographer Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (d. 301/913-14), on the other hand, identifies the Mukhammisa with those who viewed Muḥammad as the *maʿnā*, the godhead, who appeared in five shapes and forms. Opposed to the Mukhammisa were the ʿAlyāʾiyya who recognised ʿAlī as the godhead who appeared in only four persons and reduced Muḥammad to a mere servant and messenger of the godhead, a rank attributed by the Mukhammisa to Salmān. Al-Ḳummī further identifies the Mukhammisa with the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb (d. *ca.* 138/755). The basic doctrine of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and the early Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*] differed, however, from that ascribed to the Mukhammisa. Pentadist doctrine seems to have been secondarily adopted by some of the Khaṭṭābiyya. Since Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī, the founder of the ʿAlyāʾiyya, was active in the time of the *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765), this must also have been at that time. The doctrine of the Mukhammisa described in detail by al-Ḳummī is of a later period, since Muḥammad b. Bashīr, a *ghālī* active in the time of *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), is named as one of their earlier prophets and *bābs*. Al-Masʿūdī names two authors, al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyaḍ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nahīkī, as espousing the doctrine of the Mukhammisa, whom he calls Muḥammadiyya, in refutations of the *Kitāb al-Sirāṭ* of the ʿAlyāʾī Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Baṣrī (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 1135). Isḥāḳ al-Aḥmar was active in the time of the *imāms* ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874). The Mukhammisa doctrine of this period may be reflected in al-Ḳummī's account.

The Mukhammisa, according to al-Ḳummī, believed that the deity, Muḥammad, had appeared, aside from the manifestation in the divine pentad, in cycles (*adwār*) among Arabs and non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*) in the prophets from Adam to Jesus, in Muḥammad's wives Khadīdja and Umm Salama, in the *imāms*, and in the forms of the Chosroes (*akāsira*) and the kings who ruled the earth. This latter aspect refelcts Iranian influence and relates the Mukhammisa to the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], who also held that the imāmate had passed through the Persian kings to Muḥammad. Muḥammad had first manifested himself to mankind in his luminous nature (*nūrāniyya*), summoning them to affirm his unity, but they had denied him. He then appeared to them in the form of prophethood (*nubuwwa*), but they denied him. Finally, he appeared in the form of the imāmate and they accepted him. The exterior aspect (*ẓāhir*) of God is thus the imāmate, the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) is Muḥammad. The elect recognise him in his luminous nature, while the common people see him in human carnal form as *imāms*, prophets and kings. The manifestation of Muḥammad is at all times accompanied by a hierarchy headed by his Gate Messenger (*rasūl bāb*) whose *maʿnā* is Salmān. Below the Gate in rank are a Great and a Small Orphan (*yatīm*), whose archetypes are al-Miḳdād and Abū Dharr [*q.vv.*], and there are lower ranks of *nudjabāʾ*, *nuḳabāʾ*, *muṣṭafawn*, *mukhtaṣṣūn*, *mumtaḥanūn* and *muʾminūn*. Those who recognise these members of the hierarchy and their esoteric *maʿnās* are freed from all shackles of the religious law which is imposed only on the deniers of the truth. Initiation into the esoteric doctrine was preceded by an examination (*imtiḥān*) which involves openly drinking wine and sharing of all personal property and wives. The Mukhammisa believed in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*). The spirits of the deniers would be transferred to animals in descending order and to stars and eventually would be turned into the inanimate matter of rocks, mud and iron. In this shape they would be tortured for ever. The spirits of the faithful would be transferred in seven human bodies like "shirts (*aḳmiṣa*)" during seven cycles, each lasting 10,000 years. Ever rising in their gnosis they would, at the end of the great cycle (*kawr*), reach the level of fully perceiving Muḥammad in his luminous nature.

Imāmī sources further name as a Mukhammis and founder of an extremist doctrine Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī, who claimed to be a descendant of the *imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] and who died in Karmī near Fasā in 352/963. He is described as a distinguished author of Imāmī books who in his later life became a *ghālī*. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī defines the doctrine of the Mukhammisa in the context of al-Kūfī's vita as implying that the pentad of Salmān, al-Miḳdād, ʿAmmār, Abū Dharr and ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was "entrusted with the welfare of the world (*muwakkalūn bi-maṣāliḥ al-ʿālam*)." Whether this pentad was held to correspond to a higher divine pentad of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* is uncertain. According to al-Nadjāshī, the *ghulāt* attributed high spiritual stations to al-Kūfī. Nothing is known, however, about the identity of his followers.

Bibliography: Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 56-60; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Zīna*, ms. Tehran University, unfol. (the account of Shahrastānī, 134, is based on Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's but the name Mukhammisa is omitted); Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. Mahdī Radhjāʾī, Ḳumm 1404/1984, 701-2; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 157-62; idem, *Das Buch der Schatten*, in *Isl.*, lv (1978), 229-60, lviii (1981), 15-86; idem, *Die islamische*

Gnosis, Zurich 1982, 218-30. On ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī, see Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Ḳumm 1407/1987, 265-6; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-shīʿa*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1853, 211 (for *al-mudjassima* read *al-mukhammisa*); Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Ridjāl*, ed. M. Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ʿulūm, Nadjaf 1961, 233; Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Ḳumm 1401/1981, iii, 355-62.

(W. Madelung)

MUKHĀRADJA (a.), together with its synonyms *muḳāraʿa*, *munāhada* and *musāhama*, conveys the idea of the division of various objects done in various ways amongst two or more persons; but the word *mukhāradja* by itself and the other terms followed by the expression *bi 'l-aṣābiʿ* "with the fingers" all denote the game of mora, morra, or mication (Latin *micatio*, Ital. *mora*). This game is played all around the shores of the Mediterranean, and also in Arabia and ʿIrāḳ, and consists of two players, facing each other, and, at a signal given by one of them, they simultaneously put up the right hand, with one or more fingers bent back and the rest raised, whilst at the same time announcing together a number less than ten; the winner is the one who guesses the exact number represented by the outstretched fingers of the two players. This procedure is a game of chance, and in principle Islam forbids it, especially as it is often used to designate the beneficiary of some disputed object, to divide up a sum of money, to provide the reply to a wager, etc.

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries do not give any precise details about the mode of playing *mukhāradja* and merely give synonyms for the term. A description of the game in question is given in the article *ʿUḳad* of Fr. A.M. de Saint-Elie al-Karmalī, in *Machriq*, iii (1900), 123; see also J.G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts en Orient et en Occident*, in *REI*, 1932/1, 7-8.

(Ed.)

MUKHĀRIḲ, Abu 'l-Muhannāʾ Mukhāriḳ b. Yaḥyā b. Nāwūs, one of the greatest singers of the early ʿAbbāsids.

He belonged to Madma (although some say to Kūfa) and was the son of a butcher. ʿĀtika bint Shudha, a famous singer and lutenist, whose slave he was, noticed that he possessed a good voice, and taught him singing. By her he was sold to Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [*q.v.*]), the *doyen* of the court musicians, who furthered his musical education. Ibrāhīm said that a youth with such talents had a great future, and he heralded him as his successor. One day Mukhāriḳ was sent by Ibrāhīm to Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī and his sons al-Faḍl and Djaʿfar to sing to them some of his (Ibrāhīm's) latest compositions. The Barmakids [see barāmika] were fascinated by the audition, and Mukhāriḳ was gifted to al-Faḍl al-Bamarkī [*q.v.*], who, in turn, presented him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. This must have taken place before 187/803, the date of the fall of the Barmakids. The caliph, who was equally charmed by Mukhāriḳ's voice, gave him his freedom and heaped rewards on him. He would even dispense with the customary curtain which divided him from the court musicians, and invite Mukhāriḳ to share his seat. The virtuoso continued to be favoured at court until his death during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*], who was a composer himself and looked to Mukhāriḳ to sing his composition. The caliph was disappointed, however, because Mukhāriḳ indulged in a practice, then the height of fashion, of altering the notes of the melody or rhythm according to his whim. Indeed, it was said that he did not sing the same melody twice alike. This was one of the innovations of a school led by the *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839 [*q.v.*]), to which Mukhāriḳ and others attached themselves. It is this movement that is blamed by the authors of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* for having been the cause of the loss of the old traditional music. Mukhāriḳ died at Sāmarrā in 230/844-5.

In spite of this blame that is attached to Mukhāriḳ, his fame as a singer stands very high. His voice captivated everyone, not only because of its rare beauty, but on account of its exceptional power. Mukhāriḳ himself was well aware of his gifts and, not being above *étalage*, seems to have enjoyed the sensation that he sometimes created. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]) names seven of the leading musicians of Hārūn's court, and places three of them, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ibn Djāmiʿ and Mukhāriḳ, in the first rank. By the time of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33 [*q.v.*]), the two first-named were dead, and Mukhāriḳ was *facile princeps* at court as a singer, and could stand comparison with Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and Allūya (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi, 227, 234). When the poet Diʿbil [*q.v.*] lampooned the musical *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī after his failure to secure the caliphate, he said "Were Ibrāhīm fit to reign, the empire had devolved by right to Mukhāriḳ, Zalzal and Māriḳ (= Ibn al-Māriḳī)", the court musicians. These lines alone show the eminence to which the great artist had arrived at this period. Ibn al-Taghrībirdī said that whilst Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ sang well to the accompaniment of the lute, in pure vocal work Mukhāriḳ outshone them both. The best testimony comes from al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) who only mentions two musicians of the ʿAbbāsid period, Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and Mukhāriḳ. Among his best known pupils were Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ and Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl b. Dāwūd al-Kātib, the begetter of a family of good musicians.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, xxi, 220-1, and Guidi's *Index*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo, 1887-8, iii, 190; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 18, 205 (wrong *kunya*); Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 30 (wrong *kunya*); Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, 121, 148; D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, *al-Fārābī*, 12.

(H.G. Farmer)

MUKHĀṬARA (a.), a term—familiar in mediaeval European mercantile circles in its Latin garb *mohatra*—technically used to denote a legal device, or stratagem (*ḥīla* [*q.v.*]), having as its purpose the circumvention of that established rule of substantive Islamic law which prohibits any form of interest on a capital loan. The device, also commonly termed *ʿīna* or *bayʿ al-ʿīna*, "sale on credit"—and, by way of euphemism, *muʿāmala*, "transaction"—is a form of *bayʿatān fī bayʿa*, "two sales in one", or "a double sale", aimed at masking the reality of a usurious transaction behind two perfectly valid and, to all appearances, discrete transactions. In simple general terms it was calculated to provide a legal means of effecting an illegal purpose.

The practical application of *mukhāṭara* may be illustrated by a straightforward example. A prospective lender, L, agrees to make a prospective borrower, B, a loan of, say 1,000 *dīnārs* for a period of 12 months at a rate of interest of 25 per cent. B will then first sell to L some object of which he is the lawful owner for 1,000 *d.*, immediately payable in cash. This forms the subject of one contract of sale. In a second and immediately ensuing contract of sale B will buy back from L the very same object of sale for a price of 1,250 *d.*, payable in 12 months' time. Since deferred payment is permissible under the provisions of *Sharīʿa*

law, B places himself under an enforceable obligation to pay L the last-mentioned sum upon the expiry of the specified period. As will be clear, the difference between 1,000 *d.*, and 1,250 *d.* is, in reality, interest on the loan of 1,000 *d.*.

An alternative form of transaction based on the same figures as those postulated for the preceding example would be one in which L, in the first contract, would sell some possession of his to B for the sum of 1,250 *d.* payable in 12 months' time. In the second contract immediately ensuing, B would sell back that same object for 1,000 *d.* payable at once in cash. Again, the difference between the two figures represents interest on a capital loan. The difference between the two forms of double sale will be seen to amount to the difference between a secured loan and an unsecured loan.

Mukhāṭara, a practice as old, at the very least, as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796 [*q.v.*]), is known to have been prevalent in Medina.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 78 f., 153, 241 f. (bibliography including primary as well as secondary sources), 301; N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 139; idem, *Conflicts and tensions in Islamic jurisprudence*, Chicago-London 1969, 87 f.

(J.D. Latham)

MUKHATTAM (A.), a term frequently applied to mediaeval Islamic textiles, from silks to woollen materials, and denoting a pattern of lines in the cloth forming quadrangular compartments, i.e. checks (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 352). Such cloths seem to have been woven almost everywhere in the Islamic lands; see R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, index s.v.

(Ed.)

MUKHTĀR (A.), literally "chosen person". In the late Ottoman Empire and some of its successor states, the term *mukhtār* refers to the headman of a quarter (*maḥalle*) or village. The first *mukhtārs* were appointed in 1245/1829-30, exclusively for Istanbul and its "three towns" or suburbs, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyyūb. Each quarter had a first and a second *mukhtār*. As recorded by the official historiographer, Aḥmed Luṭfī, this was done in connection with a counting and registration of the male population of the city (*Der Saʿādetle Bilād-i Thelāthe ahālī-i dhükūri thebt-i sidjill we defter edilerek... her maḥalleye... ikisher nefer mukhtār taʿyīn ḳīlinmishdir*). At this point, the *mukhtārs'* role lay primarily in controlling the migration into the city of lone males or "bachelors" (*bī-kār*), many of whom had wives and children in the provinces but were impelled toward the city because of being "without work" (*bī-kār* in the literal sense; Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 172-3). The appointment of *mukhtārs* has been interpreted as a centralising and secularising measure, aimed at restricting the role of the *ʿulamā* in administration (Lewis, *Emergence*, 394-5); Luṭfī (*Taʾrīkh*, ii, 173) does indicate that the *imāms* had neglected the population control matters that the *mukhtārs* were to take in charge. An alternative interpretation links the introduction of *mukhtārs* to the abolition in 1826 of the Janissaries [see yeñi čeri], who had previously held much of the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the capital (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 101).

The appointment of *mukhtārs* in the provinces began in the Anatolian *sandjaḳ* of Kastamonu in 1249/1833, when the people of Tashköprü *ḳaḍāʾ* complained about the local notable's excessive tax demands to the *sandjaḳ*'s top administrative official (*mütesellim*), Dede Muṣṭafā Agha. He suppressed a revolt by the notable in question and then introduced the system of *mukhtārs* as found at Istanbul. Although Luṭfī Efendi says that the *mukhtārs* at Istanbul were appointed (*taʿyīn ḳīlinmishdir*), those at Kastamonu were—as the title *mukhtār* suggests—elected by the populace of each quarter. When news of this innovation reached Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]), he approved and ordered the implementation of the same measures in the other *ḳaḍāʾ*s and villages of Anatolia and Rumelia. In a number of Anatolian provinces, this was done in 1833, although there were delays in some places (Çadırcı, *Muhtarlık*, 410-12). Until the enactment of the law of 1281/1864 on provincial administration, however, villages and quarters inhabited by non-Muslims continued to be administered by their religious leaders acting together with the leading men (*ḳočabashī*) of the community (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 102).

The circumstances of its implementation at Kastamonu illustrate how the system of *mukhtārs* coincided with Maḥmūd II's efforts to eliminate the local notables and centralise administration. There, every *mukhtār* was required to stand surety (*kefīl*) for the people of his quarter; the *imām* was required to do likewise for the *mukhtār*, as were the leading personalities of each province (*wüdjūh-i wilāyet*) for one another. Those elected *mukhtār* were to be registered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register, with notice to the higher-level authorities responsible for population registration, the *defter nāẓirī*, who was supposed to have been appointed in each *sandjaḳ* following the census of 1831, and the *djerīde nāẓirī* in Istanbul, who was supposed to submit the names to the sultan. The *mukhtārs* were to receive seals from the Mint (*Ḍarbkhāne*). In the interests of order, the *mukhtārs* were to question the intentions and examine the internal passports (*mürūr tedhkereleri*; Pakalın, *OTD*, ii, 583) of strangers who came into their quarters or villages, turn away any whose papers were not in order, help legitimate migrants find housing, see that someone from the quarter stood surety (*kefīl*) for the newcomer, and record his name in the quarter's register. Anyone from the quarter or village who wanted to go elsewhere was supposed to get a sealed pass (*mühürlü pusula*) from the *mukhtār*, identifying the holder and stating where he or she wanted to go and why; the recipient would then have to take the sealed pass to the *defter nāẓirī* to get a *mürūr tedhkeresi*. The *mukhtār* was to record births, deaths, and movements into or out of his district day by day and keep the *defter nāẓirī* informed of them. The *mukhtār* had to attend the *sharīʿa* court to take part in inheritance cases, help prepare semi-annual expense records and collaborate with the *imām* in the apportionment of tax obligations. When any resident of his quarter or village suffered wrong, the *mukhtār* was to take the matter up with the appropriate authorities, thus serving as the first link between the populace and the government (Çadırcı, *Muhtarlık*, 413-15).

Inadequate to solve the problems that had caused the breakdown of order in the countryside or to reverse the influx of the unemployed into Istanbul (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 103), the system of *mukhtārs* nonetheless persisted with remarkable continuity, surviving under the Turkish republic and some of the Arab successor states. Administrative acts of late Ottoman times chart stages in this history. During the attempt of *ca.* 1838-40 to replace tax farming with direct collection of revenues, for example, village *mukhtārs* were listed among the members of the councils (*medjlis*) that the tax collectors (*muḥaṣṣil* [*q.v.*]) were supposed to form (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 41; Kaynar, 239). About the same time, *mukhtārs* and council members were assigned salaries;

these could not be maintained and soon lapsed (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 103).

Several decades later, the provincial administration laws of Djumādā II 1281/November 1864 (arts. 5, 54-66) and Shawwāl 1287/January 1871 (arts. 59-60, 107-11) laid the bases on which the system of *mukhtārs* continued for the next century and more (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 76, 81, 111-2; *Düstūr*, first series, i, 608-51; Young, *Corps*, i, 36-69; Baer, *Fellah*, 109-10, 131). The 1864 law provided that in each village, every "class of people" (*ṣinif-i ahālī*; art. 54) was to elect two *mukhtārs*, or one for a community of fewer than twenty households; the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* would then formally appoint these *mukhtārs* to their offices. The context of the law, and general Ottoman practice, indicates that "class" (*ṣinif*) meant the different religious classifications of the populace; later, in some locales the same term effectively meant the larger kinship groups. In towns, every quarter (*maḥalle*) with at least fifty households should have the same institutions as a village.

An important innovation in 1864 was the formation of a council of elders (*ikhtiyār medjlisi*) for each religious community of the village, with the religious leader as a member *ex officio*. The *mukhtārs*' responsibilities included revenue collection, public works, supervision of the village constable (*bekči*) and watchman (*ḳoriči*), announcement of laws and regulations communicated to him from higher echelons, reporting births and deaths and assisting the court in inheritance cases. The councils' duties included apportioning and collecting the taxes that fell to their communities, maintaining the cleanliness of the village, arbitration of disputes, selection of village constables, building schools and taking measures to promote agriculture and commerce. The council had the right to monitor the *mukhtār* and, in the event of abuse, to request the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* to dismiss him. *Mukhtārs* and council members were to be elected once a year; only Ottoman subjects who had reached specific ages and paid set amounts in tax were eligible.

Experience showed that the *mukhtārs* and councils seldom realised all these goals. The biggest problem was that some *mukhtārs* extorted excess tax payments for their own profit. In addition, the villagers' difficulties in meeting their public works needs resulted in their continual appeals to the central government to solve these problems (Ortaylı, *Yönetim*, 107-8).

The provincial administration law of 17 Rebīʿ II 1331/March 1913 annulled the provincial administration laws of 1281/1864 and 1287/1871 and, by making no provision for villages or urban quarters, implicitly abolished the *mukhtārs*; however, other acts continued to refer to them and expand their functions (*Düstūr*, second series, V, 186-216; Sıddık Tümerkan, *Belediyeler*, 372-3). Under the Turkish republic, the "village law" (*köy kanunu*) of 8 March 1924 again specified administration by an elected *mukhtār* and council of elders (Szyliowicz, *Political change*, 36-49). A law of 10 June 1933 did abolish *mukhtārs* and councils of elders within municipalities (*belediye*). The difficulties that resulted from this change led to restoration of *mukhtārs* and councils in the quarters of cities and towns by a law of 5 April 1944 (Tümerkan, 373-6).

A century after the Ottoman *wilāyet* laws of 1864 and 1871, then, elected *mukhtārs* and councils still formed the lowest link, for both villages and urban quarters, between local and central government in Turkey (Karpat, *Gecekondu*, 226; Dodd, *Democracy*, 33; Danielson and Keleş, *Urbanization*, 81, 126). The functions expected of the *mukhtār* illustrated the difficulty of this dual role. He was supposed to announce and carry out Ankara's laws and policies; collect the village's taxes, pay its expenses and render monthly accounts to the council; arbitrate disputes; report suspected criminals, deserters and suspicious persons; co-operate with tax-collectors and other officials who came to the village; register vital statistics; report outbreaks of infectious disease; assemble military conscripts; supervise projects decided on by the council, mobilising the compulsory labour (*imece*) that the law required of the villagers to carry out the projects; and travel to higher administrative headquarters for consultation when summoned. Manipulation of the office of village *mukhtār* by powerful, oppressive local figures —or alternatively its relegation to weak men who were powerless in the face of such tyrants—did not help to fulfill this complicated programme (Szyliowicz, *Political change*, 44-7; İbrahim Yasa, *Hasanoğlan*, 148-63). The *mukhtārs*' problems were also compounded in villages where there was no *imām* or schoolteacher to provide part-time clerical assistance (Dodd, *Politics and government*, 264-5). Under the republic, Turkish *mukhtārs* again received compensation from the village budget; various forms of compensation for *mukhtārs* were also noted in mandatory Palestine and in independent Syria and ʿIrāḳ (Baer, *Fellah*, 134-5).

Mukhtārs and councils thus also survived in some of the empire's Arab successor states. This was true in Syria, both under the French mandate and at least into the 1950s (Khoury, *Syria*, 192-3, 213, 217, 293-4; Baer, *Fellah*, 134, citing Khalīl, *al-Tanẓīm al-idārī*, 139). Jordan's legislation of the 1950s on *mukhtārs* and village councils echoed features of the Ottoman system, while adding new functions (Antoun, *Low-key politics*, 30, 103-11). In Palestine, the *mukhtārs* tended to represent the large clans (*ḥamūla*), rather than religious communities. There, too, however, a variant situation might appear, where the influential residents would dominate the village from behind the scenes, while a nonentity or front man would hold the office (Baer, *Fellah*, 137-41). Everywhere, some *mukhtārs*' chief interest lay in using the powers of the office for personal benefit.

Wherever found, the *mukhtārs*' history appears to have been part of a long-term trend that tended over two centuries to erode the influence of local leadership figures while increasing that of the central government. Not only had this been the original reason for transplanting the office of *mukhtār* from Istanbul to Anatolia in 1249/1833, in order to supplant the local *aʿyān* [*q.v.*], but a parallel effect appeared in the later introduction of *mukhtārs* into Palestinian districts that had been dominated, up to that point, by *shuyūkh al-nāḥiya*. This phenomenon perhaps explains the unfavourable comparisons sometimes drawn between *shaykh* and *mukhtār* (Baer, *Fellah*, 131-4; Batatu, *Social classes*, 196). In more recent times, loss in the *mukhtārs*' relative prominence seems to correlate with the decline of traditional kinship-based structures of social dominance within the village, growth in villagers' access to opportunities outside the village and the increasingly burdensome workload expected of the *mukhtārs* (Baer, *Fellah*, 140-1).

In Egypt, the figure most nearly comparable to the *mukhtār* is the *ʿumda* [*q.v.*]; however, the role of the latter varies in ways reflecting differences in the history and ecology of the Nile valley (Baer, *Fellah*, 134-5).

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(C.V. Findley)

AL-MUKHTĀR B. ABĪ ʿUBAYD AL-THAKAFĪ, leader of a pro-ʿAlid movement which controlled al-Kūfa in 66-7/685-7. He claimed to be acting as the representative of the son of ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], and his movement is often classified as an early manifestation of extremist Shīʿism. This article, which draws mainly on the detailed narratives given by al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, concentrates on his life and involvement in the events of his time. For further discussion of the importance of al-Mukhtār's movement in the development of Muslim sectarianism, see KAYSĀNIYYA and KHASHABIYYA.

He is reported as being descended from the Thakafī clan of ʿAwf b. Ḳasī, one of the Aḥlāf Thaḳīf, and is said to have been born in A.D. 622. In 40/660-1, however, he is referred to as a "young man" (*ghulām shābb*) and it was suggested by Levi Della Vida that the birth year has been supplied by tradition to provide a parallel with that of his adversary ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Al-Mukhtār's father having been killed at the battle of the Bridge [see DJISR] in 13/634 in the early stages of the Arab advance into the Sāsānid empire, he was brought up by his uncle Saʿd b. Masʿūd, who became governor of al-Madāʾin under the caliph ʿAlī.

Upon the death of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya's entry into al-Kūfa (40/660-1), it is reported, al-Mukhtār suggested to his uncle that he curry favour with the new authority, and thereby obtain security for himself, by handing over ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan who had been wounded near al-Madāʾin and had taken refuge in the house of the governor there. This is said to lie behind the suspicion and hostility which many of the Shīʿa felt towards him. According to al-Balādhurī's version, al-Mukhtār was regarded as an ʿUthmānī [see AL-ʿUTHMĀNIYYA] by the Shīʿa. It could be that this story reflects al-Mukhtār's subsequently proclaimed support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and the hostility towards him felt by the supporters of the descendants of ʿAlī through Fāṭima. It may be noted that, although he himself is not generally portrayed as hostile to the Fāṭimid line of descent (revenge for al-Ḥusayn is said to have been at the centre of his propaganda), some of the sects associated with him regarded al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as usurpers of the rights of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [see KAYSĀNIYYA].

Although al-Mukhtār's subsequent opposition to Umayyad rule is signalled by the report of his refusal to testify to Ziyād b. Abīhi against Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] in 51/671 and by that of his role in connection with the rising of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] in al-Kūfa in 61/680, he was criticised by the supporters of the ʿAlids for his weak behaviour in the affair of Muslim. We are told that Muslim, who had come to al-Kūfa to prepare the way for the appearance there of al-Ḥusayn, stayed in al-Mukhtār's house and the latter attempted to mobilise support for him. At the critical time, however, al-Mukhtār was away on his estate at Khuṭarniya, failed to proclaim his support for Muslim, and tamely submitted to the Umayyad authorities. This apparently supine behaviour may perhaps be explained by the fact that Muslim had come out in revolt earlier than had previously been agreed upon and it is hardly consistent with the harshness of the Umayyad governor's reported behaviour towards al-Mukhtār after he had submitted to him. In spite of his denial of any involvement with Muslim, and of the intercession of a number of influential men, al-Mukhtār is said to have been imprisoned and wounded in the eye by a blow from the enraged governor, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

Kept in prison until after the death of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ (10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680), he is said to have been released through the intercession of his brother-in-law, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who persuaded the caliph Yazīd I to order Ibn Ziyād to let him go. Thereupon he left for the Ḥidjāz, where ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, in Mecca, was publicly proclaiming his opposition to Yazīd's caliphate. Al-Mukhtār is said to have offered to give the *bayʿa* to Ibn al-Zubayr in exchange for a prominent position in his movement, but Ibn al-Zubayr insisted that he would only accept the *bayʿa* from him on the same terms as he was taking it from others. At one point al-Mukhtār is reported to have left Mecca and stayed for several months in al-Ṭāʾif, before returning and participating alongside Ibn al-Zubayr and others in the defence of Mecca against the Syrian army commanded by al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*]. He is said to have fought bravely and prominently. After this he returned to al-Kūfa, of his own volition and intending to exploit the unsettled situation there, according to the detailed account reported from Abū Mikhnaf. There are, nevertheless, occasional indications that al-Mukhtār might have tried to make it appear that he was co-operating with Ibn al-Zubayr, and al-Masʿūdī even reports that he was sent to al-Kūfa by Ibn al-Zubayr as his governor. That seems unlikely, but it is credible that al-Mukhtār would have tried to win support from as many quarters as possible and for as long as possible, narrowing his options only when necessary.

Al-Kūfa at this time (Ramaḍān 64/April-May 684) was the scene of the movement of the *Tawwābūn* [*q.v.*] led by Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, and Abū Mikhnaf's account tells us that al-Mukhtār began to compete with Ibn Ṣurad for leadership of the pro-ʿAlid party there. He claimed that he had been sent by the Imām the *mahdī*, he disparaged Ibn Ṣurad as lacking in military and political acumen, and he appealed for

support as the one most likely to achieve success. The town was under the dual authority of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, both acting on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Mukhtār was only moderately successful in his propaganda and the majority of the ᶜAlid supporters still backed Ibn Ṣurad, although the latter blamed al-Mukhtār when much of the support he had been promised failed to materialise. Some of the *ashrāf*, nevertheless, are said to have seen al-Mukhtār as a greater threat than the *Tawwābūn* and they denounced him to the two governors. Again he was arrested and imprisoned, although al-Khaṭmī is shown as quite sympathetic to him.

It is possible that there is some confusion or duplication of the tradition here, for once again we are told that al-Mukhtār owed his release to ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar, who wrote to the two *amīrs* and persuaded them to let him go. While he was still in prison, however, the remnants of the defeated *Tawwābūn* returned to al-Kūfa from ᶜAyn al-Warda (late 65/spring 685?), and he is reported to have contacted them and won their support. Evidently his imprisonment was something less than rigorous, for we are told that he was constantly visited by his supporters and could even afford to turn down their offer to release him. His eventual release, on the intercession of Ibn ᶜUmar, was conditional upon his taking an oath that he had no hostile intentions against the authorities, but he is shown as taking this oath in a cynical manner—if the greater good demanded that he should break his oath, he would do so and perform *kaffāra* [*q.v.*].

Ibn al-Zubayr replaced ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad over al-Kūfa and sent ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muṭīᶜ in their stead. His arrival in the town is dated Ramaḍān 65/May 658. Opposition to Ibn Muṭīᶜ on the part of some of the tribal notables was manifested on the occasion of his introductory *khuṭba*, when his favourable references to Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān were met with demands that he follow the *sīra* of ᶜAlī, and support for al-Mukhtār continued to grow. In what again may be a confusion or duplication of the tradition, we are told once more that he was denounced to the governor by some of the *ashrāf*, but this time he managed to avoid the arrest which Ibn Muṭīᶜ planned for him by the simple expedient of feigning illness and so being unable to answer the governor's summons.

By this time al-Mukhtār seems to have been actively planning a revolt. At what stage and why he identified himself as the agent (*amīn* and *wazīr*) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya is not clear. At one point, we are told, a group of his supporters who doubted the truth of his claims to be acting on behalf of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya went to the latter to investigate the authenticity of the claim. He gave them an answer which to us seems somewhat less than clear, but it seems to have satisfied the doubters. Al-Mukhtār himself is portrayed as on tenterhooks, awaiting their return and fearing that the news they would bring would cause the desertion of a large body of his followers. When they appeared to confirm the veracity of his claim, his relief was great. As well as support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, al-Mukhtār is also reported to have called to the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet and to have appealed for vengeance for al-Ḥusayn and the other murdered members of ᶜAlī's family.

A decisive stage in the development of his movement was his winning the support of the Hamdānī leader Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakhaᶜī [*q.v.*]. The reports about this again indicate a certain amount of duplicity on al-Mukhtār's part and, again, a recognition of this by the person being duped who, nevertheless, eventually threw his support behind the trickster. A key role in influencing Ibn al-Ashtar is ascribed to a letter purporting to have been sent to him from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya but really written by al-Mukhtār himself. A number of al-Mukhtār's leading supporters testified on oath to the authenticity of the letter, but ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī, who is cited by Abū Mikhnaf for this episode, did not testify. Ibn al-Ashtar himself understood what was going on, but, nevertheless, it did not prevent him from giving his allegiance to al-Mukhtār.

The revolt had originally been planned for Muḥarram 66/August 685. This was then changed to 14 Rabīᶜ I 66/19 October 685, but it seems to have been precipitated a day earlier by an incident in which Ibn al-Ashtar killed the chief of Ibn Muṭīᶜ's *shurṭa*, Iyās b. Muḍārib. The battle cry of al-Mukhtār and his men is given as "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" and *yā Manṣūr amit!* This last phrase was subsequently to be used by the Hāshimiyya at the end of the Umayyad period. Ibn al-Ashtar led the fighting on behalf of al-Mukhtār, while prominent among Ibn Muṭīᶜ's commanders were Shabath b. Ribᶜī of Tamīm and Rāshid b. Iyās b. Muḍārib of Bakr. The death of the latter in the fighting seems to have marked a turning point.

The names given of those involved in the fighting on both sides are almost invariably of leading Arabs. Some of the *ashrāf* remained loyal to Ibn Muṭīᶜ while others supported al-Mukhtār. The opposition to Ibn Muṭīᶜ from some of the Kūfan *ashrāf* is expressed in their statements of loyalty to the memory of ᶜAlī and their demands of vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, but it is open to question whether their revolt was primarily a pro-ᶜAlid movement. The version of the Abū Mikhnaf tradition which appears in Ibn Aᶜtham al-Kūfī does tend to portray it in that way, but al-Ṭabarī's version of that tradition seems more ambiguous. It may be that the emphasis on support for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya became more pronounced after the defeat of Ibn Muṭīᶜ but that the tradition anticipates this development. An economic interest is hinted at when Ibn Muṭīᶜ promised not to collect the surplus *fay*ʾ [*q.v.*] without the Kūfans' (i.e., the Arab warriors') consent, but it may be that resentment about this had already developed to such an extent that it could not easily be defused.

Al-Mukhtār is shown as conducting his propaganda in a type of rhyming prose which is grandiloquent and obscure at the same time and is, presumably, intended to convey a claim to some sort of inspiration. Some of the concepts which he used, such as that of the *mahdī* [*q.v.*], which were to become so important in pro-ᶜAlid movements, also occur in the propaganda of the *Tawwābūn*, but they seem to receive more prominence and to be developed further in Mukhtār's movement [see AL-MAHDĪ].

Although they are rarely referred to explicitly or by name in the accounts of the fighting, it seems that al-Mukhtār's forces included a significant number of non-Arab *mawālī*, presumably prisoners of war and renegades from the time of the conquests and their descendants. At one point Shabath b. Ribᶜī attempted to rally his men by accusing them of fleeing from their slaves, and the story is told of Shabath killing a *mawlā* but sparing an Arab of the Banū Ḥanīfa among the prisoners he had taken. In an address to his men, Ibn Muṭīᶜ warned that if they lost they would have to allow a share in the *fay*ʾ to those who had no right to it, and he told them that he had heard that al-Mukhtār's forces included "500 of your freed slaves

(*muḥarrarīkum*)" under a commander of their own. He continued, "If they increase in number it can only mean the passing away of your power and authority and the alteration of your religion."

The fighting occupied some days. Eventually Ibn Muṭīʿ and his supporters took refuge in the *ḳaṣr* of al-Kūfa and were besieged there for three days before the governor, accepting the advice of Shabath b. Ribʿī and others, escaped by night, while Shabath and the others obtained a safe conduct from Ibn al-Ashtar and surrendered. Al-Mukhtār entered the *ḳaṣr* and next day took the *bayʿa* from the *ashrāf* and others. The *bayʿa* is said to have been given on "the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet, seeking vengeance for the blood of the family, waging *djihād* against the violators of God's law (*al-muḥillīn* [*q.v.*]), protecting the weak (*al-ḍuʿafāʾ*), and mutual support in peace and war".

Al-Mukhtār then appointed governors over the territories dependent on al-Kūfa: Armenia, Ādharbāydjān, al-Mawṣil, al-Madāʾin, Bihḳubādh (Upper, Middle and Lower), and Ḥulwān. The previous governor of al-Mawṣil on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Kindī [*q.v.*], fled to Takrīt but eventually came to al-Kūfa and submitted to al-Mukhtār. Baṣra and its territories remained under Zubayrid control in spite of an attempt by one of al-Mukhtār's supporters to win the town over for him. Command of the *shurṭa* in al-Kūfa was given to an Arab of Hamdān, but, significantly, we are also informed that al-Mukhtār had his own personal guard (*ḥaras*) of *mawālī* led by a *mawlā*, Kaysān Abū ʿAmra [*q.v.*]. Sometimes we find the expression *shurṭat Allāh*, apparently as a designation for al-Mukhtār's active supporters in general.

Antagonism between the different groups in al-Kūfa remained, however, and eventually resulted in conflict. Some of the *ashrāf* took advantage of rumours of a defeat of al-Mukhtār's army in Mesopotamia and of the advance of a Syrian army under ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād on al-Kūfa to begin a revolt. They were mainly previous supporters of Ibn Muṭīʿ, although mention is also made of at least one previous adherent of al-Mukhtār and of a supporter of the ʿAlids who had come from Baṣra attracted by the idea of revenge for al-Ḥusayn. Shabath b. Ribʿī and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath are named among the leaders. The complaints of the rebels centred on what they saw as al-Mukhtār's too favourable attitude to the *mawālī*, his making them recipients of *fayʾ*, and his freeing of the slaves of Arabs (for inclusion in his own force of non-Arabs). They also denied the truth of his claim to represent Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya.

While Ibn al-Ashtar was away on campaign in the north, al-Mukhtār was forced to temporise with the rebels, but when, having been called back, Ibn al-Ashtar arrived in al-Kūfa, he was able to crush them in fighting which centred on the Djabbānat al-Sabīʿ. Many of the defeated leaders, including Shabath and Ibn al-Ashʿath, escaped by fleeing to Baṣra, where they took refuge with Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. The fighting at Djabbānat al-Sabīʿ is dated to 23 or 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 66/21 or 22 July 686.

The victory over the dissident *ashrāf* was the opportunity for a purge to be carried out in al-Kūfa. Several men who had been, or were alleged to have been, involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn and his family at Karbalāʾ were seized and killed, the most prominent of them being ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in spite of a written promise of safe conduct which he had obtained from al-Mukhtār. As well as a means of liquidating possible sources of hostility in al-Kūfa, the purge was used by al-Mukhtār to demonstrate his loyalty to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, to whom the heads of some of those slain were sent. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's attitude to his self-proclaimed *wazīr* and *amīn* seems, however, to have remained distant and non-committal. He is said to have been willing to accept help from al-Mukhtār in the form of money and men when the latter sent the Khashabiyya to Mecca to deliver the *mahdī* from the confinement in which Ibn al-Zubayr had put him. But, having been released by the coming of the Khashabiyya, he proved unwilling to go to al-Kūfa to join the man who claimed to be his representative and he retired, instead, to al-Ṭāʾif.

Following the defeat of the rebellion in al-Kūfa, Ibn al-Ashtar was again sent to the north to meet the Syrian army which, with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād by now having established some control in Mesopotamia, was marching south to attack al-Kūfa. At the battle on the river Khāzir [*q.v.*] near Mawṣil, al-Mukhtār's army defeated that of the Syrians, and ʿUbayd Allāh, who is portrayed in the tradition as the man ultimately responsible for the killing of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, was killed along with many others. Tradition often dates the battle to the very anniversary of Karbalāʾ, 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686.

In the accounts of al-Mukhtār's seizure of power and his domination of al-Kūfa, there are frequent references to ideas and practices which would appear to be invalid from a later Sunnī or Shīʿī point of view. Not only are there the many allusions to the belief in Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya as the *mahdī*, but there is at least one tradition which seems to indicate that al-Mukhtār himself was regarded as *maʿṣūm* (whatever that might mean in this context [see ʿIṢMA]) by some of his followers, and other reports which say that he claimed to be visited by the angels Gabriel and Michael. In the prelude to the battle on the Khāzir we find various stories concerning an empty chair which some of al-Mukhtār's partisans transported on a mule and venerated in the manner, we are told, of the Israelites and the Ark of the Covenant (*al-tābūt*) or, more derogatively, the Golden Calf. In the way in which this information is presented, some of it could be dismissed as an attempt to portray al-Mukhtār as a trickster and his followers as credulous "extremists". However, taken together, such reports convey the impression that the movement led by al-Mukhtār was one with distinctive but not easily analysable religious ideas. Presumably, in preparing the way for the coming of the *mahdī*, al-Mukhtār and his followers saw themselves in an apocalyptic role, and this view of his movement was shared by the contemporary Christian Syriac writer, John of Phenek (Bar Penkaya), who saw the rise of the ethnically diverse *shurṭa* as an act of God intended to overthrow the rule of the Ishmaelites and usher in the end of time.

Following the great victory on the Khāzir, the collapse of al-Mukhtār's power seems to have been remarkably swift. Incited by the *ashrāf* who had fled to Baṣra, and taking advantage of an apparent estrangement between al-Mukhtār and Ibn al-Ashtar who now remained in Mawṣil, the governor of Baṣra, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, launched an attack on al-Kūfa. The Baṣran forces were led by al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] who had proved so effective in combatting the Khāridjites, and he achieved a major victory over al-Mukhtār's army at al-Madhār on the Tigris. This was probably in the late summer of 686. The advantage gained there was pressed home and al-Mukhtār's forces were subsequently virtually destroyed at Ḥarūrāʾ, al-Mukhtār himself being forced to take

refuge in the *kaṣr* of al-Kūfa. There he was besieged for some months and deserted by most of his followers. Eventually he and a handful of remaining supporters came out to fight and he was killed. His hand was cut off and hung at the gate of the mosque, one of his wives who refused to condemn him as an impostor was executed, and many of his followers were slaughtered by the victorious Zubayrid authorities and the returning *ashrāf*. The most generally accepted date for al-Mukhtār's death is 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687, but variants are given in the sources.

Questions about sincerity and motives are probably unanswerable, and any general interpretation of al-Mukhtār and his movement is difficult, given the nature of the source material. The importance of the man and the movement seems to lie in three main areas, however. In the first place, it seems clear that this was the first episode since the establishment of Arab rule in which the *mawālī* played a decisive role. One must distinguish between the nature of these *mawālī* and those who were to become a problem later for the Umayyad caliphate, and one should not portray the support for al-Mukhtār as coming only from them. But that they constituted a major and distinctive element in the movement which he led seems clear and confirmed by the witness of Bar Penkaya. Secondly, there appear to be links between, on the one hand, the movement led by al-Mukhtār and, on the other, the Hāshimiyya which was eventually to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate. These links consist in the fact that the ʿAbbāsids claimed to have inherited the imāmate from a son of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], who had the support of a part of the movement which al-Mukhtār had led and which survived his death, and they are evident in the use by the Hāshimiyya of some of the same ideas and terminology which occur in the sources in the accounts of al-Mukhtār's career. Finally, it seems that it was among the supporters of al-Mukhtār that some of the ideas which were to become regarded as typical of Shīʿī Islam, and not only in its "extremist" (*ghuluww*) forms, were first manifested. There has sometimes been a tendency to regard this as the result of the corruption of a pure Islam by the influence of the non-Arabs from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds, but this begs many questions about the nature of Islam before the time of al-Mukhtār. Perhaps one can say, however, that his movement was an important part of the background from which a more clearly definable "classical" Islam would eventually emerge.

Bibliography: The most detailed historical sources for al-Mukhtār are Ṭabarī, ii, 520-37, 598-695, 699-750 and index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 214-73; and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, vi, Ḥaydarābād 1972, 53-8, 73-6, 87-200. For other sources in Arabic, see Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 64AH §13, 65AH §6, 66AH §5-7, 9-12, and 67AH §§ 2, 4, 42, and the secondary literature given below. For references in the heresiographical literature, see the articles KAYSĀNIYYA and KHASHABIYYA and Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974. For a translation of the contemporary references by Bar Penkaya, see S.P. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book xv of John Bar Penkāyē's* Rīš Mellē, in *JSAI*, ix (1987), esp. 63-67, 73. H.D. van Gelder, *Moḫtâr de valsche Propheet*, Leiden 1888; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme*, etc., Amsterdam 1894, 38 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 74-89 (Eng. tr., *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Oxford 1975); W.M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), esp. 162-5; ʿAlī Ḥusnī al-Kharbūṭlī, *al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Cairo 1963; K.A. Fariq, *The story of an Arab diplomat*, New Delhi 1967; ʿAbd al-Ameer ʿAbd Dixon, *The Umayyad caliphate 65-86/684-705 (a political study)*, London 1971, 25-82; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 93-106, 187-92, 217-18; M. Fishbein, *The life of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd in some early Arabic historians*, Ph.D. thesis, UCLA 1988, unpubl.

(G.R. HAWTING)

AL-MUKHTĀR B. ʿAWF AL-AZDĪ, Khāridjite agitator, also well-known by his *kunya* **ABŪ HAMZA**.

A native of Baṣra, he carried out part of his activity in Mecca, where he used to go in order to stir up revolt against the Umayyad caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. At the instance of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, alias Karzīn, a traditionist who was the leader of the Ibāḍis of Baṣra, he became, from 128/745-6 onwards, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], whom he met in Mecca, followed to Ḥaḍramawt and recognised as *Imām*. When the latter decided to occupy the Holy Cities, he sent to the north an army of a thousand men commanded by Abū Ḥamza. The sequence of events is not clearly established, but it seems that the rebel occupied Mecca easily by taking advantage of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (129/August 747). It was in these circumstances that he pronounced a famous *khuṭba* in which he summarised, according to the Khāridjite perspective, the history of the beginnings of Islam, made an apology for the Prophet and the first three caliphs, showed himself rather tepid with regard to ʿAlī, then attacked violently the Umayyads and Shīʿīs before eulogising his own companions (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 122-5, who calls him Yaḥyā b. al-Mukhtār; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2009; the *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxiii, 135-9, places this *khuṭba* in Medina and, in comparison with the *Bayān*, gives an appreciably different text of it, which was translated by G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam* (1874), app. iv, 75-8, and reproduced notably by Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 456; the version of the *Bayān* was translated by Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 212-13; the *Aghānī*, xxiii, 130-4, contains further sermons of Abū Ḥamza).

Once master of Mecca, Abū Ḥamza dispatched one of his lieutenants, Baldj b. ʿUkba al-Azdī, to Medina, which he eventually seized. It is probably at this time that Abū Ḥamza pronounced at least one of the *khuṭbas* which the *Aghānī* ascribes to him. Marwān II was not slow to send a strong army of Syrians, under the command of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyya al-Saʿdī, who encountered the rebel troops in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā and cut them to pieces (Djumādā I 130/January 748); Baldj remained on the field of battle. As for Abū Ḥamza, he moved to confront Ibn ʿAṭiyya, was killed and hung on the gallows, while his head was sent to Marwān II b. Muḥammad.

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Milieu, 212-14; T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i (1959), 6-9; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 272-3. (Ch. Pellat)

MUKHTĀR PASHA, Ghāzī Aḥmed, Ottoman Turkish general and statesman, was born in Bursa on 30 November/1 December 1839, the son of a local notable prominent in the silk trade. On his father's death, his uncle enrolled him in the local military school from where he advanced to the War College (*Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye*) in Istanbul. He graduated in March 1860, then trained as a staff officer and emerged in 1861 as staff captain. He distinguished himself during campaigns in Herzogevina and Montenegro (1861-3) and was appointed instructor in the "art of war" at the War College when he was wounded. He was promoted to the rank of major in April 1864 and sent as staff officer to Derwīsh Pasha, who was engaged in carrying out reforms in Kozan. Mukhtār served as tutor to Prince Yūsuf ʿIzz al-Dīn (1865) and was included in the Sultan's entourage when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz visited Europe in 1867. (During these years, he established close relations with the Ottoman household, relations which he maintained until his death.) In 1868, he was head of a border commission in the Montenegro-Herzegovina region; the following year he became a colonel and a member of the local military council (*Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī*). Due to illness, he resigned from the commission and returned to Istanbul in 1870.

Aḥmed Mukhtār rose to the rank of brigadier-general in 1870 and was sent to serve under General Redīf Pasha in Yaman. He distinguished himself in the campaign, the conduct of which he took over in 1871 as General of a Division (*Ferīḳ*) with the title of Pasha. He remained in Yaman until May 1873, acting as the governor (*wālī*) and commander of the Seventh Army, when he was appointed Minister of Public Works and ordered back to the capital. In the years that followed, he was governor of Crete and Erzurum, and given the commands of the Second and Fourth Armies respectively with the rank of *Müshīr* or Field Marshal. He was recalled to Istanbul in December 1875 and sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina with orders to quell the rebellion which had recently broken out in the Balkans. After some initial successes, he was defeated in April 1876 at Duga Pass in Herzegovina. When Russia declared war in April 1877, Mukhtār was given supreme command of the Caucasus front. He fought valiantly against great odds and won the title *Ghāzī*; the Ottoman army collapsed because, as Mukhtār Pasha complained, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] refused to send reinforcements, preferring to keep his reserves for the defence of the capital.

Mukhtār was recalled to Istanbul and given the task of organising the defence of Istanbul and Čataldja against the invading Russian army, though he disagreed with the Sultan over strategy. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Artillery (*Ṭopkhāne-yi ʿĀmire Müshīri*) on 24 April 1878 and in September sent to Crete to restore order. Following the signing of the Treaty of Berlin, he led the commission to demarcate the new Greek-Turkish border but with no success. He was then appointed commander of the Third Army and governor of Monastir (27 March 1879). The following year, on 31 August, he was made vice president of the High Commission for Military Inspection over which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd personally presided, advising the latter on military matters. Following the British occupation of Egypt, Mukhtār was appointed High Commissioner (*Fewḳalʿāde Komiser*) on 6 March 1882 and sent to Cairo to negotiate a British withdrawal. Instead, he was forced to remain in Egypt as the Ottoman High Commissioner until the constitutional revolution of July 1908. During these years he lived in a state of political inactivity which did not suit his ambitious temperament. During these years, he wrote a book on the reform of the Islamic calendar in which he advocated a uniform Hidjra solar year for all Muslims.

Mukhtār Pasha returned to Istanbul in September 1908 and was appointed to the newly-created Senate, whose vice-president he became. The following year he resigned as High Commisioner of Egypt as well as from the Council of Military Affairs, and retired from the army. The abortive counter-revolution which broke out in the capital on 13 April 1909 gave him the opportunity to satisfy his political ambitions. He was prominent in the National Assembly which met at San Stefano (Yeşilköy), denouncing ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in bitter terms. He led the delegation which announced the accession of Meḥemmed V [*q.v.*] as the new Sultan-Caliph and brought him to the War Ministry to receive the oath of allegience. Contemporaries noted how close he remained to the Sultan in the hope of being appointed Grand Vizier. But that was not to be, at least not for the moment, and he had to be satisfied with the presidency of the Senate (14 October 1911). His moment came in July 1912 when a rebellion in the army forced the resignation of the pro-Unionist [see ittiḥād we teraḳḳī djemʿiyyeti] cabinet of Saʿīd Pasha and led to Mukhtār Pasha's appointment on 22 July. When the news of his appointment was brought to him, he was excited and exclaimed "It's been forty years; finally it has happened today!" He formed what came to be known as the "Great Cabinet" because it included three former Grand Viziers, or as the "Father-Son Cabinet" because his son General Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha was given the portfolio of Minister of the Navy. Mukhtār Pasha came to power at a very difficult time: the country was at war with Italy, Albania was in a state of rebellion, and the internal political situation was confused and volatile. He could do little to remedy any of these problems. With the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, he resigned on 29 October 1912 and made way for the Anglophile Kāmil Pasha who was expected to regain British sympathy for a beleaguered Turkey. Mukhtār remained in the Senate until 1918 and died in his eightieth year on 21 January 1919. He was buried in the courtyard of the Fātiḥ mosque in Istanbul with all the pomp and ceremony befitting an honoured soldier and statesman.

Bibliography: M. Cavid Baysun's İA art. *Muhtar Paşa* provides an extensive bibl., as also G. Jäschke's *EI*[1] art. Some of his more important works are: *Iṣlāḥ al-taḳwīm*, Cairo 1307/1889-90, Fr. tr. *La réforme du calendrier*, Leiden 1893; *Taḳwīm-i sāl*, Istanbul 1328/1911; *Sergüdhesht-i ḥayatimïn djild-i thānīsi*, Istanbul 1294/1877; and *Anadolu'da Rūs muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328/1911. See also contemporary accounts relating to Mukhtār Pasha: Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed Rāshid, *Yemen we Ṣanʿāʾ tārīkhi*, ii, Istanbul 1291/1874; ʿĀṭif Pasha, *Yemen tārīkhi*, ii, Istanbul 1326/1908; Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha, *Mirʾāt-i ḥaḳīḳat*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1326/1908; Aḥmed Midḥat, *Üss-i inḳilāb*, Istanbul 1294-5/1877-8; Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *Bashïmïza gelenler*, Istanbul 1328/1910, said to have been inspired by Mukhtār Pasha; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd-i thānī we dawr-i salṭanatï*, Istanbul 1327/1909; Saʿīd Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, iii, Istanbul 1329/1911; Kāmil Pasha, *Khāṭirāt*, Istanbul 1329/1911; Djemāl al-Dīn Efendi,

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AL-**MUKHTĀRA**, the capital of the ephemeral Zandj "state" and of the movement which violently shook lower ʿIrāḳ and lower Khūzistān between the years 255/869 and 270/883 [see ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD].

We have very little information about the first camping places of the insurgents, and absolutely nothing about the very first one, that which existed at Furāt al-Baṣra at the place called Biʾr Nakhl. Nor do we know anything about the second one, that of the Maymūn canal, except that it was sown with stakes on which were impaled the heads of those of the enemy killed in the course of the fighting. As for the one situated between the Abū Ḳurrā canal and the al-Ḥādjir one, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the rebel chief, had ordered his followers to build huts.

Eventually, the rebels built their mains towns: al-Manīʿa ("the Strongly-defended") and al-Manṣūra ("the Victorious"), both to the northwest of Baṣra, and then al-Mukhtāra ("the Chosen one") to the southeast of the city. Al-Manīʿa (the town of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī) was situated in Sūḳ al-Khamīs on the Barāṭiḳ canal; it was defended by walls and moats. It seems to have been fairly important since al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1963-4 and *passim*, stresses that 5,000 Muslim women captives were able to be released here. Al-Manṣūra (the town of Sulaymān b. Djāmiʿ) was situated in Ṭahīthā. It was likewise fortified (with five enceintes and as many moats), and must have been even bigger than the first one, since 10,000 women and children captives were found there (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1970-2 and *passim*; it is not however known how far the recorded figures correspond to reality).

If, in regard to al-Manīʿa and al-Manṣūra, one might well ask oneself whether it was not simply a question of fortresses built at the side of existing towns, this is nevertheless not the case regarding the Zandj capital, al-Mukhtāra. This was indeed a very large town, completely constructed by the rebels (from Radjab 256/June-July 870 onwards) in a spot chosen for its inaccessibility (it was from there that raids were sent out, and the rebels returned thither in order to feel secure). At the outset, it seems to have borne the name of Muʿaskar al-Imām ("the Imām's camp"; see G.C. Miles, *Trésor de dirhems du IXe siècle*, in *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran*, xxxvii [1960], 73). There are many items of information in al-Ṭabarī on this subject, but they are more useful for elucidating the course of events in the warfare than for giving information on the town itself (F. al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zandj*, 135-44, has brought together the sparse pieces of information on this last in ch. 6 of his study).

It is clear that we only know its location approximately; it was situated on the two banks of the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal, a western affluent of the Tigris, and was intersected by several other canals. The entrance of the main canal was closed by an iron chain and two stone barrages and had two bridges over it. Two other bridges on the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal connected the two parts of the town and two further bridges on the Mankā canal are also mentioned. Walls, with various kinds of engines of war mounted on them, encircled the whole of the town. The greater part of the houses must have been constructed of sun-dried brick and palm branches, but many palaces of leading figures, notably that of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, were built of fired brick; the portal of his palace had been carried off from Baṣra. This palace was situated in the western part of al-Mukhtāra (in the angle formed by the Tigris and the Abu 'l-Khaṣīb canal) and gave on to the field where races were held. In the same part of the town were likewise to be found the houses of various chiefs and commanders of the rebels: Ibn Samʿān, Sulaymān b. Djāmiʿ, Ankalāy, al-Ḳalūṣ and al-Djubbāʾī, as well as the Friday mosque, a prison and the al-Maymūna and al-Ḥusayn markets. In the eastern part are mentioned the houses of al-Karnabāʾī, Muṣliḥ al-Zandjī and Abū ʿĪsā; the palaces of al-Hamdānī, Bahbūdh b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and al-Muhallabī; the al-Mubāraka market and the market for the sale of animals, in addition to another prison. But there further existed other buildings (offices of the different *dīwāns*, workshops for minting coinage, etc.) and other mosques in the town.

Al-Mukhtāra was thus the true capital of the Zandj "state", being its political, administrative and commercial centre. It will probably never be possible to rediscover its exact site, in part because of the complete change in the beds of the watercourses, and in part because of the destruction wrought at the time of the capture of the town by the ʿAbbāsid troops, when it was taken quarter by quarter and its palaces, buildings and markets destroyed and burnt successively.

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MUKHTĀRĀT (A.), anthology, selection of poetry.

1. In Arabic. Mediaeval tradition holds that the oldest anthology of Arabic poems is the small collection of celebrated pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* variously known as "The seven long poems", *al-Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*], *al-Sumūṭ*, etc. It is probably the oldest in conception.

The early ʿAbbāsid period saw the compilation of the celebrated *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*]. Al-Aṣmaʿī's anthology of 92 *ḳaṣīdas* by 71 poets (44 of them Djāhilī), the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, received relatively little attention from mediaeval writers. A comment in the *Fihrist*, in the opinion of some scholars (e.g., Ahlwardt, *Sammlung alter arabischer Dichter*, Berlin 1902, i, pp. x-xi), attributes this to the lack of philological curiosities in the book, but see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 55. It has also been suggested (Ahlwardt, *loc. cit.*, and al-Hāshimī (ed.), *Djamhara*, 34) that the book was regarded as a mere depository of those texts collected by al-Aṣmaʿī that failed to be included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. Indeed, certain mss. containing both collections introduce the second with the words "Here begin the rest of the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*...." The two anthologies were combined into one under the title *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārayn* by al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927). This is probably the anthology (and com-

mentary) that survives in two partial mss. (cf. *K. al-Ikhtiyārayn*, ed. Ḳabāwa, Damascus 1974, 5-6). The book contains over fifty poems not included in any version of the anthologies on which it is presumably based. Inflation at the hands of a transmitter was not uncommon; already the *Fihrist* speaks of the poems in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* as "now greater, now smaller in number" (cf. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, Arabic text, Oxford 1921, p. xvii).

Seven groups of seven *ḳaṣīda*s make up the *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿarab* by Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḳurashī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], an obscure scholar who probably flourished in the latter part of the 3rd/9th Islamic century and may have lived into the 4th/10th.

Later anthologies principally devoted to pre-Islamic and early Islamic *ḳaṣīda*s rather than *muḳaṭṭaʿāt* are the *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿarab*, compiled and supplied with commentary by Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148) and the vast *Muntahā 'l-ṭalab fī ashʿār al-ʿarab* by Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak b. Maymūn al-Baghdādī (6th/12th century). This last work incorporates several of the earlier anthologies. Each of these collections preserves a few poems not found elsewhere and numerous valuable variants.

A very different type of anthology—one of short texts (many of them, though by no means all, excerpts) thematically arranged under ten headings—was devised by the poet Abū Tammām (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]). The first and largest section, the *bāb al-ḥamāsa* ("Book of Valour") in time gave the collection its name. The *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* includes mainly pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, with a few from the ʿAbbāsid age. The book was an enormous success; perhaps because it contained enough grammatical and lexical difficulty to satisfy the philologist and enough splendid poetry to satisfy anybody. Reputedly, Abū Tammām did not shrink from tinkering with the texts. In this regard, al-Marzūḳī, who thought Abū Tammām too artificial a poet, writes of the anthologist: "If God brought them back to life, the poets would perhaps follow Abū Tammām and submit to him" (ed. Amīn-Hārūn, Cairo 1967, i, 84).

Abū Tammām is reported to have compiled several other anthologies. Of these, the *Waḥshiyyāt* (also known as the *Lesser Ḥamāsa*) is extant and edited. It is a collection of unfamiliar pieces, made on the same plan as the *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa*. His *Mukhtārāt ashʿār al-ḳabāʾil*, no doubt based on tribal *dīwān*s (cf. *GAS*, ii, 36-46) available to him, was still known to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682), who cites it in the *Khizāna*.

The *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* started a vogue [see ḤAMĀSA]. Abū Tammām's younger contemporary, al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], compiled an anthology divided into 174 *abwāb*. It appears to have met with little success. Only one surviving ms. is known. Subsequent compilers of *ḥamāsa* books admit a much greater sampling than Abū Tammām does from the work of the *muḥdathūn* and their followers; nonetheless, *ḥamāsa* refers to a distinct tradition of chrestomathies. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdalakānī al-Zawzanī (d. 431/1030) writes that he intends his *Ḥamāsat al-ẓurafāʾ min ashʿār al-muḥdathīn wa 'l-ḳudamāʾ* as a beginner's access to Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*, roughly equal in size but easier in vocabulary and *maʿānī* (ed. al-Muʿaybid, Baghdād 1973, i, 15). The *Ḥamāsa* of Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1147) in its *bāb al-ṣifāt wa 'l-tashbīhāt* reflects the taste of the age for graceful mannerism, but about a quarter of the anthology is devoted to the *bāb al-shidda wa 'l-shadjāʿa*, in which passages by pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets predominate. Among other extant *ḥamāsa* anthologies are *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya* by Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Faradj al-Baṣrī (d. probably 659/1249), a book frequently used by al-Suyūṭī, al-ʿAynī and al-Baghdādī; and *al-Tadhkira al-saʿdiyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUbaydī (d. 8th century A.H.). Al-Baṣrī acknowledges his debt to earlier *ḥamāsa* and *amālī* books in mostly general terms; al-ʿUbaydī tells us that his principal sources are the *ḥamāsa* books of Abū Tammām, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī and Ibn Fāris (these last two now lost).

Besides the *ḥamāsa*s, there were other thematically organised anthologies, in which the emphasis was clearly on the wit and elegance of the new poetry rather than the *fakhāma* and *djazāla* of the old. (One of the earliest, the *K. al-Zahra* by Ibn Dāwūd, d. 294/909, is discussed below.) The uses of poetry as a test and badge of culture in polite society helped create an audience for such works. Thus in the preface to the *Kanz al-kuttāb* (published as *al-Muntaḥal*, Alexandria 1319), al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*], d. 429/1038 (or perhaps al-Mīkālī, d. 436/1044, cf. Brockelmann, SI, 501) writes that the verses in the collection are suitable for use in private or official correspondence. In the introduction to his *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400/1010 [*q.v.*]) warns that he who would use culture to open doors to the assemblies of the great must be ready for questions of the form "What are the finest verses on the subject of...?" Such anthologies can be quite small (e.g., al-Thaʿālibī's *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu*); some, like Abū Hilāl's, are sizable. It should be noted that *maʿānī* in Abū Hilāl's title is not a precise technical term; the citations range from well-turned conceits to long passages (as for instance from al-Nābigha's and al-Buḥturī's poems of apology) that illustrate the fine handling of larger themes. (Note also that while the anonymous *Madjmūʿat al-maʿānī* is an anthology of a similar sort on a smaller scale, *maʿānī* in some titles refers to the simple elucidation of sense, e.g., the *Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr* by al-Ushnāndānī, d. 288/901.)

The *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429-1038) is the first anthology extant in which poetry and, to a lesser degree, art prose by the author's contemporaries and near-contemporaries are collected and grouped according to geography. This book, which emphasises texts rather than biographies or *akhbār*, is a rich record of a century of great creativity. It represents poets from Khurāsān to Andalusia. Al-Thaʿālibī himself wrote a sequel, the *Tatimmat al-yatīma*. Of its edited successors, mention may be made of the *Dumyat al-ḳasr* of al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075 [*q.v.*]); the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*]) (separate editions have been made of the parts dealing with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and North Africa, Sicily and Andalusia); the *Rayḥānat al-alibbāʾ* of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659 [*q.v.*]) (especially strong on Egypt and Syria); its sequels, the *Nafḥat al-rayḥāna* by Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]) (Syria especially richly represented) and the *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr* by Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī (d. 1104/1692) (strong on the Ḥidjāz, Mecca and Medina). The notices in the first two of these works tend to be quite spare; later, as they come to serve as display windows for the anthologist's rhymed prose, they become longer. It is symptomatic that the author of the *Kharīda* should quote a phrase of al-Ḥarīrī's to describe a personage (*Kharīda, Ḳism shuʿarāʾ al-Shām*, ed. Fayṣal, Damascus 1959, ii, 93).

Among anthologies concerned with particular regions, outstanding are several works devoted to the poetry and art prose of the Muslim West, such as the

great *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-djazīra* by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 543/1147 [*q.v.*]) who in his preface shows himself an ardent advocate of Andalusian culture, the *Kalāʾid al-ʿikyān* and the *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus* by al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (*fl.* 6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) and the anthology of Sicilian poetry by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1121) the *K. al-Durra al-khaṭīra min shuʿarāʾ al-djazīra*, only parts of which have survived in small anthologies extracted from it [see IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ]. ʿIṣām al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-ʿUmarī (12th/18th century, whose *al-Rawḍ al-naḍr fī tarjamat udabāʾ al-ʿaṣr* is an anthology of the poets of ʿIrāḳ and Rūm, still sees himself as a follower of al-Thaʿālibī and al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān.

Certain anthologies are devoted to single topics, and some books are in large part anthologies devoted to single topics. The first volume of Ibn Dāwūd's *K. al-Zahra* is an anthology of love poetry offered in illustration of the aspects of love; the second volume is addressed to the other themes of poetry. Hispano-Arabic nature poems (and art prose on the same subject) are collected in *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ* by Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥimyarī (d. 440/1048). A late example is *al-Muntakhab fī djamʿ al-marāthī wa 'l-khuṭab* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī al-Nadjafī (d. 1085/1674) which is, among other things, a chrestomathy of elegies for the *ahl al-bayt*. We may mention here an important anthology conceived to illustrate a particular poetic form: the first part of the *Dār al-ṭirāz* in which Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 609/1211 [*q.v.*]) published a selection of Andalusian *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] by way of introducing the reader to his own.

Discussions of a rhetorical nature gave rise to certain kinds of anthology. The dispute about the relative merits of the "ancients" and the "moderns" prompted the *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* by the Khālidī brothers who flourished in the second half of the 4th century A.H. [see AL-KHĀLIDIYYĀN[1]]. The authors take various *maʿānī*, in no particular order, citing brief excerpts or fairly long passages, and give instances of their use by old poets and new. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685/1286 [*q.v.*]) devotes a large part of his *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt* to verses from East and West that show striking originality. There are anthologies of similes. We may mention the *K. al-Tashbīhāt* by Ibn Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/933 [*q.v.*]) and the Andalusian *K. al-Tashbīhāt* by Ibn al-Kattānī (d. 420/1029). The manner of a later period is represented in part by the *Gharāʾib al-tanbīhāt ʿalā ʿadjāʾib al-tashbīhāt*, by Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226 [*q.v.*]), a man who compared bananas to miniature elephants' tusks covered in gold leaf (ed. Sallām and Djuwaynī, Cairo 1971, 114).

Rhetorical handbooks need illustration; in a large book the illustrations can form a chrestomathy of rhetorical felicities. An example is Ibn Maʿṣūm's *Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, a huge commentary on his own *badīʿiyya*.

Selections made from the work of certain well-known poets also existed. The Khālidī brothers made a *Mukhtār min shiʿr Bashshār*, devoting, as in the *K. al-Ashbāh*, much attention to the transmission and elaboration of *maʿānī*. The great theorist of syntax and metaphor, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), compiled a chrestomathy of brief passages from the *dīwāns* of al-Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī (ed. Maymanī, *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937).

Beginning with Yūnus al-Kātib (2nd/8th century; cf. *GAS*, i, 368-9, ii, 92-3), the names of several anthologists have been handed down who compiled collections of poems that had been set to music. Of this type—but vastly extended—is the *K. al-Aghānī* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī. This monumental work uses the core collection of songs as an excuse for offering rich historical and literary information about the poets (and much else) and many samples of their work.

That the *K. al-Aghānī* is based on an anthology of poetry is coincidental. Works of literary scholarship and *adab* partake of the nature of anthologies. In the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*, for instance, Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] frequently heads situations with "a choice passage by him is..." or similar phrases. The encyclopedic *adab* book by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿIḳd*, includes an anthology of funerary elegies in one of its sections. Not surprisingly, the *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* by al-Raḳīḳ (or Ibn al-Raḳīḳ) al-Ḳayrawānī (d. after 418/1027-8 [see IBN AL-RAḲĪḲ]) includes an anthology of passages from wine poetry. Al-Ḳālī's (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]) *Amālī* mingles philological information, etc., with selections of poetry, frequently under thematic headings. There is no hard and fast line between an anthology with much historical material, like the *Dhakhīra* (see above), and a *ṭabaḳāt* work about people who, among their other accomplishments, wrote poetry or art prose, like *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ* by the Andalusian Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Saʿīd could draw on material in the historico-biographical works written by himself and members of his family when he compiled his anthologies of poetry, the *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa 'l-muṭribāt* (see above) and the *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*.

Ikhtiyār, "choosing the best", was not a casual matter. In the preface to the *K. al-Muwashshā*, primarily a discussion of elegance and love, al-Washshāʾ [*q.v.*] quotes the adage that a man's *ikhtiyār* discloses his quality of mind. The same remark is found in al-Ḥuṣrī's [*q.v.*] preface to the *Zahr al-ādāb*. Some authors of anthologies accepted gifts from contemporaries whose work they included; occasionally (as in the case of al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān) this may have coloured judgment.

The compilation of anthologies of mediaeval poetry has continued in modern times. Remarkable examples are the *Mukhtārāt* of al-Bārūdī (d. 1904 [*q.v.*]) and the *Dīwān al-shiʿr al-ʿarabī* by ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd (b. 1930).

Bibliography: Detailed historical prefaces accompany the modern editions of many of the works cited in the text. For further titles, commentaries, translations and modern studies, see especially *GAS*, ii, 46-102, 439-41, 668-71. On the great classical *mukhtārāt* of *ḳaṣīdas*, see also Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1962, 573-91; Blachère, *HLA*, 139-52; and A. Arazi, *La réalité et la fiction dans la poésie arabe ancienne*, Paris 1989, 23-31. (A. HAMORI)

2. In Persian literature. In Persian, the term *mukhtārāt* was not commonly applied to an anthology: the title of the *Mukhtār-nāma* (translated by Hellmut Ritter as "Buch der Auswahl", cf. xiii-xiv [1961], 195), a thematically arranged selection from Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's [*q.v.*] quatrains, is a rare conception. Although the cognate term *ikhtiyārāt* can be met with occasionally, normal equivalents in the classical language are *muntakhabāt* or *intikhāb*. The modern *gulčīn-i adabī* is a neologism coined after the metaphor implied in the original Greek word. There are several other terms for collections which fit the definition of an anthology: a *madjmūʿa* is most often a volume of prose texts by more than one author; *khulāṣa* is especially applied to a selection made from an exten-

sive work; *bayāḍs* ("blank book"), *djungs* and *safīnas* (both meaning literally "a boat") are informal notebooks with poetical fragments. It is hazardous, however, to distinguish these terms very neatly. They appear to have been used for volumes of varying sizes and mixed contents, including both prose texts and poems. Finally, the term *tadhkira* should be taken into account, even if it only refers to the biographical material contained in the genre of anthologies concerned.

Persian anthologies have so far not been studied as a special category of books. Yet the role which they played in the workings of literature was quite substantial. Very different types are to be considered under this heading. Their diversity reflects the multiple services which anthologies could render both to writers and readers. They were useful as private files of literary miscellanea, but also furthered the distribution of texts, especially of poems. If they were based on careful selection and were properly arranged, they could assist in the formation of a corpus of canonised poetry. Their contents were an important source for writers who needed poetical quotations for their prose compositions or for anyone who wanted to add polish to his conversation. As far as the history of literature is concerned, the widespread interest in the collection and recording of poems, fragments and single verses often became essential for the preservation of texts which did not survive through the channels of the *dīwāns*, even if this was not always a primary aim. Not only proper anthologies but also biographical works, dictionaries and textbooks of literary theory saved a substantial amount of Persian poetry from oblivion. Anthologies also deserve our attention in their own right because they provide valuable insights into the production of books.

A rough division could be made between, on the one hand, collections made for the private use of the compiler or a patron of his, and, on the other hand, public works designed according to certain generic rules and intended to be put into circulation under an author's name. At the lower end of the former class are the private notebooks which were filled at random with extracts, mostly poetical. The contents are usually highly mixed and may even include poems and verses in more than one language. Although they are nearly always anonymous, there are some exceptions. The personal taste of a prominent poet is reflected in *Bayāḍ-i Mīrzā Bīdil*, containing the choice made by Bīdil [*q.v.*] from the works of his predecessors (Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii, 737-8).

A special group consists of private volumes which exhibit a much greater care of presentation and legibility than the simple notebooks. Ornamentation is not uncommon and may even include the illustration by miniatures. These were obviously manuscripts made to order, as is occasionally confirmed by a colophon. A remarkable specimen is the *Djung-i Iskandarī*, a two-volume manuscript assembled at Shīrāz in 813-4/1410-1 for the library of the Tīmūrid prince Djalāl al-Dīn Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh. The manuscript was aptly styled "a pocket library" as it contains a most diverse selection of Persian texts (Rieu, *op. cit.*, 868-71). To the same class belong the finely executed anthologies of lyrical poetry which are to be found in several collections of manuscripts (see, e.g., Rieu, *op. cit.*, 734 ff.; Ethé, *Catalogue India Office*, no. 103; Chester Beatty Library, *Catalogue*, nos. 103, 124 and 127). There are volumes especially concerned with a single type of verse or a specific genre (e.g., *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, *muʿammās*, satire or religious poetry); others focus on certain periods or subjects of special interest to the compiler. The arrangements found in these collections are sometimes based on subjects and literary themes, sometimes on formal criteria like metre and rhyme or on the alphabetical order. Only rarely is a title or the name of the compiler mentioned.

Quatrains have frequently been the subject of specialised anthologies like the aforementioned *Mukhtār-nāma*; several volumes containing quatrains were listed by F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 117 ff. ("Quellenverzeichnis"). More comprehensive is the scope of the *Muʾnis al-aḥrār*, a collection of poetry in various forms completed in 741/1341 by Muḥammad b. Badr Djādjarmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The author made a choice from the works of about two hundred poets, most of whom lived in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. The poems are arranged according to genre, verse form or subject matter into thirty chapters. A comparable collection from the 8th/14th century, including also Arabic poems, is ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kāshī, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-nuzhat al-khāṭir* (cf. Ateş, *Farsça manzum eserler*, no. 350).

Extensive *mathnawīs* were often distributed in excerpts. Such selections were made, for instance, from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* (notably, the extracts with connecting prose texts by Tawakkul b. Tūlak-beg made in the 17th century; see, e.g., Rieu, *op. cit.*, 539-40; Ethé, *Catalogue India Office*, nos. 882 ff.), Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī and the *Mathnawī-yi maʿnawī* by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (cf., e.g., Ateş, *op. cit.*, *passim*). Manuscripts of lyrical poetry sometimes do not contain the complete output of the poet concerned but only selections from a more comprehensive *dīwān*.

As books produced for a wider circle of readers, many Persian anthologies belong to the genre of the *tadhkira*, or "memorial" of the poets, which is characterised by a combination of biography and anthology. The history of the genre may go back as far as the early 6th/12th century, if it is correct to regard the lost *Manāḳib al-shuʿarāʾ* by Muwaffaḳ al-Dawla Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī—a *mustawfī* in the service of Gawhar Khātūn, the wife of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh (498-511/1105-18)—as a true *tadhkira*. The only trace the work has left is the quotation by Dawlat-Shāh of Abū Ṭāhir's evaluation of a poem by Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (*Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, 58, ll. 15-18; see also 29, ll. 11-16, where Abū Ṭāhir is cited without a reference to his book). The work is also mentioned by Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, vi, 152, no. 13,026), probably merely on the authority of Dawlat-Shāh. See further, M. Ḳazwīnī, introd. to ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, *wāw-hāʾ*; Browne, ii, 326-7; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl Āshtiyānī, *Yādgār*, iv/5 (1327-8 sh./1949), 7-18; Storey, i/2, 783, n. 1; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, ii, 294-302.

The oldest work in this category still extant, the *Lubāb al-albāb* by Muḥammad ʿAwfī [*q.v.*], was completed in 617/1220-1 at Lahore. The author regarded himself as the creator of a new genre of Persian literary scholarship, meant to parallel the works on the "classes" (*ṭabaḳāt*) of Arabic poets written by Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, al-Thaʿālibī [*q.vv.*] and others. The Arabic *ṭabaḳāt* works were anthologies compiled with a critical intent. Quality was of primary importance in the selection of the poems. The number of poets in each class, or generation, was often restricted to a fixed number (cf. K. Abu Deeb, in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. ʿAbbāsid belles-lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany *et alii*, Cambridge 1990, 341-6). ʿAwfī's classification was based on social distinctions as well as chronology. Poems written by non-professionals, like rulers, officials and

members of the Islamic clergy, were distinguished from the works of the court poets. The latter were classified according to the dynasties they served: the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids and the Sāmānids, the Ghaznawids and the Saldjūḳs. A concluding section deals with the author's contemporaries at the court of Lahore. The biographical information contained in the *Lubāb al-albāb* is notoriously meagre, but it should be considered that the compiler's object was to provide a selective anthology of court poetry rather than to serve the interests of literary history.

The *tadhkira* actually derived its name from the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* of Dawlat-Shāh [*q.v.*], finished about 892/1487. Like the *Lubāb al-albāb*, the principles adhered to in this work are the rules of the Arabic *ṭabaḳāt*. Dawlat-Shāh even followed the numerical restriction of that formula, as each of his seven classes does not comprise more than twenty Persian poets. A preliminary section deals with Arab poets and the work is concluded by a brief *khātima* on contemporaries of the author. Dawlat-Shāh devoted considerably more space to biographical information than ʿAwfī did. It is not surprising, therefore, that his *Tadhkira* has always been regarded in the first place as a work of literary history.

In most of the numerous *tadhkiras* produced in the following centuries, a similar emphasis on biography can be noticed. As far as generations of poets previous to their own times are concerned, the authors mainly compiled data from earlier works, but they nearly always provide valuable information about contemporary literature. Only the most important *tadhkiras* can be mentioned here (for more extensive lists, see the works by Storey and Gulčīn-i Maʿānī quoted in the bibliography).

Only slightly younger than Dawlat-Shāh's work is ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī's [*q.v.*] *Madjālis al-nafāʾis* (896/1490-1), written in Čaghatāy Turkish, but also dealing with poets who wrote in Persian. It has been translated more than once into Persian. To the same period belongs the *Bahāristān* of Djāmī [*q.v.*], the seventh chapter of which contains an anthology of the *tadhkira* type. The *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* (*ca.* 957/1550) by Sām Mīrzā [*q.v.*] is especially concerned with early Ṣafawid poetry. To the later half of the same century belongs Taḳī Kāshī's voluminous *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār*, which is still unpublished. Amīn Rāzī's geographically-arranged *Haft iḳlim* (1002/1593-4) is mainly a biographical work, which sphere of interests extends beyond literature. In Muḥammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī's *But-khāna*, on the other hand, the anthology predominates. Other notable works from the Ṣafawid period are: Taḳī Awḥadī, *ʿArafāt al-ʿārifīn wa-ʿaraṣāt al-ʿāshiḳīn* (1024/1615) and Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhir-i Naṣrābādī* (1083/1672-3). ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī's *May-khāna* (1028/1619) is devoted especially to poets who wrote short *mathnawīs* in the *sāḳī-nāma* genre.

The poetry of the 12th/18th century in Persia was recorded by Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn in his *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn* (1165/1752) and by Luṭf-ʿAlī [*q.v.*] Beg Ādhar in *Ātashkada* (1174/1760-1 ff.). The latter *tadhkira* is a first-hand source on the *bāzgasht-i adabī*, the return to the stylistic ideals of mediaeval Persian poetry which took place in the middle of that century. The two-volume *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* (1288/1871) of Riḍā-Ḳulī [*q.v.*] Khān Hidāyat encompasses the entire tradition of the *tadhkiras* since ʿAwfī, adding to it new material from manuscripts in the compiler's own library. It was the first anthology to be released in Persia in a printed (lithographed) form. The *Rawḍat al-ʿārifīn* by the same author is an anthology of mystical poetry.

The genre of the *tadhkira* also flourished on the Indian subcontinent. Outstanding works from the Indo-Persian tradition are *Mirʾāt al-khayāl* (1102/1690-1) by Shīr Khān Lōdī, the three *tadhkiras* of Ghulām-ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Yad-i bayḍāʾ* (1148/1735-6), *Sarw-i āzād* (1166/1752-3) and *Khizāna-yi ʿāmira* (1176/1762-3) and ʿAlī-Ḳulī Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ* (1160/1747).

Until the present time, a great number of local *tadhkiras* were compiled, dealing with poetry from various regions in Persia. The tradition also lives on in modern scholarship. Some histories of Persian literature published in Persia, like Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar's *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān* (1308-12 sh./1928-33) and Dhabīḥ Allāh's *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān* (1338 sh./1959 ff.), still contain extensive selections from classical literature. Two anthologies by Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan* (on poetry) and *Gandjīna-yi sukhan* (on prose), played an important part in modern academic education.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Persian poets began to publish their works in periodicals which often had only a limited circulation. Anthologies of a new type could, therefore, still serve a useful purpose as a means to collect these scattered poems. A pioneer work was Muḥammad-Riḍā Hashtrūdī's *Muntakhabāt-i āthār az nawīsandagān wa shuʿarā-yi muʿāṣir* (Tehran 1342/1922), who was the first to draw the attention to the innovative work of Nīmā Yūshīdj. Notable modern anthologists were also Ḥ. Pizhmān, *Bihtarīn-i ashʿār* (1313 sh./1934) and Sayyid Muḥammad-Bāḳir Burḳaʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir* (1329 sh./1950 ff.). In addition, the selections contained in E.G. Browne's *The press and poetry of modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), Dinshah J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi régime* (Bombay 1933) and Munibur Rahman's *Post-revolutionary Persian verse* (Aligarh 1955) helped to make the modern poets known to the outside world. After the Second World War, the publications of volumes of poetry in the Western style gained currency in Persia, especially among the poets following the modernist schools. However, anthologies like the repeatedly printed Dāryūsh Shāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i shiʿr-i muʿāṣir* and Muḥammad Ḥuḳūḳī, *Shiʿr-i naw az āghāz tā imrūz* (1353 sh./1974), continued to appear serving both the needs of circulation and of critical selection. Modern prose was anthologised by Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Shāhkārhā-yi nathr-i fārsī-yi muʿāṣir* (1330-2 sh./1951-3), Farīdūn Kār, *Shuʿlahā-yi djawīd* (1336 sh./1957) and Muḥammad-ʿAlī Sipānlū, *Bāz-āfarīnī-yi wāḳiʿiyyat* (1349 sh./1970).

Bibliography: Specimens of the various kinds of anthologies mentioned in the article are described in Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the* British Museum, London 1881, ii, 734-40 and *passim*; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Indian Office Library*, London 1903, nos. 1739-58 and *passim*; A.J. Arberry *et alii*, *The Chester Beatty Library. A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin 1959-62 and A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968; other catalogues of Persian manuscripts are also to be consulted. The *tadhkiras* were treated comprehensively by Storey, i/2, 781-922, and by Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi Fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1348-50 sh./1969-71. On individual works, see N. Bland, *On the earliest Persian biography of poets, by Muhammad Aufí, and some other works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuâra*, in *JRAS* (1848), 111-76; Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i-

iv, *passim*; R.A. Nicholson, *An early Persian anthology*, in *Studies in Islamic poetry*, Cambridge 1921, 1-42 (on ʿAwfī); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, mit einer Blütenlese aus zweyhundert persischen Dichtern*, Vienna 1818; Browne, *The sources of Dawlatshāh*, in *JRAS* (1899), 37-45, and Browne, *LHP*, ii, 436-7 (on Dawlat-Shāh); Bland, *Account of the Atesh Kedah, a biographical work on the Persian poets, by Hajji Lutf Ali Beg, of Isfahan*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 345-92; S. Churchill, *A modern contributor to Persian literature, Rizá Kulí Khán and his works*, in *JRAS* (1886), 196-206; cf. *JRAS* (1887), 163, 318. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

3. In Turkish. The first samples of this genre in Classical Turkish literature stem from the 9th/15th century onwards. The word *mukhtārāt* is not used in any period of Turkish literature, and the term *medjmūʿa* was used till the Tanẓīmāt period to represent this genre. After the *Tanzīmāt*, *müntekhabāt* ("selections") was used till the Republican period. Starting from then, *antoloji* has been used up to the present time, but *seçki* ("anthology") has also been used alongside it.

Medjmūʿa (lit. "what has been collected together") denotes a collection of either verse or prose or a mixture of both. *Medjmūʿas* are given a name according to the subjects they contain, such as *medjmūʿatü 'l-eshʿār* (or *medjmūʿa-yi eshʿār*), *medjmūʿatü 'l-edwiye*, *medjmūʿatü 'l-edʿiye*, *medjmūʿatü 'r-resāʾil*, etc. Although *medjmūʿas* might contain Arabic and Persian poems along with Turkish ones, the selections may also be exclusively Turkish. After the *Tanẓīmāt*, the *medjmūʿa* meant a periodical or journal, but *dergi* is now used to convey this meaning in modern Turkish. As a result, there is sometimes a confusion between the classical meaning of *medjmūʿa* as "selection" and the modern meaning of "periodical".

Before passing to the classification of *medjmūʿas*, it is worth touching on the importance of *medjmūʿas* in classical Turkish literature: (1) they might contain works whose existence is known by various sources, but which are themselves no longer extant; (2) they might contain a work which is totally unknown to the literary world and not mentioned in any sources, such as the *kaṣīde* (eulogy) entitled *Čarkh-nāme*, which is considered one of the first products of *Dīwān* literature and which expounds the religious and mystical thoughts of a *Dīwān* poet. The *kaṣīde* is to be found in a *medjmūʿa* entitled *Djāmiʿü 'n-neẓāʾir*; (3) one can find poems which some poets do not want to include into their *dīwān* (collection) for some reason or other, such as the famous elegy for Prince Muṣṭafā, the son of Süleymān I. Ṭāshlīdjalī Yaḥyā, the famous poet of the 10th/16th century, wrote an elegy after Muṣṭafā had been killed by his father but did not dare to put this poem into his *dīwān*; nevertheless, it appears in some *medjmūʿas*; and (4) *medjmūʿas* allowed the poems of poets who had no *dīwān* of their own to be collected and studied, possibly constituting an important contribution to literature.

If we classify classical Turkish *medjmūʿas*, one sees that anthologies of pastiches (*Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*) are the first systematical *medjmūʿas*. Then, *medjmūʿas* that contain various selections on a certain subject, like anthologies of poems (*medjmūʿatü 'l-eshʿār*), anthologies of prayers (*medjmūʿatü 'l-edʿiye*), anthologies of folk-medicine (*medjmūʿatü 'l-edwiye*); anthologies concerning various treatises (*medjmūʿatü 'r-resāʾil*), anthologies of anecdotes (*medjmūʿatü 'l-leṭāʾif*), and anthologies of models for letter-writing (*medjmūʿatü 'l-münsheʾāt*), made their appearance. Apart from this classification, there are *medjmūʿas* called by their compiler's name, as well as *medjmūʿas* whose language and subject-matter are mixed.

Anthologies of pastiches include:

1. *Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*. The only extant copy is located in the library of SOAS under the number 27.689. In this *medjmūʿa*, which was compiled by ʿÖmer b. Mezīd in 840/1437, there are 397 poems of 84 poets, including its compiler's pastiches. This *medjmūʿa* was brought to light by S. Nüzhet Ergun and was published in 1982 by Mustafa Canpolat (transcribed with an index). (An abridged copy of the *medjmūʿa* with 309 folios is extant in the Library of the Turkish Language Society.)

2. *Djāmiʿü 'n-neẓāʾir*. The only extant copy is located in the Beyazıt Devlet Library in Istanbul, section Umumi 5782. It was compiled by Ḥādjdjī Kemāl of Eğridir in 918/1512. It is made up of 496 folios and contains pastiches of 266 poets. The compiler gives some information in the preface (*mukaddime*) about how he put the *medjmūʿa* in order, adding also his own poems. From this preface we learn that the *medjmūʿa* originally contained 29,461 couplets. But in view of the fact that the *Čarkh-nāme* of Aḥmed Fakīh is defective at the end and the *reddāde* (catchword) of that folio does not correspond to the first word of the next folio, it is clear that some folios of the *medjmūʿa* are missing. The number of couplets in the poem is noted in the index as one hundred. Meḥmed Khālid Bayrī (in *Millī Medjmūʿa*, viii [1927], 89) and Fuat Köprülü (in *Millī edebiyyāt djereyānïnïn ilk mübeshshirleri*, Istanbul 1928, 60-2) gave information about this *medjmūʿa*, but since it has not yet received scholarly publication, one cannot know whether there are any other parts missing. This *medjmūʿa* is as important as the first one, from the point of view both of its poems and its linguistic characteristics, and because it contains the work of poets of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries.

3. *Medjmūʿatü 'n-neẓāʾir*, compiled by Naẓmī of Edirne in 930/1523. There are 3,356 *ghazels* of 243 poets in it, and it was made known by Fuat Köprülü in *op. cit.*, 63. The important copies of the *medjmūʿa* are located in Topkapı, Ahmet III 2664, the Nuruosmaniye 4222 and the Millet, Ali Emiri, *manzum eserler* 683 (the first volume), 684 (second volume).

4. *Perwāne Bey Medjmūʿasï* called after its compiler, and compiled in 968/1560 by Perwāne b. ʿAbd Allāh, one of the slaves of Süleymān I. The only extant copy of it is in Topkapı, Bağdat 406. The first folio of the *Medjmūʿa*, which is composed of 641 folios, is missing. Some poems by Aḥmed I and other sultans were added in the margins later on.

5. *Meṭāliʿü 'n-neẓāʾir* (2 vols.), compiled by Khiṣālī of Budin. The autograph copy of it is to be found in Nuruosmaniye 4252-3. Although it is not known when it was compiled, there is no doubt that this was done before 1062/1651, the death-date of Khiṣālī.

Apart from these chief classical Turkish anthologies of pastiches, it is further possible to come across other anthologies of the same kind in libraries both in Turkey and outside Turkey. In classifying the *medjmūʿas*, anthologies of poems, prayers, folk-medicine and letter-writing have been mentioned; these may be found in all Turkish manuscript collections. (Library catalogues (*defter*) published in the reign of ʿAbdü 'l-Ḥamīd II, called *devr-i Ḥamīdī kataloghlarï*, have a special chapter under the heading *Medjāmiʿ* at the end of each catalogue of each collection, with a list of the number of works in each manuscript together with their folio numbers and titles.) Examples are as follows: *Menāhidjü 'l-inshāʾ*, which contains private and official correspondence, compiled by Yaḥyā b. Meḥmed el-Kātib in the

9th/15th century and *Medjmūʿa-yi münsheʾātü ʾs-selāṭīn* ("anthology of correspondence of sultans"), known also as *Ferīdūn Bey medjmūʿasï* after its compiler and that called *Eshʿār-nāme-yi müstezād* ("Book of *müstezāds*") compiled by Ḥüseyin Aywansarayī between 1181/1767-80.

The Paris copy of *Menāhidjü ʾl-inshāʾ* (B.N. Suppl. turc 660) was published by Şinasi Tekin in facsimile together with notes in 1971 in the series of *Sources of oriental languages and literatures*, whilst *Ferīdūn Bey medjmūʿasï* was published in two vols., Istanbul 1261/1845. The unique autograph copy of *Eshʿār-nāme-yi müstezād* is in the Istanbul University Library, T.Y. 466. It contains samples of *müstezāds* (poems with a rhymed supplement to each hemistitch) from the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries. The most important representative of mixed subject anthologies is *Djāmiʿü ʾl-meʿānī* compiled in 940/1533 by an anonymous scribe. The only known copy is Nuruosmaniye 4904, composed of 315 folios. This *medjmūʿa* was introduced to the literary world by ʿAlī Djānib Yöntem (*Ḥayāt Medjmūʿasï*, ii, no. 32 [July 1928], 3), but the details of it were made known by Muharrem Ergin (*Cāmiʿül-meʾānīdeki türkçe şiirler*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii/3-4 [1939]). In this *medjmūʿa* it is possible to find selections from Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Čaghatay Turkish works, and some complete works as well. The poems in the *medjmūʿa* belonging to the 9th/15th century poets Khalīlī and Djaʿferī were published by Muharrem Ergin in the above-mentioned article. It is worth mentioning that another *medjmūʿa*, which contains examples of this group, is located in the Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 550. Examples of *medjmūʿas* called by the name of their compiler include the *Aywansarāyī medjmūʿasï* which is also known as *Medjmūʿa-yi tewārīkh*, *Fāʾiḳ Efendi medjmūʿasï*, *Müstaḳīm-zāde medjmūʿasï*, etc.

Alongside anthologies called *müntekhabāt* from the Tanẓīmāt period, there are other anthologies prepared under different titles. The most important of these is certainly Ḍiyāʾ (Żiyā) Pasha's three-volume anthology which he called *Kharābāt*, published in Istanbul 1291-2/1874-5 and severely criticised by Nāmïḳ Kemāl in his *Takhrīb-i Kharābāt*. A preface (*muḳaddime*) of 765 couplets precedes the anthology. In the first volume of *Kharābāt* there are *ḳaṣīdes* (eulogies) of 22 poets in Turkish, 38 poets in Persian and 37 poets in Arabic, arranged according to the poets' pen-names. In the second volume there are poems of 393 Turkish, 374 Persian and 345 Arabian poets. The third volume is reserved for *methnewīs*, and samples of 17 Turkish and 36 Persian ones are given in this volume.

Apart from the *Kharābāt*, anthologies from Tanẓīmāt and Meshrūṭiyyet (constitutional government) periods can be arranged in the following order: *Newādirü ʾl-āthār* ("Remarkable remains") by Redjāʾī-zāde Aḥmed Djewdet (Būlāḳ 1256/1840); *Müntekhabāt-ï Mīr Naẓīf* ("Selections from M.N.") by Aḥmed Naẓīf (Būlāḳ 1261/1845); *Nümūne-yi edebiyyāt-ï ʿOthmāniyye* ("Examples of Ottoman belles-lettres") by Ebü ʾż-Żiyā Tevfīḳ (Istanbul 1296/1879, 1302/1885, 1306/1889, 1308/1890 and 1329/1911); *Müntekhabāt-ï djedīde* ("New selections") by Muṣṭafā Reshīd (2 vols., Istanbul 1302-3/1885-6; the first volume is in prose, the second in verse); *ʿOthmānlï edebiyyātï nümūneleri* ("Samples of Ottoman belles-lettres") by Meḥmed Djelāl (Istanbul 1312/1894); and *Müntekhabāt-ï bedāyiʿ-i edebiyye* ("Fine selections of belles-lettres") by Bulghurluzāde Riḍā (2 vols., Istanbul 1325-6/1907-8).

In the Republican era, work on compiling anthologies gathered speed, and anthologies on different literary forms like poetry, short stories and novels were published. While some of these were compiled as text-books to be used in high schools and universities, others were aimed at a much wider group of readers. Some of the most important anthologies compiled then are the following: Ali Canib Yöntem, *Türk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1930); Fuat Köprülü, *Divan edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1931); idem, *Türk saz şairleri antolojisi* (Istanbul 1940, 1962, 1965); Saadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Halk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Ankara 1938); Neʿmeddin Halil Onan, *İzahlı divan şiiri antolojisi*, (Ankara 1940); İsmail Habib Sevük, *Edebî yeniliğimiz* (Istanbul 1940); Pertev Naili Boratav and Halil Vedat Fıratlı, *İzahlı halk şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1943); Şükrü Kurgan, *İzahlı eski metinler antolojisi* (Ankara 1943); Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Tekke şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1955); İlhan Başgöz, *İzahlı Türk halk edebiyatı antolojisi* (Istanbul 1956); Kenan Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1953, 1958, 1970); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman* (2 vols., Istanbul 1965-7, 1970-1); Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir*, i (Istanbul 1964), and *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım* (2 vols., Istanbul 1966-7); Halil Erdiğan Cengiz, *Açıklamalı, notlu divan şiiri antolojisi* (Ankara 1967, 1972); Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi* (Istanbul 1972); Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün and Birol Emil, *Yeni Türk edebiyatı antolojisi* (vol. i, 1974, vol. ii, 1978, vol. iii, 1979, vol. iv, 1982) (Zeynep Kerman is also one of the contributors to the last two volumes of this anthology) and İsmail E. Erünsal, *Kütüphanecilikle ilgili Osmanlıca metinler ve belgeler* (2 vols., Istanbul 1982-90). Apart from the above-mentioned anthologies, there are also those compiled by Varlık publications and the Turkish Language Society.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djānib, *Baʿdï medjmūʿalara dāʾir*, in *Ḥayāt*, no. 32 (July 1928), 32-5; Fuat Köprülü, *Millī edebiyyātïmïzïn ilk mübeshshirleri*, Istanbul 1928, 60-3; Muharrem Ergin, *Cami'ül-me'anideki Türkçe şiirler*, 539-69; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1973, 166-76; Yaḥyā bin Meḥmed, *Menāhicü ʾl-inşā*, ed. Şinasi Tekin, Cambridge, Mass. 1971; Günay Kut and Turgut Kut, *Hafız Hüseyin bin İsmail ve eserleri*, in *İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, xxxiii (1980-1), 430-2; ʿÖmer bin Mezīd, *Mecmū'atü ʾn-neẓāʾir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat, Ankara 1982; Sami N. Özerdim, art. *Antoloji*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, i (1977), 145-7; Günay Kut, art. *Mecmua*, in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, iv (1986), 170-3.

(Günay Kut)

4. In Urdu. Anthologies of various types—of poetry, prose or both, and of single or several authors—are extremely numerous in Urdu; a short article can do no more than indicate backgrounds, motives and trends, giving a few examples. The term *mukhtār(-āt)* has seldom been used in this connection; an example from Madras given below may be regarded as exceptional though not unique. The commonest terms used are *muntakhab(-āt)* and *intikhāb*, but there are many others, ranging from the obvious to the fanciful. These include *bahār(istān)* (spring), *sarmāya* (stock), *muraḳḳaʿ*, *bayāḍ*, *kashkōl* (album), *guldasta* (bouquet), *djawāhir* (pearls), *tūzak* (memoirs), *madjmūʿa*, *madjmaʿ* (compendium). In addition, some examples of the *tadhkira* might be classed as anthologies, though the form is frequently no more than a collection of *aide-mémoires* of poets, consisting of scanty biographical information about each poet, with a quotation or two from his poetry. However, a few

*ta<u>dh</u>kira*s give extended examples, including whole poems, and these may be justly regarded as anthologies. Among these are *Sarāpā-i-su<u>kh</u>an* by Muḥsin ʿAlī Muḥsin [*q.v.*], and *Āb-i-ḥayāt* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*]. But the latter work is very much *sui generis*: it could be equally well described as a history of Urdu poetry with copious examples, or as an anthology of Urdu poetry liberally interspersed with historical and biographical information (for detailed accounts of these two and other *ta<u>dh</u>kira*s, see Fateḥpūrī, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*).

In a sense, the notion of the Urdu poetical anthology can be traced back to the early 18th century. Until the end of the century, the only printing presses in India were those set up by Christian missionaries purely for the dissemination of religious literature [see MAṬBAʿA. 4. In Muslim India]. During this period, Urdu poetry was transmitted by oral teaching and learning by heart, and, for the few who could afford them, by manuscripts written by the poet or his pupils. After a few years, a successful poet's collected verse might be gathered together in a single manuscript and called his *dīwān*. After further intervals, his second and subsequent *dīwān*s might follow; Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*q.v.*] had six. But a *dīwān* seldom contained every poem composed in the period concerned, and could thus be considered a "selection". Not only might poems not considered good enough be omitted by the poet or editor, but whole classes of poetry were frequently excluded. Poets tended increasingly to concentrate on *<u>gh</u>azal*, and it was quite common for a whole *dīwān* to be devoted to this genre with perhaps a few other short poems added. Poems in other major forms such as the *ḳaṣīda* [see MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu] and *ma<u>th</u>nawī* [*q.v.* 4. In Urdu] would be copied separately, two or more by the same poet being perhaps grouped together in a single manuscript.

No doubt manuscript anthologies of the works of two or more poets were produced in the 18th century. They certainly existed in Persian, as Saksena (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 50) tells us that the poets Maẓhar (Mīrzā <u>Dj</u>ān <u>Dj</u>ānān [*q.v.*]) compiled a collection of selected Persian poetry entitled *<u>Kh</u>arīṭa-yi <u>dj</u>awāhir*. The same poet's official Persian *dīwān* consisted of 1,000 verses selected from 20,000. A similar—if not so drastic—process of elimination must surely have occurred with Urdu poetry.

Nevertheless, the spread of Urdu printing provided a major stimulus for the development of the anthology. Leaving aside those set up by the missionaries, the first Urdu press was in Fort William College, Calcutta, at the end of the 18th century. It published the works of John Gilchrist and the *mun<u>sh</u>ī*s [*q.v.*] who worked under his supervision. The moveable type used did not find favour with Urdu speakers and it was in any case expensive. Lithography was the answer, and is still even today the favoured system. In the 1830s there were lithographic presses in Dihlī, Cawnpore and Lucknow, where there were twelve private presses by 1848. It was there that Mun<u>sh</u>ī Nawal Ki<u>sh</u>ōr established his press, which was to play an important part in publishing Urdu literature, including anthologies.

In 1830 Urdu replaced Persian as the Indian court language. The British authorities encouraged the language, which they usually called "Hindustani", the term *Urdū (-i-muʿallā)* being at first reserved for the high literary form. Hindustani could be printed either in the Arabic/Persian/Urdu script for Muslims, or the Dēvanagarī one for Hindus. (There was a third script, Roman Urdu using the English alphabet with slight modifications, but it had little impact on literature.) A system of examinations was established for expatriate and other officials, to encourage their command of vernacular languages, especially "Hindustani". At the highest level, these examinations included prescribed literary texts for study. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a selection of letters by <u>Gh</u>ālib (Mīrzā Asad Allāh) [*q.v.*] was prescribed under the title of *Urdu-i-muʿallā*. For the Degree of Honour examinations, selected poems by Āti<u>sh</u> [*q.v.*] were set. But in 1909 this was replaced by the *Naẓm-i-muntak<u>h</u>ab*, ed. <u>Dj</u>aʿfarī and Sa<u>djdj</u>ād (Calcutta). This consists of selected verse by nine poets from Āti<u>sh</u> to Ḥālī. The Preface (p. i.) suggests that one aim of the work is to "whet the reader's appetite for Urdu poetry". There is a short account of each poet, usually one page in length, mostly taken from *Āb-i-ḥayāt*.

Another stimulus towards anthology compilation was the spread of education and the consequent need for text-books. Macaulay's minute of 1835 influenced Lord William Bentinck to decide in favour of English education for India. After the Indian Mutiny (1857-8), universities were opened on the English model in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, then later in the Pan<u>dj</u>āb and at Allāhābād. But this by no means nullified earlier efforts to support education through the medium of the vernaculars, especially in middle forms (classes); and scientific text-books were translated into Urdu and other languages. Alongside these translations, original Urdu compilations were published, including some anthologies. In this connection, special mention must be made of Delhi College, opened in 1825 (see Mālik Rām, *Ḳadīm Dillī Kāli<u>dj</u>*, New Delhi 1976). In 1843, the then Principal, Felix Boutros, founded a "Society for the Promotion of Knowledge in India through the Medium of Vernacular Languages". Its *raison d'être* was to organise the translation and publication of English text-books, mostly scientific. But amongst its earliest publications was an anthology of Urdu poetry by twelve leading poets, ranging from Walī Dakhanī to Muʾmin [*q.vv.*], *Intik<u>h</u>āb-i-dīwān-i-<u>sh</u>uʿarāʾ-i-ma<u>sh</u>hūr-i-zabān-i-Urdu*, etc., compiled by Imām Ba<u>kh</u>s<u>h</u>, a teacher at the College (publ. Dihlī 1844) (Mālik, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 43; Fateḥpūrī, 313-17). The latter believes this book to be the first of its kind. He commends the compiler for his good taste in selecting the best examples from the best poets for college use, and also for his introductory account of Urdu prosody and poetical genres. Regrettably, knowledge of these basic aspects of Urdu poetry has too often been taken for granted by authors of books on Urdu poetry at all levels.

The publication of such poetical anthologies for use in schools and colleges was not restricted to Northern India, where Urdu was a familiar language. For example, in Madras (1896-7), the Madras School Books and Literary Society published a collection called *Urdu poetry (Mu<u>kh</u>tār a<u>sh</u>ʿār)* in four parts, each divided into a number of thin paperbacks. Part IV indicates that the actual printing was done in Āgrā. The writer has only been able to see Parts I and IV, but the general arrangement and division of the poetry into books appears to be haphazard. The subtitle of the work is *Extracts from the Diwans*. Not only are well-known poets such as Sawdāʾ and Baẓīr Akbarābādī included, but some lesser ones like Afsōs, Tābān and Mamnūn.

The spread of printing was, of course, a gradual process, limited to important centres in the first half of the 19th century. There was still considerable reliance on manuscripts, including anthologies of poetry. Examples of these will be found in two

catalogues compiled by J.F. Blumhardt. In the first, *A catalogue of Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1899, item Hindustani 82, p. 45) is a *Selection of poems of the works of approved authors*, probably dating from 1836. In that year, the anonymous compiler met a Captain Māgan (? Morgan), and at his suggestion compiled a *bayāḍ (bayāz)* in four parts. Part I contains *ghazals* by Inshāʾ; Part II *ḳaṣīdas* by Sawdāʾ and *musaddasāt* by Djurʾat; Part III *mathnawīs* and *rubāʿiyyāt* by various poets; and Part IV, Persian and Hindustani *ghazals*. Blumhardt's second work, *A catalogue of Hindustani manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London 1926), includes two 19th century mss. (pp. 121-3). The first is an *Anthology of Dakhani poems relating to Muhammad, the Caliph ʿAli, and the martyrdom of his sons*. While Blumhardt assigns this to the late 19th century, it is worthy of mention as an anthology of poetry in the Dakhani dialect of Urdu.

The selection of poems by a single poet is a form which particularly proliferated from the beginning of the 20th century. The fact that many of them were published in university and other educational centres suggests that they were intended as textbooks. They were also targeted at the poorer literate classes—*bābūs* (clerks), primary schoolteachers and others who, with a monthly wage of only a few rupees, could not afford to purchase a whole *dīwān* of the *kulliyyāt* (collected verse) of some particular poet. In any case, with many leading poets, particularly the more prolific ones, definitive *kulliyyāt* have only been published in the last 50 years. Examples of these single-poet selections are *Intikhāb dawāwīn Muʾmin Dihlawī* and *Intikhāb dīwān Hawas*, both published ʿAlīgaṙh 1915, edited by Ḥasrat Mōhānī. For some lesser-known poets, such selections might be the only published source of the poet's verse. This may apply to the licentious poet Bāḳir ʿAlī Čirkīn, a selection of whose poems was published in Lucknow (*Intikhāb dīwān Čirkīn*, 1924).

The influence of printing on Urdu prose was probably even greater than on poetry. In the 18th century such secular prose as existed was ornate (*muraṣṣaʿ-ō-musadjdjaʿ*); even the epistolary style was not exempt. Fort Williams publications made a start towards simplification, whilst Ghālib's letters showed that a natural style could make interesting—even exciting—reading. But the advent of newspapers and periodicals aimed at a wider readership was crucial. At the same time, the English education, already mentioned, led to the adoption and adaptation of English literary forms—essay, short-story and novel, and later, theatrical work.

By the end of the 19th century—thanks, in no small measure to the ʿAlīgaṙh Movement of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*], and despite the deep-seated prejudice in favour of poetry—sufficient prose-writers of distinction had gained acceptance to warrant the compilation of anthologies containing a mixture of prose and poetry. A good early example is *Tūzak-i-Urdū* by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl (Meerut, printed Āgrā 1898). The English title-page describes the work as "Selections from Urdu Literature or *Tuzak-i-Urdu*, Course for Anglo-Vernacular Middle Classes, prescribed by the Director of Public Instruction, N(orth) W(est) P(rovince) and Oudh". In his preface (*dībādja*), the compiler justifies the inclusion of prose on its merit, the foundations having been laid by Ghālib and Sir Sayyid. In selecting both prose and poetry he has sought what is stylistically admirable and morally uplifting for adolescent readers. In both sections contemporary authors are included, not forgetting the compiler himself! Of the 12 prose writers, the earliest chronologically is Mīr Ammān Dihlawī, one of the best-known of the Fort William translators. The 21 poets include 18th century poets such as Mīr Taḳī Mīr, Mīr Ḥasan and Muṣḥafī [*q.vv.*].

Other joint prose and verse anthologies followed, for example, Sayyid Aḥmad Ashraf Ashrafī, *Sarmāya-yi Urdū* ("new edition", Allāhābād 1923). Sandwiched between its prose (16 extracts) and poetry (18) sections is a short section entitled *Ruḳʿāt* (= a collection of letters) containing four examples, two of them by Ghālib. The work is described on the title page as "prescribed for High School examinations". More recent general anthologies seem to have been intended for school and college use, whether explicitly or implicitly. They include later writers, but otherwise do not break fresh ground. Maḳbūl Anwar Dāwūd's *Djawāhir pārē* (4th ed., Lahore etc. 1963) is intended, according to the Preface (p. 5), not only for students but also for lovers of literature (*adab dōst*). *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-adab*, ed. Ḥamīd Aḥmad Khān and others, Lahore 1976, was published by the Panjab Text-book Board for 11th and 12th classes. A seemingly revised edition of 1985 turns out to be a totally different work, *Muraḳḳaʿ-i-adab: tartīb-i-naw* (Lahore, ed. Khʷādja M. Zakariyya). Among the complete change of contents' justifications are: to make it suitable for science and commerce as well as arts students; to suit Pākistān as an Islamic state: to include extracts about the Pākistān Movement; and to concentrate on the modern language, espeically prose. All the short accounts of authors—which had become an essential element in anthologies—have been eliminated. Another anthology published by the Panjab Text-book Board is *Urdū niṣāb* (Lahore 1979, ed. Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī and others), also intended for 11th and 12th classes.

During the last forty years there has also been a spate of anthologies of a less general nature, though embracing both prose and poetry, but aimed at a wider readership. Thus *Muntakhab-i-adab*, ed. Iḥtishām Ḥusayn and Ghulām Rabbānī Tābān (Lucknow 1952) is a 478-page selection of Urdu literature published during the year 1951. It comprises 10 essays, 12 short stories, 14 *ghazals* and 26 other poems, two humorous pieces and a one-act play. In their Introduction, the editors highlight the wealth of new material available, and the problems of selection, by listing (10-12) 28 "important and interesting essays of the year", from which they had to select 10 for want of further space.

The last 100 or so years have seen many anthologies restricted to prose. Several have consisted of extracts from one of the many magazines which appeared in the second half of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th (see Sadiq, 400-5, and Saksena, 271, 375, for information on some of these magazines). One of the best literary magazines was *Makhzan*, and selections from it under the title of *Intikhāb-i-Makhzan* were published in Dihlī in 1909 and in Lahore in 1918 and 1923. The magazine *Dilgudāz* was founded in Lucknow in 1887 by the distinguished Urdu historical novelist ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar. In 1918 a selection, *Intikhāb-i-Dilgudāz*, was published there, ed. M. Sirādj al-Ḥaḳḳ. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān founded the celebrated ʿAlīgaṙh periodical *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* in 1870. Several selections from it have been published. Sir Sayyid's own essays, many of which were first published in that magazine, run into several volumes in his collected works. Needless to say, many selections have appeared, including *Intikhāb-i-maḍāmīn Sir Sayyid* (Lahore 1932). The task of selection might seem difficult, but in fact a comparatively small

number of his essays have become familiar classics which recur in selections and in general anthologies.

Finally, a word must be said about Urdu drama [see ĀGHĀ ḤASHAR KASHMĪRĪ in Suppl.]. Despite auspicious beginnings, the theatre in Urdu has not become firmly established as an artistic and literary institution. After the First World War, dramatists found an outlet in the thriving Indian film industry. The advent of radio and television provided further outlets, and numerous one-act and full length plays have been—and continue to be—written. Admittedly, not all were meant to be acted. Kamāl Aḥmad Riḍwī has compiled a *Muntakhab Urdū drāmē* in about 1000 pages (2 vols., Lahore 1960). It does not include plays by Āghā Ḥashar and his contemporaries, but these are no longer part of the répertoire, and they are in any case available in print.

Bibliography: There appears to be a complete lack of studies of the subject. The present article is the result of the author's private researches, delving into libraries, catalogues, and bibliographies in books about individual authors. In the body of this article, details have been given of various anthologies which are either important in themselves or typical of types and trends. In libraries which have title catalogues, other anthologies can be identified by any of the terms for "anthology" given at the beginning of the article. Anthologies of single authors—especially poets—are so numerous that it would be difficult to decide where to begin and end. As usual for articles on Urdu literature, there are two general sources in English: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, and Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964. For the *tadhkira*, the most detailed and exhaustive study is Farmān Fateḥpūrī, *Urdū shuʿarāʾ kē tadhkirē awr tadhkira nigārī*, Lahore 1972.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MUKHTĀRĪ GHAZNAWĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿUMAR, Persian panegyric poet of the later Ghaznawid period, born around 467/1074-5 or 468/1075-6, died between 513-15/1118-21. The *takhallus* Mukhtārī was probably derived from the title Mukhtār al-Shuʿarāʾ, bestowed on the poet early in his career by his patron Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Mustawfī, as indicated in the *rāʾiyya* dedicated to that patron (*Dīwān*, 190-1). The oldest source to mention Mukhtārī is the *Dīwān* of his contemporary Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], which includes a brief *ḳaṣīda* praising him. The biographical information provided by the *tadhkiras* (mainly late sources; ʿAwfī and Dawlatshāh make only passing mention of him) is, as always, notoriously unreliable. Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, who edited and published Mukhtārī's *Dīwān* (Tehran 1962), has endeavoured to reconstruct the poet's biography on the basis of evidence from the poems.

Mukhtārī was born in the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd I (regn. 451-92/1059-99), but there are no poems in his *Dīwān* mentioning that ruler. His earliest poems can be dated around 490-92/1097-1100 (a *yāʾiyya* dedicated to Masʿūd III b. Ibrāhīm during his father's reign, a *nūniyya* in praise of Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [*q.v.*], a *rāʾiyya* recounting the poet's journey to India). Mukhtārī appears to have begun his career at a time when the Ghaznawid court was not especially favourable to poets. Unable to find a secure place at the court of Masʿūd III (regn. 492-508/1099-1115), he journeyed to India (some time between 490-93/1097-1101), and addressed panegyrics to its governors Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb in Ḳuṣdār and Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān in Lahore. He then travelled briefly to Balkh where he praised local notables and exchanged *mudjābāt* with a court poet, ʿAmīd Ḥasan; he also sent *ḳaṣīdas* to other local rulers such as Naṣr b. Khalaf, the ruler of Sīstān. He then journeyed to Kirmān, where he remained for some three years (505-8?/1112-15?), composing panegyrics for the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān Muʿizz al-Dīn Arslān Shāh Ḳāwurdī, for other local princes (including remnants of the Būyids such as ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanākhusraw Būʾī), and for various notables. Towards the end of this period he composed a *fatḥ-nāma* celebrating Masʿūd III's victories in India, incorporating a plea to be allowed to return to Ghazna, which he sent to that ruler via his *wazīr* Ḳutb al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, and the *Hunar-nāma*, a philosophical *mathnawī* dedicated to Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī, the Ismāʿīlī ruler of Ṭabas, in which he describes his search for a worthy patron and concludes with lengthy praise of that prince.

With the accession of Malik Arslān (Arslān Shāh) b. Masʿūd (regn. 508-11/1114-17), Mukhtārī returned to Ghazna; several *ḳaṣīdas* celebrate Malik Arslān's accession. During Malik Arslān's reign, the poet enjoyed a brief period of prosperity; he composed thirty panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of the ruler, who appointed him *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* and rewarded him lavishly. After Malik Arslān was deposed by his brother Bahrām Shāh in 511/1117, Mukhtārī seems to have fallen out of favour; Bahrām Shāh is said to have wounded the poet with an arrow, a wound from which he later died (the one brief *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to Bahrām Shāh, *Dīwān*, 500-1, thanks him for saving the poet's life when he was wounded by the "arrow of fate", which may be merely a metaphorical figure).

During the last years of his life, Mukhtārī made a brief journey to Transoxania and Samarḳand, to the court of the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Bughrā Khān (regn. 495-523/1102-30), also called Tamghāč Khān, and praised that ruler and a number of his officials; he also journeyed to Khurāsān. Since no poem in the *Dīwān* can be dated later than 513/1119-20, he probably died some time before 515/1121-2, but in any case not at the much later dates (534/1139 and after) given in the *tadhkiras*. Humāʾī suggests, on the basis of the *Hunar-nāma* and of his friendship with Sanāʾī, that Mukhtārī was a Shīʿī or at least a moderate Sunnī; the assumption of his Shīʿism, based on verses alluding to the Mahdī which may be only hyperbolic expressions of praise for the ruler is, however, difficult to support.

The poems in Mukhtārī's *Dīwān* are traditionally divided into four categories: *Ghaznawiyyāt* (poems written for Ghaznawid rulers, officials, etc.); *Kirmāniyyāt*, written during Mukhtārī's three-year residence in Kirmān and including panegyrics for the Saldjūḳ ruler of Kirmān, his officials, and other local rulers; *Samarḳandiyyāt*, written during the journey to Transoxania and Khurāsān; and various other *ḳaṣīdas* which cannot be classed by *mamdūḥ* (that describing the poet's journey to India, that praising Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān), as well as *tarkībat*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *ḳitaʿāt*, and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Two *mathnawīs* have also been attributed to Mukhtārī. The *Hunar-nāma-i Yamīnī*, dedicated to Yamīn al-Dawla Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī, is a philosophical poem which includes many Ismāʿīlī topics. Mukhtārī is credited with originating this type of poem, later imitated by Sanāʾī in the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, which employs the same metre (*khafīf*) but gives the questions treated a broader scope; a possible prototype is Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Rawshanāʾī-nāma*, though Mukhtārī's poem bears little resemblance to that primarily homiletic and didactic work. The *Hunar-nāma* begins with a cosmological description of the sphere, the houses of the zodiac, and the planets,

proceeding to the four elements, humours and seasons and the three kingdoms (mineral, plant and animal), and asserting the superiority of Adam over the rest of creation. Following praise of the Creator, the prophets, and Muḥammad, the poet tells of his desire to achieve human perfection, the cause of his lengthy travels in pursuit of knowledge. Having experienced only disappointment, he encounters an astrologer who advises him to seek entrance into the service of Ismāʿīl b. Gīlakī and, in order to test his worth, asks him a series of riddling questions whose answers point to the prince taken as the model of human perfection. The poem concludes with further praise of the *mamdūḥ* and the poet's plea for favour.

The *Shahriyār-nāma*, long ascribed to Mukhtārī and thought to have been inspired by Masʿūd III's Indian campaigns, was included by Humāʾī in his edition of the *Dīwān*, but was later shown by him to be spurious. Its style, and in particular the many prosodic errors which mark it, suggests that it was composed much later, perhaps in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, by an unknown poet probably in India. Only fragments of the work survive; an imitation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* and including many materials not in that work, it deals chiefly with Shahriyār, the great-grandson of Rustam, and his adventures and battles in India.

Mukhtārī's *ḳaṣīdas* show the influence of earlier Ghaznawid poets such as ʿUnṣurī, Farrukhī [*q.vv.*] and Azraḳī; many take up topics employed by those poets, or imitate the prosodic scheme of an earlier work (for example, the *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb echoes Farrukhī's *ḳaṣīda Sumnātiyya* as well as a description by Manūčihrī of a night journey through frozen deserts). Mukhtārī is known for his use of *badīʿ* and for his many riddling poems (*čistānhā*), as well as his extensive use of description. Many poems reflect the revival by Malik Arslān of Persian festivals such as *nawrūz* and *mihragān*, neglected under Ibrāhīm and Masʿūd III, in emulation of the earlier Ghaznawid court (a practice which continued under Bahrām Shāh). Most of Mukhtārī's panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* dispense with the exordium (*tashbīb*) and begin with the *madīḥ*. In some which do include the *tashbīb*, Mukhtārī employs a conceit used by other contemporaries (Muʿizzī, Anwarī): the beloved urges the poet to praise his patron, or affects to compose the *madīḥ* for him to present at court. Mukhtārī also practiced the "erotic panegyric" popular in this period and seen also in the works of Sanāʾī, Masʿūd-i Saʿd, Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī "Ashraf", and Muʿizzī: a short *ḳaṣīda* (on occasion a *ghazal*) consisting primarily of an erotic or descriptive exordium and concluding with a line or a brief passage of praise; the *takhalluṣ* often incorporates the names of both patron and poet.

Bibliography: ʿA. Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanwarān*, Tabriz 1961, 528-29; Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, *Mukhtārī-nāma*, Tehran 1982; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry. The interaction of religion and literature in the life and works of Ḥakīm Sanāʾī of Ghazna*, Leiden 1983 (see index s.v. "Muxtārī"). Mukhtārī is mentioned only in later Persian *tadhkiras*, which are unreliable, and little or not at all in standard literary histories, Persian or Western.

(Julie S. Meisami)

MUKHTAṢAR (a.), a term denoting a handbook or an abridged manual, usually condensed from a longer work. Approximately equivalent terms are *ikhtiṣār*, *talkhīṣ* (very common), *tahdhīb*, *muhadhdhab*; also *muntakhab*, *ikhtiyār*, *mukhtār* (selections that convey the main ideas), and finally *wadjīz* and *mūdjaz* (use of the last two terms is rather restricted, and authors who use them insist on stylistic concision, see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Istanbul 1943, ii, 1898-1901, and *Dhayl*, Istanbul 1947, ii, 604-702; *GAL*, index; al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, i, 414, ii, 1747). In certain disciplines, specific terminology is employed: in philosophy and science *fuṣūl*, *djawāmiʿ* and *djumal*. The first denotes aphorisms or short chapters (see below, on philosophy). The other two denote more specifically the compendium or handbook (the third especially in grammar). Of other literary forms, mention should be made of the didactic poems: they condense within a *ḳaṣīda*, and more often in an *urdjūza*, for example the whole of Arabic grammar (such as the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, see *GAL*, I, 298), or an area in philosophy (e.g. Ibn Sīnā's poems on the soul, see *GAL*, S I, 818, no. 35; Y. Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina*, Tehran 1954, 193-5). This terminology indicates clearly that the main aim of these works is to condense the contents and ideas of a basic work in a certain area of learning (*al-Muḳaddima*, Paris 1858, iii, 250). The task may have been carried out by an author himself (al-Ghazālī, for instance, abridged his *Iḥyāʾ*, see *Mukhtaṣar Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, printed on the margin of *Nuzhat al-nāẓirīn*, Cairo 1308, 2; al-Ṭabarī is reported to have condensed his bulky legal compendium, *al-Basīṭ*, into the much shorter *al-Khafīf*, see I. Goldziher, *Die literarische thätigkeit des Ṭabarî nach Ibn ʿAsâkir*, *WZKM*, ix [1895], 362-4; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Cairo, xviii, 74), a disciple of an author (al-Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, Būlāḳ, 1321, i, 2, states that he has abridged the teachings of his master, without reference to a specific work) or by any writer later than the author (such is the case of Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳḳāʾ, i, 5-6). Very often the abridgment is carried out by cutting short the text in question, while endeavouring to retain the structure of the original style.

Ikhtiṣār and its derivatives are not attested in pre-Islamic and Umayyad poetry, with the exception of one verse by Dhu 'l-Rumma (d. 117/735-6), where the verbal form *ikhtaṣara* in the rhyme has nothing to do with the world of books and their format (*Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, no. XXX, v. 24). Thus one is probably dealing here with a cultural phenomenon that is limited to the ʿAbbāsid period.

The *ikhtiṣār* concerns many areas of the cultural activity: belles lettres, religious sciences, history, philosophy (with the sciences) and theology (*kalām*); in all these *ikhtiṣār* has been used and abused. It is important to note that we are not dealing here with vulgarisation; on the contrary, these abridgments were aimed at an audience of specialists, scholars and educated people. This audience was overwhelmed by a flood of works about everything. Antedating the humanists of the Renaissance, they had a deep desire to know as much as possible in the shortest possible time. This curiosity of the impatient mind led to the appearance of the *mukhtaṣars*. The main preoccupation of the authors of these works was didactic. By abridging they relieved the educated readers from all the lengthy discussions, chains of transmitters and endless appendices; they offered them the essentials; the specialised work became more accessible. Such is the justification which the authors of the abridgments normally give in their prefaces (see e.g. *Rawḍ al-akhyār min rabīʿ al-abrār*, 2; al-Mīrī, *Mukhtaṣar rawnaḳ al-madjālis*, Cairo 1322, 2; al-Suwaysī, *Mukhtaṣar al-fatāwā al-mahdiyya*, Cairo 1318, 2). It was Ibn Khaldūn who, more than anyone else, had the ability to evaluate the didactic usefulness of abridgments. According to him, in any scientific discipline there are basic books; since some of these works may contain parts that are too long and prolix,

it is permitted to arrange a new work, in which the original text is abridged, while taking care not to leave out any essential matter (*al-Muḳaddima*, iii, 247).

Without denying the priority of the didactic aspect, it is important to consider also the cultural aspect of the abridgments. The perfect man, as conceived in ᶜAbbāsid society, had to be an *adīb*; as such he had to know something, possibly representative, of every discipline of culture. This necessity is characteristic of other classical societies. Fuhrmann has shed light on the origins and evolution of this phenomenon in Greek and Hellenistic society; he has described how Roman society, with its Hellenistic contemporary, adopted from the Stoics the ideal of the perfect man; this ideal became prevalent in the various areas of knowledge. The resort to abridgments had become inevitable (Fuhrmann [see *Bibl.*], 160 ff.). It is thus quite probable that the Greek background played a decisive role in this respect. In the fields of philosophy and related sciences, the Arabic abridgments may be seen as a direct continuation of that background (see below).

In Arabic literature the fashion of *mukhtaṣars* spread gradually and became ever more evident. In the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries the phenomenon seems to have been rather limited. From the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries scores of works entitled *mukhtaṣar*, *talkhīṣ*, *muhadhdhab* and *mukhtār* appear in succession with an increasing frequency.

The success of the abridgments appears to be fully justified in light of the services they rendered; by making accessible, to specialists and people of general education alike, works which had been considerably shortened, the *mukhtaṣars* enabled their readers to acquire comprehensive knowledge. Eventually the technique became more complex, with the appearance of abridged abridgments. An example from the field of rhetorics is provided by the *Miftāḥ al-ᶜulūm* by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229). First, al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338-9) made an abridgment, entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*. At a later stage this abridgment was epitomised by a number of authors, namely in the *Mukhtaṣar al-mukhtaṣar* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāḥib (d. 788/1386), by Ibn Djamāᶜa (d. 819/1416), al-ᶜAynī (d. 893/1487), al-Tuḳatī (d. 900/1495), Ḥamza b. Ṭurghūd (d. 962/1554) and Parwīz al-Rūmī (d. 987/1579) (Ibn Yaᶜḳūb al-Maghribī, *Mawāhib al-miftāḥ*, Cairo 1936, i, 5-7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 476-7). In the field of historiography, the *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-bashar*, itself an abridgment made by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, was epitomised by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 750/1349-50) in his *Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar*; in his introduction the author informs us that the abridgment has taken the place of the original work. In his turn, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) once more epitomised the epitome.

A parallel development added to abridgments another dimension, namely synthesis. An author could bring together within a single work several books on one and the same subject. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) describes in his introduction how he epitomised and harmonised various materials which he had collected from different sources (*Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo 1325, i, 2-3). However, for the most part the term "abridgment" retained its usual sense. In any event, in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries the use of abridgments became so widespread that authors began to render their works in threefold editions: one extended version called *mabsūṭ*, one intermediate called *wasīṭ* or *awsaṭ*, and one epitome termed *wadjīz* or *asghar*. As an example one may quote the threefold edition of *Sharḥ dīwān al-ḥamāsa* by al-Tibrīzī (*Mukhtaṣar tahdhīb al-alfāẓ*, Beirut 1895, introd., 11), or the *Asbāb al-nuzūl* by al-Wāḥidī. Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars*; al-Dhahabī constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors (see the introd. of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi min taʾrīkh al-ḥāfiẓ ... al-Dubaythī*, Baghdād 1371/1951). This late development may be considered a cause for concern, since it cut off the intellectuals from the great sources which shaped the Arab and Muslim culture.

The mukhtaṣars *in religious sciences.*

Abridgments have a considerable share in these sciences. They are attested foremost to Ḳurʾānic exegesis (al-Ṭabarī's commentary was abridged by Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Tudjībī, d. 473/1081, in the *Mukhtaṣar min tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, Cairo 1970, etc.), in the corpus of *ḥadīth* (the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī was epitomised by al-Zubaydī (d. 893/1488), *Mukhtaṣar al-Zubaydī*, Cairo 1378/1958, 5, where the author claims to have regrouped the traditions collected by al-Bukhārī by omitting the *isnād*s and the repetitions; *al-Mustadrak* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūrī was epitomised by al-Dhahabī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-mustadrak*, Ḥaydarābād 1334-42, Ṣūfī treatises (e.g. *Mukhtaṣar fī iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1283, of Ibn ᶜArabī and *Mukhtaṣar rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī manāḳib al-ṣāliḥīn* by al-Yāfiᶜī, Cairo 1302) and theological treatises (e.g. *Mukhtaṣar al-minhādj*, Cairo 1374, by al-Dhahabī being an abridgment of *Minhādj al-sunna* by Ibn Taymiyya).

However, it was the legal schools (*madhāhib*) who systematised the process. The reason for this is obvious: the legal treatises facilitate the quick training of lawyers, and through them the necessary cadres. The process is similar with regard to all schools. In the case of the Ḥanafīs, for example, it is *al-Mabsūṭ*; this work was compiled by the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804). This illustrious disciple of the *Imām al-Aᶜẓam* assembled there the teachings of his master: *fa-innahū djamaᶜa 'l-mabsūṭ li-targhīb al-mutaᶜallimīn wa'l-taysīr ᶜalayhim* ("[al-Shaybānī] compiled *al-Mabsūṭ* in order to awaken the desire of the students [to study the doctrine] and to make it easier for them") (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1331, i, 3-4). This treatise was the origin of the composition of five basic *mukhtaṣars*, as shown in the following table:

AL-MABSŪṬ of AL-SHAYBĀNĪ

Mukht. 1	*Mukht.* 2	*Mukht.* 3	*Mukht.* 4	*Mukht.* 5
al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933)	al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037)	Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 448/1056)	al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1196)	al-Nasafī (d. 708/1310)

Quite rapidly they became the spearhead of the *madhhab* and have come to be called *al-Mukhtaṣarāt al-khamsa*. All of them were the outcome of one preoccupation: to do away with length and repetitiveness which produced tiresome detailed books of numerous volumes; obviously, they eclipsed the original and are the only ones to be studied.

A similar phenomenon may be discerned with

respect to the Mālikīs, where the *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Shaykh al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 767/1366) constitutes the termination of a series of abridgments, of which the *Mudawwana* is the beginning (*al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* is the epitome of an original *Mudawwana*, nicknamed *al-Asadiyya* because it was composed by Asad b. al-Furāt; see Khalīl al-Djundī, *Djawāhir al-iklīl*, Cairo 1370/1950, i, 4). This first abridgment was followed by the *Mukhtaṣars* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996), Ibn Abī Zamanayn (d. 399/1009), Abu Saʿīd al-Barādhiʿī (entitled *al-Tahdhīb*, the author lived in the 4th/10th century, see *al-Dībādj*, 112; *al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, 19, who calls it *Mukhtaṣar al-mudawwana*), Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 498/1104-5), Abū Ḥasan al-Lakhmī (entitled *K. al-Tabṣira*, see *al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, 32), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rushd (printed on the margin of the *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1324) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Māzinī (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 10-12, 248; Khalīl al-Djundī, *loc. cit.*). All these abridgments eclipsed the foremost source of the Mālikī school (*Mukhtaṣar al-Shaykh al-Khalīl*, introd., 6). To gain an idea of the place occupied by these epitomes it is sufficient to consult Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography; describing how he studied to become a Mālikī ḳāḍī he never mentions the treatise of Ibn Saḥnūn or the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd; yet he did study the *mukhtaṣars* of Ibn Hādjib and al-Barādhiʿī.

Soon after the first half of the 4th/10th century negative traits have started to appear in this literary form; this has to do with the appearance of commentaries (*sharḥs*). The earliest attestation of a *sharḥ*, and after that of a *ḥāshiya* (i.e. a supercommentary), is connected with the Shāfiʿīs: the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī led to the composition of a commentary in eight volumes by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 340/951-2) and another, more extensive one, by Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Marwazī (d. 362/973).

The authors of the commentaries gave very plausible reasons for their enterprise; paradoxically, the commentaries stand in complete contradiction to the *mukhtaṣars*. The latter, argue the commentators, are very brief; consequently they tend to be vague; thus a need is felt to clarify and to enlarge on them. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī (d. 580/1185) resorted to this explanation in order to justify the compilation of his *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's abridgment of the *Sīra*. In any event, the conscientious craftsmen mobilised himself for the task, starting from one common point of departure: there is no need whatsoever to revert to the masterpiece of the original work; it is sufficient to explicate the abridgments and to comment on them. This new practice went from bad to worse, since the dimensions of the commentaries surpassed by far the old sources, which had seemed too long. Within a short time the commentaries proliferated: *Mukhtaṣar al-Shaykh al-Khalīl* and al-Ḳudūrī's abridgment attracted some 35 *ḥāshiyas* each. In other fields, a similar process took place. Thus the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*] inspired a very large number of commentaries and supercommentaries, see *GAL*, I, 298-9, *GAL* S I, 522-5. Furthermore, through a rather strange phenomenon of mimicry these commentaries were transformed into sources, in order to be abridged again.

The evolution of the *mukhtaṣar*, with its corollary the *ḥāshiya*, is significant as a lesson. Starting out from considerations of utility, and even necessity, they became a source of inertia, which hindered considerably the renewal of the classical culture. Being content with epitomising did away with the lengthy repetitive discussions and other features, so indispensable for the maturation of any intellectual discipline. There was no profundity, and superficiality became the order of the day. Furthermore, every abridgment is ultimately a selection; and reliance on such selections inevitably led to stagnation. Any abridgment reflects the preoccupations of the period in which it was produced. By working with unchangeable patterns, the *mukhtaṣar* and the *ḥāshiya* tied a fair share of the cultural disciplines to fixed horizons during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. Finally, by definition the abridgment can lead only to negative results: the absence of discussion, the reduction of the various stages of reasoning, and the habit of being content with quoting conclusions have prevented the progress of science. Ibn Khaldūn, in a lucid analysis of the phenomenon, is highly critical of the *mukhtaṣar* (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 250-1, section: The great number of abridgments on scholarly subjects is detrimental to the process of instruction). Parallel abridgments, he argues, offer the beginner advanced notions of a certain science before he has reached the ability to understand them. Furthermore, such works are replete with numerous obscurities which result from the concentration of so many ideas and difficulties. Their usefulness is certainly inferior to that of lengthy and more detailed books, whose length and repetitiveness may give the reader a perfect knowledge of a subject. And so, in order to assist the student's memory, he is confronted with a mass of difficulties, which prevent him from acquiring and keeping useful knowledge.

In philosophy and related sciences.

Arabic literature in these fields has been heavily influenced, indeed is dependent, on Greek sources. Already in antiquity there was a tradition of abridgments and epitomes. These took on two forms: epitomes of works of one specific writer and doxographies or compendia that brought together views of various authors on a given subject. The main purpose of the ancient abridgments and compendia was didactic (see Fuhrmann). Early translators of Greek texts into Arabic knew such Greek abridgments (e.g. the doxography of "Ps.-Plutarch", see H. Daiber, *Ætius Arabus*, Wiesbaden 1980; several of Plato's dialogues seem to have come down, among others, in an abridgment by Galen [see AFLĀṬŪN, DJĀLĪNŪS]), and translated them. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ probably wrote himself some such compendia of works by Aristotle; he termed them *Djawāmiʿ* (see *GAL*, I, 206; *GAS* vii, 267). He also wrote an ethical aphoristic compendium entitled *Ādāb* [or *Nawādir*] *al-falāsifa*, arranged according to philosophers (see *GAL*, I, 206, S I, 368). Al-Fārābī must have had these examples in mind when he epitomised Plato's *Laws*. However this was not merely a selection; it was rather a shortened and interpretative paraphrase in which Plato's ideas had been reformulated in Islamic terms (see L. Strauss, *How Farabi read Plato's Laws*, in *What is political philosophy*, Glencoe 1959). It seems that al-Fārābī did not plan to make systematic compendia of all works of Plato or Aristotle. Al-Fārābī also wrote a handbook of political philosophy entitled *Fuṣūl muntazʿa* (ed. F.M. Nadjdjār, Beirut 1971, and cf., in the introd., 11, on additional *fuṣūl* works by al-Fārābī).

An older contemporary of al-Fārābī, the humanist Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), is said to have written two recensions of a treatise on political philosophy, one short and one long, both entitled *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Fluegel, 138; cf. F. Rosenthal, in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *The Islamic world from Classical to Modern times: essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, 287 ff.; on a grammatical compendium by Abū Zayd see *GAS*, ix, 189). At the

same time new selections were made of the philosophical systems of the ancients, which were arranged according to topics; a typical example is the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* by the 4th/10th century philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī (the original full text is lost, and surviving texts are different recensions of abridgments, some called *Mukhtaṣar*, some *Muntakhab*; see the editions of the latter by ʿA.R. Badawī, Tehran 1974; D.M. Dunlop, The Hague 1979, and cf. J.L. Kraemer, *Philosophy in the renaissance of Islam*, Leiden 1986). Abridgments were also made of writings of more recent authors such as John Philoponus (see S. Pines, *An Arabic summary of a lost work by John Philoponus*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 320-52). Relevant to the present description is the fact that Ibn Sīnā composed a number of expositions of his philosophy; a conspicuous difference between some of these expositions is in length; one modest volume of *al-Nadjāh* (ed. Cairo 1331) is a condensation of the entire philosophical system and scientific knowledge contained in the multi-volume project of *al-Shifāʾ* [see IBN SĪNĀ].

Ibn Rushd composed the most important interpretative abridgments of the Aristotelian œuvre. At the recommendation of the physician-philosopher Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufayl, an Almohad prince invited Ibn Rushd to write commentaries on the entire Aristotelian œuvre. The prince's purpose was, according to Ibn Rushd's own evidence, to abridge (*yulakhkhiṣ*) the works in their Arabic version and make them easier to understand. It was, however, left to Ibn Rushd to decide on the format (al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib bi-akhbār ahl al-maghrib*, ed. Cairo, 136-7). He composed commentaries on most of Aristotle's works in three recensions, which are widely known as the "short, middle and long" (the latter is a proper running commentary on the Aristotelian text). The Arabic terms for the first two are *djawāmiʿ* and *talkhīṣ*. The first indicates, according to Ibn Rushd himself, selections from various works of the Stagirite on a specific topic, given mainly in the form of conclusions, and leaving out Aristotle's quotations from earlier authorities and his discussions; instead, Ibn Rushd adds opinions of late commentators and also his own comments (introduced by the phrase *aḳūl*). All this is done in a very concise and brief style. The *talkhīṣ* is mainly a paraphrase of the ideas contained in Aristotle's works, reformulated in the language of Ibn Rushd (introduced by a short verbal quotation from the original, entitled *ḳāl*); see Ibn Rushd, *Rasāʾil: Kitāb al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī*, Ḥaydarābād 1947, 2; idem, *Commentary on Aristotle's* De Generatione et Corruptione, *Transl. by Moses b. Tibbon*, ed. S. Kurland (*Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem*, iv/1-2), Cambridge, Mass. 1958, 102, 187-8 (Eng. tr. S. Kurland, 114, 210 n. 3); H. Davidson (tr.), *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Porphyry's* Isagoge ... *and on Aristotle's* Categoriæ (*CCAA*, I/a. 1-2), Cambridge, Mass.-Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969, introd., pp. xiv-xix; Ibn Rushd, *On Plato's Republic*, tr. R. Lerner, Cornell 1974, 3, and translator's introduction; Djamāl al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī (see *Bibl.*). Ibn Rushd's purpose in composing his commentaries in the threefold format was not only didactic; in the "short" compendia he aimed, according to his own testimony, at sifting from the Master's works only those parts which were indispensable for the attainment of human perfection, leaving out all discussions which could cast doubts on the views of Aristotle (Introd. to the compendium on Physics, see A.F. al-Ahwānī, introd. to *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-nafs*, Cairo 1950, 16; C. Butterworth (tr.), *Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Categories and De Interpretatione*, Princeton 1983, introd., 4-5); it was also aimed at concealing from novices in philosophy such matters as might endanger their correct philosophical convictions (and possibly also their religious faith). The threefold format could thus serve as a gradual introduction into peripatetic philosophy.

Abridgments or compendia of works of the ancients were both translated and written in various fields of science; to quote very few examples: in medicine Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* were translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 873) under the title *Fuṣūl Ibuḳrāṭ* (see *GAS*, iii, 28-9), printed by Tytler, Calcutta 1832; Galen's commentary on the *Fuṣūl* was also translated by Ḥunayn; this commentary was abridged (*talkhīṣ*) in its turn and again commented on (see *ibid.*, 30, 343). A medical compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) was ascribed to Hippocrates himself (*ibid.*, 42), and to the early author ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853, *ibid.*, 230). In astronomy, as early an author as al-Farghānī (early 3rd/9th century?) wrote *Djawāmiʿ* (a compendium) of ancient astronomy, and *Fuṣūl* of Ptolemy's *Madjisṭī*; see *GAL*, I, 221, *GAL*, S I, 393; *GAS*, vi, 150, and vii, 151 on the compendia by Thābit b. Ḳurra. On mathematical *mukhtaṣars*, see *GAS*, v, *passim*.

In Judaeo-Arabic literature.

The use of *mukhtaṣar* and related terms is well attested in various fields of cultural activity. However, the fact that since the 15th century the scope of Judaeo-Arabic literature had become confined mainly to less educated strata of Jewish society [see JUDAEO-ARABIC. iii] limited also the need for abridgments or handbooks.

In Biblical exegesis, the Karaite al-Ḳirḳisānī (*fl.* in the 930s) found it necessary to write an abridgment of his commentary on the Pentateuch, because the original long version had been too loaded with philosophical discussions (ms. B. L. Or. 2492, fol. 1a). Over a century later the Karaite Abu 'l-Faradj Furḳān of Jerusalem was asked by a wealthy co-sectarian from Egypt to compose a comprehensive commentary on the Pentateuch on condition that it be more concise (*akhṣar*) than the one he was already writing; according to the author's own words the request resulted from educational needs (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, Cincinnati 1935, 34-5). In linguistics (of Hebrew) there is an evident trend of abridgments. The first Arabic dictionary of Biblical Hebrew was written by the Karaite David b. Abraham al-Fāsī (middle of the 10th century), entitled *Djāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*. It was abridged at least three times in the course of the 11th century (see the introd. to the ed. of S.L. Skoss, i, New Haven 1936, pp. xciv-cxx; on abridgments of Arabic dictionaries, already in the 4th/10th century, see e.g. *GAS*, viii, 55). The 11th century grammatical tract *Hidāyat al-ḳāriʾ* was epitomised twice, first by the anonymous author and later in the Yemen. The abridgment became much more popular than the original (see I. Eldar, *Lešonenu*, [1986], 214-31). The grammatical treatise *al-Mushtamil* by Abu 'l-Faradj Hārūn (early 11th century), was possibly the basis for one compendium or more (M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, 87-8).

It seems that there was not much activity in composing handbooks on legal topics in Judaeo-Arabic. Early codification of Jewish law, even in Muslim countries, was in Aramaic. Nevertheless, the rich literary output of Saadya Gaon (d. 942) contains a number of legal monographs which seem to have been compendia (one of which, on the subject of deposits, is called *mukhtaṣar*); the same is true regarding another early codifier in Judaeo-Arabic, Samuel b. Ḥofni (see

Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 48-50, 109). It is noteworthy that the first comprehensive code of Jewish Law, by Isaac al-Fāsī (d. 1103 in Lucena, Muslim Spain), is in fact an abridgment of the Babylonian Talmud, in which the original order and (Aramaic) text of the legal decisions is left intact, while the discussions are omitted.

An interesting case may be cited concerning theology (*kalām*). Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (early 11th century) had written a theological compendium entitled *al-Tamyīz* (later known also by the name *al-Manṣūrī*), before writing a more extended version, entitled *al-Muḥtawī*; in both works he refers to the earlier one by the term *mukhtaṣar* (*Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*, ed. G. Vajda and D. Blumenthal, Leiden 1985, 639 [Ar.], 6 [Fr. tr.]; ms. Cambridge Univ. Libr., T-S Ar. 43.279). The author mentions didactic needs as the reason for taking a course of action contrary to the usual one, by undertaking to enlarge on his early compendium. This may be an indication that *mukhtaṣar* in general was not necessarily conceived as an abridgment of an existing long work, but could mean also a short compendium in its own right, which may later be enlarged. Al-Baṣīr antedated Ibn Khaldūn by centuries in realising that a compendium which is too concise in language and overloaded with ideas hinders beginners and students from understanding an acquiring knowledge (*al-Muḥtawī*, *loc. cit*).

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(A. Arazi and H. Ben Shammai)

MUḲRĀ, name of a district and a village south of Ṣanʿāʾ in the Yemen, known to the Arab geographers for its mine of carnelian. It is also the name of a mountain chain in al-Sarāt [see djazīrat al-ʿarab, ʿasīr, al-ḥidjāz]. According to Sprenger, there is no reason to identify the Ḥimyaritic tribe of this name with the Μοχρῖται of Ptolemy, since the latter must be localised in the neighbourhood of Nadjrān.

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(A. Grohmann)

MUKRĀN [see makrān].

MUḲTAḌAB (a.), the name of the thirteenth Arabic metre, in fact little used [see ʿarūḍ].

al-**MUḲTADĪ** bi-amr Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, 27th ʿAbbāsid caliph (reigned 467-78/1075-94), grandson of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (d. 467/1075 [*q.v.*]) whom he succeeded. Trying to arrive at a carefully balanced policy between the dogmatic and juridical trends of Sunnī Islam—he himself belonged to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* of the traditional Baghdād stamp—he shortly after assuming power brought about in Baghdād a mediation between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs and later, in 476/1083, he caused the vizieral family of the Banū Djahīr [*q.v.*] to be expelled. However, he was unable to prevent the schism which was threatening Sunnism, and which seemed unavoidable because of the Saldjūḳ influence pressing upon the religious and political situation in Baghdād [see niẓām al-mulk and niẓāmiyya] and in ʿIrāk, upon the caliphate itself in particular. The real ruler was the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh [*q.v.*], whose daughter Malik Khātūn (also called Muhmalak or Māh Malik) became al-Muḳtadī's wife. While still heir to the throne, al-Muḳtadī, at the wish of his grandfather al-Ḳāʾim, had been given in marriage to one of Alp Arslān's [*q.v.*] daughters. The second marriage, concluded for political reasons after difficult negotiations, took place in Baghdād in 480/1087 in the presence of the bride's parents and of the two viziers, but it did not last long. One of the conditions put forward by the bride's father had been that al-Muḳtadī should give up his entire harem in favour of the Saldjūḳ princess. In 482/1089 the self-assured Malik Khātūn, feeling neglected and being disappointed, returned to her parents with her and al-Muḳtadī's little son Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar. This favourite grandson of Malikshāh's was to be used as a pawn against al-Muḳtadī, but this sole ʿAbbāsid-Saldjūḳ scion died at the early age of five.

The sultan and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who at first seemed to have preferred a policy of reconciliation and restrained control, in the end strove after eliminating the caliph as an independent factor of power and weakening the latter's dignitaries straightforwardly. Al-Muḳtadī, in his turn, tried everything to shake off Saldjūḳ influence on the caliphate. But the caliph's freedom of action already had become so circumscribed that he had to resort to intrigues and quarrels, which poisoned the relations between Baghdād and Iṣfahān and brought about sad consequences. Baghdād suffered under the occupation policy of the tempestuous and unbalanced Saldjūḳ sultan, and disagreements in Malikshāh's entourage were registered at the caliphal court. They were signs of incipient instability. In 475/1083 al-Muḳtadī tried to improve the situation in Baghdād by sending an embassy to north-east Persia, led by the esteemed Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, for whom the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād had been founded; but the result was negligible.

When the sultan, together with his vizier, arrived at Baghdād for the first time—he was to stay there from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 479 till the middle of Ṣafar 480/March-end of May 1087—it was not easy to arrange an official meeting with the caliph, both parties behaving self-assuredly. The aim and climax of the Saldjūḳ mission was Malikshāh's festive coronation and investiture as sultan by the caliph in Muḥarram 480/April 1087, the Saldjūḳid having already been in power for fifteen years. Niẓām al-Mulk, too, was received twice by al-Muḳtadī and honoured with robes of honour (*khilʿas* [*q.v.*]).

In the winter of 484-5/1091-2 Malikshāh, having chosen Baghdād for his headquarters, paid a second visit to the city but ignored the caliph. His trump card was Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar, whom he wanted to play against ʿAbbāsid interests. He demanded from the

caliph that he should dismiss his eldest son, the future caliph al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*], as *walī al-ʿahd* in favour of Dja^c^far. The caliph requested time for reflection. Meanwhile, Malikshāh left Baghdād for Iṣfahān in Rabīʿ I 485/April 1092, taking the young Djaʿfar with him. Sizeable building plans for the city were to mark out this latest stay.

At the end of the same year 485/1092, Malikshāh came to Baghdād for the third time. He now tried to oust the caliph from the city, insisting that al-Muḳtadī should transfer his residence forthwith to another town. Only the sultan's untimely death in Shawwāl 485/November 1092 foiled this plan. From Malikshāh's first visit onwards, al-Muḳtadī had to settle for the recognition of being the spiritual leader of the Islamic *umma*; as a political figure, he was isolated. Moreover, the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk in Ramaḍān 485/October 1092 had deprived him of a clever, be it self-oriented, mediator. Yet, even during this period, so confusing for the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the *imāma* [*q.v.*] remained the undisputed source of all juridical and political institutions. The ʿAbbāsid caliph alone was entitled and obliged to hold the public functions (*wilāyāt*). Without the *imāma*, the *umma* would have been exposed to complete legal insecurity, even to chaos. The preservation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate proved to be the necessary central counterweight to the *bāṭinī* doctrine of the *imāma*, at that time adopted by important portions of the population. In 483/1090 Baṣra had been savagely sacked by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*]; in Syria, in the Djazīra [*q.v.*] and in Persia (even in Iṣfahān and Rayy) centres of Ismāʿīlī propaganda came into being, and in the same year the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* [*q.v.*] Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] seized the stronghold of Alamūt [*q.v.*].

After the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk and the sudden death of Malikshāh, al-Muḳtadī was again able to assert the rights which he had inherited, and his regained self-confidence is shown by the negotiations on the sultanate with Malikshāh's widow Turkān Khātūn, who had returned from Baghdād to Iṣfahān, and by the exchange of legal advice. Al-Muḳtadī refused to recognise Malikshāh's successor Maḥmūd, a minor, as fully-fledged sultan. He preferred the army leadership and the tax administration to be in the hands of two experienced state officials, namely, the *amīr* Oner and the vizier Tādj al-Mulk, rather than in those of the sultan's widow. In a legal consultation (*fatwā*), the jurist and theologian al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] expressed the same opinion. After al-Muḳtadī had paid tribute to the Saldjūḳ prince Maḥmūd, his own son Djaʿfar was returned to him by the Saldjūḳs, but he died in the following year.

During the subsequent years which saw the struggle for the Saldjūḳ heritage, the only choice left to the caliph was to promote the legitimacy of the stronger pretender, even if he were an anti-caliph. After the death of Turkān Khātūn in 487/1094, Niẓām al-Mulk's slaves (*mamālik*) appointed as sultan the young Berkyārūḳ [*q.v.*] (d. 498/1105), an older son of Malikshāh's and the rival of Maḥmūd (d. 487/1094) who had been kept prisoner in Iṣfahān by Turkān Khātūn. Niẓām al-Mulk's *mamlūks* succeeded in freeing him and in having him appointed as sultan notwithstanding the fact that he was unable to act as a political leader. In the end, the caliph agreed to his official inauguration. Shortly after the treaty regarding the sultanate had been concluded in Baghdād in favour of Berkyārūḳ, al-Muḳtadī unexpectedly died on 15 Muḥarram 487/4 February 1094, hardly thirty-nine years old, after a reign of almost twenty years. In order to avoid unrest, his death was kept secret for three days. His appointed successor al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*], fifteen years old, was inaugurated immediately. Al-Muḳtadī was buried on 18 Muḥarram 478/7 February 1094. The young sultan Berkyārūḳ, for whom on the preceding Friday the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] had been said from the *minbars* in Baghdād for the first time, was not present among the mourners.

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AL-**MUḲTADIR** BI-LLĀH, ABU 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muʿtaḍid by a Greek slave concubine named Shaghib, reigned 295-320/908-32, but with two episodes when he was temporarily deposed, the first on 20 Rabīʿ I 296/17 December 908 in the fourth month of his caliphate, when Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] replaced him for a day, and the second on 15 Muḥarram 317/28 February 929, when his brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*] was raised to the throne for two days.

After the death of his brother al-Muktafī in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/August 908, al-Muḳtadir, who was only 13 at the time, was proclaimed caliph. Many however preferred ʿAbd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Muʿtazz, and after the murder of the vizier al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ], al-Muḳtadir was declared to be deposed and Ibn al-Muʿtazz elected caliph. The eunuch general Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] came forward to save al-Muḳtadir; Ibn al-Muʿtazz was slain and al-Muḳtadir retained the caliphate. He showed very little independence however and allowed himself to be guided, sometimes by the personnel of the harem and sometimes by the viziers (see below). Al-Muḳtadir's caliphate was therefore marked by a gradual decline. In his reign the dynasties of the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*] and Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] became independent. The Ḳarmaṭīs also rebelled once more. In the years 307/919-20 and 311/923, Baṣra was plundered by the Ḳarmaṭī chief Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] and at the end of the year 311/924 he fell upon the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the following year/February 925, he attacked the caravan which was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdād and put it to flight. He next plundered Kūfa and then returned to Baḥrayn. An army sent against the Ḳarmaṭīs under the command of Muʾnis al-Khādim [see MUʾNIS AL-MUẒAFFARĪ] arrived only after they had retired. In 314/926-7 Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj [see SADJIDS] was summoned from Ādharbāydjān to help, but Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān defeated him in Shawwāl of the following year/December 927 and took him prisoner, creating a panic in Baghdād. The caliph's troops did not dare to give battle and in Muḥarram 316/March 928, Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān seized the town of al-Raḥba. After an unsuccessful attack on al-Raḳḳa he retired; in 317/929-30, or, according to others, in 316, he plundered Mecca and

carried off the Black Stone. On the Byzantine frontier, both sides continued their raids with varying fortunes. In 305/917 the Byzantines sent an embassy to Baghdād and made an offer of peace and exchange of captives (the *fidā' Mu'nis*: see LAMAS-ṢŪ), and after two years, peace was definitely concluded; but hostilities very soon broke out again. In 314/926-7, the Byzantines ravaged the district of Malaṭya, and in the following year they crossed a considerable part of Armenia. After taking several Armenian cities which belonged to the Arabs (316/928-9) and occupying northern Mesopotamia (317/929-30) they lost all their gains in 319-20/931-2. In Muḥarram 317/February 929 a military rebellion broke out in the capital caused by the exasperation of some commanders at al-Muḳtadir's extravagance and fecklessness. Al-Muḳtadir was forced to abdicate, but was brought to a place of safety by Mu'nis, while the soldiery plundered the palace. His brother Muḥammad was summoned to be Commander of the Faithful in his stead with the style al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*]; but since the chief leader of the rebels, the head of police Nāzūk, could not satisfy the demands of the troops for higher pay, al-Ḳāhir was deposed shortly afterwards and al-Muḳtadir placed on the throne once more. In Baghdād the confusion increased, and in 320/932 the catastrophe came. The enemies of Mu'nis took advantage of his absence at Mawṣil to persuade the caliph that Mu'nis intended to dethrone him, and when Mu'nis approached at the head of his army, al-Muḳtadir was persuaded with great reluctance by Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt [*q.v.*] to take the field against him; he fell at the beginning of the encounter (27 Shawwāl 320/31 October 932). Mu'nis favoured al-Muḳtadir's son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad as successor in the caliphate, but the dead ruler's brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir was now raised to the throne once more, under the influence of Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl al-Nawbakhtī.

Al-Muḳtadir was the youngest of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to have achieved the throne, and his 24 years' reign was the longest which a caliph had thus far enjoyed. His caliphate inaugurated, however, a period of unparalleled impotence and disaster for the central power of the caliphate, contrasting with the resurgent strength of the institution during the previous period of al-Muwaffaḳ, al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī. Al-Muḳtadir was the choice of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, whose influence had been growing in the latter part of al-Muktafī's reign and who now became al-Muḳtadir's first vizier, in preference to the older and more experienced prince-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz, because—as Ibn al-Furāt rightly calculated—al-Muḳtadir would prove a nonentity as ruler. In fact, the new caliph remained a voluptuary, dominated by his mother Shaghib, known as Sayyida, with an expensive and numerous household of slavegirls and eunuchs. In the first years of his reign he contrived to run through the substantial fortune left by his predecessor [cf. AL-MUKTAFĪ]. Thābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābi''s verdict (quoted in Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, i, 238-41, tr. v, 267-71) was uncompromisingly severe: that al-Muḳtadir wasted over 70 million *dīnārs* on futile and unnecessary expenditure, having inherited 14 million *dīnārs* in the privy treasury (*bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa*).

Whereas al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī each had only two viziers, there were no fewer than fourteen separate vizierates during al-Muḳtadir's caliphate. The holders of this office continued in the main to belong to the well-known, long-established vizieral and secretarian families, including the Furātīs, Djarrāḥīs, Khāḳānīs, Wahbīs and Makhladīs, and included able if unscrupulous men like ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt and the upright and conscientious ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā Ibn al-Djarrāḥ [*q.vv.*]. For all the viziers, the dominating problem was the bankruptcy of the treasury, caused by an apparent and not wholly explicable decline in the revenues from the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ and by heavy expenditure on the caliphal household and on the army, above all for its campaigns against the Ḳarmaṭīs. It was thus the aim of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, when he was in power, to curb caliphal expenditure and to endeavour to pacify the Ḳarmaṭīs by negotiations with them and by subsidies, policies which earned him al-Muḳtadir's opposition and, prompted by the calumnies of his enemies, the reputation of being friendly to the Ḳarmaṭī heresy. Throughout the reign in general, in order to pay the troops and to cover the expenses of state from a shrinking tax base, financial expedients such as the farming out of taxes (*ḍamān*, see BAYT AL-MĀL. II) (e.g. those of Syria and Egypt to the Mādharā'ī family [*q.v.*] from the later years of al-Muktafī) and the granting out of *iḳṭā*ʿs [*q.v.*] or assignments of land and their taxative yield (as were in effect the lands granted to the Sādjids [*q.v.*] in Ādharbāydjān and Armenia). Moreover, the incessant changes in the vizierate and other leading offices gave great opportunities for the mulcting of fallen and dismissed officials [see MUṢĀDARA], procedures in which Ibn al-Furāt and especially his son al-Muḥassin achieved new heights of cruelty.

In the religious field, al-Muḳtadir's caliphate is notable for the influence in it of certain Shīʿī circles, including the personnage of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Nawbakhtī, considered in his time as the *wakīl* or agent of the Hidden *Imām* [see NAWBAKHT]; and the endemic pro-Shīʿī and ʿAlid revolts took place, with that of Ibn al-Riḍā in Syria in 300/912-13 and that of the Zaydī al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH] continuing in Daylam and Ṭabaristān from the time of al-Muʿtaḍid.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-MUKTAFĪ BI-LLĀH, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 289-95/902-8, son of al-Muʿtaḍid and a Turkish slave concubine named Čiček (Arabic Djīdjak).

In 281/894-5 he was appointed by his father governor of al-Rayy and several towns in the neighbourhood, and five years later he was made governor of Mesopotamia and took up his quarters in

al-Raḳḳa. After the death of al-Muʿtaḍid on 22 Rabīʿ II 289/5 April 902, he ascended the throne and at once won the good-will of the people by his liberality, by destroying the subterranean dungeons in the capital built by his father, releasing prisoners and restoring confiscated lands. He proved a brave and fearless leader who fought with success against the many enemies of the caliphate. The Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] were ravaging Syria; one town after another fell into their hands and Damascus itself was plundered. On 6 Muḥarram 291/29 November 903, the general Muḥammad b. Sulaymān finally succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them and they scattered in all directions. Muḥammad then turned his attention to Egypt, where he put an end to the rule of the Ṭūlūnids. Many of their followers joined him and after the Ṭūlūnid Hārūn b. Khumārawayh had been slain, the capital had to surrender (Ṣafar 292/January 905) and ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Egypt. An attempt to restore the Ṭūlūnids was easily crushed (293/905-6). About this time, the Ḳarmaṭīs again began to be troublesome and at the beginning of the year 294/October-November 906 they attacked the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, massacred the men and carried off the women and children. In Rabīʿ I of the same year/December-January 906-7, they were defeated near al-Ḳādisiyya by the caliph's troops under Waṣīf b. Suwārtigīn al-Khazarī. The war with the Byzantines was also vigorously pursued. In 291/903-4, a Greek named Leo who had adopted Islam undertook a number of raids on the Greek coasts with his fleet of 54 ships. The Byzantines, however, had the advantage by land. In 292/904-5, Marʿash, al-Maṣṣīṣa and Ṭarsūs were taken by the Greek general Andronicus, and in the following year the Byzantines advanced as far as Aleppo. Then the Muslims gained the upper hand, and Andronicus went over to them. Al-Muktafī fell ill, and a power-struggle amongst the chief secretaries and vizier followed (see below); after momentarily rallying, the caliph finally nominated his younger half-brother Djaʿfar al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] as his heir, but died at Baghdād on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/13 August 908.

Al-Muktafī himself merges as a man of sensibility, a gourmet and an appreciator of the verses of poets like Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*]. Although his six-and-a-half years' reign was racked by warfare, above all by the Ḳarmaṭī outbreaks, the state remained prosperous; the caliph continued his father's careful financial policies and when he died is said to have left 100 million *dirhams* in coinage, garments, property, etc.—a full treasury, which his successor was speedily to dissipate. Al-Muktafī was served by two able viziers, al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb (289-91/902-4) and, after his death, by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan al-Djardjarāʾī [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ] (291-5/904-8). Al-Ḳāsim secured a considerable ascendancy over the young caliph, and used it ruthlessly to remove his enemies, beginning with the military commander-in-chief, the *mawlā* Badr and then the son of al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Waḥīd; he gained the honorific of *Walī al-Dawla* and had his daughter betrothed to one of the caliph's infant sons. He aimed to combat the pro-Shīʿī influence in the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT], but under al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan the power in the state of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt grew. When al-Muktafī was clearly dying, there arose great scope for intrigue among the chief officials of the state, in which Ibn al-Furāt's preference for an inexperienced and pliable caliph, al-Muḳtadir, prevailed over the claims of the older and much more competent prince-poet Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*; and see also AL-ʿABBĀS B. AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD in *EI*[1]].

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-MUḲTAFĪ LI-AMR ALLĀH, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph (reigned 530-55/1136-60), born on 12 Rabīʿ II 489/9 April 1096, the son of al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*] and a slave girl. After the deposition of his nephew al-Rāshid [*q.v.*], al-Muḳtafī was acknowledged as caliph on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 530/17 September 1136. While the Saldjūḳs were fighting among themselves, he did his best not only to maintain his independence but also to extend his rule, and one district after the other in ʿIrāḳ fell into his hands. In 543/1148 a number of *amīrs* denounced their allegiance to Sultan Masʿūd and marched on Baghdād but dispersed after several encounters with the caliph's troops. According to some sources, the same thing took place again next year. In Radjab 547/October 1152, Masʿūd died, and was succeeded by his nephew Malikshāh, who was deposed in a few months and succeeded by his brother Muḥammad. In the meanwhile, the caliph seized the two towns of al-Ḥilla and Wāsiṭ. In the following year Sultan Sandjar, who ruled in Khurāsān, was attacked and taken prisoner by the rebel Ghuzz [*q.v.*], whereupon his *amīrs* proclaimed Masʿūd's brother Sulaymānshāh sultan. In Muḥarram 551/February-March 1156 the latter was recognised by the caliph on condition that he did not interfere in the affairs of ʿIrāḳ. Although al-Muḳtafī supported him, he was defeated in Djumādā I/June-July of the same year by his nephew Muḥammad and the latter's auxiliary. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/January-February 1157, Sultan Muḥammad advanced on Baghdād to take vengeance on the caliph. The latter had to retire to the eastern part of the town and was besieged there for several months. In Rabīʿ I 552/May 1151, however, the sultan suddenly raised the siege because Malikshāh was advancing on Hamadhān. As the latter therefore retired, hostilities automatically ceased and Muḥammad is said to have later made his peace with al-Muḳtafī. The latter twice besieged Takrīt in vain; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Liḥf. The Crusaders continued their hostilities in al-Muḳtafī's caliphate. The most powerful pillar of Islam was the Atābeg of al-Mawṣil, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, and his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Syria. Al-Muḳtafī died on 2 Rabīʿ I 555/12 March 1160.

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(K.V. Zetterstéen)

AL-MUḲTANĀ, Bahāʾ al-Dīn, a Druze missionary and author, with his teacher Ḥamza (b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]) founder of the theological system of the Druzes [*q.v.*].

During the lifetime of Ḥamza he was the fifth of the five supreme dignitaries (*ḥudūd*) of the Druze hierarchy, with the titles *al-Djanāḥ al-aysar* (the Left Wing) and *al-Tālī* (the Follower). HIs "secular" name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sammuḳī. Of his life practically nothing is known. As Arab historians are silent about him (S. de Sacy, *Exposé*, ii, 320), his own writings are almost the only source (S.N. Makarem, *The Druze faith*, 26, identitifies him with the well-known Fāṭimid general and governor ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḍayf, but this identification seems to be unfounded). According to Druze tradition, he was *ḳāḍī* in Alexandria in al-Ḥākim's [*q.v.*] time (M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, 135). As his works reveal quite a good knowledge (though not without misunderstandings) of Christian religion and literature (cf. Bryer, *Origins*, 259), he may have been born a Christian, probably in Syria. Only for the period of his teaching do we have chronological exactness. His diploma of investiture (*taḳlīd*) is dated 13 Shaʿbān of the third year of Ḥamza's mission, i.e. 411 (2 December 1020) (de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i, 474-5; ii, 309, 313, tr. *ibid.*, ii, 297-309). The earliest of his known writings is of the tenth year of Ḥamza, 418 A.H. (*ibid.*, ii, 326). In consequence, one must assume that he came to the front after the disappearance of al-Ḥākim and Ḥamza. From that time onwards he seems to have been the supreme leader of the Druze *daʿwa*; his letters to the communities in Upper Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia, the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen, Baḥrayn and Sind have been preserved in the Druze canon. His activity, however, was not a continuous one and he had even to live for a time in concealment (about the year 17-18 of Ḥamza, i.e. 425-6 A.H.; see de Sacy, *op. cit.*, ii, 364), whether in Egypt or Syria is not certain (Guys, *La nation druze*, 114). The latest date known in his writings is the 26th year of Ḥamza, i.e. 434/1042 (de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i, 496; ii, 379). His farewell epistle (*Risālat al-Ghayba*) dates from this year; according to it, he had retired into concealment (*ibid.*, i, 514-15, ii, 358); nothing more is known of him. The "Druze theogony" does not agree with these dates; it gives 17 years as the period of his activity (Guys, *op. cit.*, 107). Hitti's assertion (*Origins*, 11) that he died in 1031 is due to a misunderstanding.

Druze tradition not unjustly ranks him with Ḥamza and regards him as the greatest theological writer, to whom four of the sacred books are ascribed (von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i, 135-7). These are not books in the proper sense but collections of separate tracts, usually in the form of epistles, directed to followers of the Druze teaching or of other creeds in various lands, as, for instance, Byzantium. They are to this day frequently read by the Druzes in their *khalawāt*; commentaries were written on some of them by the last independent Druze theologian ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanūkhī (d. 1480; on him see Hitti, *op. cit.*, 53, 71; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i, 137). Of the some 110 Druze treatises so far known in Europe, 70 are ascribed by de Sacy to al-Muḳtanā (*op. cit.*, i, 484 and 496). Recently, an apocryphal collection of letters has been found, the *Rasāʾil al-Hind*, consisting of eight epistles from al-Muḳtanā to the head of the Druze community in Sind, Djāta b. Sumar Rādja Pāl, and four to al-Muḳtanā from the Indian *dāʿī* (Abu-Izzeddin, *The Druzes*, 110).

Except for a few short texts published by de Sacy along with other writings of Ḥamza (see *Bibl.*), very few have been printed, namely the *Kitāb al-Badʾ* by Seybold (see *Bibl.*) and *al-Risāla al-Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, sent in 1028 to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII, by Khalil and Ronzevalle (see *Bibl.* and extracts in Hitti, *op. cit.*, 64-7). Others are accessible only in translations and extracts (esp. in de Sacy; *al-Risāla al-Masīḥiyya*, a synopsis in Hitti, *op. cit.*, 68-70). As with other Druze writers, the style is very obscure and artificial, frequently embellished with rhymed prose.

Silvestre de Sacy, whose book still is the most important collection of material, regarded al-Muḳtanā as "un enthousiaste de bonne foi" (*op. cit.*, i, 508). It is highly desirable that someone should devote a special study to his life and work, paying particular attention to the authenticity of his works and to a critical edition of them.

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(I. Kratchkowsky-[H. Halm])

AL-MUḲURRA, al-Maḳurra, a kingdom of the mediaeval Sudan. Situated south of Egypt and north of ʿAlwa [*q.v.*], it was formed from the combination of the two Christian Nubian kingdoms of Nobatia and Makuria. The unification date is uncertain, but must have occured between 690 A.D. and the reign of king Merkurius (696/7 until 710 at least), according to evidence from the *Life* of Isaac, patriarch of Alexandria 690-2, and from an inscription of Merkurius. The former mentions strife between the kings of Maurotania (Marīs [*q.v.*], i.e. Nobatia) and Makuria, whilst the latter attributes to Merkurius, king of Dongola [*q.v.*; the capital of Muḳurra], the construction of two churches in Nobatia, at Faras and Taifa. In a document almost certainly of king Kyriakos and dated 141/759, the royal title is "Lord of Muḳurra and Nubia".

The main connection of Muḳurra with the Muslim world was the *baḳt* [*q.v.*] payment, and there was also the ecclesiastical dependence on the patriarchate of Alexandria. Al-Maḳrīzī regarded the *baḳt* as binding on Nubia from Aswān to the borders of ʿAlwa, i.e. on both Nobatia and Muḳurra.

After the attack of King Dāwūd of Nubia on ʿAydhāb in 671/1272, the power and independence of Muḳurra was curtailed, and Mamlūk interference brought a Muslim king to the throne by 717/1316. Arabic sources generally refer to al-Muḳurra as al-Nūba [*q.v.*] or Dunḳula (Dongola), but a Coptic letter to Mark III of Alexandria (1166-89) from Ḳaṣr Ibrīm, refers to Nobadia, Makuria, and Alodia as being under his jurisdiction. In the 14th century A.D. the kingdom seems to have broken up into smaller regions, with royal seats at Daw and Dongola, and a possible splinter kingdom around Djabal Adda called Dotawo. The last king of Nubia mentioned by the sources is Nāṣir (800/1397); but a King Joel of Dotawo is known from a leather document from Djabal Adda as late as 1484.

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MUKŪS [see MAKS].

MULADĪ [see MUWALLAD].

MÜLĀZEMET (A. *mulāzama*), an Ottoman administrative term for the certificate of eligibility for office. In the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*], *mülāzemet* indicated the candidacy for office of those *medrese* students who had completed their studies and received an *idjāzet*, a diploma for practice. It gradually came to refer to the time period between the graduation and the actual appointment to an office; in this period, the candidates waited and gained professional experience by attending the assemblies, *medjlis*, of the Rūmeli and Anadolu *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* [*q.v.*]. To document their attendance, they recorded their names in the register referred to as *maṭlab*.

The *mülāzemet* system was systematised during the reign of Sultan Süleymān I as the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rūmeli, Ebu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi, instituted the practice of keeping a register for *mülāzims*, i.e., the candidates, and notifying each *ʿilmiyye* member how many trainees for office they could nominate among their graduating students. The Topkapı Palace Museum Archives contain one such *mülāzemet* register from the early 10th/16th century (D5605/1). The Ottoman state kept on issuing many decrees throughout the centuries to regulate the system; see, for example, *mühimme* 73, decree number 740 in the Prime Minister's Archives.

In addition to the *ʿilmiyye* usage [for which, see MULĀZIM] *mülazim* referred, in the Ottoman administration, military, the palace and guild system, to the candidates or "reserves" for office. Administratively, Sultan Süleyman I assigned the collection of the poll-tax, *djizya*, to tax-farmers who were called *mülāzim* officers and who formed a special corps to collect this tax in certain districts. The term was also used for the 300 special mounted bodyguards whom Sultan Süleyman I selected from among his household to accompany him on campaigns. These personal aides-de-camp were called *mülāzim* because they were preparing for important administrative posts which came by way of reward for their services to the sultan. As the Ottoman army was reorganised during the 19th century, the term *mülāzim* came to apply to the lowest two ranks of officers, corresponding to the rank of "lieutenant".

In the Ottoman Palace, *mülāzim* referred to the reserves among the 40 subordinate valets in the retinue of the Head Valet, *Bash Čuhadār*. The first 20 valets were accoutred with finery supplied from the treasury of the sultan; the second twenty, regarded as their *mülāzims*, i.e. candidates for succession to their posts, had to supply their own.

In the Ottoman guild system, *mülāzim* alluded to the reserves among the 31 men who were under the command of the Inspector over the Guild Affairs, the *muḥtesib*. Of the 31 men, 15 were referred to as the Privileged, *gedikli*, since they held posts by virtue of a privilege which was hereditary; in the event of a *gedikli* dying without a son, their posts were filled by the seniors among the other 16 men, who were called *mülāzim*.

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(F. MÜGE GÖÇEK)

MULĀZIM (A.; Turkish form: *mülāzim*), an Ottoman administrative and military term (e.g. denoting in later times a lieutenant in the army), the most notable use of which was to designate a candidate for office in the Ottoman learned hierarchy (the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*]) whether at the beginning of his career (in which case he was, strictly, a *mülāzim-i new*) or at any later stage when he was awaiting a post; in this last respect, the former usage is by far the more commonly met with in the literature (usually without the addition of *new*), since attaining the status of a *mülāzim*, or of *mülāzama* (*mülāzemet* [*q.v.*]), was an essential step in the qualification of a (usually young) scholar for entry into the learned career.

Once a student had completed, or nearly completed, his studies, it was necessary for him to secure the sponsorship of the holder of one of a number of high-ranking posts in the learned hierarchy—for example, the *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], the *ḳāḍī* of an important city such as Istanbul, or the *müderris* of an important *medrese* such as one of the Süleymāniyye *medreses*—whose backing would enable him to be enrolled as a *mülāzim*, i.e. a candidate for office, in the register of one of the two *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* [*q.v.*], which enrolment, in turn, entitled him to appointment to a vacancy in the learned establishment when one occurred. The right to become a *mülāzim* was often, though not necessarily, earned by the student through performing a service for an established scholar, such as acting as *muʿīd* for a *müderris* or as *tedhkeredji* for a *ḳāḍī ʿasker*. The investing of students, their own or others', with the right to become *mülāzims* was regarded by the holders of the high learned posts, each of which was assigned a quota, as an important perquisite and was

exercised both at regular intervals (fixed at seven years by Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*], who was largely responsible for regularising the practises with respect to *mülāzemet*), these occasions being known as *nawba* (*nöbet, newbet*), and also to mark special occasions such as the accession of a sultan or a famous victory, in which instances they are referred to as *teshrīf*.

When applied conscientiously by all concerned, the procedures for becoming a *mülāzim* provided the Ottoman state with a useful means of control of both the quality and the quantity of the intake into the learned profession, but the system had largely lost its effectiveness in both these respects by the early 12th/18th century.

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MULE [see baghl].

MULḤID (a.), deviator, apostate, heretic, atheist. The religious meaning of the term is derived from the basic sense of the root *l-ḥ-d* "to incline, to deviate". There is no evidence of pre-Islamic usage in a religious meaning. The Islamic usage arose on the basis of the Ḳurʾānic verses VII, 180: "Leave those who deviate (*yulḥidūna*, var. *yalḥadūna*) in regard to His names"; XLI, 40: "Verily, those who deviate in regard to Our signs (*yulḥidūna fī āyātinā*) are not hidden from Us"; and XXII, 25: "Whoever seeks in it (sc. the sacred Mosque of Mecca) to perpetrate deviation (*bi-ilḥād*) wantonly, We shall make him taste a painful punishment".

In the Umayyad age, the terms *mulḥid* and *ilḥād* were used to denote desertion of the community of the faithful and rebellion against the legitimate caliphs. *Mulḥid* thus appeared as synonymous with *bāghī*, rebel, and *shāḳḳ al-ʿaṣā*, splitter of the ranks of the faithful. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], who described himself as "the seeker of asylum in the Sacred House (*al-ʿāʾidh bi 'l-bayt*)", was branded by his Umayyad opponents, with reference to Ḳurʾān, XXII, 25, as "the deviator (*mulḥid*) in the Sacred Mosque". Umayyad propaganda forged *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet predicting that "A man of Ḳuraysh shall deviate (*yulḥidu*) in Mecca upon whom half of (God's) punishment of the world will rest (in the hereafter)", and "A man of Ḳuraysh shall deviate in (the Sanctuary of God) whose crimes, if weighed against the crimes of mankind and the Djinn (*al-thaḳalayn*), would preponderate". The *ḥadīth* ascribed to Muḥammad "Monopolisation of grain (*iḥtikār al-taʿām*) in the Sanctuary constitutes *ilḥād* in it", is probably likewise a product of Umayyad anti-Zubayrid propaganda. The supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr were collectively called *mulḥidūn*. Conversely, the poet Djarīr characterised loyal supporters of the Umayyads as "never being tempted by *ilḥād* (*wa-lā hammū bi-ilḥādī*)". In the late Umayyad age the poet Ruʾba described the Khāridjī leader al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī as being followed by every *mulḥid*. The Khāridjīs, on the other hand, considered the Umayyad authorities as deviators from the right path of Islam, and their poet ʿĪsā al-Khaṭṭī said in the time of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, "I am wary of meeting my God without having frightened the tyrants and deviators (*dhawi 'l-baghy wa 'l-ilḥād*) in a mighty army".

In the early ʿAbbāsid age, the *kalām* theologians began to use the term *mulḥid* in the meaning of "heretic, deviator in religious beliefs". *Ilḥād* came to signify not so much mere adherence to false religious doctrine as rejection of religion as such, materialist scepticism and atheism. Refutations of the *mulḥidūn* were written in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries by Muʿtazilī theologians like Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, al-Aṣamm, al-Murdār, Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, by the Murdjiʾī al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār, and by the Ibāḍī al-Haytham b. al-Haytham. None of these works is extant, but the extant *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-mulḥid* by the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860) clearly portrays the anonymous *mulḥid* as a religious sceptic inclining to atheism (W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 100, 110). Criticism of, and deviant teaching about, the Ḳurʾān in particular was, evidently with reference to Ḳurʾān, XII, 40, qualified as *ilḥād*. Thus the Muʿtazilī grammarian Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821) wrote a *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-mulḥidīn fī mutashābih al-Ḳurʾān*, and al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) composed a *K. al-Radd ʿalā man alḥada fī Kitāb Allāh*. In the 6th/12th century, the Yamanī grammarian and Ḥanafī preacher Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Zabīdī (d. 555/1160) wrote a *Radd ʿalā man alḥada fī 'l-Kitāb al-ʿazīz* (Brockelmann, S I, 764). Al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6) discussed in his *Maḳālāt al-mulḥidīn* cosmological theories of the ancients. He defined the term *mulḥida* as comprising "the *muʿaṭṭila* (deniers of God's attributes), *zanādiḳa*, dualists (*thanawiyya*), Barāhima, and others who repudiate the Creator and deny prophethood".

Later the Ismāʿīlīs, traditionally described by anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicists as crypto-atheists, were charged with *ilḥād*, at first in eastern Persian territory. The Transoxanian Māturīdi theologian Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114) wrote a refutation of the Bāṭiniyya (Ismāʿīliyya) entitled *K. al-Ifsād li khudaʿ ahl al-ilḥād* (*Shahrastani: Livre des Religions et des Sectes I*, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Louvain 1986, 554 n. 34). Al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) noted that the (Nizārī) Ismāʿīlīs in Khurāsān were called the Taʿlīmiyya or Mulḥida (al-Shahrastānī, 147). From the second half of the 6th/12th century, the plural *malāḥida* (in early Persian usage *mulāḥida*) was commonly applied to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs everywhere, including Syria. In the Mongol age, European and Chinese travellers brought it as a name of the Nizārīs to their home countries (E. Bretschneider, *Medieval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1887, i, 115, 133-6; H. Franke, *Das chinesische Wort für Mumie*, in *Oriens*, x [1957], 255-7).

In Ottoman usage, *mulḥid* and *ilḥād* were terms commonly employed to describe subversive doctrines among the Shīʿīs and Ṣūfis. In the 19th century, the historian Aḥmad Djewdet characterised the ideas of the partisans of the French revolution as *ilḥād*.

Bibliography: *WKAS*, s.v. *l-ḥ-d*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971, 58, 204-11, 214-15, 229, 234. For al-Ashʿarī's concept of *mulḥidūn*, see in particular Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad maḳālāt al-Ashʿarī*, ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1987, index s.v.; and see also B. Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of heresy in Islam*, in *SI*, i (1953), 56. (W. Madelung)

MŪLID [see mawlid].

MULK (a.), royal power, is used in the Ḳurʾān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islamic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*; the latter word, however, occurs only four times in the Ḳurʾān and always with a dependent genitive (*kull shayʾ* or *al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*) while *mulk* is often used absolutely. To God alone belongs *mulk*, He has no associate therein; to Him belongs *mulk* over heaven and earth as well as over the judgment. He gives *mulk* to whom

He will; the unbelievers have no share in it. Shayṭān promised Adam imperishable *mulk* and tempted him with his promise to eat of the *shadjarat al-khuld* (sūra XX, 118/20). Nimrūd endeavours to claim for himself God's *mulk* against Ibrāhīm (II, 260/258). but God gives *mulk* to the family of Ibrāhīm (IV, 57/54). Yūsuf thanks God in prayer for the *mulk* which He has given him (XII, 102/101). Firʿawn boasts of his right to the *mulk* Miṣr (XLIII, 50/51); God wills to give Ṭālūt *mulk* over the recalcitrant Israelites and to send the *tābūt* as a sign (II, 248/247 ff.). Dāwūd's *mulk* is mentioned in II, 252/251 and XXXVIII, 19/20, and Sulaymān's in II, 96/102; the latter prays for it (XXXVIII, 34/35).

That the conception of *mulk* was not carried over into Muslim law generally has been explained in MALIK; an exception is Egypt during the Ayyūbid period and in quite modern times. But in the Arab monarchies of the last century or so, the term denoting the actual area over which kingly power is exercised has been *mamlaka* [*q.v.*]; hence *al-Mamlaka al-ʿArabiyya al-Suʿūdiyya* (Saudi Arabia), *al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hāshimiyya* (Jordan) and *al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya* (Morocco).

Bibliography: See that to MALIK; also TĀDJ and G. Richter, *Studien zur Gesch. der älteren arab. Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, esp. 6.

(M. PLESSNER*)

MULKIYYA (A.), designates, in Arabic, a title to property [see MILK], but the Turkish form *mülkiyye*, or more precisely *idāre-i mülkiyye*, became by roughly the 1830s the customary Ottoman term for civil administration [see MAʾMŪR on "civil officials", *meʾmūrīn-i mülkiyye*]. It is not clear exactly when *mülkiyye* acquired this sense. Muḥammad ʿAlī's reforms in Egypt may have contributed to this development; he had separate *dīwāns* for civil and military affairs by the 1820s (*dīwān-i mülkiyye*, *dīwān-i djihādiyye*; Deny, 108, 111-15). Since the term *mülkiyye* has associations with both land ownership and sovereignty, the Istanbul government's generalised use of the term may have reflected civil officials' growing role in provincial administration, a huge new domain of employment for men who had historically served mostly as scribes (*küttāb*, *ḳalem efendileri*) in Istanbul but were now becoming "civil officials" with a much broader range of roles. When Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] reorganised the central offices as ministries, the new Interior Ministry was at first called the *Umūr-i Mülkiyye Neẓāreti* (1251/1836; Luṭfī, v, 29-31), becoming the *Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti* a year later. As a systematic personnel policy developed for the emerging civil service, however, the nomenclature used to discuss and regulate it made clear that *mülkiyye* referred not to a single ministry, but to the entire civil service (Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 65-6, 140-7, 194-7, 280-9, 326-33, 364, n. 66).

The term *mülkiyye* acquired another specific association with the founding of the Ottoman School of Civil Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) in 1859 (Ergin, ii, 495-517; Çankaya, i-ii, *passim*). Intended as an institution of higher education, the *Mülkiyye* became one of the empire's most prestigious schools during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]), was moved to Ankara under the Republic, and has survived as the Faculty of Political Science (*Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi*) of Ankara University. For classes graduating under the empire, *Mülkiyye* graduates' biographies show that some 70% of them served under the Interior Ministry, especially in local administration; most other graduates served in other civil agencies (Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom*, 157; Çankaya, viii, chart opposite p. 164). A major factor in professionalising the Ottoman civil administration, the *Mülkiyye* greatly improved the officials' training; and it became the first Ottoman school to have a student association, as well as an alumni association, which published a significant professional journal, also called *Mülkiyye*, during the Young Turk period (Findley, *op. cit.*, 158, 243-52). Graduates of the School began to reach the grand vizierate with İbrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*] (in office 1909-11; Findley, *op. cit.*, 195-209), and have remained prominent in high office ever since. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd used the school as a way to patronise his non-Turkish Muslim subjects. Non-Turkish *Mülkiyye* alumni consequently remained politically and intellectually prominent in Ottoman successor states, both Balkan and Middle Eastern, until the mid-20th century (Findley, *op. cit.*, 114-19; Çankaya, *passim*; Blake, *passim*).

Bibliography: Corinne Blake, *An Ottomanizing institution: Syrian graduates of the Mülkiye Mektebi, 1890-1920*, diss. Princeton University; Ali Çankaya, *Son asır Türk târihinin önemli olayları ile birlikde Yeni Mülkiye târihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, 8 vols., Ankara 1968-71; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930; Osman Ergin, *İstanbul mektepleri ve ilim, terbiye ve sanʾat müesseseleri dolayısile Türkiye maarif tarihi*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1939-45; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire: the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980; idem, *Ottoman civil officialdom: a social history*, Princeton 1989; Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., the 8th edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, Istanbul 1290-1328/1873-1910.

(C.V. FINDLEY)

MULLĀ [see MOLLĀ; if followed by another name, see also under that name].

MULLĀ ṢADRĀ SHĪRĀZĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. Ibrāhīm Ḳawāmī SHĪRĀZĪ (*ca.* 979-80/1571-2 to 1050/1640), known as Mullā Ṣadrā, the leading Iranian Shīʿī philosopher of the Ṣafawid period.

After elementary studies in Shīrāz, he completed his education in Iṣfahān, where his teachers included three of the chief thinkers of his day: Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir Astarābādī (Mīr Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD]), Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*] (Shaykh-i-Bahāʾī), and—probably—Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Ṣadrā's subsequent exposition of unorthodox doctrines, notably that of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, which he dealt with in an early work, *Ṭarḥ al-kawnayn* (Rahman, *Philosophy*, 17-18), led to his condemnation and excommunication by some Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*. He therefore retired for a lengthy period (variously given as 7, 11 or even 15 years) to a village named Kahak near Ḳum, where he engaged in contemplative exercises. While in Kahak, he also composed a number of minor works, including the *Risāla fi 'l-ḥashr* and the *Risāla fī ḥudūth al-ʿālam*.

Asked to abandon his retirement by the powerful governor of Fārs, Allāhwirdī Khān (d. 1022/1613), Ṣadrā accepted a teaching position in the latter's recently-established Madrasa-yi Khān in Shīrāz. Apart from a number of *ḥadjdj* journeys, he remained there, engaged in teaching and, above all, in writing. He died in 1050/1640 at Baṣra, in the course of his seventh pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there. His grave is no longer extant.

During the period in which he taught at Shīrāz, Ṣadrā laid the basis for what was effectively a new school of theosophical Shīʿism, combining elements from several existing systems of thought to form a synthesis usually referred to as the "Transcendent Wisdom" (*al-ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya*). The ideas of this

school, which may be seen as a continuation of the School of Iṣfahān of Mīr Dāmād and Shaykh-i Bahā'ī, were promulgated after Ṣadrā's death by his pupils, several of whom became noted thinkers in their own right, including Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī. Although Ṣadrā's influence remained limited in the generations after his death, it increased markedly during the 19th century, when his ideas helped inspire a renewed Akhbārī tendency within Twelver Shīʿism (Morris, *Wisdom*, Introd., 49). In the modern period, his works have been widely studied in Iran, Europe and America.

Although no firm chronology has yet been established for Ṣadrā's writings, it seems clear that the majority were produced during the later part of his life, while teaching in Shīrāz. The most important is *al-Ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya fī 'l-asrār al-ʿaḳliyya al-arbaʿa* (generally known as the *Asrār*), first completed in 1037/1628. This lengthy work is widely regarded in Iran as the most advanced text in the field of mystical philosophy (*ḥikmat*). Much shorter but of almost equal popularity are *al-Ḥikma al-ʿarshiyya*, on the knowledge of God and eschatology; the *Kitāb al-Mashāʾir*, on ontology: the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on metaphysics, cosmology, and eschatology; *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, one of his last works, in which he summarises his main teachings; his *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, a lengthy commentary on part of Kulaynī's canonical *ḥadīth* collection; and the *Sih aṣl*, his most important Persian work, in which he attacks the legalistic Uṣūlī version of Shīʿism. All of these works have been extensively studied and commented on in Iran. Most of Ṣadrā's opus has been published in editions of varying quality since the end of the last century.

Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophical system, although highly original, owes a considerable debt to earlier schools of thought, particularly *kalām* theology, Ismāʿīlism, Avicennan metaphysics, Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ṣūfism in general, the Ishrāḳī philosophy of Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī and the School of Iṣfahān. To these he adds several original doctrines, notably: (1) the basic reality of existence (*wudjūd*) as against quiddity (*māhiyya*); (2) the unity of intellect and intelligibles; and (3) the movement of all beings in their substances as well as in their qualities (*ḥaraka djawhariyya*), described by Rahman as his "original contribution to Islamic philosophy" (*Philosophy*, 11).

Bibliography: S.H. Nasr, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī and his Transcendent Theosophy*, Tehran 1978; idem, *Islamic studies*, Beirut 1967, chs. 10 and 11; idem (ed.), *Mullā Ṣadrā commemoration volume*, Tehran 1380/1961; idem, *Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī "Mullā Ṣadrā"*, in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 932-61; F. Rahman, *The philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Albany 1975; M. Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Schirazi*, Bonn 1912; idem, *Das philosophische System von Schirazi*, Strassburg 1913; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iv, Paris 1973, ch. 2; idem, introd. to Mollâ Sadra Shirazi, *Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*, Tehran and Paris 1964, 1-86; idem, introd. to idem and J. Ashtiyani, *Anthologie des philosophes iraniens*, i, Tehran and Paris 1972, 48-97; J.W. Morris, introd. to idem, tr., *The Wisdom of the Throne: an introduction to the philosophy of Mulla Sadra*, Princeton 1981. Useful bibliographies of Ṣadrā's writings may be found in Nasr, *Ṣadr al-Dīn*, 40-50, and Corbin, *Le Livre des Pénétrations*, 27-41 (and 46-54 for commentaries on the *Mashāʾir*). The following editions of works by Ṣadrā should be noted: *Asfār*, ed. R. Luṭfī, 9 vols., Ḳum, 1378-89 *sh*./1958-69; *al-Ḥikma al-ʿarshiyya*, ed. G. Āhanī, Iṣfahān, 1341 *sh*./1962; *ibid*., tr. Morris as *The Wisdom of the Throne*, see above; *Kitāb al-Mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, ed. Dj. Āshtiyānī, Tehran 1976; *Kitāb al-Mashāʾir*, ed. and tr. Corbin as *Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*, see above; *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya*, ed. Āshtiyānī, Mashhad, 1346 *sh*./1967; *Sih aṣl*. ed. S.H. Naṣr, Tehran 1340 *sh*./1961; *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-kāfī* and *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Tehran 1282/1865-6.

(D. MacEoin)

MULLAGORĪ, the name of a tribe on the north-west frontier of Pakistan. They inhabit the hilly country around Tārtāra and Kambela to the north of the Khyber Pass, in the southern part of the Mohmand [*q.v.*] territory. Their territories are bounded on the north by the Kābul river; on the west by the Shilmānī country; on the south by the settlements of the Kuki Khēl Afrīdīs; and on the east by the Peshāwar district. The tribe is divided into three clans: the Aḥmad Khēl, Ismāʿīl, and the Dawlat Khēl. Like the Ṣāfīs and the Shilmānīs, they are vassal clans of the Mohmands. Neither the Mohmands nor the Afrīdīs regard the Mullagorīs as true Paṭhāns. During the period 1879-98 they were constantly at feud with the Zakka Khēl Afrīdīs (R. Warburton, *Eighteen years in the Khyber*, 1900, 158). It was not until 1902 that the Government of India decided to construct a road from Shagai to Landi Kotal as an alternative route to the Khyber. In 1904 the Mullagorīs, in consideration of their good behaviour in connection with the construction of this road through their territories, received an annual allowance of 5,000 rupees (C.U. Aitchison, *Treaties, engagements and sanads*, xi, no. xxxiii; Lord Curzon's Budget Speech, 30 March 1904).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908*², London 1975, 62, 104.

(C. Collin Davies)

MULTĀN, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Pandjābī city of Mulasthana (B.C. Law, *Historical geography of ancient India*, Paris 1954, 112), thought to be Malli of Alexander's historians (Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, Cambridge, Mass. 1946, ii, 433).

1. History. Multān was one of the cities conquered by the Arabs during Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's expedition to India in 92-5/711-14. Like the city of Manṣūra [*q.v.*], Multān became one of the centres of Muslim rule in Western India. Due to the wealth found in it by the early conquerors, Multān was dubbed "opening of the house of gold" (*fardj bayt al-dhahab*) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 439-40), and became an important commercial city (al-Manīnī, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ʿalā taʾrīkh ... al-ʿUtbī*, Cairo 1286/1869, ii, 72). It seems that the *amīrs* of the city professed (until Multān came under Fāṭimid influence, see below) allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph, but were practically independent (*wa-laysa huwa fī ṭāʿati aḥad wa-khuṭbatuhu li-bani 'l-ʿAbbās*) (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 322; cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, 175).

Multān was at the time of the Muslim conquest the site of an important temple and a centre of Hindu pilgrimage (Ibn Rusta, 136-7 and other geographers). Contrary to Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim's practice in other captured cities (such as Daybul [*q.v.*]), the temple was left intact and pilgrims were allowed to perform their rites in it. In return for this policy of toleration, the *amīr* of Multān used to receive a considerable portion of the temple's income. Multān is the earliest and the best documented case in which the Hindus were implicitly awarded the status of *ahl al-dhimma* (Y. Friedmann, *The temple of Multan. A note on early Muslim attitudes to idolatry*, in *IOS*, ii [1972], 176-82).

By the end of the 9th century A.D., Fāṭimid activity began in Sind, and for some time the province was under the influence of Ismāʿīlī *duʿāt* (al-Muḳaddasī, 485). It was one of these, Ḥalam b. Shaybān, who destroyed the temple of Multān in the second half of the 4th/10th century and established a mosque in its stead (for different dates suggested for this event, see S.M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fatimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii [1949], 300-1, and A.H. al-Hamdani, *The beginnings of the Ismāʿīli daʿwa in Northern India*, Cairo 1956, 3; cf. B. Lewis, *Ismāʿīlī notes*, in *BSOAS*, xii [1947-8], 599-600). Ismāʿīlī influence in Multān received a serious blow when Maḥmūd of Ghaznā invaded the city in the context of his Indian campaigns (in 396/1006 and 401/1010), imprisoned the Ismāʿīlī *amīr* Abu 'l-Futūḥ Dāwūd b. Naṣr and put some of his followers to the sword (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, Kābul 1347 *sh.*, 178, 180; al-ʿUtbī al-Manīnī, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī* ... *sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, ii, 73-6; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 96-9). However, the Ismāʿīlīs seem to have recovered from this defeat, and when the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn b. Sām conquered the city in 570/1174-5, he is said to have "extracted it from the hands of the Ḳarmaṭīs" (*az dast-i Ḳarāmiṭa Multān-rā mustakhlaṣ kard*) again (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, 116).

During the first years of the Dihlī Sultanate, Multān was under the sway of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča. However, his position there was weakened by his unsuccessful encounter in 621/1224 with Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh (Djuwaynī, ii, 146, tr. Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 415) who reached the area while fleeing from the advancing Mongols. Eventually, Ḳabača was defeated in 625/1228 by Iltutmish and Multān became an integral part of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 173; Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Bhakkarī, *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, Bombay 1938, 36). The history of the city continued to be stormy during the subsequent period. While the heartland of India was spared the fury of the 7th/13th century wave of Mongol invasions, its western fringes suffered from them several times. The area of Multān was attacked in 643/1245 (Bhakkarī, *op. cit.*, 33), and then again in 683/1284-5 (*ibid.*, 41). It also suffered from several rebellions and frequent changes of governors.

Following the invasion of India by Tīmūr in 1398-9, Multān came under the sway of Khiḍr Khān [*q.v.*], the founder of the short-lived Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī. After the Sayyids' grip over the area weakened, Multān became the centre of the Langāh dynasty, which ruled between 1437 and 1526 (see Hameed ud-Din, *Multan in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries*, in *Jnal. of Indian History*, xl [1962], 24; and see ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH I and ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH II) and successfully defied Lōdī attempts to incorporate Multān into their state. The Langāhs were defeated in 1526 by the Arghuns, who collaborated with the Mughals and made Multān a dependency of their empire.

After the end of the Sūr interlude in Indo-Muslim history, Multān became the capital of an important *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire (ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbari*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, ii, 129, 329-48) and enjoyed a long period of stability. It was only in 1752 that Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] forced the feeble Mughal emperor to cede to him the *ṣūbas* of Lahore and Multān (J. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughul empire*, Calcutta 1964, i, 23). The main feature of the following decades in the history of Multān was the warfare with the Sikhs which culminated in the conquest of the city by Randjīt Singh in 1818 (L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford 1892, 182 ff.; Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, Princeton 1963, i, 249-52).

The Sikh rule over Multān was stable until the death of Randjīt Singh in 1839. Dīwān Sewan Mal, who ruled Multān between 1821 and 1844, extended his influence over a number of adjacent areas. In 1845, however, the British began their campaign against the disintegrating Sikh state in the Pandjāb. After an assault in Multān on two British officers in 1848, the city was occupied by the British and annexed, with the rest of the province, to their dominion.

Under the British rule, Multān served, at different times, as a divisional or district centre. In Pakistan it has been the capital of a division which includes the districts of Multān, Jhang, Lyallpur and Montgomery. Its population was, in 1951, just under 200,000 (*Census of Pakistan 1951. v. Panjab and Bahawalpur states*, 58-9). The proverbially inhospitable surroundings of Multān were exemplified in the couplet: "Four are the choice things of Multān: dust, beggars, heat and graveyards" (*čār čīz hast tuḥfadjāt-i Multān/gard gadā garma wa gūristān*) (Burnes, *Travels*, iii, 119).

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see H.T. Lambrick, *Sind. A general introduction*, Hyderabad (Sind) 1964, index; U.M. Daudpota, *Sind and Multān*, in M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India*, New Delhi 1970, v, 1116-34; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India*, index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. Multān; M.A. Pathan, *Multan under the Arabs*, in *IC*, xliii (1969), 13-20; V. Minorsky, ed., *Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, 36-7 (of the Arabic text), 48-9, 148-9; F. Singh, *History of the Punjab (AD 1000-1526)*, Patiala 1972, index; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 118-25; E. Thornton, *A gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India* ..., London 1844, ii, 59-61; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara* ..., London 1834, ii, 399-409 (on commerce and industry), iii, 109-21; E.D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan district. 1901-1902*, Lahore 1902 (with valuable ethnographic information); *The imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xviii, 21-38; Ch. Masson, *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, i, 395-8; H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier*, London 1851, ii (a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the British takeover of Multān in 1848-1849); G. Singh, *Akhbārāt-i Lahawr o Multān*, in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, xxi (1944), 43-6 (on newsletters concerning the British takeover in 1848-1849); J. Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab, 1846-1849*, Allahabad and Karachi 1949; Kazi S. Ahmad, *A geography of Pakistan*, Karachi 1964, 159; A. Tayyeb, *Pakistan. A political geography*, London 1966, 176; *Population Census of Pakistan 1972: District Census Report Multan*, 15.

(Y. FRIEDMANN)

2. Monuments. As in Lāhawr [*q.v.*], the architecture of Multān is essentially of brick, here light red, and set off with geometrical and epigraphical cut-work, timber bonding, and the blue and white glazed tiles characteristic of the region. The earliest unspoiled building to be identified is the supposed tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd erected by the first Ghūrid governor, ʿAlī b. Karmākh (appointed 571/1175) at Khaffī Čawr in Khānewāl district. A rectangular enclosure fortified with rounded bastions at the corners has further bastions on three sides, and a projection housing the *miḥrāb* on the west, which has fine cut-brick panelling filled with floriated Kūfic inscriptions internally. The vaulted structure surrounded a square tomb chamber with squinches, a panelled drum, and dome plastered externally; this dome, the

voussoired arches, and the semi-dome of the *miḥrāb* all represent the earliest structural precedents yet recognised on the sub-continent, in a fully assured technique. In the city itself, the possibly earlier tomb of Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī, said to date from 547/1152-3, has been extensively rebuilt. Its flat-roofed orthogonal mass is enhanced by the Iranian expedient of tile sheathing, here both flat and in relief, with no interruption but for the lean projections of door frame and *miḥrāb*, and the merloned parapet. Later tombs comply with a format in three zones, the lower having battered walls with few openings, the next a tall octagonal drum with an opening on each face, and the third a hemispherical dome pierced in a panelled frieze around the base. In that of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā (Bahāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ) (d. 661/1262 or 666/1267 [*q.v.*]), the base is a massive square chamber left completely plain, and relieved only by the strong projection of a *pīshṭāḳ* of full height around the doorway which, like the preceding example, is framed by paired rectangular fillets, and houses successively recessed arches; the octagon of half the height, whose windows with four-centred arches set in shallow panels echo the doorway, affirms its stable proportions, and the blind merlons at both levels have *guldasta* at the angles. The recessed base of the dome is set with repeated small niches. Damage repaired after the siege of 1849 appears not to have affected these lines. The small tomb of Shāh Dānā Shahīd, martyred in 668/1270, largely unaltered, is similar, as is that of Shams al-Dīn Sabzawārī (misnamed Tabrīzī) (*ca.* 1300 but rebuilt 1780), though more ornate. A model for this combination is to be found in Khurāsān, in such tombs as those of Abū Saʿīd at Mayhana [*q.vv.*] (d. 440/1049) and of ʿAlambardār near Karkī (d. 394/1004); domestic architecture in the Marw region had long combined a central dome with a square plan and strongly battered walls as a response to the limitations of mud as a material.

The great tomb said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ for himself *ca.* 715/1315, but later devoted to Shāh Rukn-i ʿĀlam by Fīrūz Shāh, differs in that the lower story is octagonal instead of square, with tapered round buttresses at the angles which enhance the batter, and like the angles of the octagonal drum above, are crowned with small domes surrounding the main one, which is now lightly four-centred. This form too may have come from Khurāsān, where polygonal tombs with comparable corner towers were built in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. Inside, a series of sixteen concentric arches in recessed planes form squinches and clerestory windows alternately, supporting a thirty-two sided cornice, and the slightly stilted dome. Outside and in, the brickwork is relieved by intricate carving, work in relief, toothed string courses at intervals, and girdles of *shīsham* wood, all contributing to unity. The fine timber carving of the *miḥrāb* is completed by an inscribed architrave bordered on both sides with vigorous spiralling tendrils. The generously decorated panels of the exterior are set and edged with ceramic tiles in blue, white, and turquoise only, with geometric patterns in deep relief.

Bibliography: For a description, plans and photographs of the tomb of Khālid b. al-Walīd, see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Naked brick architecture of the early period in Pakistan*, in *Pakistan archaeology*, xxiii (1987-8), 303-25; for other tombs see A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, v (A.R. 1872-3), 133 ff. and pl. xxxvi ff.; for Rukn-i ʿĀlam, see J. Burton-Page, *The tomb of Rukn-i Alam*, in R.E.M. Wheeler (ed.), *Splendours of the East*, London 1965, 73-81; for general comments on sequence and related monuments, see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *The mausoleum of Šaiḫ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn at Pākpatan (Punjāb)*, in *East and West*, xxiv/3-4 (1974), 311-26; for comparisons with Khurāsān, see A.M. Pribuitkova, *Pamyatniki arkhitekturui XI veka v Turkmenii*, Moscow 1955, figs. 20-36 and 84-5, pp. 28 and 65; also G.A. Pugačenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitekturui yuzhnogo Turkmenistana porui rabovladeniya i feodalizma*, Moscow 1958, 292 ff.; for general sources, see HIND. See also UČČH.

(P.A. ANDREWS)

MÜLTEZIM (A., *multazim*), the term which denoted a tax-farmer who, from mid-16th century on, collected taxes and dues on behalf of the Ottoman Treasury; on its application in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, see ILTIZĀM.

The officials who collected revenues for the Treasury could either deliver all the proceeds while drawing a salary, or could buy the right to retain the proceeds themselves by paying the Treasury an agreed sum in advance; it was the latter system that was known as the *iltizām*. *Iltizām* differed from the other term used for a tax-farm, *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] in that it referred to the collection of revenues from the Imperial Domains, *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. *Muḳāṭaʿa* was applied to the collection by contract of other revenues. In the case of *iltizāms*, the contractor was called *mültezim*, in that of a *muḳāṭaʿa*, he was called *muḳāṭaʿadji*. The origins of the *iltizām* system are thus located in the revenue collection from the Imperial Domains. This collection had originally been executed by salaried officials called *emīns* and then leased yearly to officers who had distinguished themselves in war. The latter paid the Ottoman Treasury a fixed sum which was determined in relation to the normal yields of the lands concerned; in return, they acquired the right to collect, for their own benefit, all the tithes and taxes legally due from the inhabitants. Although they were not empowered to exact more than the amounts authorised by law from the inhabitants, their contracts allowed them a sufficiently wide margin of profit and some exercise of authority over the peasantry.

The first usage of the tax-farming system by the Ottoman sultans is unclear; it may have been in existence as early as the reign of sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*] when the reference to *mültezims* appears in connection with a signature fee of 1% specified for them. Most Ottoman historical chronicles state, however, that, until the reign of sultan Süleymān I, the *iltizām* system was not regularly used and then only for the collection of revenue from the Imperial domains. In Süleymān's reign, the Ottoman treasury added the military fiefs which it seized to the original Imperial domains and also farmed out the new revenues it acquired; all these contracts came to be known collectively as treasury leases, *muḳāṭaʿāt-i mīriyye*.

The Ottoman treasury did not deal directly with the farmers in arranging tax-farms; farms were put up to auction. Only bidders who had appointed a banker or money-changer to guarantee the payment on their behalf to the Treasury of the sums due to it could participate. These bankers, in turn, had to be approved by the Inner Treasury, *ič khazīne*, to assume this responsibility; upon approval, they were furnished with an official license, called *kuyruklu berāt*, and were then entitled to deal with the Treasury over tax-farm and other official business. The actual conduct of *mültezims* depended on the source of the contracts; if they had contracted with a fiefholder or a proprietor, they were obliged to be circumspect, owing to the interest of such persons in their property and its pros-

perity. Otherwise, the aim of *mültezims* was to get as much out of the peasantry as possible in order to render their bargains profitable.

As tax-farming extended to almost every variety of land-holding, it exploited both the land and the peasantry, thereby undermining the preservation of Ottoman sources of revenue. As matters further deteriorated toward the end of the 17th century, a system of life-leases called *mālikāne* [*q.v*] was introduced; by giving the contractor a life interest in the yield of whatever revenue source he was empowered to tap, this system improved the taxpayer's position relatively until it got beriddled with its own problems.

The *iltizām* system was abolished in 1839 as the *Tanẓīmāt* altered the Ottoman taxation system. Yet it was later reinstated and reformed by laws and regulations promulgated in 1855, 1858, 1861 and 1871. From 1897 onwards the system was gradually phased out and abolished in 1905; the duties of a *mültezim* were then left to cadastral officers.

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF (A.) 1. In pre-Islamic Persia.

"The kings of the territorial divisions" is the Arabic phrase used by Muslim historians originally for the regional rulers of the Parthian or Arsacid period, and afterwards also for the rulers of principalities which arose on the ruins of the Umayyad empire of al-Andalus. In the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, their information is said to have come from the lost works of Ibn Khurradādhbih, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kisrawī, the *mōbadhs* of Shīrāz, (Bī)shāpūr, and Fārs, the *Akhbār al-Furs* of ʿUmar Kisrā, the *Shāhnāma* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, a *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* and the Sasanian *Avesta*. Some of this information may go back to a lost Arsacid king list or chronicle.

This period lasted from the defeat of Dārā b. Dārā by al-Iskandar until the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty under Ardashīr b. Bābak. After Dārā's death, local rulers took over each district and were confirmed or appointed as kings by al-Iskandar, in some accounts at the advice of Aristotle, to keep them divided. After al-Iskandar the region from the Tigris to the Oxus, in some accounts, extending to al-Yaman, Syria and Egypt was divided among 70 to 100 independent Persian, Aramaean, Arab and Greek rulers (al-Thaʿālibī anachronously includes the Hayāṭila [*q.v.*] of Ṭukhāristān and the Turks of Khurāsān). Each made his position hereditary and sought to defend and expand his territory; none paid taxes to another. The Arab kings included Dhu 'l-Shanātir, the powerful ruler of ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn, al-Yamāma, and the sea coasts, and Sāṭirūn of al-Ḥaḍr. The Greeks and their Persian *wazīrs* ruled Babylonia (the Sawād) for 54 years after al-Iskandar's death until Ashak b. Ashkān or Akfūrshāh (Pacoros), ruler of the Djibāl, defeated and killed Antiochos at al-Mawṣil and conquered al-ʿIrāḳ. The other regional rulers recognised his pre-eminence, called him king, and sent him gifts but not taxes, and he did not appoint or dismiss them. They honoured him because of his royal descent (from Dārā al-Akbar, Kay Ḳubādh, Kay Ḳāwūs, or another king) and because he established the throne of the Ashkānī dynasty at Ṭīsfūn (Ctesiphon) in the centre of the world.

Muslim historians report the dynastic succession of only the Ashkāniyyūn but admit of no agreement on their names, the order of succession or the length of their reigns. Over 20 dynastic lists count as few as nine and as many as 19 rulers and make the length of the dynasty as short as 201 or as long as 455 years. Nor do these lists agree with the Arsacid succession according to coins and Greek and Latin authors. They include Sasanian royal names, are interwoven with didactic tales, and are coordinated with prophetic history. Lewy identifies two traditions, one with eleven rulers that ignores Ardawān II and his successors and one with 19 rulers, grouped into eleven and eight kings, that preserved the replacement of the Ashkāniyyūn by another family. Muslim historians with a concern for chronology calculated the duration of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* at over 500 years (often 523 years) and tried to explain the discrepancy with the length of the Ashkānī dynasty. Al-Bīrūnī, based on dates in the Seleucid era and the testimony of Mānī in the *Shābūrkān*, gives 528 or 537 years between al-Iskandar and Ardashīr and reports that, according to Ibrāhīm al-Zandjānī the mathematician, the Persians only counted the reigns of the Ashkāniyyūn and those only from when they first combined al-ʿIrāḳ and the Djibāl under their rule in 246 S.E., which Lewy notes is the year Phraates II took the title of "king of kings". Al-Masʿūdī, who gives 513 years for the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, reports as "a religious and political secret" of the Persians that Zoroaster had prophesied in the *Avesta* that the Persian religion and kingdom would be destroyed after 1,000 years, and that when Ardashīr came to power less than 200 years were left, so he set the death of Ardawān at 260 years after al-Iskandar, cutting the duration of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* in half, in order to lengthen the duration of his own dynasty. Lewy suggests that the year of Ardashīr's accession (538 S.E.) was changed to 538 years from the appearance of Zoroaster. Since al-Iskandar died 272 years later, that left 266 years for the Ashkāniyyūn, which number occurs fairly consistently in Islamic sources that depend on the Sasanian *Avesta*.

According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* were not Madjūs [*q.v.*] but Ṣābiʾans who worshipped the sun, moon, fire, and the seven planets, and spoke and wrote Aramaic. Al-Thaʿālibī claims that Akfūrshāh recovered the *dirafsh-i Kāwiyān* [see KĀWAH] and books on medicine, astronomy, and philosophy that al-Iskandar had taken from Iran. Nearly 70 books, including *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and *Sindbad*, are said to have been composed in this period. The prophetic careers of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ and ʿĪsā b. Maryam are integrated with Ashkānī history by Muslim historians. The claim that a king called Khardūs attacked Jerusalem to punish the Israelites for killing Yaḥyā may reflect the capture of Jerusalem in 40 B.C. by Pacorus, the son of Orodes II, 266 years before the accession of Ardashīr. The version in which Djūdharz b. Ashkān attacked the Israelites for killing Yaḥyā may reflect the massacre of the Jews of Seleucia in *ca.* 40 A.D. during the civil war between Gotarzes and Vardanes. Otherwise, they report that Titus destroyed the Bayt al-Maḳdis. The image of the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* as a time of anarchy and cultural decay seems to be late Sasanian propaganda and may have contributed to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's comparison that after the Banū Umayya, al-Andalus was divided among a number of rulers "whose condition was like that of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* of the Persians" (see 2. below).

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Akhbār al-ṭiwāl, 40-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 179; Ṭabarī, i, 648, 704-23, 747, tr. M. Perlman, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, iv, *The Ancient kingdoms*, Albany 1987, 46, 96–111, 129; Balʿamī, *Tardjumat-i tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, Tehran 1337/1959, 77-81, tr. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique*, Paris 1938, i, 523-8, 546, 569-71; Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, Beirut 1966, 101; idem, *Murūdj*, ii, 133-8 = §§ 557-62; idem, *Tanbīh*, Beirut 1965, 95-9, tr. Carra de Vaux, 137-42; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa 'l-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1961, 18, 28, 39-41; Thaʿālibī, *Taʾrīkh ghurar al-siyar*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris 1900, 456-73; Muṭahhar b. al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, Paris 1903, iii, 155-6; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, Moscow 1968, vii, 113-54; Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 14, 112–19, tr. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, 17, 116-22; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, Beirut 1985, 107-8; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 126-9; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Riyāḍ-Beirut 1966, ii, 183-4; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḳummī, *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm*, Tehran 1313/1934, 65, 66, 69-70, 71, 79, 84, 85; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, Tehran 1362/1983, 98-102; Mīrkhwānd, *Tārīkh Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Tehran 1338/1959, i, 728-32; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 413; E.G. Browne, *Some account of the Arabic work entitled "Niháyatu 'l-irab fí akhbári 'l-Furs wa 'l-ʿArab", particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Empire*, in *JRAS* (1900), 215-16; H. Lewy, *The genesis of the faulty Persian chronology*, in *JAOS*, lxiv (1944), 197-214; E. Yarshater, ch. *Iranian national history*, in *CHIr*, iii, Cambridge 1983, 386–7, 473-6. (M. MORONY)

2. In Muslim Spain.

Hispanised as *reyes de taifas*, and often used in this form in French and English, this phrase denoted the rulers of the states in al-Andalus between the fall of the Manṣūrid dictatorship which dominated the Umayyad caliph Hishām II of Cordova [see ḲURṬUBA] in 399/1009 and the invasions of the Almoravids at the end of the 5th/11th century. The immediate stimuli of this sharp political change lay in a combination of an unpopular dictator, his absence from the capital, and an Umayyad prince ambitious to recover power in the state for his own house, but other, more fundamental weaknesses in the structure of the Umayyad state in al-Andalus had helped to prepare the ground for the collapse. The metropolitan revolution successfully rid al-Andalus of the Manṣūrids, but simultaneously inaugurated some twenty years of Umayyad and other coups and revolts which finally destroyed the unity and cohesion of the state as a whole, and the caliphal institution with it.

The earliest taifas appear to have emerged by 403/1013 (Almeria [see AL-MARIYYA], Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], Denia [see DĀNIYA], Granada [see GHARNĀṬA], Huelva (Awnaba)-Saltes [see SHALTĪSH]), and possibly even before that date; one taifa, Saragossa [see SARAḲUSTA], lasted until the early years of the 6th/12th century before being first absorbed into the Almoravid empire [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] and then reconquered by Christian Spain.

The taifa states were of different types: some were set up, in the main on the Mediterranean seaboard, by so-called "Slavs" (A. *ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]) expelled from Cordova in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Manṣūrids; others (like Malaga [see MĀLAḲA] and Granada) represented attempts by recently imported groups of Berbers to establish states for themselves as a means to securing their future in the peninsula; others again, with Seville [see ISHBĪLIYYA] pre-eminent in this group, were ruled by local Muslims, who may be regarded as Arabs or Andalusians (for their ethnic identification, see the discussions by Guichard, Glick and Wasserstein listed in the *Bibl.*), who resented the imposition under the later Umayyads and the Manṣūrids of alien rule by "Slavs" and Berbers. Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA], ruled by an Arabised family of distant Berber origin long settled in the peninsula, falls similarly into this category.

Until 422/1031 a unified peninsular state under an Umayyad caliph (whether as actual ruler or as a figurehead) was the aim of the main contenders of power, but the disappearance of the caliphal institution in Cordova at that time marked a recognition that this was no longer a possibility, although some states, notably Seville, continued to maintain a caliphal fiction and to aim at power beyond their own immediate neighbourhoods. Around forty taifa states are known (see Wasserstein, *Rise and fall*, 83-99 for lists of states and rulers), of which Toledo, Saragossa and Seville were the most important, ruled respectively by the Dhu 'l-Nūnid, Hūdid and ʿAbbādid dynasties [*q.vv.*]. Each of these had a solid economic base in agriculture, while other states, mainly on the eastern coast, had economies based on extensive maritime trade. Many states were simply the products of an energetic local leader and a city not yet dominated by one of its larger neighbours. As the century wore on, in consequence, many of the smaller and weaker states were absorbed by others; Seville was the most successful state in this respect, and eventually came to be that state which more than any other entertained some realistic ambition to reunite the territories in the peninsula formerly subject to the Umayyads.

Ethnically, the taifas were fairly mixed, but some, such as Granada and Málaga, or the small eastern coastal states, as well as Seville, were characterised by the dominance of one particular ethnic group, and the ethnic factor remained significant in taifa politics until mid-century. Thereafter it tended to become attenuated, reflecting the real political and military strengths and concerns of the members of the taifa system. Most of the taifas had minorities of Jews and Christians; though the sizes of these communities, like those of the populations as a whole, can only be guessed at, they seem to have formed relatively small elements in the overall population (about whose size there is no reliable information); the Christians appear to have been declining, both in numbers and in importance. For the Jews, by contrast, the taifa period marked a significant advance. Under the Umayyads the Jews had enjoyed tolerance and some economic well-being; but in the fissiparous political system of the 5th/11th century they entered upon an era of flourishing development, culturally as well as in other ways, and in a number of states, most notably Granada, Jews also played a variety of roles in government and politics, sometimes as a group, more often through individuals who rose to high office.

Culturally, the taifa period saw al-Andalus come of age. The large number of individual states, each of which sought to emulate the courts of the Umayyads and the Manṣūrids of the past, encouraged literary and artistic creativity as likely to magnify their achievements and perpetuate the memories of their petty dynasts. In some states a ruler was noted for public works (e.g., in Almeria, where an early "Slav" ruler, Khayrān, was remembered for his improvements to the local water supply), while in others, works of lesser immediate utility were constructed for rulers anxious to secure a well-founded reputation for patronage (e.g. Toledo, where the Dhu 'l-Nūnids

supported the building of a famous water-clock, said to have been taken apart under the later Christian rulers of the city in an attempt to discover its workings). Some rulers devoted considerable energy and resources to the building of mosques, as in Seville, where we have a good deal of information on the religious architectural activity of the dynasty.

On the literary side, the taifas were extremely productive. We possess great amounts of poetry from this period, thanks in part to the great anthologies, both contemporary and later, produced in al-Andalus. The basic study of this material remains that of Pérès (see *Bibl.*); the poetry of the last ʿAbbādid king of Seville, al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], has been made the subject of a detailed literary study recently, by Scheindlin, in an attempt to found a sounder understanding of such poetry on literary terms. Much of this poetry is, understandably, a product of the political and social circumstances of the time; thus we have long panegyrics of the most obscure taifa rulers and their courtiers (the Jewish poets, writing in Hebrew, produced much similar, parallel work), and all the other genres of Arabic poetry are represented as well. In the *zadjal* and the *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.vv.*], the Andalusians broke new ground, introducing strophic structures and also non-classical Arabic linguistic forms, as well as Romance expressions, into the standard repertory of Arabic literary canons and tastes.

The biographical dictionaries, which provide virtually complete chronological cover for Andalusian history from the conquest right up to the 9th/15th century, show us the integration of the *muwalladūn* into Andalusian society (and probably, in fact, their takeover of it) as well as the range of subjects and individual texts studied and/or available in al-Andalus at this time. On this basis, we can see that al-Andalus enjoyed access to the entire cultural production of the central areas of the Islamic world, and also contributed to it. Scholars, pilgrims and merchants travelled to the East, and returned to maintain and deepen Andalusian contact and integration with the Islamic heartlands.

Despite the internal political divisions, al-Andalus remained culturally and religiously a unity. Mālikism remained the norm, with other schools of law represented only in scholarship. Probably the best-known religious scholar (and polemicist) of the time was Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] but as a Ẓāhirī (and a failed political careerist) he had little real or lasting influence during his own lifetime; his posthumous fame rests mainly on his *Fiṣal*, regarded widely though inaccurately as an early study in comparative religion. Scholars and littérateurs moved easily and frequently between rival states and rulers, and culture in general (and scholarship along with it) benefited from the competition between these different patrons. Besides Ibn Ḥazm, writers of note in this period include the historians Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*] and Ṣāʿid [*q.v.*] of Toledo, as well as the last Zīrid ruler of Granada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*], whose memoirs were discovered fifty years ago by Lévi-Provençal; the religious scholars Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī [*q.vv.*], the latter of whom belonged to a veritable school of *ḳirāʾāt* scholars supported by the "Slav" ruler Mudjāhid of Denia; the medical scholars of the Ibn Zuhr [*q.v.*] family, and many others.

By the second half of the 5th/11th century, the taifa system was coming under increased strain. It was being squeezed between the rising power of the revivalist movement of the Almoravids in North Africa and the awakening strength of Christian Spain, expressed not only in military, political and economic pressure on the taifa states themselves but also in an increasingly assertive and potent religious and ideological claim to the whole of the peninsula. Most of the taifas found themselves paying tribute (Spanish: *parias*) to Christians, among whom the figures of Alfonso VI and the Cid stand out (the progressive debasement of the silver coinage during the century seems to be related in part to the draining of precious metals from the taifas in this way); but at the same time it remained possible for ideology to be ignored as some taifas allied themselves with Christians against other taifas.

The demands of the Christians grew steadily more burdensome as they became more aware of Muslim weaknesses; their easy takeover of Toledo in 1085 marked a great psychological, as well as military, advance for the Christians because of the city's significance as the old Visigothic capital, but the city's fall sent a tremor through al-Andalus, and the taifa rulers turned to the only possible source of salvation, the Almoravids. The latter saw in the taifa rulers dissolute and immoral tyrants, and were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity; in a swift series of campaigns, interrupted by the victory against the Christians at the battle of Sagrajas or Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] in 1086, the North Africans made away with the taifa states one by one, destroying Spanish Islamic autonomy but saving the day for Islam in the peninsula.

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(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

MUMAYYIZ [see BĀLIGH].

MUʾMIN (A.), denotes (i) one of the names of God (Ḳurʾān, LIX, 23); (ii) believer.

Muʾmin is the active participle of form IV of the root *ʾmn*. What a Muslim believer ought to believe, and what "to believe" means, is discussed in the article *īmān* [*q.v.*].

Hebrew and other Semitic languages closely related to Arabic, possess derivations of the same root *ʾmn* to express the concepts of faith and trust. It is a matter of speculation whether Arabic took over the meaning of "belief" from one of its cognate languages (and from which one), or whether in Arabic the meaning of religious belief developed independently.

In Ḳurʾān, LIX, 23, God Himself is called *muʾmin*; logic compels one to conclude that the original Arabic meaning of "someone who protects, gives safety" is here to be preferred. Similarly, *īmān* in Ḳurʾān, LIX, 9, ought to be understood as "giving mutual protection and security".

In other Ḳurʾānic contexts, it is not easy to decide whether *muʾmin* refers exclusively to those contemporaries of Muḥammad who recognised Muḥammad as the Messenger of God or whether other monotheists, e.g., the Jews of Yathrib/Medina, are being included. Also, the context of the "Constitution

of Medina", the famous treaty between Muḥammad and the inhabitants of that town, is obscure on this point.

In *ḥadīth* texts, *mu'min* occasionally refers to other varieties of belief than belief in God. These texts use expressions like *mu'min bi 'l-kawkab* (someone who believes in astrology) and *mu'min bi-siḥr* (someone who believes in magic). In *fiḳh* texts, the term may again include or exclude non-Muslim monotheists. The context, the subject matter and the usage of school of law concerned will have to indicate which of the two is the case.

In contemporary standard Arabic, *mu'min* may, in Muslim usage and especially in political contexts, almost be the opposite of *muslim*. Certainly, the religious opposition in Egypt at the end of the Sādāt era understood the term in this way. This was especially the case where *mu'min* was used in the honorific formula *al-ra'īs al-mu'min* ("the believing President"). The Sādāt régime gave this title to its leader at the very time when the religious opposition dreamed of a "Muslim ruler", a *ḥākim muslim*.

In Arabic texts written by non-Muslims for other non-Muslims, and especially in Christian Arabic, the terms occurs as well, in the meaning of "believer", with the same complexities that are involved in the use of this term in Jewish and Christian writings in other languages than Arabic.

Historians of religion and non-Muslim observers of Islam sometimes discuss the relative importance (to Muslim believers) of "having faith" and "carrying out the prescripts of Islam".

In Islam, orthopraxy is no doubt of greater practical importance than orthodoxy. The question what Islam orders a Muslim believer to believe is of little day-to-day importance when compared to the question what Islam orders a Muslim believer to do. This is reflected by the contents of Muslim religious instruction to children, and by the contents of Muslim religious magazines and journals. It is easily verifiable that the contemporary Muslim religious press devotes more space to the practical consequences of Islam and adherence to its prescripts than to the abstractions of faith and doubt. This difference between Islam and Christianity in no way reflects, as an outsider might assume, a weakness on the side of Islam; on the contrary, it may be regarded as its strength.

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MU'MIN (Mōmin), Ḥakīm Muḥammad Khān (1215-68/1800-51), Urdu poet, was born into a noble Kāshmīrī family noted for its distinguished physicians. As such, his father Ḥākim Ghulām Nabī was *persona grata* at the Mughal court. The family had been granted a *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] which was subsequently appropriated by the East India Company in exchange for a substantial pension. In due course, the poet had a share of it, and he never needed to work for a living. This background of financial independence and social status should be borne in mind in judging Mu'min as both a man and a poet.

After sowing his wild oats as a young man, he became a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāē Brēlī [*q.v.*], whom he praised in a Djihād *mathnawī* (*Kulliyyāt*, Brēlwī, 436-8) as a worthy successor of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn and Ḥasan, saying that "the death of unbelievers is his life". But the poet did not become puritanical, and his religious views did not appear to give any particular colour to his poetry. Unlike Khwādja Mīr Dard [*q.v.*] (1719-85), whose great-granddaughter he married, he is not generally regarded as a mystical poet.

His father saw that he had the broad education befitting a man of his social station—the Islamic sciences, languages (including Persian and Arabic), literature, as well as the family profession, medicine. Mu'min was, by inclination, something of a dilettante, and studied one subject after another, whether scientific or artistic, with no thought of taking up any profession. But when he concentrated on writing, he took pleasure in using the copious specialised vocabulary which he had acquired in such subjects as medicine, mathematics, music, chess and astronomy/astrology, in order to give his poetry a particular flavour of erudition which, when combined with condensation, made some of his verse hard to follow. This has led Muhammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 174) to compare him with the 17th-century English poet John Donne.

His mentor in poetry was the second-rate poet Shāh Naṣīr, but he was too independent to tolerate tutelage for long. Indeed, he started to declare himself superior to all other poets, past and present—a somewhat questionable claim, seeing that Ghālib and Anīs [*q.vv.*] were his contemporaries. His published works include, in Persian, a *dīwān* and a collection of prose: but his fame rests on his Urdu *dīwān*. He was probably too much of a perfectionist to be prolific; nevertheless, his Urdu *Kulliyyāt* include examples of most forms—*ḳaṣīda*, *mathnawī* and miscellaneous other genres such as chronograms, enigmas, *rubāʿī*, *muthallath* and *mukhammas*. But he is best known for his *ghazal*; and even when he writes in other forms—as, for example, *mathnawī*—there is often a strong *ghazal* flavour.

He did not follow the normal road to fame as a poet, sc. the patronage of princes; nor did his pride endear him to other poets. Nevertheless, he attracted numerous pupils. Kalb ʿAlī Khān Fā'iḳ (*op. cit.*. in *Bibl.*, 125-91) discusses 37 of them. He also mentions a book on prosody (*Djān-i ʿarūḍ*) by him, now lost, if it ever existed. He must have been a good teacher, and he has been called the founder of a "school of poets" (Saksena, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 150). But to Sadiq, 172, he represents "the most sophisticated and artificial stage in the decline of Urdu poetry". Mu'min's fame did not outlive him, despite some lip-service paid to him for his importance. But in recent years, after a century of neglect, determined efforts have been made by a handful of scholars to revive his fame (see *Bibl.*, works of Dānish and Iṣlāḥī, Fā'iḳ, Brēlwī)—with what success, it remains to be seen.

Mu'min's poetry is full of erudition, but restricted in scope, concentrating on love and beauty. His *ghazals* are generally thought to be about earthly love, though not exclusively physical. There is much despair and irony in them. He paints himself as a uniquely gifted man who is badly treated by his beloved, in particular, and by fate in general. Yet his champions see a universality in his poetry. Brēlwī concludes (*Shāʿirī*, 342) that he is purely a poet of feelings, without depth of thought or philosophy. The poet, he says, expresses human emotions to perfection in his *ghazals*, and despite his limitations, he is unique. Yet even critics favourable to him admit his love of complexity (Fā'iḳ, 344), whilst Saksena, 150, appears to attribute this complexity to "Persianisation in construction". Sadiq, 172-4, gives some examples of his condensation and allusiveness which "conceal rather

than reveal thought". Each example consists of a single verse of two hemistiches, which is almost untranslatable, and must be paraphrased and extended to give some idea of the meaning. Dānis̲h̲ and Iṣlāḥī treat this condensation rather leniently, saying (*op. cit.*, 103) "*Maḥd̲h̲ūfāt* go with his style. Some like them, others do not."

Muʾmin, then, is a controversial figure. The reasons for his neglect can be deduced from the above remarks. However, the reasons given by his champions include considerations unconnected with the qualities of his poetry; for example, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād's belated inclusion and lukewarm account of him in his *Āb-i-ḥayāt* (Lahore 1297/1880), the poet's distaste for patronage, scorn for other poets, and excessive boasting. An example of the latter is his placing of his own poetry on a par with the Seven *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] of pre-Islamic Arabic literature. It must be admitted that he was not the first Urdu poet to indulge in such boasting, but he is usually considered to have overdone it. Perhaps it might have been more easily tolerated had his own poetry had a more immediate appeal.

Muʾmin spent his whole life in Dihlī and seldom left the city. His death was caused by a fall from the upper storey of his house when the roof was being repaired. He died of his injuries some time later, but not before he had demonstrated his skill in astrology by foretelling the date of his demise in a chronogram.

Bibliography: Muʾmin's Urdu poetical *Kulliyyāt* were first published, ed. Mawlawī Karīm al-Dīn, Dihlī 1262/1846. There were various editions from 1873 onwards, published in Lucknow by the Nawal Kis̲h̲ōr press, but by the second quarter of the 20th century, copies were hard to come by. In 1943, *Dīwān-i-Muʾmin*, ed. Ḍiyā Aḥmad Badāyūnī, was published in Allāhābād. Then came *Kulliyyāt Muʾmin*, ed. ʿIbādat Brēlwī with long introduction, Karachi-Lahore 1955. See also the same editor's study of the poet in his *S̲h̲āʿirī awr s̲h̲aʿirī kī tanḳīd*, Karachi 1965, 301-42. Among favourable studies of the poet, see Iḥsān Dānis̲h̲ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Iṣlāḥī, *Ḥayāt-ō-s̲h̲āʿirī-yi-Muʾmin*, Dihlī 1958. A much fuller account is Kalb ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Fāʾiḳ, *Muʾmin, ḥālāt-i-zindagī awr un kē kalām par tanḳīdī naẓar*, Lahore 1961. For shorter accounts, see Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 148-50, and Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 172-5. Though unfavourable, Sadiq argues his case well, with useful quotations in Urdu and English translation, and the background of literary history is well given. Muʾmin's *ḳaṣīdas* are referred to in MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu, at V, 961. For further bibliographical information, see Fāʾiḳ, *op. cit.* Publication details of Muʾmin's Persian works are given on p. 123.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

MUʾMINIDS [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN].

MŪMIYĀʾ (thus in Arabic, in Persian *mūmiyāʾī*, from *mūm*, "wax", but perhaps of Greek origin), *Mumia naturalis persica*, bitumen, mineral tar, is a solid, black, shining mineral liquid, which trickles from rock-caves. In ancient medicine, it was mainly used against lesions and fractures. It is to be distinguished from the *Mumia factitia var. humana*, the bituminous substance of the Egyptian mummies. The *Mumia naturalis*, called in Greek πισσάσφαλτος (πιττάσφαλτος), has entered the Arabic translations of Dioscurides and their commentaries as *biṣṣasfalṭus* (and vars.). *Mūmiyāʾ* was found in Persia in the first place, to a lesser extent in Syria and the Yemen, and also in the Islamic West, i.e. near Cordova, on the Atlantic coast and in the regions of the Moroccan Berber tribes. On the method of extraction, there exists a series of different, but remarkably realistic reports, above all in the works of al-Rāzī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Idrīsī, al-Suwaydī and al-Anṭākī (see *Bibl.*). A further variant of these reports, going back in the end to Dioscurides, is found in an anonymous Arabic commentary on Dioscurides, dating from the turn of the 6th/12th century and published recently (see *Bibl.*). According to this text, there were, in the mountains of the Berber Banū Makūd, rock-caves in which many birds of prey were lodging, consuming their prey there. As a result, bits of meat slip out of their grasp, remain lying around, shrink and in the end decay. In due time, the decayed meat sucks up rainwater, which forces its way through the rock-crevices and trickles out as a kind of squeezed juice (*ʿuṣāra*), which gradually solidifies and becomes *mūmiyāʾ*.

Dioscurides reports very little about the healing virtues of the πισσάσφαλτος, unlike however the Arabs, who attribute to it an extraordinary, many-sided effect. According to the sources (for references, see *Bibl.*), *mūmiyāʾ* above all allays pains originating from fractures, sprains, dislocations, lesions and pulled tendons. It is therefore occasionally called *d̲j̲abbār*, "bonesetter" (M. Steinschneider, in *WZKM*, xii [1898], 6). It also helped against headaches, migraine, facial paralysis, ear ache, angina, cough, fluttering of the heart, hiccups (*fuwāḳ*), suffocation, choking and illnesses of the spleen. *Mūmiyāʾ* was considered to be the most efficient remedy against coughing up blood, incontinence, trembling and tetanus, disturbances of the stomach and liver, ulcers of the bladder and the urethra (*iḥlīl*), against epilepsy and dizziness, dropsy, jaundice, phthisis, skin eruptions (*k̲h̲urād̲j̲*), flatulence, pains of nerves and joints, and against poison and scorpion stings. *Mūmiyāʾ* is mentioned in combination with numerous vegetable drugs which are applied in various preparations (pastes, solutions, tinctures, salves, etc.).

When the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt, opened up the old tombs and came upon the embalmed bodies, they soon became aware that these had been treated with asphalt (*kufr*) and in that way had escaped decay. Before this, when a part of the body became ill, a juice was extracted from the corresponding part of a healthy body and used for curing purposes. This procedure now suggested the idea of cutting up embalmed, and therefore undecayed, mummies, mixing the pieces with grain, wine, balm and other ingredients, putting them in vessels, and preparing a juice from this mixture. Since the juice had been extracted from every part of the body of the mummies, it was considered to be effective as a universal medicine against all diseases (see A. Wiedemann, *Mumie als Heilmittel*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für rheinische und westfälische Volkskunde*, iii [1906], 1-38, esp. 2-6).

Bibliography: Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xxi, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 497; Ibn al-D̲j̲azzār, *K. al-Iʿtimād fi ʾl-adwiya al-mufrada*, photomech. repr. Frankfurt 1985, 112-13; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 367; Idrīsī, *K. al-D̲j̲āmiʿ li-ṣifāt as̲h̲tāt al-nabāt*, ms. Istanbul, Fatih 3610, 265; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *D̲j̲āmiʿ*, iv, 169-70, tr. Leclerc, no. 2190; Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-G̲h̲assānī, *al-Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, Beirut 1395/1975, 509; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad̲h̲kira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 325 f.; Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt*, ms. Paris arab. 3004, 165b, l.14-166a, l.9. For further references, see A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans. Ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zur Materia Medica*, in *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen*, Phil-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, nos. 172 and 173 (Göttingen 1988), i, 39. (A. DIETRICH)

MUMTĀZ, Barkhwurdār b. Maḥmūd Turkmān Farāhī, a Persian writer, a contemporary of the Ṣafawid Sultan Ḥusayn I (1105-35/1694-1722).

At an early age, he left his native town of Farāh in Afghānistān and went to Marw, where he entered the service of the governor Aṣlān Khān. After two years, however, he left this post and became *munshī* [*q.v.*] with Ḥasan Ḳūlī Khān Shāmlū Ḳūrčī-bashī in Iṣfahān. At a banquet there at his master's house he heard a story which attracted him exceedingly. He wrote it down and it became the foundation of a great collection, the *Maḥfil-ārā*, which contained about 400 stories and consisted of a *muḳaddima*, eight *bābs* and a *khātima*. Soon afterwards he returned to Farāh, spent some time in Harāt and Mashhad and then entered the service of the *amīr* Minūčihr Khān b. Ḳārčīghāy whose duty it was to defend Darūn and Khabūshān against raids by the wild nomad tribes. His stay there was disastrous for Mumtāz, since he lost all his goods and chattels and the valuable manuscript of his *Maḥfil-ārā* during a nomad raid; he did not have another copy of it. He resolved, however, to restore the book and wrote down all the stories that he could remember a second time. Thus arose the second version of the *Maḥfil-ārā*, which consists of a *muḳaddima*, five *bābs* and a *khātima* and has come down to us under the title *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb*. The book is written in an extravagantly artificial style. The *khātima* is the best part; it contains the celebrated story of Zībā and Raʿnā, which is very common in Persia in a simplified form in many editions from the popular presses.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur*, in *GIPh*, ii, 333. A ms. of the *Maḥbūb al-ḳulūb* in Rieu, ii, 767, 1093; lith. Bombay 1852 (Edwards, *Catalogue*, 150). See also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i, 614. (E. Berthels)

MUMTĀZ MAḤALL, wife of Shāh Djahān, and the lady for whom the Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.* and hind. vii. Architecture] was built. She was the daughter of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān, who was Nūr Djahān's brother. Her name was Ardjumand Bānū, the title Mumtāz Maḥall being conferred on her after Shāh Djahān's accession. She was his favourite wife and bore him fourteen children, seven of whom grew up. She was born in 1001/1593, married in 1021/1612, and died, at Burhānpūr in the Deccan, very shortly after the birth of a daughter in 1041/1631. She was reportedly beautiful and amiable, and Shāh Djahān loved her tenderly.

Bibliography: Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, i, 459; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, i, 384; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, tr. W. Irvine; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 27; *Indian Magazine* (December 1913), 316. (H. Beveridge)

MUNĀDĪ (a.), active participle of the form III verb *nādā* "to call", hence crier, herald.

In the Ḳurʾān, *munādī* is used (L, 40/41) for the one who will proclaim the Last Day and give the summons to Judgement, in popular Islam usually identified with the angel Isrāfīl [*q.v.*]; in another context where one might expect it, the story of Joseph, we find instead *muʾadhdhin* used for Joseph's herald (XII, 70).

In the towns of the pre-modern Islamic world, the *munādī* or town crier performed a vital function of communication in an age when there were no newspapers or, when these did tentatively appear, they could only be read by the small, literate section of the populace. Thus in Fās, the Muslims of the town (but not the Jews of the *Mallāḥ* [*q.v.*]) had a corps of some 20 town criers under an *amīn* who acted as disseminators of information; they were not however specifically paid by the *Makhzan* [*q.v.*] but exercised other callings, e.g. that of undertakers' mutes, in order to gain their daily sustenance (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 258-9). In mediaeval Cairo, up to E.W. Lane's time, there was a *munādī 'l-Nīl* for each quarter, and he went round each day from the rising of the Nile about the time of the summer solstice until it had risen to the level of 16 *dhirāʿs* or cubits on the *Miḳyās* [*q.v.*] or Nilometer (see *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xxiv "Periodical public festivals, etc."). But the ordinary *munādīs* of Cairo were agents of the *muḥtasib* [see ḥisba] and had the duty of proclaiming through the streets and markets information about price levels, the state of the coinage, etc. (A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus 1973-4, ii, 590); whilst in late 19th century Damascus, a member of the corporation of *munādīs* might be hired by the government to give out public announcements, or else they could be hired by private individuals to make announcements about lost children, animals, goods, etc., payment being according to results (Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya/Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, ii, 471-2, no. 399). Finally, it should be noted that, from al-Djabartī, it appears that the head of a Cairo trade corporation (*ḥirfa* [see ṣinf]) had his own *munādī* to act as his messenger and agent, the equivalent of the *čāwīsh* in Damascus (Raymond, *op. cit.*, ii, 559).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNĀDJĀT (a.), the verbal noun of the form III verb *nādjā* "to whisper to, talk confidentially with someone", which is used in Ḳurʾān, LVIII, 13, in this sense, and in the reciprocal form VI in LVIII, 9, 10, of the murmurs of discontent amongst the Prophet's followers, probably after the Uḥud reverse (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, i, 212-13).

Munādjāt becomes, however, a technical term of Muslim piety and mystical experience in the sense of "extempore prayer", as opposed to the corporate addressing of the deity in the *ṣalāt* (see Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 420), and of the Ṣūfīs' communion with God; the meanings here were perhaps influenced by Ḳurʾān, XIX, 53/52, where Moses engages in confidential talk (*nadjiyyᵃⁿ*) with God on Mount Sinai. In Arabic, the Ṣūfī master al-Djunayd [*q.v.*] is said to have composed a *K. al-Munādjāt*, which has not survived, as did also Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], whose work is in fact extant (Brockelmann, I², 565); whilst in Persian, the *Munādjāt* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] have always been considered as an outstanding work of religious experience and of literary attainment (see A.J. Arberry, *Ansari's prayers and counsels. Transl. from the original Persian*, in *IC*, x [1936], 369-89; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *EIr* art. *ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī*).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 268, 290; Arberry, *The Divine Colloquy in Islam*, in *BJRL*, xxxix/1 (1956), 25. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNADJDJIM (a.), active participle from *nadjdjama* "to observe the stars and deduce from them the state of the world". The *munadjdjim* claims to know the lot of humans and their destiny from the positions of the stars. He is the astrologer.

For a long time this noun designated both astrologer and astronomer, so close were the functions of the two. Often the court astrologer used to observe the stars scientifically and to interpret their movements for the benefit of his master. This is borne out

by the fact that, according to Djābir b. Ḥayyān, "the astrologer must be a mathematician (*riyāḍī*); he must have mastery of astronomy (*al-hay'a*); this is a part of *ʿilm al-nudjūm* (the science of the stars or astrology). For *ʿilm al-hay'a* (astronomy [*q.v.*]) is the description of the situation of the state of the sky and what it contains (*ṣūrat waḍʿ al-falak wa-mā fīhi*), whereas astrology is the "gift of the planets" (*ʿaṭā' al-kawākib*) (*K. al-Baḥth*, ms. Tandjī, fol. 98a; ms. Cârullâh, fol. 168b; cited in Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, 109).

According to the encyclopaedists, astrology is currently designated by the expression *aḥkām al-nudjūm* (Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād, 1328-57/1909-37, i, 307-8) or *ʿilm al-aḥkām* Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835-58, i, 177 ff.), *aḥkām* being, according to this author, a name given, in the category of methods of reasoning, to the process of deducing unknown states (*al-aḥwāl al-ghaybiyya*) from known data which, in this case, are the stars in their movements, position and time. Hence the adjective *aḥkāmī* given to the astrologer who interprets the astrological signs (on the difference between astrology and astronomy, cf. S. Pinès, *The semantic distinction between the terms astronomy and astrology to al-Bīrūnī*, in *Isis*, lv (1964), 345-7; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, 271-8; C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 1944, 1-2).

For astrology, the reader is referred to the art. NUDJŪM (ʿILM AL-). We will limit ourselves here to the mention of the functions of the *munadjdjim* or *aḥkāmī*.

The first is to answer the questions (*masā'il*) which are asked him by his clients concerning their everyday activities and their outcome. The methods in current use are described in the arts. DJAFR, ḤURŪF, KHAṬṬ, MALḤAMA (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 488-97).

The second function is to distinguish the auspicious and inauspicious astrological signs (*aḥkām*), the opportune and inopportune hours to take action, the favourable and unfavourable moment for such conduct, all in terms of the sun's position in the signs of the Zodiac and the moon in the mansions (*manāzil* [*q.v.*]) and the relations which result from them, such as opposition (*muḳābala* [*q.v.*]), lunar quarter (*tarbīʿ*) and sixth (*tasdīs*), etc. As a result of all these observations, the choice is made of the propitious moment for every action to be undertaken [see IKHTIYĀRĀT (ʿILM AL-); and cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 483-8].

The third function is, at the moment of birth, to study the omens to predict the future of the newborn. This part of astrological lore, called "genethlialogy" (cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 480), is the subject of an extensive literature entitled *Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, a title rendered in Latin as *Revolutiones annorum nativitatum*. In short, it is concerned with the art of preparing horoscopes, which, coming from the East, was very successful in the West (cf. F. Carmody, *La fortune de l'astrologie arabe en Europe au XVIe siècle*, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval*, i, 1979, 607-12).

These three functions of the *munadjdjim* correspond to the three parts which go to make up astrology, i.e. *masā'il* (*interrogationes*), *ikhtiyārāt* (*electiones*) and *mawālīd* (*nativitates*), which will be the subject of the art. NUDJŪM.

The role of the *munadjdjim* in Arab-Islamic society is very similar to that of the astrologer in mediaeval society in Europe. It is known that the Popes themselves used to consult the astrologer of the pontifical court to choose the day of their coronation, the day for the meeting of the consistory and every important action. There was even a chair of astrology in the Sapientia (cf. C. Bezold, in Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Leipzig 1926, 35-6). It was the same at the ʿAbbāsids' court in Baghdād, where astrologers were appointed who advised and accompanied the caliph (cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām*, 286, citing Ibn al-ʿIbrī and al-Aṣmaʿī). In this they followed an ancestral tradition at the court of the Sāsānids. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 645 ff., reports a story concerning Sābūr (A.D. 241-72) son of Ardashīr I who, on being advised by his astrologers of a period of pain and misery that he would have to endure, sought to determine this period and left incognito to enter the service of a village headman. He informed his ministers of his absence, asking them to come to find him at the end of this period, telling them the place and the hour. On the role of the *munadjdjim* among the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, several stories are reported in *La divination arabe*, 482 ff., and on his permanent role in Muslim societies cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 38 ff.; Ibrahim Madkour, *Astrologie en terre d'Islam*, in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age. Actes du quatrième congrès international de philosophie médiévale*, Montreal 1967, 1041-7.

Bibliography: Nallino, *Astrologia e astronomia presso i Musulmani*. i. *Astrologia*, in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, v, Rome 1944, 1-41; idem, art. ASTROLOGY in *EI*[1]; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und-Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 271-358 (*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i, Erg. vi, 2); F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vii, Leiden 1979, 3-199; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987 (repr. of the 1966 ed. published in Leiden), 478-97; A. Kovalenko, *Magie et Islam*, diss. Strassbourg 1979, publ. 1981.

(T. FAHD)

MUNADJDJIM, BANU 'L-, name of an extensive family, whose members were active at the ʿAbbāsid court as scholars, literati and courtiers for six or seven generations, from the middle of the 2nd/8th century until the second part of the 4th/10th century.

In the sources, the following persons appear as important members of the family.

(1) ABŪ MANṢŪR ABĀN, about whose dates of life nothing is known. According to one single information (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Krenkow, 286), he traced his lineage back to a minister of the Sāsānid king Ardashīr. Though he remained faithful to his Zoroastrian beliefs, the caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775) summoned him to the court and appointed him as his astrologer (*munadjdjim*).

It seems, however, that the family owes its later name to the ancestor's son, (2) ABŪ ʿALĪ YAḤYĀ, who professed Islam before the caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 201/817). From that moment onwards, the family belonged to the *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] of the ʿAbbāsids. Because of the reputation earned by Yaḥyā through his astronomical and astrological studies, made under the guidance of his father and in collaboration with the vizier Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], al-Ma'mūn assigned to him, in a leading position, tasks which resulted from his own scientific endeavours. Together with others he established in 215-7/830-2 observatories [see MARṢAD] in the Shammāsiyya district in Baghdād and on the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn [*q.v.*] near Damascus for the observation of the stars and, in connection with this, for the improvement of astronomical instruments. Another important aim of the research was the control of the data of the *Almagest* [see BAṬLAMIYŪS]. The results were laid down in the *zīdj al-mumtaḥan*, the "verified astronomical tables" of Ptolemy (facsimile edition of the Escorial ms. 927 by E. Kennedy, Frankfurt 1986), which became of great importance in later times. Another great geodetic achievement was the measurement of a meridian degree executed north of Palmyra.

Yaḥyā apparently occupied a leading position in the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] created by al-Maʾmūn, where he took the promotion of the interests of the Banū Mūsā b. Shākir [*q.v.*] to heart. He died on Byzantine territory during al-Maʾmūn's last campaign in Asia Minor, 215-7/830-2. According to other sources, he died in Aleppo, where he was buried on the cemetery of the Ḳuraysh.

(3) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (b. 200/815-6) is the first real courtier, a personality with a wideranging education and many interests, of perfect manners, a great spirit, witty, as good at repartee as capable of adapting himself to the changing moods of the ruler of the time (cf. the description in Djaḥẓa's *Amālī*, in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 486-7). He lived partly in Baghdād, partly in Sāmarrā, where he died and was buried in 275/888-9. Al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*], the secretary to al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861), for whom Abu 'l-Ḥasan had arranged a library, introduced him to the caliph, whose confidence he was able to win and to retain, as is shown by a number of anecdotes (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 473-4). Under al-Muntaṣir (d. 248/862), he was entrusted with a high office at the caliphal court and with the properties on the western bank of the Tigris that went with it. Apart from a one-year interruption under al-Muhtadī (d. 256/870), he retained it under the next rulers until the reign of al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/892) and the latter's brother al-Muwaffaḳ. ʿAlī's large income permitted him to indulge plentifully in his multifarious interests and tastes. On one of his estates, in Karkar near Baghdād, he had arranged a large library which he called *Khizānat al-ḥikma*, very probably with reference to al-Maʾmūn's establishment which meanwhile had disappeared. He generously put it at the disposition of users from far and near, who were offered free board and lodging. Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī [*q.v.*] is said to have resolved there to devote himself entirely to astronomy. Just like his father, ʿAlī was greatly interested in science and medicine, as is clear from two works written at his instigation: Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's *Kitāb fī 'l-Mudkhal ilā ʿilm al-handasa*, in the questions-and-answers form [see masāʾil wa-adjwiba], and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's inventory of Galen's writings. However, ʿAlī's special interests apparently were in the fields of music, art and literature. He had previously known Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] (d. 235/850) and preserved in a work of his the latter's *akhbār*; Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] wrote for him a work on questions of theory of music under the title *Kitāb fīmā saʾalahu Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim min abwāb ʿilm al-mūsīḳī*. ʿAlī's main work is to be considered his *Kitāb al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ḳudamāʾ wa 'l-islāmiyyīn*, related to earlier works of this genre.

Like his father, (4) Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā (241-300/855-912) was an esteemed and respected companion of al-Muwaffaḳ and the caliphs al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 289/902) and al-Muktafī (d. 295/908). Versed in the "Sciences of the Arabs and the non-Arabs" (*ʿulūm al-ʿarab wa 'l-ʿadjam*), he cultivated intercourse with many learned men of his time. Among his pupils should be mentioned, next to his son Yūsuf and his nephew ʿAlī b. Hārūn, the historian al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*]. Of his often-praised poetical gifts, only a few fragments give evidence, namely eight verses from an elegy on his friend Thābit b. Ḳurra (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 122). In a *Risāla fī 'l-mūsīḳī* (ms. B.L., Suppl. 823) he dealt with the mathematical theory of music. He also wrote a *Kitāb al-Nagham* (quoted in *Aghānī*³, viii, 374,7). Yaḥyā is the first member of the Munadjdjim family concerning whose theological position we are informed in considerable detail. He belonged to the circle around the Muʿtazilī al-Balkhī and directed personally a *madjlis* in which theological questions were discussed. He is said to have composed some theological works whose titles, however, have not come down to us, except for his reply to a theological-polemic work by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, known under the title *Risāla ilā Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā wa-Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ* (ms. Şehid Ali 2103; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 225). Yaḥyā's most prominent and lasting achievement undoubtedly lies in the field of literary history. In his *Kitāb al-Bāhir fī akhbār shuʿarāʾ mukhaḍramī 'l-dawlatayn*, which remained unfinished and was later completed by his son Aḥmad, he collected information about poets who had lived in the transition period between the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids [see mukhaḍram]. Of this work there exists a short table of contents, and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī has moreover long extracts from it in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which suggests that Yaḥyā in his turn used his father's book on poets mentioned above (see M. Fleischhammer, *Reste zweier Dichterbücher im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle, Gesch.- und Sprachw. Reihe*, xvii [1968], 77-81; *idem, Hinweise auf schriftliche Quellen im Kitāb al-Aġānī*, *loc. cit.* xxviii [1979], 53-62, no. 95).

Though he died at the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight, Yaḥyā's younger brother (5) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn (251/865 to 288/901 or to 289/902) was also an esteemed companion at the caliphal court. Of his literary production, which follows the trend taken by the family, two works are worth mentioning. The *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ*, an anthology of poems by "modern" (*muḥdathūn*) and "post-classical" (*muwalladūn*) poets, included, according to his own statements, more than 160 poets and was an extract from an earlier work. The beginning of the Introduction has been preserved, as well as isolated extracts from the work itself, which later enjoyed great favour and is said to have served as an example for authors of similar works, such as al-Thaʿālibī, al-Bākharzī, al-Ḥaẓīrī and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 194 ff.; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi), ed. G. Flügel, ii, 5). The *Ikhtiyār al-kabīr*, which is mentioned only once in the sources (*Fihrist*, i, 144, 7 f.) and which did not reach further than the poets Bashshār b. Burd, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya and Abū Nuwās [*q.vv.*], originates either from the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* or from the original work. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī seems to have used this work in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, where he uses the formula *nasakhtu min kitāb Hārūn b. ʿAlī* in the articles on Bashshār b. Burd and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (cf. Fleischhammer, *Hinweise*, *loc. cit.*, no. 39).

Nothing is known of the dates of life of another brother of Yaḥyā's, (6) Abū ʿĪsā Aḥmad. He was the author of a *Risāla fī nubuwwat Muḥammad*, against which Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā engaged in a polemic (*Fihrist*, i, 295, 10 f.; cf. J. Fück, *Neue Materialien zum Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc [1936], 307), and of a *Taʾrīkh sinī 'l-ʿālam*, fragments of which are preserved by Abu 'l-Fidā [*q.v.*] and in Ps. Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (see S.M. Stern, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*).

To the family's fifth generation belonged (7) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (262-327/875-939). Like his father, he was one of the leading representatives of the Muʿtazila in Baghdād, and frequented the court of the caliphs al-Muktafī and al-Rāḍī (d. 322/934). Of the many theological writings which he is said to have composed, only two are known by title. The *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-mushabbiha* deals with one of the central themes of Muʿtazila dogma (cf. Fück, *Neue Materialien*, *loc. cit.*, 307), while the *Kitāb Ithbāt nubuwwat Muḥammad* probably was devoted to the defence of his uncle Abū ʿĪsā Aḥmad's *Risāla*, men-

tioned above, against the attacks of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā. In *fiḳh*, Aḥmad was a follower of the school of al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] as is shown in two of his writings, the *Kitāb al-Mudkhal ilā madhhab al-Ṭabarī wa-nuṣrat madhhabih* and the *Kitāb al-Idjmāʿ fi 'l-fiḳh ʿalā madhhab al-Ṭabarī*. Whether the above-mentioned supplement to his father's *Kitāb al-Bāhir* (*Fihrist*, i, 143, 29 ff.) was used by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī at the seven places where he mentions Aḥmad as an informant (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*[3], iii, 307, 3; v, 174, 5; xiii, 241, 7; xiv, 323, 5; 380, 5; xiv, 107, 15; cf. Fleischhammer, *Hinweise*, *loc. cit.*, no. 18), cannot be decided. The glorious past of his family induced him to compose a chronicle, which probably had the title *Akhbār Bani 'l-Munadjdjim wa-nasabuhum fi 'l-Furs*. From the standpoint of literary history, this is worth mentioning because it is one of the first attempts in this field known to us.

(8) Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf, Aḥmad's only known brother, contributed to the monthly costs of 600 *dīnārs* of the Bīmāristān al-Sayyida, which Sinān b. Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] opened on 1 Muḥarram 306/14 June 918 at the Sūḳ Yaḥyā in Baghdād.

(9) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (277-352/890-963), who had the same *ism* and the same *kunya* [*q.vv.*] as his famous grandfather, was a cousin of the two last-named members of the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim. He frequented the caliphal court and other highly-placed personalities. He entertained friendly relations with the Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], who held him in high esteem as a companion (see the extracts from Ibn ʿAbbād's diary (*rūznāmadja*) in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v. 440-3), and was acquainted with the author of the *Fihrist* and with Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī. He was engaged in a literary polemic with the latter, who mentions him as an informant in thirteen places of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*Aghānī*[3], v, 282, 11; 356, 4; 359, 4; 364, 16; ix, 282, 18; x, 107, 6; 120, 16; 133, 17; 138, 19; 139, 9; 140,13; 278, 10; [1]xxi, 181, 11). Since most of these are found in the article on Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and in a section on Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, it may be assumed that they were taken from ʿAlī's *Risāla fi 'l-Farḳ bayn Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī wa-Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī fi 'l-ghināʾ*, in which the author takes up a position in the dispute about "new" and "old" music. It seems quite probable that the *Kitāb Shahr Ramaḍān* on behalf of the caliph al-Rāḍī, the unfinished chronicle of his family on behalf of the Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], composed after the one by his elder cousin Hārūn, and the *Kitāb al-Kawāfī* on behalf of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], are occasional works which were aimed at increasing the munificence of the addressed. The *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala 'l-Khalīl fi 'l-ʿarūḍ*, on the other hand, is an important witness for the fact that the metrical system of the Baṣran grammarian al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 174/790) was criticised up to the 4th/10th century and was accepted on a large scale only gradually (cf. J. Fück, *Bemerkungen zur altarabischen Metrik*, in *ZDMG*, cxi [1961], 468).

Genealogical tree of the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim[1]

- (1) Abān, Abū Manṣūr
  - (2) Yaḥyā, Abū ʿAlī
    - Muḥammad
    - Aḥmad (?)[2]
    - (3) ʿAlī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan
      - (6) Aḥmad, Abū ʿĪsā
        - Muḥammad(?)[3]
      - (4) Yaḥyā, Abū Aḥmad
        - (8) Yūsuf, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[4]
          - Muḥammad(?)[5]
            - (11) Hibat Allāh, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
        - (7) Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan
          - al-Ḥasan, Abū Muḥammad[6]
      - ʿAbd Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim
      - (5) Hārūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
        - (9) ʿAlī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan
          - (10) Hārūn, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
            - ?
              - Marwān
                - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[11]
          - Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Fatḥ[7]
          - al-Muḥassin, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[8]
          - al-Ḥasan, Abū Muḥammad[9]
          - al-Faḍl, Abū Manṣūr[10]
          - ʿAbd Allāh(?)[11]
    - Saʿīd
    - al-Ḥasan

Notes to the genealogical tree

1 Names without a note are found in *Fihrist*, i, 143-4, and in most of the sources mentioned in the Bibliography.
2 Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 238, 8 = § 3387; perhaps identical with his brother Muḥammad.
3 Only found in a family *isnād*: *Aghānī*[3], x, 133, 17 f.
4 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 322, no. 7645; Samʿānī, fol. 543b, 14; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, 194 ult.-195, 4.
5 Only found in the *nasab* of his son Hibat Allāh.
6 Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xi, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, no. 564.
7 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 318, nr. 2122; Samʿānī, fol. 543b, 11 f.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 232 f.; verses in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 209.
8 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 156, no. 7135; Samʿānī, fol. 543v, 13.
9 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 390, no. 3925; Samʿānī, fol. 543b, 13; verses in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 209.
10 *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xii, 380, no. 6837; Samʿānī, fol. 543b, 13.
11 Cf. G. Gabrieli, *loc. cit.*, 366 f. n. 1.

In the sources, information about the Banu 'l-Munadjdjim dry up with two representatives of following generations.

(10) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn, with the same *ism* and *kunya* as his grandfather, was versed in astronomy and astrology. He was the author of a much used *zīdj*, of a *Kitāb Mukhtār fī 'l-Aghānī* and was active as a theologian.

(11) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Hibat Allāh, a grandson (or son?) of Yūsuf, is quoted as informant by al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) in his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* (ed. Margoliouth, 11 *et passim*). The latter praises Hibat Allāh's many-sidedness and remarks that he was the companion of several viziers, of al-Muhallabī in particular.

Bibliography: A survey of the most important members of the family and of their works is found in *Fihrist*, i, 143-4, see also 275; biographies and notices on individual persons mainly in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; Samʿānī; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert; Ibn Khallikān; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*; Brockelmann, S I, 225, for no. (4); F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii, see indices; G. Gabrieli, *Nota bibliografica su Qusṭā ibn Lūqā*, in *RCAL*, Serie Quinta, xxi (1912), 341-82, esp. 365-73; M. Fleischhammer, *Die Banū l-Munağğim, eine Bagdader Gelehrtenfamilie aus dem 2.-4. Jahrhundert d. H.*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. Univ. Halle, Ges.-u. Sprachw. Reihe*, xii (1963), 215-20; S.M. Stern, *Abū ʿĪsā Ibn al-Munajjim's Chronography*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition, essays presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, eds. S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and Vivian Brown, Columbia, South Carolina 1972, 437-56; Yūnus Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī, *ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim* (= no. 3), in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, xxxvi/2 (1405/1985), 201-61; idem, *Hārūn b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim* (= no. 5), in *op. cit.*, xxxvii/2 (1406/1986), 238-97.

(M. Fleischhammer)

MUNADJDJIM BĀSHĪ [see MÜNEDJDJIM BASHÎ].

AL-MUNĀFIḲŪN (A.), a term used in the Ḳurʾān. It is the masc. pl. agent of form III of the root *n-f-ḳ*, and is also the name of sūra LXIII. Derivatives of this third stem occur in the Ḳurʾān 37 times, *munāfiḳūn* occurring 27 times and the feminine *munāfiḳāt* 5 times, the *maṣdar nifāḳ* thrice and *nāfaḳū* twice.

1. The word *munāfiḳūn* in the Ḳurʾān. Here it is usually translated into English and French as "hypocrites" and into German as the equivalent "Heuchler" but also "Zweifler" "doubter" or "Wankelmütiger" "waverer". While these connotations are present, the term in the Ḳurʾān is usually stronger and covers a wide semantic range. In LXIII, 3 the *munāfiḳūn* are apostates (cf. *murtadd, zindīḳ* [*q.vv.*]). The same is the case in IX, 73-87 (especially 74), where along with the *kuffār* they will never be forgiven and will be punished by eternal Hell-fire (cf. also IV, 140-5; XLVIII, 6; LVII, 13-15; and LIX, 11-17). *Djihād* [*q.v.*] is to be waged against them (IX, 73; LXVI, 9) and they are to be killed (IV, 89; XXX, 60). In the rest of the sūra named after them, LXIII, they are berated in the strongest terms. They are liars (1), obstructors (2), ignoramuses (3), propped-up timbers, the enemy (4), arrogant (5), unforgivable deviants (6), they dissent over levies (7, i.e. *infāḳ*, cf. also IX, 67, 90-110, especially 99) and as such are held up as an example of how not to contribute to the cause (8 ff., *pace* Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 209 *ult.*). They also dissent from fighting (most of the other occurrences, e.g. III, 167; XXX, 12 ff.; LIX, 11 ff.). They even dissented from the cult and established a rival mosque (IX, 107). The *munāfiḳūn* were clearly dissenters within the *umma*, whether openly or in secret. They were not joining up to fight and they were not contributing to the cause. The threats against them seem to be deliberately unspecific, perhaps to have as general an effect as possible. The severity of them is slightly muted by occasional statements that repentance is possible (IV, 146; IX, 74; XXX, 24).

2. In Muslim thought. There is a tendency to mollify some of the Ḳurʾān's severity by stressing the "hypocrite" connotation. None of the Muslim lexicographers relate the etymology of the word to the sense "payment of money", found in the predominant fourth stem of the root, *infāḳ*, and in the noun *nafaḳa*. They link it to the word *nāfiḳāʾ* "the escape hole of the gerbil" (e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. *n-f-ḳ*; Ibn Durayd, 198 f.). The gerbil enters the burrow through one hole and then goes out secretly from another. The *munāfiḳ* enters Islam from one side but slips out from another. The similar word *nafaḳ* is used in Ḳurʾān VI, 35, to signify "escape tunnel" (Lane 3036b,c, 1342a), but Ibn Manẓūr says this is not the source of *munāfiḳ*. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (524) provides a synonym *nāfidh*, and explains that *nifāḳ* is entering by one door and going out another, like *fisḳ*, deviating from the right way. Al-Ṭabarī's (431) explanation of IX, 98-101, where *nifāḳ* and *infāḳ* occur in close proximity, comes close to making an etymological link — *hāʾulāʾ il-munāfiḳūn ... yunfiḳūn riyāʾan*.

If the Ḳurʾān refers to the *munāfiḳūn* in general terms, then subsequent Muslim literature does the opposite. Space permits only a few examples. The leader of the *munāfiḳūn* was said to be ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], an ambitious Medinan chief (*Sīra*, 411-13 = 277-9; Watt, 181-7). For instance, he is said to have defended the Jewish Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ against the Prophet (*Sīra*, 546 f. = 363 f. *ad* Ḳurʾān, V, 51 f.) and defected from Uḥud (*Sīra*, 559 = 372; al-Zamakhsharī, *ad* III, 167). IX, 73 ff. is said to refer to dissenters at the raid on Tabūk (al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 203; Watt, 190), either to ones who held back but were persuaded to change their minds (cf. IX, 74, *faʾin yatūbū* ... ; and for three others, *Sīra*, 907-13 = 610-14; Paret, 208 f.); or else to a group of fifteen who attempted an ambush on the return journey (cf. IX, 74, *wa-kafarū* ...). The Bedouin *munāfiḳūn* of IX, 101, are said to be Djuhayna, Aslam, Ashdjaʿ and Ghifār (al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 211) and perhaps Muzayna (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 66.12). Long lists of the names of *munāfiḳūn*, Jewish and Anṣārī, are found in the *Sīra* (351-63 = 239-47; see also Buhl), and seventy were said to have been originally named in the Ḳurʾān (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 255 n. 5, ii, 97 f.). The expulsion of LIX, 12-18, is specified to refer to the Medinan Jewish tribe Ḳurayẓa who had promised to fight alongside the Prophet but when the order came to do so went back on their pledge (al-Tirmidhī, 40).

Imāmī Shīʿī thought on the question is best shown with respect to God's injunction to wage *djihād* against *munāfiḳūn* alongside a general agreement that the Prophet did not fight them (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 50.25). One interpretation is that the Prophet fought the *kuffār* and ʿAlī fought the *munāfiḳūn* (Kohlberg, 70) especially at Ṣiffīn (Ibn Muzāḥim, 489, 7 ff.). Another, attributed to al-Ḥasan, is that *djihād* is the implementation of God's punishments, *iḳāmat al-ḥudūd* (al-Ṭabarsī, v, 319.5; cf. al-Ṭabarī, 359; al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 202). Others, like some Sunnīs (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 202, iv, 130) gloss IX, 73, and LXVI, 9, "fight the *kuffār* [with the sword] and the

munāfiķūn [with argument]". Yet others adduce the Imām's (ʿAlī's?) *ķirāʾa* (some say Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiķ's) *bi ʾl-munāfiķīn* for *wa ʾl-munāfiķīn* (LXVI, 9) i.e. "fight the *kuffār* by means of the *munāfiķūn* (al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 50.25, v, 319-3; Kohlberg, 70 n. 42). Al-Ķummī understood the *munāfiķūn* to be the first three caliphs (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, ii, 180). Shīʿī doctrine is also famous regarding cases of danger or duress, when they sanction a form of hypocrisy or precautionary dissimulation, *taķiyya* [*q.v.*] (Ķurʾān, XVI, 106; al-Ṭabarsī, iii, 388, 14; Kohlberg, 78).

The Khawāridj discuss *nifāķ* in the context of relations with non-Khawāridj. For example, the Nadjadāt [*q.v.*] are said to have classified quietist Khawāridj, i.e. those who stayed among the non-Khawāridj instead of making a *hidjra* to a Khawāridj camp, as *munāfiķūn* (al-Ashʿarī, 91), and Sālim b. Dhakwān appears to classify non-Khawāridj as *munāfiķūn*; one may intermarry with them and inherit from them because the Muslims in the time of the Prophet did so with the *munāfiķūn* (Hinds, *Xerox*, 159²-160, 189; cf. Cook, 89, 96, 199, n. 71).

Aḥkām al-Ķurʾān authors dwell mostly on the "hypocrite" idea and tend to centre their discussions on sūra II, 8-20, where the word *munāfiķūn* does not actually appear, but where hypocrisy is severely attacked. The two fierce similes (II, 17, 19) are closely linked to *munāfiķūn* by al-Tirmidhī (18 f., 20). For the Shāfiʿī school, al-Kiyā al-Harāsī (i, 7) points out that Muslims have not been commanded to kill *munāfiķūn*, despite the fact that they are worse than *kuffār* since they occupy the lowest Hell (Ķurʾān, IV, 145; cf. also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 524; al-Bayhaķī, i, 293 ff.). The Ḥanafī al-Djaṣṣāṣ concurs (29). Similarly, the Mālikī Ibn al-ʿArabī (i, 11 f.) maintains that the Prophet did not kill them although he knew who most of them were. Rather like *al-muʾallafa ķulūbuhum* [*q.v.*], who were given money, they were not killed so that they might be won over.

In the *ḥadīth* literature, there are many traditions to be found about *nifāķ*. Aside from those directly related to the Ķurʾān, perhaps the most widespread one is "The signs of hypocrisy are three" (Wensinck *et alii*, 523-7).

Ṣūfī writers naturally dwell more on the devotional approach to *nifāķ*. *Nifāķ* is the opposite of *wifāķ* "harmony", whose essence is *riḍāʾ* "contentment" (al-Hudjwīrī, 89) not *riyāʾ* "ostentation". Ibn ʿArabī's *tafsīr* of LXIII certainly mentions ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy (*ad* verse 8), but dwells more on ideas like "the *munāfiķūn* are those who vacillate. They are attracted by an instinctive openness to the light of *īmān* but then by an openness to *kufr*, acquired by them because of the [deceptive] permanence of natural forms ..." (160 f.).

3. Western discussion of the term. This mainly concerns the etymology of the word and the dating of its various contexts (notably Nöldeke). Whether *sūrat al-munāfiķīn* itself is Medinan or Meccan, for instance, is not decided (Blachère, 1000; Bell, 581; Rahman, 158-61; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, i, 209 n. 2). The etymology adopted by Nöldeke (*Geschichte*, i, 88, n. 5; *Neue Beiträge*, 48) and most scholars after him (see Jeffery, 272) up to the present day (Rodinson, 184; Paret, 85) is that the word is a borrowing from Ethiopic. The usage of the Ethiopic word "heretic, sceptic, doubter, waverer" (Dillmann, 710 ff., esp. 712) is certainly close to the totality of Ķurʾānic references, but Nöldeke's source is the *Didascalia*, a work translated from the Arabic. There is always the possibility therefore that the borrowing could have been the other way (cf. Leslau, e.g., 167). Serjeant proposes an inner-Arabic etymology from *nafaķa* "a levy". Originally the third stem derivative was a label for those who were paying their levy, but with bad grace (*IQ*, 14) or reluctance (*BSOAS*, 11). It then took on the more religious connotation. This view is connected with Serjeant's analysis of "the constitution of Medina". Watt also proposes an inner-Arabic etymology, partly following the lexicographers, and suggests that "Creepers" or "Moles" might best capture the original meaning (Watt, 184).

4. Conclusion. It may be said that the English word "hypocrite" most closely fits post-Ķurʾān Muslim usage of *munāfiķ*, but the English word that comes nearest to *munāfiķ* in its totality of use in the Ķurʾān is "dissenter". Dissent can be secret or public, and in English also carries the historical connotation of religious schism (*OED*, s.v.). "Dissent" would also concur with the usage of the common Semitic root *n-f-ķ*, principally attested in Aramaic, which has the basic connotation of "issuing, going out" (Jastrow, s.v.). Dissenting, paying money and escaping from holes are all specialised Arabic aspects of this basic meaning.

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(A. Brockett)

MUNĀHADA [see MUKHĀRADJA].

AL-**MUNAKHKHAL** AL-**YASHKURĪ**, the name given to a pre-Islamic poet whose personality is hard to define, in so far as his historical existence is

not actually in doubt. His father is called al-Ḥārith, Masʿūd, ʿUbayd and even ʿAmr, and he does not appear in the genealogical table (no. 141) of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Djamhara* concerning the Yashkur; two men with the name of al-Munakhkhal are cited in this work (see *Register*, ii, 428), but neither of them seems to correspond to the poet treated in this present article. Furthermore, one wonders whether the carefulness to explain at any price the allusions to an al-Munakhkhal taken from ancient poetry has not led the philologists to forge a whole romance from the starting-point of a verse of al-Namir b. Tawlab [*q.v.*] and from the expression *ḥattā yaʾūba ʾl-Munakhkhal* "until al-M. returns", i.e. "never", which is found there and which has become a proverbial saying.

According to classical biographers, the poet (whose death Father L. Cheikho placed *ca.* 597 A.D.) is said to have been a boon-companion at Ḥīra of the Lakhmid ʿAmr b. Hind (d. *ca.* 568 A.D. [*q.v.*]), who is said to have put him to death because he had tried, unsuccessfully, to seduce his sister (or daughter) Hind. It is to this woman that one might think that al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī's sole known *ḳaṣīda* of any length (32 vv., metre *kāmil madjzūʾ*, rhyme *īlūrī*) is addressed, since in it he calls on a certain Hind for help, in a verse which nevertheless looks as if it might have been added in order to justify the tradition about his execution said to have been pronounced by ʿAmr b. Hind. What remains of this fairly composite poem, of Bedouin type, illustrates the classic themes: personal glorification, horses, wine, love, women, etc. The poet alludes there to a *fatāt* with whom he took shelter one rainy day and who could be the beautiful Mutadjarrida, wife of al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir (d. 602 A.D. [*q.v.*]), whom he used to meet, it was said, during the king's absences. The latter, having surprised the lovers, punished the guilty man —who had in any case maligned in his presence his rival al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*]— but the traditions about his fate are divergent: the king is said to have had him killed by a certain ʿIkabb, drowned, buried alive or yet again imprisoned mysteriously in some unknown location (this last detail was perhaps invented in the first place in order to explain the proverbial saying mentioned above). In order to pad out these romantic episodes, the biographers add that al-Nuʿmān was ugly, whilst the poet was of a remarkable beauty, and that al-Mutadjarrida brought into the world two handsome sons who resembled her lover and could only be his sons. The sources consulted do not speak of the fate reserved for the unfaithful queen, but they do relate that she was a woman of Kalb married to one of the king's fellow-tribesmen and that al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, carried away by her beauty, had proposed to her husband an exchange with one of his own wives; the transaction had been concluded, but the Lakhmid ruler never claimed his side of the bargain; after the husband's death, his widow was taken in marriage by his son al-Nuʿmān III.

Al-Munakhkhal, in so far as he ever existed, owes his escape from oblivion to his *ḳaṣīda* which gained a lasting success. It was set to music by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and was further taken up by several other famous musicians. The other verses attributed to this poet are very scanty in number, and the most commonly cited are those which he is said to have composed just before his death in order to incite his tribe to vengeance.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUNAKKAB**, the Arabic name of the small port on the Mediterranean coast of al-Andalus, Almuñecar, which made its entry into the history of Islam on 1 Rabīʿ I 138/14 August 755, when the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*] b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil trod there "for the first time the soil of his future kingdom" (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 101) before setting out to defeat the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī.

As it still is today, Almuñecar was part of the province of which the regional capital was Granada [see GHARNĀṬA], 40 miles away; the fate of the town and the port—where fugitives sometimes took refuge before embarking for the Maghrib—was thus linked to that of the province. Among the events which took place at al-Munakkab, it should be noted that it is mentioned in relation to the revolt of ʿUmar b. Ḥafsūn [*q.v.*], one of whose sons, Sulaymān, captured the place in 311/923, slaughtering its men and taking its women into captivity, at least if Ibn al-Khaṭīb is to be believed (*Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 33). In the following century it played a fairly significant role under the Zīrids [*q.v.*] of Granada, whose last bastion it was. As early as 416/1025, Zāwī b. Zīrī, attacked by the Idrīsid ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd [see ḤAMMŪDIDS], set sail from there on his way to Ifrīḳiya, and it was there that the king ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn [*q.v.*] suffered a defeat at the hands of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], on whose side he had formerly fought along with his brother Tamīm, on 12 Radjab 479/23 October 1056, in the famous battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Despite the fortifications with which the town was equipped, the Zīrids of Granada were forced to surrender and the king ʿAbd Allāh was exiled (483/1090). The chroniclers note that the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Aḍḥā took refuge at al-Munakkab, as did, much later, in 710/1310, the Naṣrid Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad III al-Makhlūʿ (701-8/1302-9 [see NAṢRIDS]). The town and the port finally fell into the hands of the Catholic Kings in Muḥarram 895/December 1489, a little more than two years before the fall of Granada.

Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, s.v.) devotes two lines to al-Munakkab, the name of which is explained, in his opinion, by reference to an Arabic root (*n-k-b*) and the verb *nakkaba*, which he interprets as meaning "to protect". It is a fact that the anchorage was well sheltered and that the town overlooked the sea, waves breaking at the foot of its ramparts, as is known from the available descriptions. Al-Idrīsī (*Opus geographicum*, v, Naples-Rome 1975, 564), who judges the place as being of average importance, draws attention to its wealth in fruits and in fisheries. Situated in its centre was a kind of tower, broader at the base than at the top and containing two vertical conduits. The water, transported from a mile's distance by an aqueduct, filled a basin, whence it rose on one side to fall on the other, turning a small water-wheel (cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Fagnan, in *Extraits inédits*, Algiers 1924, 102; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed.-tr. Lévi-Provençal, *La peninsule ibérique*, Leiden 1938, no. 179, p. 186 of original text, 225 of translation). The town contained a royal residence, and the port a ship-building yard; the commercial fleet was used principally for the

export of locally-produced sugar (see al-Ḳalḳashandı, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 218), especially to Genoa.

Bibliography: The chronicles relating to Muslim Spain mention al-Munakkab in the context of the historical events in which the town and the port were involved; for further details, these should be consulted. Besides the works cited, the reader is referred to J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 291; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrids*, Paris 1973, index, s.v. Almuñecar.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUNĀṢAFA (A.), lit. reciprocal property-sharing by two co-owners, each of them holding the half of a one and undivided object, signifies a special form of co-ownership in Islamic law which, as equivalent to European condominium in Arabic administrative terminology, historically became particularly important in the juridical, fiscal and administrative organisation of border regions between Islamic and Frankish Crusader states in 12th and 13th century Syria.

Munāṣafa as the possibility of co-proprietorship of any kind of possessable object is frequently mentioned in Islamic law compendia and seems to have played an important role especially in agriculture, since the term occurs particularly often in *muzāraʿa* treatises, where its implications as to the manner of harvest-sharing and the right of succession are discussed (e.g. al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, xxiii, 43 ff.). Being probably of pre-Islamic origin, the sharing of revenues early became a possible way to come to terms with non-Muslim communities and lordships. It already plays a role in the Prophet Muḥammad's treaty with the Jews of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. A second example might be seen in the sharing of the tributes of the island of Cyprus on which Byzantium and the Umayyads agreed in 28/648-9 and 69/688-9.

In the context of Muslim-non-Muslim relations, the expression *munāṣafa* itself, however, does not appear before the 12th century. The first Muslim historian to mention the creation of *munāṣafāt* is the Damascene Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (465-555/1073-1160 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, who gives an account of the sharing by halves of the taxes of several border regions between Muslims and Franks, e.g. in the Djawlān and Ḥawrān, on several districts in central Syria from 502/1108 onwards, and only a little later also in northern Syria on the frontier between the Norman principality of Antioch and the Saldjūḳ lordship of Aleppo. The specific difference between earlier cases of tax or profit sharing and the Frankish-Muslim *munāṣafāt* is that the latter were not merely restricted to the division of tax receipts and other revenues but also implied that administration and jurisdiction were exercised by both sides together. Although historiography reports some 30 cases, it is only from a few bilateral treaties from the second half of the 13th century (included in Mamlūk historiography and *kuttāb* literature) that details of the administration of a *munāṣafa* are known: revenues of taxes, customs, mills, etc., are divided up equally, both sides are obliged to take care of the common property, the compulsory services of the population could be shared, and jurisdiction and police authority could be exercised by mixed commissions.

The *raison d'être* of a *munāṣafa* was obviously to arrange a compromise on disputed border territories which neither the Frankish nor the Muslim neighbouring states were able to control completely. Although virtually limited by the date of expiration of a peace agreement or *ṣulḥ*, *munāṣafāt* were frequently prolonged. In 587/1191-2 several *munāṣafa* projects helped to bring about terms between the Third Crusade and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In the later 13th century, the establishment of *munāṣafāt* became very frequent in the treaties between the Mamlūks and the last Frankish petty principalities, and was usually only the last step before total annexation by the Muslims.

Although Western sources have no common name for *munāṣafa*, it is not improbable that the form which it took in Syria is due to Frankish influence, for in Europe condominium-like models of Germanic origin (co-seigneurie, pariage) were very frequent at the time. After the end of the Frankish states in Syria in 1291, this type of *munāṣafa* disappeared; it continued to exist only in the law of private property.

Bibliography: Information can be found in nearly every Arabic chronicle, etc., relevant to Syrian history of the 12th and 13th centuries; Latin and Old French historiography give only a very few indications. See e.g. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiv, 31-9, 42-51. For detailed analysis, see J. Richard, *Un partage de seigneurie entre Francs et Mamelouks: les «Casaux de Sur»*, in *Syria*, xxx (1953), 71-82; P.M. Holt, *The treatises of the early Mamluk Sultans with the Frankish states*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980), 67-76; M.A. Köhler, *Munāṣafāt: Gebietsteilungen...*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. vi (1985), 155-65; idem, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin-New York 1991.

(M.A. KÖHLER)

MUNĀSHADA, (A.), derived from *nashada* "to search (especially for a stray camel), designates a set form of oath, at the beginning of a prayer of petition, sometimes involving a threat or coercion, directed at God. A certain Abū Sammāl of Banū Asad set out once in search of his camel; after a long, vain search, he turned to God, entreating him in these words: *aymunuka laʾin lam taruddahā ilayya lā aʿbudka*, "I swear if you do not return it to me, I will not worship you"; and he found it. The man was not a saint, so that his success could be attributed to his merits. However, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maṭar, a contemporary of the Prophet, known by his *kunya* of Abū Rayḥāna, was renowned for his piety; he once lost a needle and begged God to return it to him: "Oh, God, I entreat you (*ʿazamtᵘ ʿalaykᵃ*), return it to me". And it appeared to him.

Before Islam, the role of *nāshid* was assumed by the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]; his voice was compared to the twittering of birds in a hemistich of al-Ḳuṭāmī (ed. Barth, 2,21). Mysterious whispering is a recognised characteristic of soothsayers (Isaiah, viii, 19).

Munāshada survived under Islam; it is expressed in the formula *yā rabbī rudda*... (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 305, 1.3); a ritual was elaborated with time (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, i, 170). It seems that such appeals were sometimes made in mosques. We read in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (ii, 420): "...Anyone who hears a man seeking the restoration of a camel (*yanshudᵘ*) in the mosque, let him say: "May God return it to me". But mosques were not made for that".

A saying is attributed to the Prophet: "When someone calls upon God (*daʿā*), let him not say 'If you will'; let him ask rather by entreating him (*wa 'l-yaʿzum*) and stressing his need" (al-Tirmidhī, ii, 263; Muslim, v, 290; *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 384). "God loves those who are insistent" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 13, 1.22). The pious man obtains a reply to his request: *law aḳsama ʿala 'l-Lāh la-abarrah* "if only he would entreat God, his prayer would be answered" (cf. ref. and examples in I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 307 ff.). Even after death, the saints keep the power to force

God's hand. He is entreated in their name. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī recommended his disciples to entreat God through his mediation (*fa-aḳsim ʿalayya*, cited by al-Ālūsī, *Djalāʾ al-ʿaynayn*, 42).

Prayers of petition also contain formulae similar to those of *munāshada* [see ISTISḲĀʾ]. The power to bring about rainfall was always attached to a person whose sanctity was supposed to be inherent. The idea that prayer influences celestial powers is an ancient one; in Aristotle's *Theology*, inspired by Plotinus, it is said that prayer acts on the sun and stars to make them move in a certain way, because the parts of the world are from a single whole, like "a single animal" (cited in A. M. Goichon, *Le livre des Directives et remarques*, Paris-Beirut 1951, 60). According to Ibn Sīnā also, prayer plays a role in the mysteries of nature through the influence that it has on the imagination of the souls and celestial bodies that act on our world, particularly in the preparations undergone by matter (*ibid.*, 520).

Munāshada and *istisḳāʾ* sometimes involve a magical aspect [see ISTIḲSĀM and SIḤR].

Bibliography: This article is based largely on I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 304-8, which contains numerous references; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 117, 281. (T. FAHD)

AL-**MUNĀWĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAʾŪF B. TĀDJ AL-ʿĀRIFĪN B. ʿALĪ B. ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN B. YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD, called Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥaddādī al-Munāwī al-Ḳāhirī al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian religious scholar and mystic.

Al-Munāwī is the *nisba* from the village of Munayt or Munāw, a locality of Egypt where his ancestors settled towards the 7th/12th century, coming from Ḥaddāda, a village in Tunisia, hence his first *nisba* of "al-Ḥaddādī". Al-Munāwī was born in Cairo in 952/1545 and died there in 1031/1621. He came from a family renowned for its knowledge and piety, his paternal grandfather being the *Shaykh al-Islām* Yaḥyā al-Munāwī and his maternal one the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāḳī. Under the guidance of his father, at an early age he began to study the Arabic language and to delve deeply into Islamic studies. He grew up into an upright and pious person. The great Egyptian Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] initiated him into Ṣūfism, and after his master's death, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf became an adherent of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, at the same time following others also, in paricular, the Bayramiyya, the Shādhiliyya and the Naḳshbandiyya. For some time he held the office of *Nāʾib al-Shāfiʿiyya*, but then retired from the secular world and spent these subsequent years in writing. He began an active life again as a professor at the Ṣāliḥiyya *madrasa*, where the excellent quality of his teaching attracted numerous pupils round him, as well as much jealousy. These jealousies may well have led to the poisoning to which he fell victim; because of his enfeebled state, he had to abandon his teaching, and from then onwards dictated his works to one of his sons, Tādj al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Al-Munāwī's works are numerous, reaching over one hundred, and covering such diverse spheres as *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, Ḳurʾān exegesis, Ṣūfism, logic, philosophy, medicine, botany, etc. His works and his commentaries (*shurūḥ*) became widely disseminated and enjoyed a great success in his own time, and are still often cited today. Nevertheless, only a few of his works have been published, and a great number of them remain in manuscript, spread through the libraries and collections of East and West. In the sphere of Ṣūfism, al-Munāwī left a grand biographical dictionary called *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī tarādjim al-sādāt al-ṣūfiyya*, in which he gives the lives of the great Ṣūfīs from Muḥammad to his own time; this work is also known as the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Munāwī al-kubrā* (ed. Cairo 1938, 1963), and he made a résumé of it which he called *Irghām awliyāʾ al-shayṭān bi-dhikr manāḳib awliyāʾ al-Raḥmān* or the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Munāwī al-ṣughrā*. His book on Ṣūfī technical terminology, *al-Tawḳīf ʿalā muhimmāt al-taʿārīf* or *Tawḳīf al-Munāwī*, is a glossary of these terms arranged alphabetically, and is compiled in imitation of the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī. He also wrote a commentary on two works by Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-Taṣawwuf* and *Ḳaṣīdat al-Nafs* (this commentary ed. Cairo 1318/1900-1), in the sphere of *ḥadīth*, he wrote several works, including *al-Djāmiʿ al-azhar min ḥadīth al-Nabī al-anwar*, which contains more than 30,000 *ḥadīths* (ed. Cairo 1286/1869-70), *Kunūz al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī ḥadīth khayr al-khalāʾiḳ* (ed. Cairo 1350/1931-2) and *al-Ithāfāt al-saniyya li 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya* (ed. Cairo 1354/1936). There are detailed items of informations on al-Munāwī's works in al-Muḥibbī's *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 193-5, 412-16. Al-Munāwī's other son, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, died in 1022/1613 during his father's own lifetime; he also had followed the spiritual way and, as a true Ṣūfī, had devoted his life to prayer and the adoration of God.

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, his father and his two sons were buried in Cairo at the side of the *zāwiya* known till today as the Zāwiyat al-Munāwī, a building distinguished by its cupola, the third of its kind in Egypt.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 187, 253; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 312; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul 1941, i, 71, 508, 519, ii, 1041, 1096, 1520, 1522; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ*, xvi, 50-1; Caetani-Gabrieli, *Onomasticon arabicum*, ii/A, 579; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 1798-9; Djurdjī Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh*[2], ii, 247, 350; Brockelmann, II, 93, 280, 393, 395, S II, 84, 417; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 212, x, 241; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iv, 196, v, 220-1; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 157 ff.; A. Saleh Hamdan, *La vie et l'œuvre du grand Sufi égyptien ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī*, in *OM*, lxxxiv (1984), 203-14. (A. SALEH HAMDAN)

MUNĀẒARA (A.) means the scientific, in particular the theological-juridical, dispute on the one hand, the literary genre of the struggle for precedence on the other.

Theological disputes took place between Muslims and adherents of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*] as well as between representatives of the different Muslim denominations. A few records of such *munāẓarāt* have been preserved. Although these records, as far as the outcome of the disputes is concerned, were adapted to literary standards, or are even simply fictitious, they nevertheless provide an insight in the way the *munāẓarāt* actually took place. The discussions were held before an audience which was not however supposed to interfere with the dispute by way of utterances of approval or discontent. Often the discussion was held in the presence of a caliph or vizier, who eventually could have the function of arbitrator. It was executed in the form of questions and answers [see MASĀʾIL WA-ADJWIBA, where are also given the records of the contests which have been transmitted]. In principle, the more advantageous role of questioner fell to the challenger, but courtesy prescribed that the right of questioning was yielded to the weaker contestant. From the loser, conversion was expected and, when the discussion was held before a highly-placed personality, he could be punished. Often, however, the loser, in order to save himself from the affair, used the argument that in the end the proofs were equivalent (*takāfuʾ al-adilla*). The principle of *takāfuʾ al-adilla* was also adopted in cases in which

conversion or the finding of the truth were no longer at stake, but where it was a case of a rhetorical contest as a means for entertainment.

The *munāẓara* was not only important for oral theological dispute, but it also influenced theological literature. Stylistically, the latter easily adopted the framework of question and answer, in which didactical considerations, notably the instructions for the discussions, may have played a rôle. For this, expressions were used that had already been common among the Church Fathers, such as εἰ δέ φατε ...φαμὲν ὅτι (*wa-in ḳāla ḳā'ilun....ḳulnā*) (cf. J. van Ess, *The logical structure of Islamic theology*, in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 21-50, at 22-4). From theology, the framework of question and answer passed to other disciplines (see *Bibl.* to MASĀ'IL WA-ADJWIBA).

Very soon, the importance which the dispute had in actual practice led to the development of a theory. The first to report specific rules for the disputation of the *ḥukamā'* seems to have been Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. 757) (according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutafaḳḳih*, ed. I. al-Anṣārī, Beirut, 1975, ii, 35, ll. 14 ff.). The *munāẓara* was perhaps also treated in the lost *Kitāb Ādāb al-mutakallimīn* of the Muʿtazilī Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 131/749 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). Because of the title and its subsequent influence, we are on firm ground with the equally lost *Kitāb Ādāb al-djadal* ("Method of the disputation") of Ibn al-Rāwandī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]). The first work with a section on *Adab al-djadal* to survive is the *Kitāb al-Anwār wa 'l-marāḳib* of the Karaite al-Ḳirḳisānī (4th/10th century, cf. G. Vajda, *Études sur Qirqisānī*, in *REJ*, cxxii [1963], 7-74). The *Kitāb al-Djadal* of Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119 [*q.v.*]) and other works on *adab al-djadal* depend on him (cf. G. Makdisi, *Dialectic and disputation. The Relation between the texts of Qirqisani and Ibn ʿAqil*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie. Vol. dédié à la mémoire de A. Abel*, i, Leiden 1974, 201-6). *Adab al-djadal* thus became the technical term for the method of debating, not only in theology, but also, as is evident from Ibn ʿAḳīl's work written for the *fuḳahā'*, in jurisprudence, in which were discussed questions that were controversial between the schools of law [see IKHTILĀF]. Here the aim of the dispute was adapted to juridical needs. It was no more a matter of finding the truth, as in theology, but of convincing the opponent of the greatest possible probability which one believes to have found.

The question to what extent the theory of the *djadal* can be traced back to Greek sources cannot be answered unambiguously. Clues, if any, might mostly be connected with the *Topics* of Aristotle, but it must be remarked that the latter became known to the Arabs only after they had started the practice of holding discussions. Nor do the theoretical works show any direct dependence in formulation or in organisation of the material. Above all, the theoretical works in Arabic lack the reserved attitude towards dialectics, present in Aristotle, which then passed on to the Arab philosophers (e.g. al-Fārābī). Influence on the *djadal* emanated rather from the Hellenistic schools of rhetoric and was transmitted by the Christians.

It was only later that the theory of disputation came under the influence of Aristotelian logic and philosophy. Logic now became the final arbitrator, for the theory of disputation freed itself from the requirements of theology and jurisprudence and could thus be applied to all sciences, including philosophy. This general theory of disputation was called *ādāb al-baḥth*, and formulated for the first time by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Samarḳandī (end of the 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), in his *Risāla al-Samarḳandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥth*. Later treatises on the *ādāb al-baḥth* did not surpass him essentially.

Besides scientific dispute, *munāẓara* (synonyms are *mufākhara* and *muḥāwara*) indicates, in Arabic and other Islamic languages, also a literary genre in which two or more living or inanimate beings appear talking and competing for the honour which of them possesses the best qualities. The result of the competition depends on the discretion of the poet: a participant may declare himself defeated of his own free will, or the rivals may reach an understanding and recognise each other's equivalence. They may, however, also call in an arbitrator, who then awards victory to one participant or declares that both, or eventually all, are of equal standing. Finally, there may also surprisingly appear in the end a new competitor who claims victory. The *munāẓarāt* may be composed in prose, rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) or verse. Often the poet uses the three forms at the same time.

In Arabic literature, a series of earlier forms preceded the fully developed *munāẓara*. They already show the ability of the Arabs for antithesis and their sense of dialectics, which appeared also in the theological *munāẓarāt*. Already in old Arabic poetry, derision of the opponent (*hidjā'* [*q.v.*]) was often set against self-praise (*mufākhara* [*q.v.*]) in the same poem. Such poems could be followed by a reply of the opponent, which then could again be answered. Thus a whole series of contest-poems (*naḳā'iḍ* [*q.v.*]) came into being, which were performed before the general public, especially in the Umayyad period. Thus we have already to do with a kind of competition for honour, but there are here still two poets who represent their own interests, and not one poet who simulates the competition of more that one representative of different interests. One might conjecture that the fully developed *munāẓarāt* were no more than parodies of the *naḳā'iḍ*, in which the composers were joking about the competing poets by representing insignificant objects as talking instead of the latter persons. Such a conjecture would, however, lead to the conclusion that the *munāẓarāt* took their origin already in the Umayyad period, when the *naḳā'iḍ* were flourishing. This was not the case.

In poetry, a disputation between inanimate beings is found for the first time with the ʿAbbāsid poet al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. after 193/808 [*q.v.*]), who makes heart and eye blame one another for the poet's love (ed. ʿA. al-Khazradjī, Cairo 1954, 45 = no. 79). It is true that we have to do here with a dispute, but it is a matter of blame, not of precedence and excellence. Precedence is at stake in Ibn al-Rūmī's (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) *Tafḍīl al-nardjis ʿalā 'l-ward* (ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973-81, 643-4 = no. 470). But here too the *munāẓara* is not yet fully developed, because the objects do not speak themselves, and because the poet immediately takes up position on one side. On the other hand, with the shame of the rose, anthropomorphism is introduced. Several poets composed refutations (*muʿāraḍāt*) of Ibn al-Rūmī's *Tafḍīl* (enumerated in Naṣṣār, 643), but this was done in the form of a real *munāẓara* for the first time by al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]) (ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, 498 = App. no. 123). Here the rose talks first in indirect speech, then both the rose and the narcissus in direct speech (cf. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung*, Beirut 1974, 204-15, 313-6). Thus the fully developed *munāẓara* is proved to exist in poetry since the 4th/10th century.

In prose, there had originated already in an earlier period, i.e. in the *ḥadīth* literature, the so-called *faḍā'il*

literature (see FAḌĪLA and E.A. Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang. Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam.* Freiburg i. B. 1975), in which were brought out the good qualities of individuals, groups of persons or cities (see e.g. A. Arazi, *Matériaux pour l'étude du conflit de préséance entre la Mekke et Médine*, in *JSAI*, v [1984], 177-235), often as a means to carry claims through within the Muslim state. In the struggle between the Arab tribes against each other, and later also in the fight between *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*] and anti-*shuʿūbiyya*, i.e. between Arabs and non-Arabs, the *mathālib* [*q.v.*], the blameable qualities of the other party, were opposed to the *faḍā'il* of one's own. The early *adab* literature took up this theme and applied it to new subjects. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) composed a series of treatises either to praise (*fī madḥ*) or to blame (*fī dhamm*) diverse items, such as books, Turks, date-wine, pederasty and secretaries. Occasionally, he set praiseworthy subjects against blameable ones in the same work. He thus treated the superiority of the black-skinned over the white, of talking over silence and of merchants over officials. From such oppositions arose *al-maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī* [*q.v.*], a literary genre in which, inside the same work, several positively-described subjects were confronted with their negatively-described contrasts, or the positive and negative qualities of one and the same subject. Al-Djāḥiẓ, however, made a further step in the direction of the fully-developed *munāẓara*: subjects, which were not necessarily opponents, were represented by an attorney (*ṣāḥib*) and were thus staged against each other. In the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-djawārī wa 'l-ghilmān* (ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1957), the *ṣāḥib* of the girl and the one of the boy fight for the precedence of love of girls or that of boys. The fight of other pairs, such as rooster and dove, or sheep and goats, equally represented by attorneys, is represented by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1938-45, iii, 200-5; v, 523-4). Al-Djāḥiẓ's point was not literary entertainment alone, but the proof of the coexistence of good and bad qualities in created beings and of their being created by one God only (against dualism), a proof which corresponds with his Muʿtazilī attitude. This is shown by his defending the fight between the dog and the rooster (which comprises extensive sections of the first and second volumes of the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*) against a fault-finder (*ʿā'ib*) and by his identifying the *ṣāḥib* of the dog with the Ḳadarī Maʿbad [*q.v.*] and the *ṣāḥib* of the rooster with the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, i, 3; cf. I. Géries, *Un genre littéraire: al-Maḥâsin wa-l-masâwî*, Paris 1977, 35-58). The ingenious and witty way in which he represented the fight certainly also stimulated the further development of the surely literary genre, free from all philosophical and theological implications. Here there was no task left for the *ṣāḥib*, who with al-Djāḥiẓ still had a function, since he represented not only the subject but also a philosophical-theological opinion. Now the way was free for the fully-developed *munāẓara*, in which the subjects themselves are talking. Such a *munāẓara* is the *Salwat al-ḥarīf bi-munāẓarat al-rabīʿ wa 'l-kharīf*, a contest between spring and autumn, ascribed to al-Djāḥiẓ but probably to be dated around the turn of the millennium (cf. O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des Philologen und Dogmatikers Ǵâḥiẓ aus Baçra nebst noch unveröffentlichten Originaltexten*, i, Stuttgart 1931, 498-526). Of earlier *munāẓarāt*, only the titles are known, so it is not clear whether they had reached the fully-developed form. But it does not seem improbable that, as in poetry, the development in prose was concluded in the 4th/10th century.

Next to the *munāẓarāt* between animals, plants and seasons, there were also disputes between cities (the literary continuation of the *faḍā'il* of cities), pen and sword (expressing the conflict of interests between civilians and the military), minerals, scripts, physicians and astrologers, drinks, and, in more recent times, railways and telegraph, donkey and bicycle, as well as tram and bus.

In New Persian literature, the *munāẓara* turns up for the first time in the 5th/11th century with Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī (born *ca.* 1010 [*q.v.*]; in the article ASADĪ there still is a distinction between two authors, but see J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 164). In five of his panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*, he replaces the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] with a *munāẓara*. The themes treated are day and night, heaven and earth, bow and lance. The connecting motive to the panegyrical part of the *ḳaṣīda* consists in calling in the praised one as arbitrator, in stating that in his presence there should be peace, etc. (cf. Ye. E. Bertels, *Pyatoe munazere Asadi Tusskogo*, in *Učeniye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk SSSR*, xix [1958], 55-88). Already present in the Arabic *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] in a preliminary stage, the *Munāẓara* penetrates into the Persian *maḳāmāt* during the 6th/12th century. While the debates in al-Ḥarīrī's *maḳāmāt* had not yet been fully-developed *munāẓarāt*, they became so with the Persian poet Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Balkhī (d. 559/1164). In his work, only human beings fight: physician and astrologer, old man and young man, etc. Finally, a *munāẓara* as independent genre is found in the fight between cake and bread of the satirist Busḥāḳ-i Aṭʿimma Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥallādj (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century). In the Persian context too, the independent *munāẓara* was now open to all themes.

In the eastern Turkish world, we have, from the second half of the 5th/11th century, hence more or less contemporary with Asadī, a fragment of a poetical fight between summer and winter (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Altturkestanische Volkspoesien*, ii, in *Asia Major*, i [1924], 24-44, at 32-4) in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*. The next Turkish *munāẓarāt* are some three-and-a-half centuries younger. They were composed in the first half of the 9th/15th century by three Čaghatāy poets. Yūsuf Amīrī (cf. H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature. A bio-bibliographical survey*, sect. iii, pt. i, vol. ii, Utrecht 1969, 92-7) made the narcotic *bandj* [*q.v.*] fight with wine. The Persian influence is evident from the introduction, in which he says that he wants to treat the theme in the Persian way but in the Turkish language. His *munāẓara*, in its turn, was a model for Fuḍūlī's [*q.v.*] *mathnawī Bang wa-bāda*. Yaḳīnī (cf. Hofman, *op. laud.* sect. iii, pt. 1, vol. vi, 100-3) deals with the fight between arrow and bow, and Aḥmadī (cf. Hofman, *op. laud.* sect. iii, pt. i, vol. ii, 61-3) with that between stringed instruments. In the same tradition stands Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī's [*q.v.*] *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*, even if it is not a *munāẓara* in the proper sense but a proof that Čaghatāy is equal to Persian. In Central Asia, the *munāẓara* has remained a favourite literary genre until the present day.

The Ottoman *munāẓara* was apparently influenced by the Central Asian one. This is not only true for Fuḍūlī but also for Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531-2 [*q.v.*]), who was in close relation with Central Asia (cf. E. Birnbaum, *The Ottomans and Chagatay literature*, in *CAJ*, xx [1976], 157-190, at 166). He treats the theme of spring and winter in epic detail by staging both seasons as kings with armies, which fight not only with words but also with weapons. In the Ottoman

empire, too, the *munāẓara* lived on until very recent times.

Poetry dealing with the struggle for precedence did not only exist in the Islamic world but also in many other literatures. In the Ancient East, it was known to the Sumerians and Egyptians, later to the Greeks (σύγκρισις), to the Romans (*conflictus*) and in the Middle Ages in the West (*altercatio*). The question arises to what extent the Arabic *munāẓara* was influenced by foreign elements on the one hand, and on the other, to what extent it affected literatures outside the Islamic world. Foreign influence upon the *munāẓara* is not necessarily to be assumed, because a continuous series of preliminary stages can be shown inside the Arabic world (see above). Yet foreign participation in the development of the genre is not to be excluded either. Because of the distance in time, there is, supposedly, no direct influence from the Ancient Orient, but Persian and Greek may have affected the *munāẓara*. From Middle Persian we know the fight for precedence between the date palm and the goat (*drakht ī asūrīg*). The text goes back to an oral Parthian original, which was probably transmitted orally, still in a Middle Persian version, until after the Arab conquest (cf. E. Benveniste, *Le texte du Draxt asūrīk et la versification pehlevie*, in *JA* ccxvii [1930], 193-225; M. Boyce, *Middle Persian literature*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. i, Bd. 4, Abschn. 2, Lfg. 1, Leiden 1968, 31-66, at 55). Because of the imprecise date, the influence of this version on the Arabic *munāẓara* cannot be established with any certainty. As a literary genre, the *munāẓara* has certainly not been influenced directly by the Greek *synkrisis*, but it may well have been that the practice of the Hellenistic rhetorical schools, in which *synkrisis* was a favoured part of the training (cf. F. Focke, *Synkrisis*, in *Hermes*, lviii [1923], 327-68, at 331), may have had its influence on the theological dispute in Islam (see above). Al-Djāḥiẓ wanted the fight between the supporters of the dog and the rooster (see above) to be classified as such a dispute. Still in a Persian *munāẓara*, the third party, settling the fight, blames the dispute as an "illusion of philosophers".

The fight for precedence in the literature of the Western Middle Ages can easily be traced back to the Greek pattern through the Latin one. However, Arabic influence on the origin of the Italian *contrasti* is not to be excluded completely. The first Jew to compose in the Middle Ages a fight for precedence was the Spaniard Abraham ben Ezra, who was also active as a translator from Arabic. He died in Rome in 1168. Some fifty years later, the first *contrasti* appeared, among which was the theme of summer and winter, also treated by Abraham ben Ezra.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see (a) On the practice of disputation: J. van Ess, *Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie. Eine vorläufige Skizze*, in *REI*, xliv (1976), 23-60; G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges. Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1981, 105-11, 128-40. (b) On the theory of disputation: L.B. Miller, *Islamic disputation theory. A study of the development of dialectic in Islam from the tenth through fourteenth centuries*, Ph.D. diss. Princeton 1984 unpubl., (summarised) in L.B. Miller, *Disputatio(n) [4] Islamische Welt*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iii, Munich-Zürich 1986, 1119. (c) *Munāẓara* in Arabic literature: M. Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, in *SBAK Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. clv, Abh. 4 (Vienna 1908); cf. O. Rescher, *Zu M. Steinschneiders Rangstreit-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 397-401; W. Bacher, *Zur Rangstreit-Literatur. Aus der arabischen Poesie der Juden Jemens*, in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, 131-47; C. Brockelmann, *Miscellen zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte. I. Zur ältesten Geschichte der arabischen Tenzone*, in *ibid.*, 231-4; E. Wagner, *Die arabische Rangstreitdichtung und ihre Einordnung in die allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*, in *Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz*, 1962, no. 8, Wiesbaden 1963. (d) *Munāẓara* in Persian literature: H. Ethé, *Über persische Tenzonen*, in *Verhandlungen des 5. Intern. Orientalisten-Congresses zu Berlin*, Th. II, H.1, Berlin 1882, 48-135; H. Massé, *Du genre littéraire "Débat" en arabe et en persan*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, iv (1961), 137-47. (e) *Munāẓara* in Turkish literature: E.R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka*, Moscow 1962, 201-39; J. Eckmann, in *PTF*, ii, 319-24; G. Jarring, *Some notes on Eastern Turki (New Uighur) Munazara literature*, Lund 1981; idem, *The thiefless city and the contest between food and throat. Four Eastern Turkish texts ed. with transl., notes and glossary*, Stockholm 1989.

(E. WAGNER)

AL-**MUNDHIR IV**, one of the Lakhmid kings of Ḥīra, who reigned *ca.* 575-580, being the third and last son of al-Mundhir III (*ca.* 505-54) to rule Ḥīra after his elder brothers, ʿAmr b. Hind (554-69) and Ḳābūs (569-*ca.* 574). His accession to the throne of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] was not smooth. After the death of his brother Ḳābūs, there was an interregnum during which a Persian, Suhrāb, ruled Ḥīra for a year. There was opposition to his accession on the part of the population of Ḥīra because of his violence and possibly because of his heathenism. Finally, it was Zayd b. Ḥammād, the father of the poet ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] who saved the throne for the Lakhmids and convinced the people of the Ḥīra to accept al-Mundhir as their king in *ca.* 575. Not much is known about his reign, but prosopographical data on him are not lacking. Two of his wives are known by name; the first was Salmā bint al-Ṣāʾigh, a Jewish woman from Fadak whom the Kalbī al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn had captured after a raid on Fadak, and the other was a Christian, Māriya bint al-Ḥārith b. Djulhum from the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb. He fathered some twelve or thirteen sons, of whom the most important was al-Nuʿmān, the son of Salmā, and al-Aswad the son of Māriya. It was during his reign that the Ghassānid al-Mundhir captured Ḥīra, set it afire, and freed some Byzantine prisoners. He was succeeded by his son al-Nuʿmān, who reigned as al-Nuʿmān III [*q.v.*] for some twenty years, after ʿAdī b. Zayd secured the throne for him, even as the father Zayd had secured it for al-Mundhir.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 981-2, 1016-18, 1021, 1038, German tr. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 104-7.

(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-**MUNDHIR** B. **MUḤAMMAD**, ABU 'L-ḤAKAM (229-76/844-88), sixth Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova and the son of a slave belonging to Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (d. 273/876).

During his father's lifetime, he filled military functions on various occasions, somewhat honorific to begin with, since it is mentioned that, as early as 242/856, he had gone to blockade—without great success—Toledo [see ṬULAYṬULA] which had rebelled. Over the next years, he had occasion to command some summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) against the Christians, notably in 251/865. In 263/877 he marched against Merida (see MĀRIDA] in a war against the lord of Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

Marwān al-Djillīkī. Five years later (268/882), he besieged Saragossa [see SARAḲUSṬA] and seized several places of the Upper March before returning against Ibn Marwān and expelling him from Badajoz. At this time, the famed agitator ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]) had ostensibly submitted to Muḥammad I, but had taken up arms again, and it fell to al-Mundhir to combat him (273/886). The *amīr*'s son invested al-Ḥāma (Alhama) and repelled a sortie by the rebels, but had to forgo proceeding any further when he received the news of his father's death. He thus returned to Cordova, where he was proclaimed ruler on 3 Rabīʿ I 273/9 August 886, in circumstances recounted in a dramatic fashion by Ibn al-Abbār, in the chapter which he devotes to the vizier and commander of Muḥammad I, Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was only able with difficulty to read the text of the proclamation. Al-Mundhir retained his father's viziers: Tammām b. ʿĀmir al-Thaḳafī and Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Djawhar, and appointed Hāshim as *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]. But his relations with the latter were no longer good and, at Ibn Djawhar's instigation, he soon had him arrested and executed, confiscating his family's possessions and levying a hefty fine on them.

Al-Mundhir's brief reign was mainly devoted to the war against Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who took advantage of Muḥammad I's death to intensify his actions. The new *amīr* caused him to be harried, and in the spring of 274/888 himself led an expedition aimed at reducing the rebel's headquarters, Bobastro [see BUBASHTRŪ in Suppl.]. First of all he besieged Archidona [see URDJUDHŪNA], where he succeeded in getting hold of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's representative, nailing him alive on a cross, and then captured the rebels and sent them to Cordova to be crucified there. Then he turned towards Bobastro and became involved in deceptive and misleading negotiations with the rebel leader, who made a show of submission and rejoined the *amīr*. The *ḳāḍī* drew up an act of amnesty, and al-Mundhir even sent to Bobastro a hundred and fifty mules in order to load up and bring back all Ibn Ḥafṣūn's possessions, but the latter took flight and seized the convoy. Al-Mundhir, who had decided to attack Bobastro directly, fell ill and summoned his brother ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], in order to entrust to him the command of operations and the siege of the place, before dying on 15 Ṣafar 275/29 June 888. ʿAbd Allāh, who has been accused of poisoning his brother, waited three days to announce the news and then had the corpse carried back to Cordova, at the same time asking Ibn Ḥafṣūn to allow the funeral cortège passage.

Al-Mundhir had a reputation for intelligence and generosity which contradicts in large measure the cruelty which he demonstrated on several occasions, he is also said to have been the friend of religious leaders and of literary men.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index, has substantially utilised the Arabic sources, amongst which are notable Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (tr. E. Fagnan, in *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 231, 238, 241-3), Ibn al-Abbār's *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ* (ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1964, index) and Ibn ʿIdhārī's *Bayān*, ii.

(CH. PELLAT)

(AL-)**MUNDHIR** B. **SAʿĪD** b. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥakam, Andalusian theologian and jurist, born in 273/886 into a family of Berber origin settled in the region of Cordova, at Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ [*q.v.*, Los Pedroches], whence his *nisba* of AL-BALLŪṬĪ.

He studied in the capital of al-Andalus and set out to broaden his knowledge in the East on the occasion of a pilgrimage which he made in 308/921. He stayed in various cities, studied under several teachers and achieved renown in Egypt when he publicly corrected the reading of a verse of Madjnūn Laylā [*q.v.*] by Abū Djaʿfar al-Naḥḥās, who subsequently refused to lend him, for the purpose of copying, the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*]. He succeeded, however, in acquiring a text, and also made a copy of the *Kitāb al-Ishrāf fi 'khtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ* of Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir al-Naysabūrī. On his return to Spain, his renown as a man of letters, poet and *faḳīh* spread, and it was at this stage that he appears to have begun to exercise the duties of a *ḳāḍī*, probably in the eastern frontier region. In Djumādā II/March 942, while his brother Faḍl Allāh (d. 335/947), who had accompanied him in the East, was appointed to the *ḳāḍāʾ* of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ, he himself became chief *ḳāḍī* of all the frontier regions, with the right of supervising the activity of all the *ḳāḍīs* and tax officials within the scope of his jurisdiction; he was also charged with the control of travellers arriving from abroad. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima* i, 400, tr. Slane, i, 452) is the only author to mention him as an example of a *ḳāḍī* placed in command of the troops who set out every year to do battle with the Christians. The exact date of his transfer to the *ḳāḍāʾ* of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [*q.v.*] is not known, but he was probably occupying this post when there occurred, in 338/949, an incident to which his biographers attach the utmost significance. He was present at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir during the reception for an ambassador from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in the course of which Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*], whom the crown-prince al-Ḥakam had brought from Baghdād and who enjoyed his protection, was supposed to make a speech praising the caliph and stressing the prosperity of the country under his rule; when the designated orator was struck speechless by fear, Mundhīr b. Saʿīd improvised an eloquent address, the text of which has been preserved and reproduced by numerous biographers, including Ibn Khāḳān (*Maṭmaḥ*, 241-4) and Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xix, 176-80). This unexpected intervention earned him the favour of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who now became aware of his existence for the first time and who the following year appointed him *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa*, in other words "most senior delegate of the supreme chief of the Andalusian Muslim community for the administration of justice" (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 120). In spite of his repeated offers to resign, he was retained in office by al-Ḥakam II (who reigned from 350 to 366/961-76) until his death, which took place on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 355/15 November 966 (and not on 4 Rabīʿ I 349, at 47 years old, as is stated by al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 398, who also makes him the *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa* of Granada!).

The frank speaking of Mundhir b. Saʿīd might well have cost him his position and even more. His biographers draw attention to a stern speech, full of allusions to the culpable behaviour of the monarch who was intent on the construction of the Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, and in particular to the criticisms addressed to him directly after he had built a pavilion covered with tiles gilded in gold and silver, accusing of allowing himself to be seduced by Satan to the point of acting like an infidel. The *ḳāḍī* was not harassed in any way, because ʿAbd al Raḥmān III was well aware of the value of his support. According to his contemporaries, he showed himself stern but just to those who appeared before him for judgement, treating them all equally with no regard for their social class. His

biographers note however, not without some astonishment, that his stern manner and dignified conduct did not prevent him jesting with his friends, and quote some of his witticisms which gave much pleasure to the people of Cordova.

Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 479) considers him the first representative, in al-Andalus, in the 4th/10th century, of Ẓāhirism [see AL-ẒĀHIRIYYA], which he had introduced into Spain after being the pupil, in the East, not only of Dāwūd b. Khalaf (d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]) but also of one of his disciples (cf. Pellat, *Ibn Ḥazm bibliographe...*, in *al-And.* xix/1 [1954], § 35). He was able to permit himself the practice of *idjtihād*, the personal effort of reflection, while scrupulously respecting the Māliki doctrine. The Ḥanbalī Ibn al-ʿImād himself (*Shadharāt*, iii, 17), acknowledges his rectitude, his intelligence and his eloquence, and does not criticise him more than other authors of biographical articles.

However, none of the works which he left behind has survived: *al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, *al-Inbāh ʿalā 'stinbāṭ al-aḥkām min Kitāb Allāh* and *al-Ibāna ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ uṣūl al-diyāna*. A few verses are still attributed to him, in particular with regard to *zuhd* [*q.v.*], and there is also mention of an exchange of letters in verse with al-Ḳālī with the object of borrowing a book from him. It may be noted that this literary output did not at first appear to Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 228-9) sufficient to merit a notice, but he finally decided to devote a lengthy piece to him (xix, 174-85).

Mundhir b. Saʿīd had several sons, of whom al-Ḥakam and two others adopted the ideas of the philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*]. The fourth, ʿAbd al-Malik, who was *ṣāḥib al-radd*, in other words a *ḳāḍī* appointed to regulate affairs considered too sensitive by other magistrates, was accused of involvement in the plot aimed at deposing Hishām II [*q.v.*], and he was hanged in 368/379 by order of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]; see in particular Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 217, 487).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ii, 142; Abū Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, v, 488; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, ed. Beirut 1403/1983, 237-59; Khushanī, *Ḳuḍāt Ḳurṭuba*, Cairo 1372, 175; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-multabis*, Cairo 1372, 326; Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 1357; Nubāhī, *Taʾrīkh ḳuḍāt al-Andalus*, 66-75; Marrakushī, *Muʿdjib*, 373; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373, 321; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 226-9, vii, 32, xix, 174-85; Ibn Kathīr, xi, 388; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, 39; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 378; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1358-62, ii, 272-3; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Ḥaydarābād 1338, ii, 358; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 229; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xiii, 8; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 185-6; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Péninsule Ibérique*, 168-9; idem, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 151-3, iii, 139-41.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**MUNDHIR** B. **SĀWĀ** (or Sāwī) B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD b. ʿAbd Allāh, a chief of the tribal division of Dārim of Tamīm. The tribal branch of the ʿAbd Allah b. Zayd were, according to tradition, called *al-Ispadhiyyūn*. This name, obviously of Persian origin, is said to have referred to this people because they worshipped a horse (*asp*); according to another tradition, they were called so because they came from a place called Ispadh. A third tradition assumed that this name was attached to a group of scattered tribal factions joined together and united (*al-djummāʿ*). Some Western scholars have assumed that the word is derived from the Persian *Ispahbadh* [*q.v.*]; this may indicate that this group served as a force of the Ispahbadh of al-Baḥrayn. There is indeed a report according to which the Ispadhiyyūn were a force stationed in the fortress of al-Mushaḳḳar [*q.v.*] (see *LA*, s.v. *s-b-dh*).

The tribal division Dārim of Tamīm were in close relations with the Persians. Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā is mentioned in the Arabic sources as the "Master of Hadjar" (*ṣāḥib Hadjar*) or as the "King of Hadjar" (*malik Hadjar*). These "kings", says Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in *al-Muḥabbar*, were appointed by the kings of Persia and controlled the market of Hadjar. One of the traditions says explicitly that al-Mundhir b. Sāwā was appointed by the Persians to control the Arab tribes (*kāna ʿalā l-ʿarabi min ḳibali 'l-fursi*; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ms. ʿĀshir Ef. 597-8, fol. 969a; and see idem, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 106). After his conversion to Islam, the Prophet is said to have appointed him as governor (*ʿāmil*) of al-Baḥrayn.

Reports of the *sīra* compilations mention unanimously that the Prophet sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī with a letter to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā summoning him to embrace Islam. They differ, however, as to the date of the event: whether it took place in the year 6 H. or in 8 H. The exact date cannot be established. But it is plausible to assume that the Prophet sent his emissary to al-Mundhir after his conquest of Mecca; the conquest strengthened his position in the Arab peninsula considerably and he could, due to his newly acquired authority, widen his influence in some districts which were remote from Mecca and which, though they formed part of the Persian empire, were entrusted by the Persian kings to Arab leaders. The plan to dispatch the messenger was probably stimulated by the fact that the merchants setting out to Hadjar (literally: to al-Mushaḳḳar) had to cross the territory of Muḍarī tribes and had to get the protection of Ḳuraysh (sc. of the Meccans). Without this protection, the merchants could not reach Hadjar with their merchandise (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *op. cit.*). Al-Mundhir responded by stating that he had embraced Islam, that he had read the letter of the Prophet to the people of Hadjar and that some of them had converted to Islam while others had refused to do it. Some traditions say that the Arabs of al-Baḥrayn embraced Islam. Al-Mundhir asked the Prophet for instructions as to the positions of the Jews and the Magians in Baḥrayn. The Prophet decreed that the *djizya* should be imposed on them if they stuck to their faiths. In another letter of the Prophet, written to the Magians of Hadjar, the Prophet added two stipulations: the believers should not marry Magian women and should not eat meat of animals slaughtered by the Magians. The Prophet is said to have sent to al-ʿAlāʾ a list of the mandatory taxes levied as *ṣadaḳa* from camels, cattle, sheep and fruits. The poll tax was imposed according to the social position of the taxpayer: people who had no landed property had to pay four *dirhams* a year and deliver a striped cloak (*ʿabāʾa*) made of hair or wool; others had to pay a *dīnār*. It is noteworthy that the poll-tax imposed on the people of the garrison of Hadjar (*al-waḍāʾiʿ*) who had been settled there by Kisrā, with whom a separate treaty was concluded by the Muslim authorities, also amounted to one *dīnār*. The Prophet is said to have dispatched special emissaries (mentioned are Abū Hurayra, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ and al-ʿAlāʾ b. Djāriya al-Thaḳafī) who would carry out the functions of tax-collectors and instructors in performance of religious duties.

The full authority of the Prophet in the area can be gauged from a particular phrase in the letter of the Prophet to al-Mundhir: "... as long as you act rightly we shall not depose you". Certain cases of deviation

and disloyalty seem to have taken place; this is implied in an utterance of the Prophet saying that "... he had the ability to drive them (i.e. the people of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā) out from Hadjar".

The Prophet enjoined the converts to Islam to obey his messengers and to aid them in carrying out their mission. The Prophet kept direct contacts with the believers of Hadjar; he is said to have received a deputation of the believers of al-Baḥrayn and to have welcomed them. Another tradition mentions that the Prophet met some believers from Hadjar and interceded in favour of al-Mundhir. The messengers of the Prophet in Hadjar passed favourable reports about al-Mundhir to the Prophet. The tradition saying that al-Mundhir b. Sāwā came with a group of believers to visit the Prophet was refuted by a majority of the scholars of the *sīra*. Another tradition says that "the king of Ḥadjar" sent Zuhra b. Ḥawiyya as his envoy to the Prophet; Zuhra embraced Islam and became a faithful believer. Al-Mundhir is said to have died shortly after the death of the Prophet. A rare tradition says that at the Prophet's death the governor of al-Baḥrayn was Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Umayya.

The position of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā and his peculiar relation with the Prophet is examined by Ibn Ḥazm in his *Fiṣal*. Al-Mundhir is included in the list of the "Kings of the Arabs" who deliberately and voluntarily embraced Islam, became sincere believers and gave up their authority and prerogatives transferring them to the messengers of the Prophet. Their forces, says Ibn Ḥazm, were much stronger than those of the Prophet and their territory was vaster than that of the Prophet.

The letters of the Prophet to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā in which the Magians of al-Baḥrayn were granted the right to stick to their religion and were obliged to pay the poll tax, *djizya*, are in fact the earliest documents reporting on this decision of the Prophet. This ruling of the Prophet is said to have stirred a wave of discontent and anger among the Hypocrites (*al-Munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]) of Medina and is reflected in one of the earliest commentaries of the Ḳurʾān, the *tafsīr* of Muḳātil. The Hypocrites were enraged and argued that the Prophet had violated his own decision to accept the *djizya* only from People of the Book; they complained bitterly that on the basis of that ruling the forces of the Prophet had fought and killed their fathers and brethren. The believers were perturbed by these arguments and informed the Prophet about it. Then the well known verse of sūra II, 256, *lā ikrāha fi 'l-dīn*, explicitly forbidding to compel anyone to change his faith, was revealed. Another verse of the Ḳurʾān, sūra V, 105, *yā ayyuhā 'lladhīna āmanū ʿalaykum anfusakum lā yaḍurrukum man ḍalla idhā 'htadaytum* was also revealed in connection with the claim of the Hypocrites; the very early *tafsīr* of Muḳātil glosses the passage *lā yaḍurrukum man ḍalla* by *min ahli hadjar*, Later scholars tried to present the stipulations of the agreements concerning the position of the non-Muslim population on a broader ideological basis. Ibn Ḥazm states in his *al-Muḥallā* that the *djizya* of Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians may be accepted on the condition that they acknowledge (*aḳarrū*) that Muḥammad is a messenger of God to us (i.e. to the Muslim community) and do not offend him nor the faith of Islam. Mālik formulated this stipulation as follows: "... he who says that Muḥammad was sent as a prophet to us (i.e. to the Muslim community), not to them, is free of punishment. He who claims that Muḥammad was not a prophet should be killed".

The treaties concluded between al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī and the population of Hadjar according to the instructions of the Prophet were, of course, considered valid and the territories of al-Baḥrayn and Hadjar were assessed as *ṣulḥ* territories (Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, 100).

Some scholars attempted to justify the imposition of the *djizya* on the Magians by the fact that the Magians had had a sacred Book, which was concealed by their sinful king; this assumption was however rejected by a great majority of Muslim scholars of tradition and law. Some scholars claimed that the Magians were granted the right to pay the tax of the *djizya* because they had "something like a Book" (*shubhat al-kitāb*) and rules applying to the People of the Book are valid for them as well (Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 154 above).

The Prophet's ruling imposing the *djizya* on the people of Hadjar and al-Baḥrayn was not well-known in the Muslim community of Medina. Even ʿUmar was unaware of it, and was informed about it by some Companions of the Prophet. The injunction of the Prophet was supported by his utterance *sunnū bihim sunnata ahli 'l-kitāb* (see Ḥumayd b. Zandjawayh, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, 136, no. 122), "treat the Magians according to the *sunna* of the Prophet applied to the People of the Book".

The stipulations of the treaties concluded with the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and the Magians in Baḥrayn were applied in other territories of the Muslim empire. The Magian population in the Muslim empire became an integral part of the community, and the Muslim lawyers took care to provide details of their legal status; this can be seen e.g. in some chapters of the early *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ.

The revolt against Islam, the *ridda* [*q.v.*], which flared up in al-Baḥrayn after the death of the Prophet and after the death of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, was quelled by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who headed some of the Muslim forces and succeeded in conquering some adjacent territories.

Thus the Tamīmī al-Mundhir b. Sāwā played an important role in the islamisation of the territories of al-Baḥrayn and in enabling the religious communities of Jews, Christians and Magians in al-Baḥrayn to survive.

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(M.J. KISTER)

MÜNEDJDJIM BASHĪ, DERWĪSH AḤMED DEDE b. Luṭf Allāh (?-1113/?-1702), Turkish scholar, Ṣūfī poet and, above all, historian, being the author of a celebrated and important general history in Arabic, the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*.

His father Luṭf Allāh was a native of Eregli near Ḳonya. He was born in Selānik, in the first half of the 12th/18th century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewī-khāne of Ḳāsim Pasha under Shaykh Khalīl Dede (*Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii, 287). Afterwards he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (*münedjdjim bashī*) in 1078/1667-8. In 1086/1675-6 he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*] as *muṣāḥib-i pādishāhī*. He was dismissed in Muḥarram 1099/November1687 and banished to Egypt. From here he went some years later to Mecca, where he became *shaykh* of the Mewlewī-khāne. In 1105/1693-4 he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on 29 Ramaḍān 1113/27 February 1702 and was buried near the tomb of Khadīdja.

Besides writing his historical work, Münedjdjim Bashī displayed a considerable literary activity. Of his works are mentioned a *ḥāshiya* on the Ḳurʾān commentary of al-Bayḍāwī, a commentary on the *ʿAḳāʾid al-ʿAḍudiyya* of al-Īdjī, a *Laṭāʾif-nāme*, a translation of the anecdotes of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī, and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music. His Turkish *dīwān* also gives him a place in the ranks of Turkish mystical poets; his *takhalluṣ* was ʿĀshiḳ.

The general history was written in Arabic under the title *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, but although several manuscripts of the still unpublished Arabic original exist in the libraries of e.g. Istanbul, Edirne and Kayseri, it was formerly better known in the epitomised Turkish translation made by the poet Aḥmed Nedīm [*q.v.*] in the 12th/18th century under the title *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār* (printed in three volumes, Istanbul 1285). It is a world history, arranged, after the fashion of similar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into three parts: the first treating of the history of Muḥammad, the second the non-Islamic dynasties and the third the Islamic dynasties. In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original. Therefore the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it was especially used by E. Sachau for *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.* (Berlin 1923) (cf. the introd.). The last dynasty treated is that of the Ottoman sultans; it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Islamic dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources; the last part, which ends in 1089/1678, gives contemporary history. The Turkish translation of Nedīm is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period. For this reason it was especially praised and represented in Ebuzziyā Tewfīḳ's *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-i ʿothmāniyye*[6], Istanbul 1330.

Among the now lost sources used by Münedjdjim Bashī, and apparently epitomised by him in the *Djāmiʿ al-duwal*, was a history of Darband, the *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb*, valuable for the history of the Muslim dynasties of eastern Transcaucasia, Arrān and Ādharbāydjān. His text here was utilised in a masterly fashion by Minorsky for his *Studies in Caucasian history*

(London 1953) and *A history of Sharvan and Darband* (Cambridge 1958); see also BĀB AL-ABWĀB and AL-ĶABĶ.

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MUNGĪR, conventional form Monghyr, a town of Bihār in the Indian Union, situated on the south bank of the Ganges in lat. 25° 25' N. and 86° 27' E, and at an important communications point between Bengal and the middle Ganges valley. It is also the administrative centre of a District in the province of Bihār of the same name.

Said to have been founded in Gupta times, Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī [*q.v.*] was its first Muslim conqueror when he raided into Bihār in 589/1193. It subsequently became a place of military and administrative importance, with a fortress built in apparently Mughal style [see BIHĀR]. Mīr Ķāsim ᶜAlī (d. 1777 [*q.v.*]), *Nawwāb* of Bengal, moved his capital thither from lower Bengal, away from the British East India Company's presence in Bengal, and founded there an arsenal for the army of his which was being trained by the Armenian Gurgīn (Gregory) Khān, the beginning of the gunmaking industry for which Mungīr became famous.

Mungīr became a municipality in 1864 and is now an important grain mart and manufacturing centre, with a population (1971 census) of 102,462, whilst the District had 3,896,423 inhabitants.

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MÜNĪF PASHA, MEḤEMMED ṬĀHIR, prominent Ottoman statesman and educational reformer of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era.

He was born into an *ᶜulamāʾ* family in ᶜAyinṭāb (Gaziantep, south-eastern Turkey) in 1828-9 (1830, according to İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa), and received a traditional *medrese* education in his home town, in Cairo and in Damascus. Entering the Ottoman civil service as a clerk in the Damascus Provincial Council, Münīf went on to Istanbul in 1852 and was employed as Persian and Arabic translator in the Translation Bureau (*Terdjüme Odasî*) of the Sublime Porte, the nursery of Ottoman reform statesmen. He learned French (and later some English) in Istanbul and then German in Berlin, where he was posted as Second Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy and attended courses at the University. Returning to Istanbul, he became known through his articles in the newspaper *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith*, and was promoted head of the Translation Bureau in 1862. He made his first contribution to the cause of enlightenment by publishing in 1859 an anthology of translated excerpts from the writings of Voltaire, Fénélon and Fontenelle, under the title *Muḥāwerāt-î Ḥikemiyye* ("Philosophical Discourses"). The following year he founded the *Djemᶜiyyet-i ᶜIlmiyye-yi ᶜOthmāniyye* (Ottoman Scientific Society), and its organ the *Medjmūᶜa-yi Fünūn* ("Journal of [Secular] Sciences"). This published in 1862 his plea for the reform of the Arabic script, which Münīf saw as inferior to the Latin alphabet and a factor in the prevalence of illiteracy. Appointed chairman of the *Medjlis-i Maᶜārif* (Council of Education) in 1869, Münif lamented that he did not succeed in changing the heading on the Council's paper, let alone the education system of the country. However, he had greater opportunities to make an impact, when, after five years as Ottoman Ambassador in Tehran, he embarked in 1877 on the first of his three terms as Minister of Education. His second term (1878-80) coincided with the accession of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd II, whom he tutored in political economy. While the new Sultan was energetic in extending modern education through his empire, he repeatedly interrupted the career of his reforming Minister, whose zeal he distrusted. Thus after being promoted to the rank of *wezīr* (which gave him the title of Pasha) Münīf found himself transferred to the *Medjlis-i Ṣiḥḥiyye* (Health Council) before becoming Minister of Education for the third and last time in 1885. He lost his job in 1891, and was kept on the payroll but without an appointment until 1895, when he was sent to Tehran as special emissary to the jubilee of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*], and where he stayed on briefly as Ambassador after the Shāh's assassination. Münīf retired at his own request in 1896, and spent the remaining years of his life, until his death in 1910, in his country house at Erenköy, outside Istanbul, which became a notable meeting place for Ottoman and foreign scholars.

Steeped in Islamic culture, yet an ardent admirer of Western civilisation, Münīf Pasha was deemed a poet, although his only major poetic work, the *Dāsitān-i Āl-Othmān* ("Epos of the House of Osman"), amounted to little more than a 13-page *ķaṣīda*, written in 1881, at a time of enforced idleness to attract the Sultan's favour. Apart from his translations, his only other books were edited versions of his lectures on law and political economy at the Istanbul *Dār al-Fünūn* (University). However, it is not as an author, but as a reforming, westernising statesman and a founding father of Turkey's modern educational system that he is remembered today.

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MUNᶜIM KHĀN or MUNᶜIM BEG, KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN (902-83/1497-1575), a leading Tūrānī noble of the Indian Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar, was the son of Mīram Beg Andidjānī. As a foster-brother of Bābur's son ᶜAskarī, he was counted among the important nobles of Humāyūn as early as 940/1534. Humāyūn appointed him governor of Khōst [*q.v.*] in 952/1545, and he accompanied his master on the Balkh campaign of 956/1549. In 960/1553 he was appointed *atalīķ* (principal adviser) of Akbar, and a year later of Akbar's brother Muḥammad Ḥākim [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at Kābul. In 967/1560 Akbar recalled him from there and appointed him *Wakīl* (principal minister) with the title of Khān-i Khānān. In 969/1562 Atka Khān replaced Munᶜim Khān as *Wakīl* but upon the former's murder, Munᶜim Khān was shortly afterwards appointed *Wakīl* for a second time, holding the office till 971/1564.

After the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion, Munᶜim Khān was appointed governor of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], and all the eastern districts were placed under his command. In 981/1573-4 he built the celebrated bridge over the River Gomati at Djawnpur, which is still being used. When in 982/1574-5, Akbar established the *manṣab* [*q.v.*] system, Munᶜim Khān was awarded the then highest rank of 5,000, but soon afterwards died, having been for about forty years one of the leading nobles of the empire under Humayūn and Akbar.

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(M. Athar Ali)

MUNĪR LĀHAWRĪ (1019-54/1610-44), the pen name of Abu 'l-Barakāt, a prominent Indo-Muslim poet of Shāh Djahān's period (1628-58). He was born on 12 Ramaḍān 1019/28 November 1610 at Lāhawr. His father, ᶜAbd al-Djalīl b. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Isḥāḳ, was an expert calligrapher attached to Emperor Akbar's court. Munīr received his education in Lāhawr, and started composing poetry at an early age. In 1045/1635-6 he took up service with Mīrzā Ṣafī Sayf Khān, who was a son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641), father of Shāh Djahān's wife, Mumtāz Maḥall [*q.v.*]. Sayf Khān held important administrative assignments during Shāh Djahān's reign, and when he was appointed governor of Bengal, Munīr accompanied him to that place. After the death of his patron in 1049/1639-40, the poet entered the employment of Shāpūr Mīrzā Iᶜtiḳād Khān (d. 1060/1650-1), governor of Djawnpūr. He spent the last period of his life in Āgra, and died there on 7 Radjab 1054/9 September 1644. His body was taken to Lāhawr, where he is buried.

Munīr left a considerable output in verse and prose. His poetical contribution comprises a number of *mathnawīs*, the best known of which is *Maẓhar-i gul* ("A flower theatre"), a poem composed in 1049/1639-40, during the author's residence in Bengal, and dedicated to Sayf Khān. It describes the natural aspects of Bengal, particularly its flowers and trees. Among Munīr's main prose works are his letters, written by him either for his own self or on behalf of Sayf Khān, and compiled under the title *Inshā-yi Munīr*.

Bibliography: Munīr Lāhawrī, *Mathnawī dar ṣifat-i Bangāla* (*Maẓhar-i gul*), Karachi 1953; idem, *Inshā-yi Munīr*, Kānpūr 1879; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *ᶜAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, i and iii, ed. Ghulām Yazdānī, Lahore 1967, 1972; Lačhmī Nārāʾin Shafīḳ Awrangābādī, *Tadhkira-yi gul-i raᶜnā*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1223/1808-9; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lucknow 1292/1875; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Shamᶜ-i andjuman*, Bhopal 1293/1876-7; Muḥammad Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ṣabā, *Tadhkira-yi rūz-i rawshan*, Bhopal 1297/1879-80; Mīr Ghulām ᶜAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-i Āzād*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1913; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Tadhkira-yi natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1957-8; Sirādj al-Dīn Khān Ārzū, *Madjmaᶜ al-nafāʾis*, ed. ᶜĀbid Riḍā Bīdār, Patna (?) n.d.; Sarhang Khʷādja ᶜAbd al-Rashīd (ed.), *Tadhkira-yi shuᶜarā-yi Pandjāb*, Karachi 1967; Ḥusām al-Dīn Rāshidī (ed.), *Tadhkira-yi shuᶜarā-yi Kashmīr*, iii, Karachi 1968; Maḥmūd Sherānī, *Mawlānā Abu 'l-Barakāt Munīr Lāhawrī*, in *Maḳālāt-i muntakhaba-yi madjalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Khāwar-shināsī* (Punjab University publication), ed. Wazīr al-Ḥasan ᶜĀbidī, Lahore 1967; M.L. Rahman, *Persian literature in India during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Pākistān meṅ Fārsī adab kī tārīkh*, ii, Lahore 1974; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maᶜānī, *Tadhkira-yi paymāna*, Tehran 1359/1980-1; *Urdū dāʾira-yi maᶜārif-i Islāmiyya*, xxi, Lahore 1987.

(Munibur Rahman)

MUʾNIS, the pen-name of Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb b. ᶜAwaḍ Biy Mīrāb al-Khīwaḳī, Khīwan historian, poet and translator, born 1 Rabīᶜ I 1192/19 March 1778, died 1244/1829.

He came from an aristocratic Uzbek family of the tribe of Yüz, whose members had been holding the title of *mīrāb* for five generations before Muʾnis (in the Khānate of Khīwa there were four high officials with the title *mīrāb*, members of the khān's council of 34 ᶜ*amaldārs*). Muʾnis inherited this title and post after the death of his elder brother, who fell in a battle with the army of Bukhārā in 1221/1806. Nothing is known of his formal education, but Muʾnis himself gives the names of his two private tutors and mentions that he had taken a great interest in poetry and history already in his youth. The first version of his *dīwān* entitled *Muʾnis al-ᶜushshāḳ* was compiled in 1219/1804-5. During the reign of Eltüzer Khān (1218-21/1804-6), Muʾnis was in the retinue of the khān's younger brother, Muḥammad Raḥīm. In the middle of 1220/1805 the khān ordered Muʾnis to write the history of his dynasty, the Ḳongrats [see ḳungrat], which Muʾnis entitled *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*. The death of Eltüzer Khān and the disturbances in Khʷārazm that followed it interrupted the work, which could be resumed, by the order of the new khān, Muḥammad Raḥīm, only in the middle of 1222/1807. About 1234/1819 the work was interrupted again, because Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān ordered Muʾnis to translate into Turkic the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* of Mīr Khʷānd [*q.v.*]. After the death of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān in 1240/1825, the new khān, Allāh-Ḳuli, ordered Muʾnis to continue his translation. Muʾnis died at the end of 1244/June 1829, during an epidemic of cholera which broke out in the khān's army during his return from a campaign in Khurāsān. Both the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and the translation of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* were later continued by a nephew and pupil of Muʾnis, Muḥammad Riḍā Āgahī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]

Muʾnis was one of the first writers who belonged to the period of the flourishing of Čaghatāy literature in Khīwa in the 19th century (as most of his contemporaries, he also wrote some poems in Persian). For modern scholarship, the prime importance lies in his original historical work, the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*. It is divided into a foreword, a *muḳaddima*, and five *bābs*: (1) from Adam to the children of Noah; (2) the Mongol rulers from Yafeth till the branch of Ḳongrat; (3) the Čingizids, mainly the Čingizids of Khʷārazm; (4) the Ḳongrats, sc. the ancestors of Eltüzer Khān; (5) the reigns of Eltüzer Khān and Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān (Muʾnis intended to write also a *khātima*, which, however, was never written). Muʾnis, who himself considered his work as a continuation of the *Shadjara-yi Turk* by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], brought his account down to the events of Ṣafar 1227/March 1812 (in ch. 5); the remaining part, written by Āgahī, forms about one-fifth of the entire work. The main part of the work is a chronicle of contemporary events based on Muʾnis' own observations and on eyewitness accounts. It is the largest known prose work written in Čaghatāy and one of the most important sources for the history of Central Asia in the 17th-19th centuries.

Bibliography: Edition of *Firdaws al-iḳbāl*: Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Riżā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, ed. by Yuri Bregel, Leiden 1988 (biographical data, as well as information on the manuscripts of the works of Muʾnis are found in introduction); J. Eckmann, in *PTF*, Wiesbaden 1964, 387-90; H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature: a bio-bibliographical survey*, Section III, pt. I, vol. 4, Utrecht 1969, 199-205;

lithographic eds. of *dīwān*: Khīwa 1291/1875, 1297/1879-80. (Yu. Bregel)

MUʾNIS DEDE DERWĪSH, Ottoman Ṣūfī poet of Edirne in the early 12th/18th century. His birth date is unknown, but he was a Mewlewī *murīd* at that order's Murādiyya convent in Edirne, where he received his instruction from the famous *shaykh* Enīs Redjeb Dede (d. 1147/1734-5). He himself died of plague in Edirne in 1145/1732-3 and was buried in the convent. His *dīwān* of poetry was praised by early authorities as being good, but has not survived.

Bibliography: Fatīn, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1271/1855-6, 385; Esrār Dede, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul Univ. Libr. ms. T.89, p. 281; Shekīb Dede, *Sefīne-yi Mewlewiyān*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, ii, 223 et *passim*; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *SʿO*, iv, 527; ʿAlī Enwer, *Semāʿkhāne-yi edeb*, Istanbul 1309/1891-2, 225; *İA*, art. *Munis Dede* (M. Cavid Baysun). (Ed.)

MUʾNIS al-FAḤL or Muʾnis al-Khāzin, commander of the ʿAbbāsids, prominent during the caliphates of al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafī and al-Muḳtadir [*q.vv.*], i.e. the end of the 3rd/9th and the opening of the 4th/10th centuries. He was called "the stallion" (*al-faḥl*) to distinguish him from his more celebrated contemporary Muʾnis al-Khādim ("the eunuch") [see muʾnis al-muẓaffar]. Muʾnis al-Faḥl was *ṣāḥib al-ḥaras* or commander of the guard for al-Muʿtaḍid, and was sent by the caliph on various punitive expeditions against unruly Bedouin and other rebels in central ʿIrāḳ (286/899, 287/900, 289/902) and by al-Muktafī against the Carmathians [see ḳarmaṭī] in the vicinity of Hīt (293/906). In the succession crisis at al-Muktafī's death, when the young al-Muḳtadir was temporarily deposed by the partisans of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] (296/908), he and Muʾnis al-Khādim acted decisively to reimpose al-Muḳtadir on the throne; as a reward, he subsequently became the *khāzin* or treasurer and also *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* or police commander to the caliph. He died in 301/914.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 2190, 2198, 2216, 2258, 2283, tr. F. Rosenthal, *The return of the caliphate to Baghdad*, Albany 1985; ʿArīb, 23, 28, 30; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 151-60, 227 = §§ 3292-8, 3374, see also the index to Pellat's edn., vii, 715; idem, *Tanbīh*, 374, tr. 478; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, in *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, i, 6-8, tr. iv, 6-8. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUʾNIS al-MUẒAFFAR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, leading ʿAbbāsid general from 296 to 321 (908-33), and latterly virtual dictator (the usual attribution to him of the *nisba* al-Kushūrī seems to rest on a passage in Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾs *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 347, where Naṣr should be read for Muʾnis), a eunuch (a passage of Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i, 160, shows that *khādim* in this case does not mean merely freedman, as suggested by Massignon, *al-Hallâj*, 205, no. 2), said by al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* (followed by Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii, 255) to have been 90 years old at death (though this age would seem incredibly great for a recently active commander), i.e. for him to have been born in 231/845-6 and to have held the rank of *amīr* for 60 years. The name Muʾnis was frequently found among eunuchs, and the sources therefore distinguish an older contemporary of Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar, Muʾnis the treasurer (*al-khāzin*), d. 301/914, as Muʾnis al-Faḥl ("the stallion") [*q.v.*].

Muʾnis first appears (if the passage of al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1953, refers to him) as a *ghulām* of al-Muʿtaḍid (not yet caliph) in the Zandj [*q.v.*] campaign of 267/880-1; and he is mentioned as Chief of Police in the caliph's camp (*ṣāḥib shurṭat al-ʿaskar*) in 287/900. Al-Dhahabī (also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *loc. cit.*) states, again, that he was banished to Mecca by al-Muʿtaḍid, to be recalled on the accession of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*]; and as Muʾnis is nowhere referred to during the intervening reign of al-Muktafī, the statement may be true. (If so, in al-Masʿūdī's description, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, viii = § 3355, of al-Muʿtaḍid's death, for *khādim* read *khāzin*, as in ʿArīb, 29.)

Muʾnis owed his later eminence mainly to his leading the defence, in 296/908, of the Ḥasanī palace at Baghdād for al-Muḳtadir against the partisans of the latter's cousin, the pretender Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*]. During the caliph's youth, his gratitude and that of his powerful mother for this service assured Muʾnis's position; and though later al-Muḳtadir's favour turned to enmity, by that time Muʾnis's authority was hardly in need of support, owing chiefly to his almost invariably successful generalship. For though he undertook no very important campaigns, except perhaps the repulse of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] in 307/919-20 (for which he received the *laḳab* of *al-Muẓaffar*), and the defence of Baghdād from the Ḳarāmiṭa [see ḳarmaṭī] in 315/927-8, he was only once defeated, sc. in 306/918.

Muʾnis early fell out with the vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], repeatedly opposing him, till in 312/924, on Ibn al-Furāt's third term of office, Muʾnis played a prominent part in securing his dismissal and execution. He now became all-powerful, being invariably consulted on the appointment of viziers and so controlling the government. Hence the change of al-Muḳtadir's affection to dislike, first signalised (315/927) in an abortive plot of the caliph's to murder him. In 316/928, Muʾnis lent himself to al-Muḳtadir's deposition in favour of his half-brother al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*]. He almost immediately restored him, however, thereby becoming more absolutely his master than ever. Al-Muḳtadir eventually defied Muʾnis (319/931), who thereupon left Baghdād. Next year, however, having meanwhile collected a strong force, he marched on the capital intending to reimpose his authority. He duly defeated the caliph's army outside the walls, but al-Muḳtadir himself was killed on the field.

Muʾnis now restored al-Ḳāhir. But by resuming his dictatorial ways, he soon so alienated him also that he was obliged in self-defence to keep the new caliph a prisoner in the palace. He even contemplated deposing him. Al-Ḳāhir, however, succeeded in luring Muʾnis, together with his chief supporters, into the palace, where he shortly had them executed in Shaʿbān 321/August 933.

Muʾnis' influence was on the whole exerted for good; but he was neither strong nor intelligent enough to prevent the decline of the caliphate. His example of depriving the caliph of real power was pernicious. It was to be followed all too soon by the series of adventurers who, with the designation of *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*], were to dominate al-Ḳāhir's successors.

Bibliography: In addition to the authorities cited above, Ibn al-Athīr, viii; Kindī, *Governors and judges of Egypt*, 273, 277-8; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, index; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, v, *passim* (= Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, i, iv); ʿArīb, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, tr. Canard, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, Index, vii, 715; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlí b. ʿÍsá, the "Good Vizier"*, Cambridge 1928, index; Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, index. (H. Bowen)

MUNKAR (a.), a technical term in the science

of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] used to describe a certain type of tradition or a transmitter of such traditions. The plural of *munkar* is either *munkarāt* or *manākīr*. The definition of the term hinges on two connotations of the verb *ankara*, which conveys among others the notions "to be ignorant of" as well as "to reject" or "disapprove". Thus the term can be translated by "unknown" as well as "objectionable", and in whatever context it occurs, it potentially constitutes a double entendre. Some Muslim scholars equate the term with *s̲h̲ād̲h̲d̲h̲*, which stands for a tradition supported by a single *isnād* strand not attested elsewhere but in essence acceptable, since the transmitters in its *isnād* are defined as *t̲h̲iḳas*. The majority of *ḥadīth* experts, however, see in *munkar* a negative term, while they hold that a *s̲h̲ād̲h̲d̲h̲* tradition, though often bizarre, conveys something positive which may not be discarded.

Transmitters of *manākīr* are generally (although as will be seen below not always entirely justly) suspected of having had a hand in the invention of (part of) the *matn* of a tradition, while suspicion as to someone's tampering with a tradition's *isnād* has given rise to the qualification of that transmitter as being *ḍaʿīf*, a term also used to denote an *isnād* in which something is amiss. In early days, sc. the last few decades of the first/seventh century, when *isnād*s were hardly in existence yet, misgivings of *ḥadīth* experts concerning certain traditions in circulation were prompted, more than by any other feature, by the *matns*. *Isnād*-technical considerations, which became the major tools of the trade of *ḥadīth* critics in their assessment of traditions, were on the whole formulated later, to wit in the course of the 2nd/8th century. In other words, the identification of traditions as *munkar* hails from a very early stage in Muslim *ḥadīth* evaluation. This definition and its date of origin posited here tally with what the *ḥadīth* expert Abū Bakr al-Bardīd̲j̲ī (d. 301/914, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 166) once said, as quoted in Ibn Rad̲j̲ab's *S̲h̲arḥ ʿilal al-Tirmid̲h̲ī*, 324 f: "*Munkar* is what is transmitted by someone on the authority of a Companion or a Successor, whereby that tradition, *that is to say the text thereof*, is only known through that one *isnād* strand". The reputations of transmitters accused or suspected of having passed on some *munkar* material would be dented but not totally destroyed. (The concept of lying, in Arabic *kad̲h̲ib* = "mendacity", constitutes a criterion in *ḥadīth* criticism which originated somewhat later and emerges only in the course of the second half of the 2nd/8th century; see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, ch. 3.)

One of the earliest transmitters to some of whose traditions several experts applied the term *munkar*, was the *muk̲h̲aḍram* Successor Ḳays b. Abī Ḥāzim (d. 84/703 or 98/716), a *muʿammar* [*q.v.*] who was probably fictitious and was invented, complete with his alleged *munkar* traditions, by his alleged star pupil Ismāʿīl b. Abī K̲h̲ālid (d. 146/763). Another early Successor, some of whose transmitted material was at times dubbed *munkar*, was the controversial S̲h̲ahr b. Ḥaws̲h̲ab (d. between 100/718 and 112/730). He was accused of having brought *munkarāt* into circulation on the authority of *t̲h̲iḳāt*, a formulation which proves once more that it is their *matns* rather than their *isnāds* which define traditions as *munkar* (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, iv, 372).

The proliferation of much *munkar* material was achieved by means of so-called family *isnāds* (viz. "on the authority of my father who had it from his father" and so on). One of the earliest examples of such *isnād*s is found among the traditions ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda (d. 115/733), otherwise deemed trustworthy, who was suspected of having brought *munkar* traditions in circulation especially on the authority of his father, from whom, as the sources agree, he allegedly never heard anything. A more notorious example of *munkar* traditions being lent credibility by a much disputed family *isnād* is provided by a *ṣaḥīfa* allegedly passed on by the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr to his grandson S̲h̲uʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh to the latter's son ʿAmr b. S̲h̲uʿayb (d. 118/736). From this *ṣaḥīfa* some 170 traditions, many of which were found to be *munkar*, made it eventually to the canonical collections (with the exception of al-Buk̲h̲ārī's). These can be studied separately, as they are conveniently grouped together by al-Mizzī [*q.v.*] in his *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf*, vi, nos. 8654-8823. But, as is evident from some recorded remarks of mediaeval tradition critics, for a number of these traditions it is not S̲h̲uʿayb b. ʿAmr but rather one of his alleged pupils (or conceivably one of that pupil's pupils) who is held responsible. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar enumerates several of these (cf. *Tahd̲h̲īb*, viii, 54).

In later usage, as from the second half of the 2nd/8th century, *munkar* becomes virtually synonymous with *mawḍūʿ* "fabricated", pertaining to *isnād* as well as *matn*. From the earliest times on, countless *manākīr* transmitters are listed in all *rid̲j̲āl* lexicons, often with quotations from their alleged *munkar* traditions. Those lexicons compiled especially to expose doubtful transmitters, such as Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-ʿUḳaylī's *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Ḳalʿad̲j̲ī, Beirut 1984, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī's *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rid̲j̲āl*, ed. Beirut 1985, D̲h̲ahabī's *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo 1963 and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar's *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, abound in examples of *munkar* traditions.

Bibliography: al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 429 ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ed. ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 180 f.; Ibn Rad̲j̲ab, *S̲h̲arḥ ʿilal al-Tirmid̲h̲ī*, ed. Ṣubḥī D̲j̲āsim al-Ḥumayd, Bag̲h̲dād 1396, 324-9; Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, tr. W. Marçais in *JA*, n.s. xvii (1901), 104 f.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī s̲h̲arḥ taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo n.d., i, 238-41; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 213-16; Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr, *Manhad̲j̲ al-naḳd fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1972, 407-10; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.v. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUNKAR WA-NAKĪR (the forms with the article are also found), the names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs. To the examination in the tomb the infidels and the faithful—the righteous as well as the sinners—are liable. They are set upright in their tombs and must state their opinion regarding Muḥammad. The righteous faithful will answer that he is the Apostle of Allāh; thereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand. In consequence of this the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*ḍag̲h̲ṭa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure (Abu 'l-Muʿīn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, as cited in the commentary on the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 22).

The punishment in the tomb [see ʿAD̲H̲ĀB AL-ḲABR]

is not plainly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. sūra XLVII, 29: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; sūra VI, 93: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls; this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; sūra VIII, 52: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further, sūra IX, 102; XXIII, 21; LII, 47).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in the Tradition (see *Bibl.*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why this is so, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed, or on account of the wailing of the living.

The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Ḳurʾān, and, it seems, once only in canonical Tradition (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 163; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna, bāb* 39b; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 233, 346; iv, 150; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 753).

So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.

This state of things as reflected in *ḥadīth* finds a similar reflex in the early forms of the creed. In the *Fiḳh Akbar* I, which may date from the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the punishment of the tomb appears as the only eschatological representation (art. 10). In the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the 2nd/8th century, we find, apart from an elaborate eschatology, the two following articles (arts. 18,19): "We confess, that the punishment in the tomb shall without fail take place. We confess, that in view of the traditions on the subject, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality". The term "reality" is apparently intended to oppose the allegorical interpretation of eschatological representations as taught by the Muʿtazilīs.

The *Fiḳh Akbar* II, which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 3rd/9th century, is still more elaborate on this point (art. 23): "The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics, the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakīr are expressed in similar ways.

The Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakīr with the two guardian angels who accompany man (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 246). Al-Ghazālī admits the idea that eschatological representations are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*ḥibbūṭ haḳ-ḳeber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones.

Bibliography: The passages from *ḥadīth* in Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muh. tradition*, s.v. Grave(s); further E. Sell, *The faith of Islam*, London 1880, 145; Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 46; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s.v. Punishment, and Munkar and Nakīr; J.C.G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, iii, 95-6; Ṭaḥāwī, *Bayān al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa*, Aleppo 1344, 9; Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳāʾid*, Istanbul 1313, with the commentary of Taftāzānī, 132 ff.; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1302, iv, 451 ff.; idem, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, 23 ff.; *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, 40-1. See also the *Bibl.* to MALĀʾIKA.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

MUNḲIDH, BANŪ, a clan prominent in Syrian (and to a lesser extent Egyptian) affairs from the middle of the 5th/11th century to the end of the 6th/12th century. Between 474/1081 and 552/1157 their principal possession was Shayzar, a fortified town perched on a crag overlooking the Orontes (al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*]) River, some 15 km. northwest of Ḥamāt [*q.v.*]. After Shayzar was destroyed and most of the clan killed in the disastrous earthquake of 552/1157, its remaining members were compelled to pursue careers in the service of the various princes of Syria and Egypt. The Banū Munḳidh were not only soldiers and petty seigneurs; they also produced several poets and men of letters of some repute, among whom the best known was Usāma b. Murshid (488-584/1095-1188).

Like many of those who rose to power in Syria between the mid-4th/10th and the late 5th/11th centuries, the Banū Munḳidh were of Arab and Bedouin origin. They were members of the Kināna [*q.v.*] section of the Kalb, a "Yamanī' tribe, most of whose branches were active in the region around Damascus; the Kināna, however, resided in North Syria, in the districts east of the Orontes. The Banū Munḳidh seem to make their first appearance in 349/960, when a certain ʿAlī b. Munḳidh b. Naṣr al-Kinānī was captured (along with the poet Abū Firās [*q.v.*]) in a disastrous battle against the Byzantines. However, they first emerge as a significant political force in the wake of the seizure of Aleppo by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās in 415-16/1024-5. To one of his supporters, Muḳallad b. Naṣr b. Munḳidh, Ṣaliḥ assigned the district of Shayzar as an *iḳṭāʿ*. At this time, however, the town was still in Byzantine hands, and Muḳallad's most important possession was the town of Kafarṭāb. (When this place had been acquired by the Banū Munḳidh we do not know.)

Muḳallad b. Naṣr died in 450/1059 and bequeathed his lands to his son Sadīd al-Mulk ʿAlī, the true founder of the Munḳidhite principality. ʿAlī maintained his father's close (if not always friendly) ties with the Mirdāsids of Aleppo, but he soon ceased to be their client, becoming instead almost the arbiter of the dynasty. Thus in 468/1076 he was able to dictate the succession of the last Mirdāsid prince, Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ, while in 473/1080 he was instrumental in ending this dynasty's rule in Aleppo and turning the city over to the ʿUḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil, Muslim b. Ḳuraysh. In general, ʿAlī used his skills as a political broker in the fragmented world of North Syria to secure a considerable degree of autonomy for himself and his tiny seigneurie. His most lasting achievement, however, was his capture of Shayzar from the bishop of al-Bāra (nominally at least, a representative of Byzantine authority) in

474/1081. This he did by cutting the town off from its hinterland by building a castle (the so-called Kalʿat al-Djisr) which controlled a crucial Orontes bridge. For the next three-quarters of a century, Shayzar was to be the seat of the Banū Munkidh, the one stronghold they would retain in the face of every challenge. ʿAlī's principality at the time of his death in 475/1082, though it included no major cities, was a significant local power; in addition to Shayzar, he held Kafarṭāb, Apamea (Afāmiya), the port of al-Lādhikiyya, and several smaller places.

The Banū Munkidh enjoyed only a moment of prosperity, however, for in the decades following ʿAlī's death they were entangled in the convoluted and unceasing struggles of forces far more powerful than they—the ʿUkaylids of Mawṣil, Saldjūkids and Artukids, the Franks, the Assassins, not to mention various local Arab chiefs. That they were able to retain their autonomy and prestige (though not the bulk of their lands) is a tribute especially to the courage and astuteness of ʿAlī's two sons and successors: Naṣr (reigned 475-92/1082-98) and Abu 'l-ʿAsākir Sulṭān (492-549/1098-1154). The critical challenge of Naṣr b. ʿAlī's reign was the Saldjūkid conquest of Syria. Knowing that no Syrian coalition could resist the Saldjūkids, he followed a policy of accommodation. Thus in 479/1086-7 he felt compelled to cede Kafarṭāb, Apamea and al-Lādhikiyya to the sultan Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] in exchange for the confirmed possession of Shayzar. In the confusion of the Saldjūkid occupation, Naṣr normally found his interests best served by aligning himself with the ruler of Aleppo. In 485/1091, this policy gained for him the restoration of the three towns mentioned above, though Kafarṭāb and Apamea were lost only five years later to a troublesome and persistent rival, Khalaf b. Mulāʿib. (Khalaf had been ruler of Ḥimṣ until displaced by the Saldjūkid Tutush in 483/1090-1, and was a constant source of turmoil in North Syria until his death at the hands of the Assassins in 499/1106.)

When Naṣr died in 492/1098, he named his brother Murshid as his successor, but upon the latter's refusal, ʿAlī's youngest son Sulṭān was called from al-Lādhikiyya, where he had been governor. Sulṭān's reign was even more troubled than Naṣr's had been, for almost from the outset he had to contend with two new regional forces, the Crusaders and the Assassins. The Turks remained a fact of life, of course. To meet these challenges he relied chiefly on his own kinsmen, for the Banū Munkidh were by this time a very numerous clan. The family had also a certain number of followers from their tribe of Kināna, though there is no evidence that they could call on the whole body of the tribe's warriors in this period. In addition, the townspeople of Shayzar could be a very effective militia, as they demonstrated especially in the siege mounted by the Emperor John Comnenus in 532/1138. Finally, the Banū Munkidh recruited Kurdish mercenaries and Turkish *mamlūks* as far as they were able, though these must always have been a small minority of their forces. It should be noted that these members-by-purchase of the clan were unfailingly loyal to their Arab patrons.

We cannot possibly review even the main events of Sulṭān's crowded reign, but a few facts will illustrate what he was up against. In 507/1114 (following Ibn al-Kalānisī rather than Ibn al-Athīr's date of 502/1109), the Assassins of the district staged a surprise attack on Shayzar while the Banū Munkidh were outside the town observing the Easter celebrations of their Christian subjects; only a bitter struggle, in which even the clan's women participated, succeeded in dislodging the assaillants. Even after this, the Assassins were a constant menace, and in 535/1141 they succeeded in snatching the fortress of Maṣyāf from the Banū Munkidh—a place which henceforth would be one of their chief strongholds. The principal Frankish threat came from the princes of Antioch; during the first three decades of the 6th/12th century Shayzar was subject to almost constant raids from this direction. In 504-5/1110-11, the town was seriously threatened by Tancred of Antioch, who had built a castle across the river at Tall Ibn Maʿshar; and in 509/1115 it was besieged by a Frankish-Muslim coalition (Roger of Antioch, Ṭughtigīn of Damascus, Īl-Ghāzī of Mārdīn) formed to resist a proposed Syrian campaign by the governor of Mawṣil. In the same period, the Turkish governors of Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt—especially the latter—were always in a position to put pressure on the Banū Munkidh, though they made no sustained efforts to take Shayzar. A degree of security was afforded by the rise of Zangī after 522/1127, and Sulṭān was quick to put himself under the suzerainty of this formidable prince. Even so, he had to sustain a brief siege by Shams al-Mulūk Ismāʿīl of Damascus in 527/1133, and the far more dangerous assault in 532/1138 of John Comnenus, who was engaged in a campaign to reassert Byzantine supremacy in North Syria. But after this last event Shayzar entered into a period of relative peace, secured by the power of Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

In 549/1154 Sulṭān b. ʿAlī was succeeded by his son Tādj al-Dawla Muḥammad without incident. In 552/1157, however, everything came to a brutal and utterly unexpected end. In Radjab/August a massive earthquake ravaged north and central Syria; in the citadel of Shayzar most of the Banū Munkidh were gathered for a great banquet when the building collapsed on them. None escaped except the wife of Tādj al-Dawla. To prevent such a strong site from falling into the hands of the Franks or the Assassins, Nūr al-Dīn quickly moved to take possession. Having restored it, he assigned it to his foster brother Madjd al-Dīn b. al-Dāya. The Banu 'l-Dāya, like their unfortunate predecessors, were to have a long career as lords of Shayzar, for they held it until 630/1232-3, when they were dispossessed by the Ayyūbid prince of Aleppo.

In spite of the extent of the disaster, the Banū Munkidh did not fall into complete obscurity. Several members of the clan were not present when the catastrophe occurred, and of these four in particular achieved some prominence: (1) Usāma b. Murshid b. ʿAlī; (2) his first cousin al-Mubārak b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī; (3) the latter's brother Muḥammad b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī, usually called Ḥiṭṭān; (4) a nephew of Usāma's, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nadjm al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Murshid b. ʿAlī.

(1) Usāma b. Murshid b. ʿAlī. Often called Usāma b. Munkidh after the clan's eponym, he is by far the best-known member of the Banū Munkidh. Esteemed in his own time as a poet and man of letters, we know him chiefly for his picturesque memoirs, the *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār* ("Book of instruction by example"). In the tradition of his family, however, he spent most of his life as a warrior and politician.

His career was a troubled one, and for this his own actions were surely responsible in large part. He was born in Shayzar in 488/1095 and continued to live there until *ca.* 526/1131, when he joined the entourage of Zangī. He returned briefly to his birthplace in 531-2/1137-8, to be present at the death of his father and the siege of John Comnenus. But in the summer of

532/1138 he and his brothers were banished by Sulṭān b. ʿAlī—because, our texts say, Sulṭān was jealous of their military prowess and apprehensive lest they try to reclaim the succession renounced by their father Murs̲h̲id in 492/1098. None of the four brothers would ever return to S̲h̲ayzar, and perhaps the dominant tone in Usāma's writing is his desperate longing for the home of his youth. For some reason, Usāma felt he could not rejoin Zangī's service, and instead went to the Börid court in Damascus. There he became a close associate of the city's strongman, Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur, and in pursuit of the latter's policy of détente with the Franks he made numerous journeys to Jerusalem and other places during these years. (It is these sojourns which underlie his famous observations on the Franks in the *K. al-Iʿtibār*.) By 539/1144, Usāma had become embroiled in the poisonous factionalism of Damascus, and he was ordered to leave by his former protector Muʿīn al-Dīn. Now unable to reside at any court in Syria, he took his family to Egypt and attached himself to the Fāṭimid court, where he eventually became an associate of the *wazīr* al-ʿĀdil b. al-Sallār.

He remained in Egypt for ten years. He was Ibn al-Sallār's envoy to Nūr al-Dīn in 544/1150, with the mission of forming an alliance to relieve Ascalon from the Franks. But by 548/1153 he had become embroiled in a plot to murder his patron, and in the following year he was involved in a conspiracy against the caliph al-Ẓāfir. The tumult consequent on this forced him to flee to Syria in the spring of 549/1154. Fortunately, Nūr al-Dīn had just occupied Damascus, and Usāma found an honourable welcome with him. He remained in Nūr al-Dīn's service for another decade, though he seems to have been increasingly restless. When, after the great victory of Ḥārim in 559/1164, he was invited to join the court of the Artuḳid Ḳara-Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, he took the opportunity. The years in Ḥiṣn Kayfā were essentially ones of retirement, and though Usāma seems to have resented this, he put his time there to good use. It was now that he began to collect his *dīwān* and to compose a series of works on poetry, rhetoric, *adab*, history, and religion. Most of these are lost, but his *dīwān*, a book on figures of speech (*al-badīʿ*) in poetry, an important anthology of verse on campsites and dwelling-places (*al-manāzil wa 'l-diyār*), and a prose anthology on sticks and rods (*K. al-ʿAṣā*) have come down to us.

In the autumn of 570/1174, Usāma was called to join the entourage of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, immediately after the latter's occupation of Damascus. Usāma's oldest son Murhaf, an associate of the *sulṭān* since *ca.* 565/1170, was the person who obtained this invitation. Usāma was at first enthusiastically welcomed at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's court, but within two years a certain chill set in between them, and the old man was forced to live out his last years in an honourable but bitterly resented retirement. At the very end of his life he completed (in 579/1183) an admirable anthology, the *Lubāb al-ādāb*, and composed or dictated his *K. al-Iʿtibār*. He died on 23 Ramaḍān 584/16 November 1188.

Usāma's poetry was very highly regarded in his own lifetime: Ibn ʿAsākir quotes extensively from it in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, and in the *K̲h̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-d̲j̲arīdat al-ʿaṣr*, ʿImād al-Dīn devotes 48 pages (in the printed text) to him. Writers of the 7th/13th century—Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Abū S̲h̲āma, Ibn K̲h̲allikān—continue to cite him with admiration. Thereafter, his poetry seems to have been neglected; but that is true for most other Arabic poets as well.

In the *K. al-Iʿtibār* we get some glimpses of Usāma's personality, but if one reads this work in conjunction with the *Lubāb al-ādāb*, it becomes clear that his purpose is not to bare his own soul but to depict a human ideal. In the *K. al-Iʿtibār*, he portrays the man he would like to have been: a person of almost reckless courage, whether in hunting or warfare; calm and unmoved in the face of God's decree; devoted to the honour of his family and to the memory of his father; learned in the Arabic language and the religious sciences. He is a true *adīb*, in some sense comparable to men like al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, al-Tanūk̲h̲ī and al-Tawḥīdī. But whereas their ethos is that of the courtier, his is that of the soldier and petty seigneur; and whereas al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and al-Tawḥīdī at least are restlessly curious about the thoughts and doings of their fellows, Usāma is only tolerant and amused. But whatever his shortcomings, he is a considerable figure, and his *oeuvre*, both verse and prose, deserves a serious study.

(2) al-Mubārak b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī and (3) Ḥiṭṭān b. Kāmil b. ʿAlī. Al-Mubārak was born in S̲h̲ayzar in 526/1131, but seems not to have remained there very long. After obtaining an education in Mecca and Bag̲h̲dād, he entered the Egyptian administration under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and obtained the post of *s̲h̲ādd al-dīwān*. In 569/1174 he was attached to al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrāns̲h̲āh's expedition to the Yaman, where he served as governor of Zabīd. He returned to Egypt with Tūrāns̲h̲āh in 571/1176, leaving behind his brother Ḥiṭṭān as his successor in Zabīd. In 577/1181-2, shortly after the death of his patron Tūrāns̲h̲āh, al-Mubārak was disgraced by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for his alleged tyranny and corruption during his tenure in the Yaman. He was soon restored to favour, however, and retained high administrative office until his death in 589/1193. His brother Ḥiṭṭān was not so lucky. His régime in Zabīd was exceedingly harsh, and he became embroiled in conflicts and conspiracies with the other Ayyūbid lieutenants in the country. When Sayf al-Dīn Ṭug̲h̲tigīn came to restore order in 579/1183-4, Ḥiṭṭān was soon put under arrest, and shortly thereafter was executed in Taʿizz.

Al-Mubārak's son D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (569-626/1174-1229) followed a career line similar to his father's. He was an administrator in the service of the Ayyūbids al-ʿĀdil and al-Kāmil; when the latter occupied Ḥarrān in 626/1229, Ismāʿīl was named *wālī*, in charge both of civil and military affairs, but died very shortly after taking up his appointment.

(4) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Murs̲h̲id (523-600/1129-1204). He was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's envoy to the Almohad or al-Muwaḥḥid ruler al-Manṣūr Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb in 587/1191, with the aim of obtaining the support of al-Manṣūr's fleet against the Franks then besieging Acre. It was a delicate mission, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's standing is indicated by the fact that it was assigned to him. The mission's ultimate failure must certainly be ascribed to objective circumstances and not his own shortcomings.

Bibliography: The oldest extant sources on the Banū Munḳid̲h̲ were composed in the mid- and late-6th/12th century: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *D̲h̲ayl Taʾrīk̲h̲ Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 113, 120-1, 133, 149-50, 164-5, 167, 174, 177, 183, 190-1, 239, 255-6, 264, 278, 343-6, 348-50; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-kabīr*, abridged ed., Badrān, Damascus 1330, ii, 400-4; ʿImād al-Dīn, *K̲h̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr*, Syria, i, ed. S̲h̲ukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1375/1955, 497-579; Usāma b. Murshid, *K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Hitti, Princeton 1930, *passim*.

The 7th/13th-century writers rely chiefly on ʿImād al-Dīn and Usāma, but they add important

additional material; thus Yāḳūt interrogated Usāma's eldest son Murhaf, and Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm could draw on the rich but now mostly lost historiographic tradition of North Syria. Ibn al-Athīr, *Atabegs*, ed. Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1963, 110-12 *et passim*; *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix-xi, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii, 173-97; Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. M.H.M. Aḥmad, Cairo 1956, i/1, 261-8, 276-85, *et passim*; Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii, *passim*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968: (Usāma b. Murshid), i, 195-9, 417, 461-3, 526; (ʿAlī b. Muḳallad), iii, 409-11; (al-Mubārak b. Kāmil), iv, 144-6; (Muḳallad b. Naṣr), v, 269-73; (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad), vii, 12.

The writings of Usāma b. Murshid were extensive, and the list in *GAL*, I, 319-20, SI, 552-3, is very inadequate. The best attempts at a survey are the editors' introductions to *Lubāb al-ādāb*, 25-7, and *K. al-Manāzil wa 'l-diyār*, 50-2. His published works are as follows:

(1) *al-Dīwān*, ed. A.A. Badawī and Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1953, based on a unique ms. dated 688 (Dār al-Kutub);

(2) *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. A.A. Badawī, Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjīd and I. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1380/1960;

(3) *K. al-Manāzil wa 'l-diyār*, facs. ed. A. Khalidov, Moscow 1961—autograph ms. dated 568 in Asiatic Museum, Leningrad. Printed ed. M. Ḥidjāzī, Cairo 1387/1968, based on the Khalidov facs. ed.;

(4) *Lubāb al-ādāb*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1354/1935, based on an autograph ms. dated 579;

(5) *K. al-ʿAṣā*, partial ed. H. Derenbourg, in *Ousāma ibn Mounḳidh. i. Vie d'Ousāma*, 499-542;

(6) *K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1886, as Part ii of *Ousama ibn Mounkidh*—based on unique Escorial ms., copied from a text certified by Murhaf b. Usāma in 610. Also ed. P.K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, the standard edition. Translations: Derenbourg, *Autobiographie d'Ousāma*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, ii (1894), 327-565, also printed separately, Paris 1895; Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades*, New York 1929; G. Rotter, *Usāma ibn Munqidh. Ein Leben im Kampf gegen Kreuzritterheere*, Tübingen and Basel 1978; A. Miquel, *Des enseignements de la vie. Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, Paris 1983. On the language of the *K. al-Iʿtibār*, see I. Schen, *Usama ibn Munqidh's Memoirs: some further light on Muslim Middle Arabic*, in *JSS*, xvii (1972, 218-36, xviii (1973), 64-97, and G.R. Smith, *A new translation of certain passages of the hunting section of Usāma ibn Munqidh's Iʿtibār*, in *JSS*, xxvi (1981), 235-56.

In addition, there are extensive citations of his poetry in the historical sources cited above; see especially Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿImād al-Dīn, Yāḳūt, Abū Shāma and Ibn Khallikān.

The only full-length study on the Banū Munḳidh is Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn Mounkidh: un émir syrien au premier siècle des Croisades. i. Vie d'Ousama*, Paris 1893. Ch. xii, "Textes arabes inédits, par Ousama et sur Ousama", was also published separately, Paris 1893. Valuable data can also be gleaned from general historical studies on the period; see especially S. Zakkar, *The emirate of Aleppo, 1004-1094*, Beirut n.d. [*ca.* 1971]; idem, *Madkhal ilā taʾrīkh al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Beirut 1972; rev. ed. 1973; N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, 3 vols., Damascus 1967. (R. Stephen Humphreys)

MUNSARIḤ [see ʿARŪḌ].

MUNSHĪ (A.), correctly *munshiʾ*, a secretary, an exponent of the high-flown epistolary style general in mediaeval Islamic chanceries from the 2nd/8th century onwards and known as *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*]. In the Persian and Indo-Muslim worlds, the term *munshī* was used for secretaries in the ruler's chancery, e.g. among the Ṣafawids, for the whom the State Scribe, the *munshī al-mamalīk*, was a very important official who apparently shared responsibility for the Shāh's correspondence with the *wāḳiʿa-nuwīs* or Recorder (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky , London 1943, § 23, pp. 61-2, 132). Subsequently, in Anglo-Indian usage, Europeans especially applied the term *munshī* to native teachers of the local Indian languages, such as Persian and Urdu, often in the anglicised form *moonshee* (see H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1903, 581). (C.E. Bosworth)

MUNṢIF (A.), literally, "one who metes out justice, *inṣāf* [*q.v.*]", a term used in Muslim Indian administration, and then in that of British India, to denote a legal official or judge of subordinate grade. In Mughal times, a chief *munṣif* (*munṣif-i munṣifān*) tried civil cases, especially those involving revenue questions, within a *sarkār* see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vii. *The Mughul empire*, 1974, 79, 84, 86). In British India, from 1793 onwards, it was the title of a native civil judge of the lowest grade (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, London 1886, 581, s.v. *Moonsiff*). (Ed.)

MUNṢIFA, Munṣifāt (Ashʿār —) (A.), the name given by the mediaeval Arabic critics and anthologists to those poems in which a description of the fights between tribes is accompanied by a recognition, with equity (*inṣāf*), of the opponent's valour and the sufferings endured by the poet's own side. This term, whose correct reading has not always been immediately recognised by the Arabic scholars who have come across it, appears in particular in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Sallām (ed. J. Hell, Leiden 1916, 33, 70; ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo n.d., 121, 233), in al-Djāḥiẓ's *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn, iv, 23), in the *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa (ed. C.J. Lyall, London 1919, p. II, 19) and in some other, later texts. Al-Baghdādī (*Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 520-1) has enabled us to resolve the problem of the correct reading of *munṣifa* by citing the definition proposed by al-Ṭabarsī: "The *ashʿar munṣifa* come within the category of equity meted out reciprocally (*tanāṣuf*). The ancient Arabs had *ḳaṣīda*s in which their authors rendered justice (*anṣafa*) to their enemies, spoke frankly about the violence of battle which each side had shown and described the circumstances of a sincere brotherhood".

In these poems, which for a certain period enjoyed a remarkable vogue among the *ruwāt* of Baṣra (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *loc. cit.*), the fighting qualities of the opposing tribe are celebrated, and the poet puts them on the same level, in this respect, as those of his own group (... we appeared as like ... as two mills which one puts into motion; Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 33), it being understood that it is always the latter group which is victorious. This equality which is emphasised shows itself in the ardour of the fight, expressed if necessary by a comparison with wild beasts (*We fought together in a hand-to-hand struggle with the opposing heroes, like panthers face-to-face with lions*; Khidāsh b. Zuhayr, in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 121; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 70-1), in the correspondence of movements, in the condition of the

weapons after the fight (*They came back with broken lances, whilst we had twisted swords*; ᶜAbd al-Shāriḳ al-Djuhanī, in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, Cairo n.d., i, 179), in the seriousness of wounds (*We returned to the fight, both of our sides, with burning wounds*; ᶜAmr b. Ḳamīʾa. *Dīwān*, fragment no. II; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiᶜr*, 222) and in the tears of the women from both sides lamenting their dead (*We made their womenfolk weep, whilst they made those of them weep who could no longer choke back their saliva*; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maᶜshar, in *al-Aṣmaᶜiyyāt*, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo n.d., 230-5).

One may regard these poems as forming a fairly homogenous category on the level of form and of their basis. With reference to the form, the use of the *wāfir* metre appears with striking frequency. Furthermore, the terrifying numerousness of the enemy warriors is expressed by Muhalhil b. Rabīᶜa (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 33), Khidāsh b. Zuhayr (*op. cit.*, 121), al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maᶜshar (*op. cit.*, 233) and ᶜAbd al-Shāriḳ al-Djuhanī (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, i, 177) by means of the same comparison in a hemistich common to all four of these poets:

fa-djāʾū ᶜāriḍan bāridan wa-djiʾnā... "They came [like] a cloud bringing hail, and we came ..."

With reference to their basis, the *ashᶜār munṣifa* constitute "an elegant means of vaunting oneself whilst at the same time recognising the enemy's bravery, above all, without humiliating him, in such a way as to preserve the conditions of sincere brotherhood". In this respect, there are some verses which make one inevitably think of certain passages in the *chansons de geste* which reveal a secret hope of converting the people whom one is combatting. To a certain degree, the *ashᶜār munṣifa* can be linked with the concept of *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], and are basically opposed to that of *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*], which aims at dishonoring the enemy by making him lose his *ᶜirḍ* [*q.v.*]. Finally, one may note that this type of poetry is no longer attested after the coming of Islam, probably because the Arab tribes had by that time ceased to fight each other in the fashion of the *Djāhiliyya*.

Bibliography: The examples which are extant have been gathered together by the present author in his study *Sur l'expression arabe* ašᶜār m.n.ṣ.fāt, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, Paris [1970], 277-85.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUNTADJAB AL-DĪN, Imāmī Shīᶜī scholar, born in 504/1110-11 and died, apparently, in 575/1179-80, whose complete name is *al-ᶜallāma al-ḥāfiẓ al-shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAli b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Ḳummī al-Rāzī, known by the abbreviated name Ibn Bābawayh and the honorific Muntadjab al-Dīn.

From this onomastic formula, it may be deduced that he was descended from the family of Bābawayh, originally of Ḳumm, well-known in circles of Shīᶜi traditionists (it will suffice to mention his ancestor, the eminent Ibn Bābawayh [*q.v.*]), of which he was to be the last representative to enjoy equivalent renown as a man of learning. From the *tardjama* devoted to him by one of his pupils, the Shāfiᶜī al-Rāfiᶜī in the *K. al-Tadwīn*, and through the information to be found in his *Fihrist* (see below), it is possible to sketch the basic outline of his biography. Born at Rayy, where a branch of the Bābawayh family had established itself, possibly in the time of his aforementioned ancestor, he was guided at a very early age towards study of the sciences of *ḥadīth*, having the opportunity of meeting in Rayy all the masters who passed through this town. His travels for the purpose of study were to follow the academic itinerary of the period (Iṣfahān, Baghdād, al-Ḥilla, Khʷārazm, Ṭabaristān, Ḳazwīn, Kāshān and Nīshāpūr), and he was to assemble a quite respectable list of teachers, giving him an unrivalled education in the field of *ḥadīth*.

The works attributed to him by the sources are four in number: (1) *K. al-Arbaᶜīn ᶜan al-arbaᶜīn min al-arbaᶜīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, a collection of forty *ḥadīths* on ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib heard by forty of his teachers, of which the *isnads* are traced back to forty *Ṣaḥāba*; a manuscript copy has been preserved; (2) *Taʾrīkh al-Rayy*, the dubious title of an anecdotal work devoted to the scholars of his city; quotations from it are to be found in the *Lisān al-Mīzān* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī [*q.v.*]; (3) *al-ᶜUṣra*, a *risāla* concerning prayers, of which the authorship is however uncertain; and (4) *Fihrist asāmī ᶜulamāʾ al-Shīᶜa wa-muṣannifīhim*, his most interesting work for the information which may be gleaned from it regarding the Imāmī community of the period.

This is a book devoted to *ᶜilm al-ridjāl* [*q.v.*] which refers, through its title, to a seminal work on this subject, the *Fihrist* of Abū Djaᶜfar al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], of which the author intends it to be an updated version. It contains brief bio-bibliographical articles arranged in alphabetical order and relating to 544 Imāmī *ᶜulamāʾ*, most of them belonging to a period later than that of al-Ṭūsī. From an onomastic point of view, the *Fihrist* of Muntadjab is the first text of Imāmī *ᶜilm al-ridjāl* which presents the names of individuals according to the formula *shuhra-laḳab-kunya-ism ᶜalam-nasab-nisba*, whereas until his time, and even after, the formula *ism ᶜalam-nasab-nisba-shuhra-laḳab-kunya* was almost a rule. Through the *nisbas* of the individuals and the biographical information, the impression is gained that the majority of them were born or resided in towns of Persia.

Hitherto, use has been made of the copy preserved by Madjlisī in the *Biḥār al-anwār* (lith. Tehran 1315, xxv. 2-13), but henceforward reference will be to the critical edition of ʿAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Ḳumm 1404/1984-5), which is preceded by a well-documented Introduction and enriched by an Appendix containing the quotations borrowed by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī from the *Taʾrīkh al-Rayy* of Muntadjab al-Dīn.

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General references: A. Arioli, *Due risāla imamite di ᶜilm al-riğāl: materiali per l'Onomasticon Arabicum*, in *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, xxxii/3-4 (March-April 1977), 233-44; idem, *Il Kitāb al-Tadwīn I*, in *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, xvii/3 (1978), 39-50; idem, *Introduzione allo studio del ᶜilm ar-rijāl imamita: le fonti*, in *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*, Paris 1979, 51-89; idem, *Dei dotti contesi. Note alla Ḍiyāfat al-ikhwān di Raḍī d-dīn Qazwīnī (xvii sec.)*, Paris 1981, 67-79; idem, *Su una fonte di Mustawfī Qazwīnī*, in *La Bisaccia dello Sheikh. Omaggio ad Alessandro Bausani islamista nel sessantesimo compleanno*, Venice, 29 May 1981, 29-41.

(A. ARIOLI)

AL-MUNTAFIḲ, a section of the Arab tribe of the Banū ʿUḳayl, which in turn is a subdivision of the great group of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*].

1. In Pre-Islamic Arabia and the age of the conquests. Genealogy: al-Muntafiḳ b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUḳayl (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, D. 19). The very scanty information in Wüstenfeld can be supplemented by the notice which Ibn al-Kalbī gives of the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ (*Djamharat al-nasab* = Caskel and Strenziok, Tabellen, 104, Register 431); but this little clan nowhere appears to play a great part in early history. The territory inhabited by the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ is the same as that of the other divisions of the Banū ʿUḳayl, in the south-west of Yamāma; some places belonging to them are quoted by al-Bakrī (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 567), Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 793-4; iv, 712, l. 78; we may note that in these two passages al-Muntafik is said to be the surname of Muʿāwiya b. ʿUḳayl, while the usual genealogy makes this Muʿāwiya a son of al-Muntafiḳ) and al-Hamdānī (*Djazīra*, ed. D.H. Müller, 177, ll. 12-15: note the mention of gold mines in their territory). The Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ numbered among their clients the Banū Ṭathr (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, C 13), whose eponym was said to have been made a prisoner by them (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*[1], vii, 110); one of the few episodes of the pre-Islamic period in which this clan is mentioned is the battle of Shiʿb Djabala where Ḳays b. al-Muntafiḳ distinguished himself (*Aghānī*, x, 44; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 671 l. 12-672, l. 14, where Ibn Ṭufayl should be deleted). In the history of the origins of Islam, several of them appear as ambassadors of the Banū ʿUḳayl to the Prophet: such were Anas b. Ḳays b. al-Muntafiḳ and Laḳīṭ b. ʿĀmir b. al-Muntafiḳ (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 45, etc.; on the latter, the biographical collections have long discussions as to whether he is to be identified with this or that *muḥaddith*: cf. among others Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, viii, 456).

In the period of the conquests, the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ settled in the marshy region between Kūfa and Baṣra (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 65-6). All that we know of them after this period is the names of a few individuals who held public offices: a certain ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Muntafiḳ, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, i, 3284 at end, as fighting at Ṣiffīn, is said by Ibn al-Kalbī to have been governor of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān under Muʿāwiya; according to Ibn al-Kalbī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. al-Muntafiḳ was governor of Marw and Ahwāz, also under Muʿāwiya, and ʿAbīda b. Ḳays b. al-Muntafiḳ of Armenia, under Yazīd I. These men are not mentioned elsewhere: the same is true of the poet Djahm b. ʿAwf b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muntafiḳ (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ed. Sharafiyya, Cairo 1325, v, 124 follows Ibn al-Kalbī).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

2. In recent times.

Together with the Āl Bū Muḥammad, the Banū Lām [*q.v.*], the ʿUbayd and sections of the Shammar, the Muntafiḳ tribe dominated the area from Baghdād to Baṣra between the 17th to 19th centuries; until the late 19th century, Ottoman political and administrative control was tenuous at best, and always dependent on a delicate balance of alliances with different combinations of tribes. The rise of the Muntafiḳ to power in early modern times began in the early 17th century, when a marriage alliance between the shaykhly house of Saʿdūn and the Afrāsiyābs [*q.v.*] of Baṣra resulted in the Muntafiḳ defending Baṣra for the Afrāsiyābs against a Persian attack in 1625. Later in the century, Shaykh Manīʿ al-Saʿdūn captured Baṣra and the city stayed in the hands of the tribe until the Ottomans regained control in 1705 [see AḤMAD III].

Between 1750 and 1831, the year in which direct Ottoman control was, at least in theory, re-established, the *pashalik* of Baghdād was ruled by a succession of Mamlūks, at least part of whose survival in power depended on placating or cooperating with the major tribes (see T. Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and society in early modern Iraq: Mamluk pashas, tribal shaykhs and local rule between 1802 and 1881*, Amsterdam 1982); given the power vacuum in Baghdād, the Muntafiḳ were instrumental in preventing Baṣra from falling to the forces of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in 1775. The tribe played an equally important role in checking Wahhābī incursions into southern ʿIrāḳ from central Arabia, and took part in an Ottoman expedition to Hufūf in 1798-9 (M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Bd. III, *Die Beduinenstämme in Nord- und Mittelarabien und im Irak*, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952, 415-29).

By the mid-19th century, the confederation had reached the zenith of its territorial power, controlling the area between Samāwa on the Euphrates and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, from Kūt on the Tigris southwards to ʿUzayr and from Kūt eastwards to the Persian border, and members of the shaykhly family held the tax farms for much of southern Iraḳ between 1831 and 1869. However, the increasingly centralising tendency of Ottoman policies meant that the might of the Muntafiḳ was already declining; in 1854 Shaykh Manṣūr al-Saʿdūn was forced to recognise the Ottoman occupation of Samāwa; Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh was occupied in 1856, and by 1861 the tribe had given up the area between Shaṭra and Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ to the Ottomans. Some members of the Saʿdūn family, notably Nāṣir Pasha, became incorporated into the Ottoman administration, while others, notably Manṣūr Pasha and his son Saʿdūn, maintained their distance and tried, generally unsuccessfully, to resist the encroachments of the state. Nāṣir was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of the *sandjak* of the Muntafiḳ by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], founded Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*] as an administrative centre in 1872, and became first *wālī* of Baṣra in 1875, while Saʿdūn b. Manṣūr, who became paramount *shaykh* in 1903, was eventually exiled by the Ottomans to Aleppo, where he died in 1911. In the First World War, the family generally supported the Ottomans until the capture of ʿAmāra by the British in 1915; its best-known member, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn, served several times as a parliamentary deputy and was twice Prime Minister of ʿIrāḳ under the monarchy.

In 1929 (von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 448), the Muntafiḳ confederation numbered some 75,000 tribesmen, divided into seven principal sections. It had been ruled at least since the end of the 17th century by members of a single family, the Saʿdūn, *ashrāf* who had migrated to Mesopotamia from the Ḥidjāz, perhaps in the 15th century [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]; the Saʿdūn were Sunnīs, while the rank-and-file tribesmen were Shīʿīs, originally pastoral nomads, but increasingly through the 19th century sedentary cultivators. In their capacities as guardians and protectors of the transit routes between Baghdād and Baṣra and principal suppliers of horses to British India, the Muntafiḳ leaders generally maintained good relations with the East India Company's representatives, who had played an important political role in the area since the end of the 18th century.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Saʿdūn

family had lost much of its former authority, largely because of the way in which the Muntafiḳ tribal lands had been transferred out of the hands of their traditional occupiers into its hands. Especially among the rice cultivators, the customary form of land tenure had virtually amounted to private property; they could sell, bequeath, inherit or mortgage their land. When the Saʿdūn family acquired *tapu* rights from the Ottomans in the early 1870s (under the terms of the 1858 Land Law), they proceeded to lease their tithe-collecting rights to *sarkal*s or minor *shaykh*s, with the result that they were "increasingly viewed as merely absentee landlords and were resented accordingly" (Albertine Jwaideh, *Aspects of land tenure and social change in late Ottoman times*, in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 333-56); in consequence, they lost much of the social and political control which they had traditionally exercised over the Muntafiḳ tribesmen. During and especially after the First World War, the Muntafiḳ area was notorious for its lawlessness, and there were serious tribal risings as late as 1936. A Muntafiḳ Land Commission was set up in 1929 to try to resolve long-standing disputes over title, but its efforts were frustrated by powerful landlord interests, which the British mandatory authorities had done much to bolster and support (P. Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq 1914-1932*, London 1976).

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(P. Sluglett)

AL-**MUNTAṢIR** bi 'llāh, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, ʿAbbasid caliph, reigned 247-8/861-2, and son of the preceeding caliph al-Mutawakkil by a Greek slave concubine Ḥubshiyya.

Towards the end of al-Mutawakkil's reign, it had been the aim of his vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān to get the succession changed from the caliph's original choice as *walī al-ʿahd* to another son al-Muʿtazz. Al-Muntaṣir was involved in the conspiracy of the Turkish soldiery which led to the caliph's death [see al-mutawakkil], and himself received the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] at the palace of al-Djaʿfariyya on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl 247/11 December 861, when he was 25 years old. His chief executive was the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, his former secretary, whose policy, in concert with the Turkish commanders Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, was to get the claims of the next heirs, the brother al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, set aside lest, should either of the latter achieve power, he might take vengeance for his father al-Mutawakkil's murder. Aḥmad persuaded al-Muntaṣir to get the succession changed (Ṣafar 248/April 862) and managed to get his rival Waṣīf sent off to lead the summer raid against Byzantium.

During his brief six months' reign, little else is recorded of al-Muntaṣir's activities, although the sources stress his intelligence and fairness, and, in contradistinction to his father's strongly Sunnī and anti-Muʿtazilī attitudes, his consideration for the ʿAlids; he gave back to them the estates at Fadak [*q.v.*] originally claimed by Fāṭima, together with other ʿAlid properties, and allowed pilgrimage once more to their graves and shrines. Al-Muntaṣir fell ill and died at Sāmarrā on Thursday, 25 Rabīʿ I 248/29 May 862 or shortly thereafter; the choice of the Turkish guards and the vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb—avoiding the surviving sons of al-Mutawakkil for the reason mentioned above—now fell on a grandson of al-Muʿtaṣim's, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 594-6, 601-3; Ṭabarī, iii, 1471-1501, Eng. tr. J.L. Kraemer, Albany 1989, 195-274; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 290-323, ix, 52 = §§ 2978-4013, 3626; *Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, s.v.; *K. al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 554-62; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, vii, 95-100, 103-5, 109, 111-16; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 184-5, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 317-19; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 327-9, Eng. tr. Whitting, 237-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, iii, 282; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 351 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 531; E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, vi, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 202-30; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 283-5, 287-9; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986, 172-3.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MURABBAʿ [see musammaṭ].

MURĀBIṬ [see ribāṭ].

AL-**MURĀBIṬŪN** (a.), known in European usage as the Almoravids, a dynasty of Berber origin which ruled in North Africa and then Spain during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th century before being replaced by another Berber dynasty, that of the Almohads or al-Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*]. The Almoravids are mentioned in the anonymous 12th century Troubadour song *Chevalier, mult estes guariz:* "Quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur Des Turs e des Amoraviz", "Knights, your salvation is assured since God has appealed to you to take His side against the Turks and Almoravids". This word was once assumed to be derived from a type of "warrior-monk" who inhabited a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], a fortified convent on the frontiers of Islam, and this sense is no doubt the correct one in several instances (see E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, extr. from *RHR*, xl-xli [1904], 29 ff.). However, as will be seen, the Saharan *Murābiṭūn* may well have regarded their name as metaphorical, a spiritual discipline rather than a literal toponymic or geographical nomenclature attached to a convent or a retreat, and they may have simply regarded themselves as being affiliated initially to the *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* that had been established by the Sūsī divine Wadjādj b. Zalwī al-Lamṭī at Aglū near Tīznīt in southern Morocco (see the arguments of P.F. de Moraes Farias, *The Almoravids*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, ser. B., 3-4 (1967), 821-43, and F. Meier, *Almoraviden und Marabute*, in *WI*, xxi [1939], 80-163).

Under the name *al-Murābiṭūn* is to be understood, more especially, the royal dynasty founded by several branches of the Berber-speaking nomadic Ṣanhādja (Znāga) which, grouped under the authority of a religious leader, invaded and conquered the Maghrib in the first half of the 5th/11th century, afterwards crossing over into Andalusia and conquering that as well.

In the first centuries of Islam, the sub-divisions of the Ṣanhādja of the Western and Central Saharan regions (on these tribes, see T. Lewicki, *Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara Occidental*, in *SI*, xxii [1970], 203-14) who wore a face-muffler, covering the mouth and chin (*lithām* [*q.v.*]) and who were known collectively as the *mulaththamūn* by the Arab

geographers, inhabited that region of the Sahara traversed by the Saharan salt [see AZALAY] and slave caravans and known to the Arab geographers as the Kākudam or Nīsar desert. They lived a nomadic existence there, as do the Ṣaḥrāwīs and the Tuareg down to the present day.

The Muslim writers by no means agree, in matter of details, over the events that first brought about the creation of the movement of the *Murābiṭūn* in these remote areas, though in broad terms they trace its genesis as follows.

1. Origins and history in North Africa.

Two works in particular are our oldest surviving sources for the record of the circumstances that led to the rise of the movement: (a) *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik* by the *Ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, 476-544/1083-1149 [*q.v.*] (see H.T. Norris, *New evidence on the life of ʿAbdallāh b. Yāsīn and the origins of the Almoravid movement*, in *Jnal. Afr. Hist.*, xxii [1971], 255-68); and (b) *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* by Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, written in 460/1068. One of the most important Arabic sources that was specifically concerned with the Almoravids is now lost. Its author, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī al-Ishbīlī (d. 557/1174) was a secretary of the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, and his work was entitled *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-Murābiṭiyya*. However, Ibn ʿIdhārī and the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya* appear to have drawn upon material from this missing work for their accounts.

In the first half of the 5th/11th century a man of piety, either a tribal chief or a jurist, of the Djaddāla or Gudāla [*q.v.*] (who were then centred in the regions of the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrā᾿, the Río de Oro and the Trārza of Mauritania), undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was known as al-Djawhar b. Sakkum (this detail is confirmed by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and by Ibn al-Athīr, likewise by al-Bakrī who, however, suggests that his status with two colleagues, Ayyār and Īntakkū, was only that of a jurist. The majority of the sources furnish the name of the chief as Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī). On his way back to the Western Sahara, he met in Ḳayrawān the teacher of Mālikī law Abū ʿImrān al-Ghafdjūmī al-Fāsī (a detail omitted by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyād, though mentioned by al-Bakrī). He in his turn recommended the jurist/chief to visit Wadjādj b. Zalwī al-Lamṭī, whose *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* was situated in the Moroccan Sūs (at Aglū or Malkūs). Touched by al-Djawhar's desire to educate his tribe further in Mālikī orthodoxy, and seeing in him an ally of military potential, Wadjādj sent him southwards into the desert, accompanied by his chief pupil, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Djazūlī, who had studied for seven years in Cordova.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn resided for some time amongst the Djaddāla, though he also seems to have become acquainted with the princely families of the Lamtūna [*q.v*] who were related to the Djaddāla, despite frequent tribal conflicts with them, and who were geographically centred in the more southerly region of the Adrār [*q.v.*] of Mauritania and in Tagānit. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was a strict Mālikī. He enforced the *Sharīʿa* penalties to the letter and even issued a *fatwā* that authorised the slaying of al-Djawhar b. Sakkum who had first accompanied him into the desert. Both the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and al-Bakrī describe the severe discipline that was imposed upon those *murābiṭūn* who entered into the *ribāṭ* of Ibn Yāsīn. According to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (*Madārik*, éd. Bakīr, iv, 781) "All were obedient to him and to the faith he followed in the way he conducted his affairs there. His recorded decisions are well known and remembered, and they memorise his *fatāwā* and his answers [to legal questions]. They do not depart from them. He made all of them observe the congregational prayer and he punished those who did not observe it, ten lashes for every *rakʿa* which one of them missed, since they were in his view those for whom no prayer was proper save if led by an *Imām*. This was due to their ignorance in reciting (the Ḳur᾿ān) and in praying (the statutory prayers)".

These disciplinary measures necessitated the return of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn to consult his master Wadjādj b. Zalwī, according to al-Bakrī. All the sources, however widely they may differ, are in accord that the movement of the *Murābiṭūn* was inspired by a militant and expansionist ideology conceived by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn. As far as we can tell from the writings of *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyād, it was not to the fore in the Dār of Wadjādj b. Zalwī which was "built in the Sūs for the purpose of study and for pious purposes".

The later historians centre the activities of the *Murābiṭūn* at this stage in a hermitage base for ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, for Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm (or al-Djawhar b. Sakkum) and for the princes of the Lamtūna who joined the movement, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. Located near the mouth of the Senegal river, or along the coast near Nouakchott, or on Arguin island, it became the rallying point for neophytes who flocked to join the movement. They, the Lamtūna and Massūfa as well as Djaddāla, were organised into a raiding force that subdued the adjacent Ṣanhādja and they may have made common cause with pious Muslim rulers (such as Wardjābī b. Rābīs) and their subjects along the Senegal river in Takrūr.

However, neither the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ nor al-Bakrī attach any importance to such a waterside centre. Their total silence suggests that later historians may have invented it or given it an inflated significance in order to explain the meaning of *ribāṭ* by a more graphical and conventional exegesis. Instead, al-Bakrī describes the foundation of a town by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn as his headquarters, in which all its habitations were of a uniform height and which bore the name of Aratnannā. This Berber word supplies no clear indication of its location, suggesting either a low-lying or hollow place for water (according to the Znāga-speaking Mauritanian scholar al-Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun), or simply "our thing", *aret nenna*, "la chose que nous avons dite (ordonnée)" (according to the opinion of Salem Chaker) (see M. Brett, *Islam and trade in the* Bilād al-Sūdān, *tenth-eleventh century AD*, in *Jnal. Afr. Hist*, xxiv [1983], 431-40).

Whatever changes may have taken place within the Saharan leadership (and it is clear from all the sources that the Lamtūna Ṣanhādja were rapidly to become the *élite* group, the "Praetorian Guard" of the *Mūrabiṭūn*), ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was to keep for himself the supreme direction of affairs and the political and financial administration of the brotherhood. He entrusted his faithful disciple Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī (whom on one occasion he had had flogged), with the leadership of the army and named him *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. This army fought to the death with spears, arranged in solid phalanxes, and it was to face the Djaddāla at the battle of T.b.f.r.l.y in the Río de Oro region. This was a pyrrhic victory strategically though an important one politically, since it marked the withdrawal of Djaddāla support from the movement and their adoption of a generally hostile attitude towards its Saharan and Sūdānic

objectives. The conquest of Saharan border towns such as Awdag͟hust [*q.v.*], nominally subject to the ruler of G͟hāna, was undertaken by the Lamtūna who, until almost the very end of the Almoravid dynasty were to hold the reins of power and who were in fact to become synonymous with it.

According to the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, "The whole Sahara passed under the control of the *Murābiṭūn*, likewise that region beyond it in the country of the Maṣmūda, the *ḳibla* and the Sūs after many wars. Then he (sc. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) led the people forth to fight the infidel Barg͟hawāṭa and he raided them with Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar as the chief of a mighty company of *Murābiṭūn* and Maṣmūda. It is said that they were 50,000 men on foot or mounted. He occupied their city of Tamāsna. The Barg͟hawāṭa fled before him in their mountains and in their thickets and the army advanced after them. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was left alone with a few of his companions. A great host (of Barg͟hawāṭa) met him and he fought them fiercely. He perished as a martyr (actually at Kurīfalalt), may God have mercy upon him. That was in the year 450/1058". The raids that were carried out in the Wādī Darʿa and the Sūs region were vital to the triumph of the Almoravids in Morocco and indeed in the whole of North Africa.

The spiritual successor to ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn was Sulaymān b. ʿAddū, who died in 452/1060. He was a far slighter personality and a jurist and, like his brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. ʿAddū, who survived him, had been a companion of Wad͟jād͟j b. Zalwī in his *Dār al-Murābiṭīn* at Aglū. Another jurist who is mentioned by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyād was Limtād (Limtān?) b. Nafīr al-Lamtūnī who was responsible for the death of Masʿūd b. Wānūdīn al-Zanātī, the ruler of Sid͟jilmāsa [*q.v.*], when the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn attacked the city in 445/1053-4. He was a puritanical reformist and his rulings were formulated in a *fatwā*, in Arabic or in Berber, which was to become a major statement of legal and spiritual policy amongst the *Murābiṭūn* and was to be held in honour and respect in the Sahara until the following century.

Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar was killed in the battle of T.b.f.r.l.y against the rebellious D͟jaddāla in 447-8/1055-7. He was succeeded by his brother Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar who, as the chief commander of the Almoravids, marched northwards into the heart of Morocco. Following Tārudānt, Ag͟hmāt fell, and Abū Bakr married queen Zaynab, the widow of the king of that city. She was of the Berber Nafzāwa [*q.v.*] and her beauty, her intelligence and her wealth assured her a permanent place amongst the legendary queens of Islam. At this stage, Abū Bakr was the uncontested leader of the Almoravid movement. Coins were struck in his name. By 452/1060 he had subjugated the Barg͟hawāṭa [*q.v.*]. Shortly afterwards, Abū Bakr was informed that Buluggīn, lord of the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād, was marching with a large force against the countries of the extreme Mag͟hrib, and at the same time those portions of the Ṣanhād͟ja who had remained in the desert (Lamtūna *Murābiṭūn*, D͟jaddāla opponents and elements of the Gazūla, the tribe of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) were engaged in a fratricidal warfare. He left the north, initially as a temporary measure, in order to return to the desert in order to establish peace amongst the Almoravids. Before he left, Abū Bakr gave the command over the troops and the direction of affairs to Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn [*q.v.*]. He also divorced Zaynab, who became the wife of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn in 453/1061. Under Yūsuf, the conquests of the Almoravids continued throughout North Africa, beyond Tilimsān and including the central Mag͟hrib. Abū Bakr, after having re-established order in the desert and having received the news of his cousin's success, returned northwards in order to resume the command of the Almoravids. However, following Zaynab's advice, Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn loaded him with gifts and made him understand clearly that he was not interested in relinquishing to him supreme authority over the Almoravid movement. Abū Bakr accepted that he had no alternative, and after a stay of some time in Ag͟hmāt he eventually returned to the Western Sahara. He is frequently credited with the conquest and conversion of G͟hāna some time prior to his death in 480/1087. This specific year is far from certain. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* dates its unlikely occurrence as early as 462/1069-70 and Ibn ʿIdhārī to 468/1075-6. Equally uncertain is the date of the conversion of G͟hāna to Islam. This is now thought to have occurred peacefully in the early 12th century, by which time the Almoravid movement was in its last death throes in the Mag͟hrib (see H.J. Fisher's review article, *Early Arabic sources and the Almoravid conquest of Ghana*, in *Jnal. of Afr. Hist.*, xxiii [1982], 549-60, and Fisher, *The conquest that never was: Ghana and the Almoravids, 1076. Part 1. The external Arabic sources*, in *History in Africa*, ix [1982], 21-59, and *Part II. The local oral sources*, in *ibid.*, x [1983], 53-78).

The diagram on p. 586 illustrates the relationship of the Ṣanhād͟ja aristocracy as far as it can be obtained from the Arabic sources.

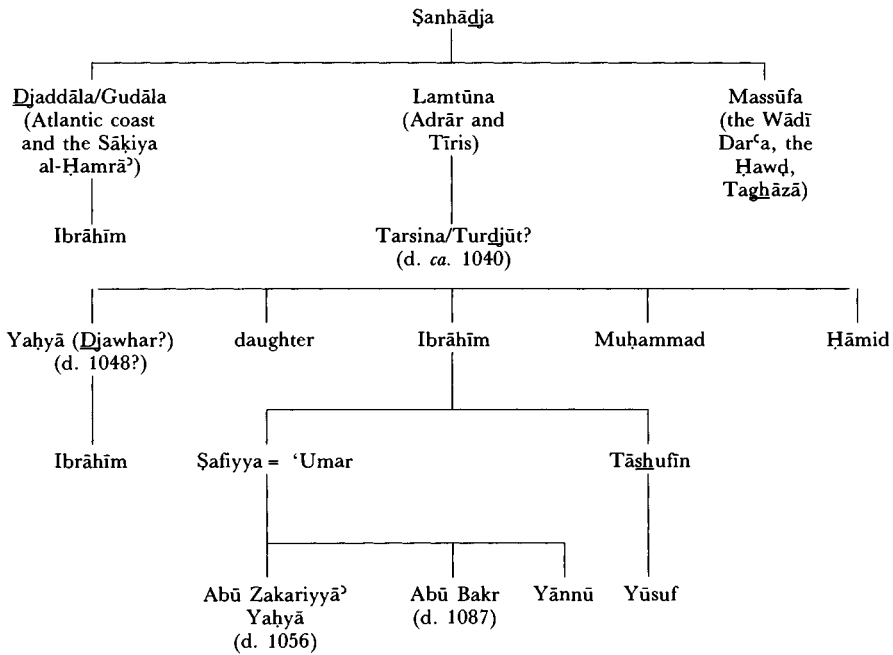
When Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn died in 500/1106-7, he bequeathed to his son ʿAlī a vast empire, comprising the countries of the Mag͟hrib, a part of Ifrīḳiya and Muslim Spain (extending to the north as far as Fraga). His fame was a matter of Muslim pride in the Mas͟hriḳ, to the extent that Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*] expressed a strong desire to meet him. According to the *Kitāb Mafāk͟hir al-Barbar* [*q.v.*] (composed about 712/1312), "It is sufficient honour and pride for the Mag͟hrib that there was one who spoke with the authority of an *amīr* in it, namely that one who is pleased to be addressed and who deems permissible an epistle directed to him, the *s͟hayk͟h* and *Imām*, the great scholar, *Ḥud͟jd͟jat al-Islām*, the pride of mankind, the example of the *umma*, the supreme *Imām* Abū Ḥāmid al-G͟hazālī —may God be pleased with him— for he wrote to Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn as follows. 'One with a hundred thousand fighters without their followers, the one whose name is mentioned (in the Friday sermon) from more than two thousand pulpits, whose country extends in distance for five months on the march, verily, its limit (in the north) adjoins the land of the Franks, next to Saragossa, of the land of Aragon, while its other extremity (in the south) adjoins the country of G͟hāna in the land of the Sūdān'. Ironically, al-G͟hazālī's books were burned publicly in Seville during Almoravid rule.

The descendants of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn succeeded each other on the throne of Marrākus͟h [*q.v.*] (founded by Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar in *ca.* 1070 and built by Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn) for less than half-a-century, and the dynasty of the Almoravids was to be destroyed in the Mag͟hrib when the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], whose founder Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] had dismissed the Almoravids as masked and uncouth shepherds and anthropomorphists (*mud͟jassima*), now led by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, conquered Marrākus͟h (541/1146-7) and killed the last Almoravid ruler of Yūsuf's house, Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. Shortly after this, the Almohads conquered Spain with the help of the Andalusian Muslims who had grown weary of the Almoravid occupation (see below). Since 539/1144-5 the armies of the Almohads had crossed over into Spain and,

Ṣanhādja

- Djaddāla/Gudāla (Atlantic coast and the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ)
  - Ibrāhīm
- Lamtūna (Adrār and Tīris)
  - Tarsina/Turdjūt? (d. *ca.* 1040)
- Massūfa (the Wādī Darʿa, the Ḥawḍ, Taghāzā)

Children of Ibrāhīm and Tarsina/Turdjūt:

- Yaḥyā (Djawhar?) (d. 1048?)
  - Ibrāhīm
- daughter
- Ibrāhīm
  - Ṣafiyya = ʿUmar
    - Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (d. 1056)
    - Abū Bakr (d. 1087)
    - Yānnū
  - Tāshufīn
    - Yūsuf
- Muḥammad
- Ḥāmid

with the death of the Almoravid governor of Spain Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya al-Massūfī (543/1148-9) the authority of the Almoravids in the peninsula came to an end.

The last stage of decline was rapid, and Nevill Barbour has summarised the reasons for it as follows: "The Empire fell when the Almoravids realised that they could not sustain their struggle on two fronts, against the Christians in al-Andalus and the Maṣmūda in southern Morocco. They were also faced with internal chaos and dissension in al-Andalus. Their fall took place over a brief period of time. It began in 1121 and rapidly worsened after 1141. The struggle with the Maṣmūda lasted from 1125 to 1147. Almoravid rule ended save in the Balearic Islands and Ifrīqiya, where, under the Massūfa Banū Ghāniya, it lasted well into the thirteenth century. Yūsuf had counselled his son, ʿAlī, not to stir up the people of the Atlas mountains and those Maṣmūda who were beyond them. The policy failed completely".

To this may be added a further cause. There was a growing tension between the Lamtūna and Massūfa Ṣanhādja who were *Murābiṭūn*. This was especially true in the eastern Maghrib where commercial routes linked al-Andalus, particularly Almería, to the Niger bend via Wahrān. The eastern trade routes that developed benefited the Massūfa rather than the Lamtūna who controlled the Mauritanian Adrār western route, betwixt Marrākush and the Almoravid capital in the Western Sahara Azūḳī, the *ṭarīḳ Lamtūnī* which was the axis for the Almoravids invasion of the Maghrib when the movement was in its infancy. In this dispute between Saharan tribes on Moroccan and Algerian soil, some leading commanders of the Massūfa sided with the Almohads against the Lamtūna.

Chronological table of the rulers of the Almoravids

1. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Djaddālī
2. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (d. 447 or 448/1055-7)
3. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar (d. 480/1087-8 in the Sūdān)

(Nos. 1–3: Successive chiefs of the Ṣanhādja in the Sahara, recognising the spiritual authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn (d. 451/1059))

4. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, *Amīr al-Muslimīn* 453-500/1961-1107
5. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, „ „ 500-37/1107-43
6. Tāshufīn b. ʿAlī, „ „ 537-9 or 541/1143-5 or 1147)
7. Ibrāhīm b. Tāshufīn, „ „ soon dethroned.
8. Isḥāḳ b. ʿAlī, „ „ killed at the taking of Marrākush by the Almohads (541/1146-7).

2. The legacy of the Almoravids in the Maghrib.

The Almoravids, especially in al-Andalus, were branded for centuries as arrogant and uncouth, unlettered, legalistic and intolerant barbarians. Describing their rule in al-Andalus, S. Lane-Poole in his *The*

Moors in Spain, London 1887, 181, remarked: "The reign of the Puritans had come, and without a Milton to soften its austerity. The poets and men of letters, who had thriven at the numerous little courts, where the most bloodthirsty despot had always a hearty and appreciative welcome for a man of genius, and would generally cap his verses with impromptu lines, were disgusted with the savage Berbers, who could not understand their refinements, and who when they sometimes attempted to form themselves upon the model of the cultivated tyrants who had preceded them, made so poor an imitation that it was impossible to help laughing. The free-thinkers and men of broad views saw nothing very encouraging in the accession to power of the fanatical priests who formed the Almoravides' advisers, and who were not only rapidly opposed to anything that savoured of philosophy, but read their Koran exclusively through the spectacles of a single commentator".

Recent Western writers, N. Barbour amongst them, have adopted a more sympathetic approach. They have sensed an achievement in a number of respects and have pin-pointed several permanent religious and cultural innovations that were introduced within the Maghrib which can confidently be attributed to the Almoravids. These include :

(a) The unification of Morocco.

When the Almoravids entered it they found it split into petty tribal principalities; when they were unseated by the Almohads, Morocco had emerged as a unified country.

(b) In Morocco, and in the Maghrib in general, under the rule of the Almoravids, there was a rapid assimilation of Andalusian civilisation. Use was made of Spanish Muslim architects and engineers. Secretaries, who were Andalusians, rose to a high position. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn took into his service Ibn al-Ḳaṣīra, the former secretary of al-Muʿtamid of Seville whom he had deposed. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf employed a number of great Andalusian prose writers in his chancellery, for example Ibn ʿAbdūn and Ibn Abi 'l-Khiṣāl. Influences from the peninsula are apparent in Moroccan and Algerian architecture. Much of the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] in Fez (Fās) dates from the era of the Almoravids, having been extended by ʿAlī's order. Another important monument of the period is the Ḳubbat al-Bārūdiyyīn in Marrākush. The finest surviving monument of the Almoravids is the great mosque in Tilimsān, where Andalusian influence is very strong. It was completed in 530/1136 and was modelled on the Grand Mosque in Cordova.

(c) In the Maghrib, the authority of the Almoravid state rested upon two foundations. First, the domination of the Ṣanhādja who settled in numbers in the cities and who were the governors at a local level, with a particular influence in regions such as Zammūr (the Banū Amghār). Since the house of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn proudly disclaimed Berber blood and in agnates boasted of a Ḥimyaritic pedigree, a number of Arab judges, especially those of Ḳaḥṭānid stock, were appointed to senior positions. The Ṣanhādja *Murābiṭūn* constituted a military and political élite, especially the Lamtūna, Lamṭa and Massūfa. They formed a veritable caste and were distinguished from other Arab-Berber groups by their *lithām*. The Lamtūna led the social aristocracy, and their fighting men constituted the core of the army. They played a leading role in the navy, and they occupied most of the higher administrative posts. ʿAlī b. Tāshufīn made use of Christian cavalry troops alongside his negro units (which were to play a crucial part in the battle of al-Zallāḳa, see below). He was the first ruler in the Maghrib to employ Christian mercenaries (see, in particular, J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 54-5). Their military skill and foreign blood enabled the rulers to dispense with African units that were recruited on a tribal basis. Second, the authority of the *fuḳahā'*. This axiom of Almoravid Islam had a positive contribution to make, though this was to be outweighed by baleful and negative features. The legal manuals of Mālikism were to be cherished, studied in depth, copied and commentated upon, notwithstanding the fact that a number of features of customary habit and law amongst the Saharan Ṣanhādja, for example the exceedingly free life of their womenfolk in male society, was to be tolerated in the Maghrib, arousing the wrath of Ibn Tūmart, amongst others. The Ḳur'ān itself and the Prophetic traditions were relegated to a secondary status, and scholastic theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) was condemned as a system of thought which undermined the faith. The lofty moral ethic of the early Almoravids, which appears to have survived ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn's own breach of some of its principles, was eventually to succumb to the refined and effete life in Spain and the Maghrib. Despite a certain Ṣūfī flavour in the lifestyle of the Saharan men in their early *ribāṭs*, the Almoravids were to become opposed to Ṣūfism, which in some regions, such as the Almoravid Sahara, was to make an appearance at a relatively recent date. The thoughts of al-Ghazālī, however, made a mark in Almoravid Fez through ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim (d. 541/1146). *Ribāṭs* of a Ṣūfī character were to be built in the Maghrib at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, notwithstanding the narrow dogmatic vision of the Almoravid state.

3. The legacy of the Almoravids in the Sahara and the Western Sūdān. This legacy was to survive until the present day in Mauritania [see MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ], in Mali [*q.v.*], in the Niger Republic [*q.v.*] and in parts of Northern Nigeria. It may be summarised as follows:

(a) The foundation of the town of Azūgi (vars. Azuggī, Azuḳḳī, Azukkī) as the southern capital of the Almoravids. It lies 10 km NW of Atar. According to al-Bakrī, it was a fortress, surrounded by 20,000 palms, and it had been founded by Yānnū b. ʿUmar al-Ḥādjdj, a brother of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. It seems likely that Azūgi became the seat of the *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī (to cite both the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl), who died there in 489/1095-6 (assuming Azūgi to be Azkid or Azkd). The town was for long regarded as the "capital of the Almoravids", well after the fall of the dynasty in Spain and even after its fall in the Balearic Islands. It receives a mention by al-Idrīsī, al-Zuhrī and other Arab geographers. It may also have been known in mediaeval Europe, appearing in the romance of *Willehalm* (see the tr. by Marion E. Gibbs and M. Johnson of *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth 1894, 174) as Azagouc ("the blacks from Azagouc are a stone wall against attacks"). On the archaeology and history of Azūgi, see A.W. Ould Cheikh and B. Saison, *Vie(s) et mort(s) de Al-Imām al-Ḥaḍramī. Autour de la postérité saharienne du mouvement almoravide (11e-17e s.)*, in *Arabica*, xxxiv/1 (1987), 48-79.

(b) The tradition of *Murābiṭ* ancestry, ultimately going back to the *Tubbaʿ*s of Ḥimyar, amongst several Mauritanian and Tuareg groups (for example the Lamtuna, Īdaw ʿĪsh, Igdalen, Kel Es-Sūḳ). This has had a literary importance, as likewise a lineal one.

(c) Linked to the above, a *geste* that is widely known

in Mauritania, in Senegal and the Western Sahara, about the exploits of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and his martyred spiritual counsellor, the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī. Associated with this theme is the story of the martyrdom of Abū Bakr in wars against the dog-owning pagan negroes of Bāfūr of G̲h̲āna and the "Mountain of Gold" (*D̲j̲abal al-D̲h̲ahab*). It is significant that these folk-legends and romances appear to have survived for centuries and to take preference over other Hilālī and non-Hilālī type *gestes* that have penetrated and moulded the legends of other Arabic-speaking communities in North Africa. The longevity of Abū Bakr as a heroic figure is vividly illustrated by the Catalan Map of Charles V (1375), and other such mediaeval maps, where King Abū (Bū)Bakr, mounted and veiled on a camel and carrying a *Murābiṭ* whip, is depicted next to Mansa Mūsā [*q.v.*], King of Mali (for representative examples, see H.T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, 126-59, and more especially the *Ḳaṣīda* of *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muḥammad Mubārak al-Lamtūnī (in *ibid.*, v, 110-16), who claimed *Murābiṭ* descent, and who attempted (unconvincingly), to bridge the gap in historical records between the fall of the Almoravids in the Mag̲h̲rib and al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, and the growth of self-conscious "neo-*Murābiṭ*" movements (such as that of Nāṣir al-Dīn) in Mauritania in the 11th/17th century; see also Ould Cheikh and Saison in *Arabica*, *loc. cit.*).

(d) The persistence of an Almoravid tradition in the *Zwāya* and *Ineslemen* classes in some tribal groups in Mauritania, Mali, the Western Sahara and amongst some of the Tuareg (especially the Kel Es-Sūḳ) and also possibly much further (via *Imrabdan* in 7th/13th century Algeria) to the east amongst the *Marābṭīn* in Barka and the Western Desert of Egypt (see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949, 66-8. On the Western Saharan, Sahelian and Sūdānic *Zwāya*, see Norris, *Muslim Ṣanhāja scholars of Mauritania*, in *Studies in West African Islamic history*, i. *The cultivators of Islam*, ed. J.R. Willis, London 1979, 147-59).

That the 6th/12th century "*Murābiṭūn*" in the Sahara journeyed as far as the Western Desert of Egypt, along little-known routes, via Mali and the Fezzān, and that they were also *mulat̲h̲t̲h̲amūn* is confirmed by al-Idrīsī (see R. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1866, 193-5, Arabic text 162-3; *Studi Magrebini*, xvi, Naples 1984, 51-2): "As for the route from Miṣr to Aswān and the Upper Ṣaʿīd, we have already mentioned it. We have also given the itinerary from Miṣr to al-Bahnasā and from there to the town of Sid̲j̲ilmāsa stage by stage. This is the route the Almoravids followed in the year 530 (sc. 1135-6): You go from Miṣr to al-Bahnasā in seven days. From al-Bahnasā to D̲j̲ubb Manād, one day's journey. From there to Faydala, a day's journey. Then a day's journey without water, then another day's journey without water. From there to ʿAyn Ḳays, a day's journey. Then to G̲h̲iyāt, one day's journey; to the mountain of Amṭalās, one day; to Nasnāt, one day's journey; to Wādī (the valley of) Ḳasṭara, one day; to the mountain of Sarwāy, one day; to the desert of Tīdīt, three days without water; to the pool of S̲h̲nāwa, the water of which is potable, one day; to the mountain of Tātī, one day; to Sāmlā, one day; to Sīrū in the mountain, one day. From there you go to the desert of Matālāwit; this is 6 days' journey without water. From there to Nḳaw, one day; then to Salūbān — a mountain, one day; then to mountain of Wad̲j̲ād, one day; ten to Nadrama to the mountain of Ḳazūl, one day; from there to Mount Aydamar, three days' march in a waterless desert: to Sulkāya, two days; then to Tāmmamt, one day and from there to Sid̲j̲ilmāsa, one day's journey. This route is rarely trodden, *al-mulat̲h̲t̲h̲amūn* (= the veiled people) followed it with the help of a guide.

(e) Almoravid architectural and decorative features in urban architecture in the Mauritanian Ḥawḍ, in the region of the Niger bend and in parts of the Algerian Sahara (see Dj. Jacques Meunié, *Cités anciennes de Mauritanie*, Paris 1961, 20-3, 35, 58, 72, 90, 104, 106, 109-10, 132-3).

(f) The Gao epitaphs which were of Andalusian Almoravid workmanship (see J. Cuoq, *Recueil des sources arabes*, 111-14; J.O. Hunwick, *Gao and the Almoravids: a hypothesis*, in B. Swartz and R. Dumett (eds.), *West African culture dynamics: archaeological and historical perspectives*, The Hague 1979, 413-30; de Moraes Farias, *Du nouveau sur les stèles de Gao: les épitaphes du prince Yama Kuri et du roi F. n.da (XIIIᵉ siècle)*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxxvi [1974], 511-26).

(g) Cultural and tribal dissemination of Almoravid religious doctrines into the Central Sahara and as far east as the Libyan desert. This is especially true of the region of Tādamakkat (Es-Sūḳ), where a number of Lamtūna later settled and whence their influence was extended into Aïr (Ăyār) and adjoining regions. According to al-Zuhrī (*ca.* 532-49/*ca.* 1137-54) in his *Kitāb al-D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiya*, "Near to G̲h̲āna at a distance of fifteen days' travelling there are two towns, of which one is called NSLĀ and the second Tadimakka (*sic*). Between these two towns is a distance of nine day's travelling. The people of these two towns turned Muslim seven years after the people of G̲h̲āna turned Muslim. There had been much warfare between them. The people of G̲h̲āna sought the help of the Almoravids"; see Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African history*, 98-9.

(h) The dominance of Mālikism in *fiḳh* throughout the whole of West African Islam and the persistence of cultural and literary tastes that may be traced directly to the Almoravids. According to A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, *The Arabic literature of Nigeria to 1804: a provisional account*, in *BSOAS* (1962), 105-6, "It is a hypothesis of substantial weight that literacy in the Arabic script and the custom of authorship in the Arabic language were introduced to West Africa during the period of the Murābiṭ (Almoravid) dynasty; that is to say, after the conquest of Old Ghana, and the penetration of the Niger region by Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Murābiṭ between 471/1078 and 475/1082. The inscriptions of Gao are cogent evidence of ready communication between Andalusia and the Niger region around the year 1100, and of the coherence of the Murābiṭ state, which then included the former, and at least adjoined the latter. With such antecedents it is to be expected that West African writers of Arabic concentrate their chief interest on the subject of *fiqh*. Like the great majority of West African Muslims, these authors were adherents of the Mālikī school. They based their systems on a chain of legal authorities which stretch back to the Mag̲h̲rib of the Murābiṭ period and preceding epoch of the Spanish Umayyads. This emphasis on the rulings of authorities, characteristic of an orthodox Mālikism substantially free from innovating tendencies, is typical of the West African Arabic literature; and similar doctrines are largely preserved to the present day amongst the Muslims of Nigeria and the adjoining territories".

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(H.T. Norris)

4. The Almoravids in Spain. The evolution of Almoravid politics would very quickly be conditioned by those of Muslim Spain. And it is no small paradox that an African movement became much more Andalusian than Maghribī, and was to devote the best part of its time and efforts to redressing the situation of a peripheral country.

Already between 470/1077 (the occupation of Tangiers) and 476/1083 (the Castilian expedition against Seville, Medina Sidonia and Tarifa was in 1082), Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had received several requests for intervention in the affairs of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* and the Christians. But the point of no return was to be 1085, the date of the fall of Toledo to Alphonso VI of Castile. This key event was to reveal brutally the precariousness of the units set up by the Andalusian princes, quite incapable of containing the growing pressure of the Christian kingdoms, bolstered by the Western awakening, the power of a warrior class and the Crusader ideology. The Almoravids were thus called upon, by various sections of opinion, to put an end to a situation that was untenable from a military, ideological and fiscal point-of-view. For a moment, all the Andalusians recognised the necessity of a recovery, even if they differed as to the priority of such-and-such an aspect and as to the solutions to adopt, and did not perceive clearly all the internal contradictions that this implied.

In the 5th/11th century, this "programme" was symbolised by the Almoravid movement, in as much as its continuing expansion from 454/1062 had become recognised and had been permitted. Their help would be requested —after the fall of Toledo—by

the princes of Seville, Granada and Badajoz, putting Yūsuf under an obligation to defend them from Christian pressure, instead of combating other Muslims. But the emissaries, *ḳāḍīs* of their respective capitals, also nourished their own afterthoughts: a re-Islamisation and internal moralisation and a lightening of taxation. Hence the popular demand from 483/1090, for the application of these two latter measures and the overthrow of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* (except for that of the Upper March). But the hegemony of the *mulaththamūn* transformed their "electoral promises" into a programme which would require of them its immediate and complete accomplishment, and its non-realisation would lead to a discontent, directly proportional to the scale of the disappointed hopes.

The Almoravid history of al-Andalūs is thus divided into three phases: (1) the Andalusian crisis; (2) reform and (3) progressive failure and opposition.

(1) *The conditions of the appeal.* The disappearance of the ʿĀmirids [*q.v.*] in 399/1009 was to allow the Hispanic Christian kingdoms to carry out an infiltration in the form of assistance (individual mercenaries or coherent groups) —a feature which already constituted a disguised form of domination—, a strong military thrust (Castilian campaigns, loss of Toledo, conquests of the Cid [see AL-SĪD], fall of Huesca, Saragossa, Lerida and Tortosa), doubling of a pressure that was ideological (attemps at proselytism by the "Monk of France", first Crusades), economic (mercenaries' salaries, exaction of the "pariahs" booty), political (imposition of protectorates — vassalages, zones of influence).

These various factors created a situation where Andalusian public opinion urgently demanded effective control of the Christians beyond the borders, the re-establishment of an internal Islamic order, the reduction of taxes and a certain return to caliphal unity. In fact, it was a case of simple consequences, all caused by one and the same problem. This implied that the military crisis (the tip of the iceberg) could not be remedied in a lasting fashion without simultaneously providing a solution to the socio-economic and politico-ideological aspects which were connected with it. The option represented by recourse to the *Murābiṭūn* was either to win this bet or to face up to the dissatisfaction provoked by the non-achievement of the programme.

(2) *Reform.* Moved by initial enthusiasm on having finally found a solution to their problems, the Andalusians began by seeing nothing but Almoravid successes.

On the military level, the simple announcement of Yūsuf's crossing forced Alphonso VI to lift the siege of Saragossa, and the victory of Zallāḳ [*q.v.*] was to mark the interruption of the great Castilian interventions. Checks at Cuarte and Bairen in the face of the Cid did not prevent in any way the successes of Consuegra (491/1098), the recovery of Valencia (495/1102), or the great victory of Uclès (501/1108), followed by the capture of Huete, Ocaña, Cuenca and Talavera. But arms would not avail them in the eastern region: the rout of the Congost de Martorell (508/1114), loss of Saragossa (512/1118) and rout of Cutanda (514/1120). Even the victory of Fraga (528/1134) would not manage to check the collapse of the Upper March and definitive loss of Tortosa, Lerida and Fraga (544/1149).

Re-Islamisation was to be translated as the suppression of stretching the *Sharīʿa*. "He never drank wine, listened to a singing-girl, did not amuse himself in hunting or with other pastimes... and he acquired a reputation for rectitude and respect for everything prescribed by the Law". There would also be a legalistic obsession which would drive Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn and his son ʿAlī never to take a decision without being from the outset covered by one or more *fatwas*, in good and due form. Official legalism explained —and provoked— the rise of the *fuḳahāʾ*, greedy for power and riches. Re-Islamisation was also translated, at first, into the lightening of taxation, which was to be reduced to canonical taxes only; it was the *ḳaṭʿ al-maghārim* which always produced a strong impression.

There was a short period of complete consensus between al-Andalus and the Almoravids, between Yūsuf and the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, when "the news of the embarkation of the *amīr al-muslimīn* drove the Zīrid prince ʿAbd Allāh to order the beating of drums and decree official celebrations... During the campaign [of Zallāḳa] it was wonderful, the purity of our intentions and sincerity; to the point that you would have thought that our hearts were united in one and the same objective.... We were all impatient to take part in the *djihād*, without sparing our efforts..."

(3) *Failure.* All these successes were real, but they were ephemeral. To preserve its Andalusian legitimacy, the Almoravid régime was forced to show itself always irreproachable, strong and effective, and, without ever flagging, to persist in containing Christian pressure which, moreover, was growing. Not being able—for demographic reasons of Maghribī recruitment and for ideological reasons of lack of Andalusian collaboration—to deploy sufficient troops so as to have an offensive strategy, it had to confine itself to building up a defensive system (and using Christian mercenaries in the Maghrib). But to restore or build fortresses, maintain them, provision them, balance the garrisons' accounts and pay mercenaries, assumed increased and growing costs. Hence the necessity of heavy taxation, far in excess of the possible return from canonical taxes only. Finally, many *fuḳahāʾ* and *ʿulamāʾ* who had endorsed and participated in the decisions taken by the state lost their independence, their intellectual and moral prestige, and thus their old capacity as spokesmen for the aspirations of the *ʿāmma*.

Very soon we hear speak of Almoravid rapacity (*ḥubbuhum fi 'l-māl*), and all kinds of *maʿāwin*, *waẓāʾif*, *lawāzim*, *ḳaṭīʿ*, *fiṭra*, *taʿtīb* and *maghram al-sulṭān* were to flourish once more. We know that some correspond to "contributions to sustain the war effort", some to "charges for restoring walls" but, however necessary they may have been, they were resented no less as being so much more intolerable than those that were suppressed.

Generalised corruption and abuses of power became clichés, as the verses of Ibn al-Bannī or the *caveats* of Ibn ʿAbdūn show, and all means are seen as good in order to enrich oneself (Abū ʿUmar Ināluh), to favour friends, carry out a number of fraudulent operations, etc. But, what was far worse, incompetence and cowardice became the attributes of generals, incapable of organising their troops and of exploiting a victory, easily put to rout by an enemy much inferior in numbers, etc. Al-Marrākushī speaks of the "deliquescence of the state, the appearance of highway bandits, thieves and rogues, drunkards and libertines,...sheltered by the great ladies of the Lamtūna and Massūfa,...while the *amīr al-muslimīn*, steeped in piety and ascetism, was completely neglecting the affairs of his subjects..."

There was also an oppressive intellectual atmosphere. "The *amīr* did not value the Mālikī

experts in *ʿilm al-furūʿ* [*q.v.*]. The people were terrorised by there being accused of infidelity all those who were concerned with dogmatic theology (*ʿulūm al-kalām* [*q.v.*])... During the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf circulars were sent out throughout the country to reinforce the prohibition of being involved in *kalām* and to threaten those who were found to be in possession of one of these books. When the works of Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*] penetrated to the West, the *amīr al-muslimīn* ordered them to be burnt, adding threats of death and confiscation of goods for those who withheld them".

The reaction in the beginning would be far more socio-intellectual than political. Two hotbeds of opposition (Ibn Tūmart in the Mag̲h̲rib and the ascetics of the south of Andalusia) arose independently of each other. While we should certainly not speak of formal, organised coordination, there existed a kind of indirect "collaboration of aims". According to the *Ḥulal*, "the circumstance which was of most help to the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] against the Almoravids was the uprising of the Andalusians, which forced them to strip the land of its defenders and arms". If they had not had to face the Almohads, the *Murābiṭūn* would not have had great difficulty in eliminating the various small hotbeds of agitation which erupted in the east and west of al-Andalūs, and it is very doubtful whether the *Muwaḥḥidūn* would have been able to succeed in supplanting the Almoravids, if the latter had not been enmeshed in the Andalusian imbroglio. It is debatable whether the strict Mālikī legalism adopted by the Ṣanhād̲j̲a would have been displaced by the conjunction of the two currents which they had ignored and fought against, sc. theology and Ṣūfism. It is this which allowed the synthesis of Ibn Tūmart to be imposed, whereas the ascetic current was unable to "organise" itself.

To return to the facts: there was around 534/1140, a certain mystical atmosphere diffused in Almeria (Ibn al-ʿArīf [*q.v.*]), Seville (Ibn Barrad̲j̲ān) and Granada (Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Mayurḳī). All were executed or disappeared in 531/1142 and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf died in 532/1143. A year later, there erupted the movement of the *murīdīn* founded by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*] in Silves. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn rebelled in Cordova, Sayf al-Dawla Ibn Hūd in Jaén and Granada, Ibn Wazīr in Evora, Béja and Badajoz, Abu 'l-Ḳamr Ibn ʿAzzūz in Jerez, Arcos and Ronda, Ibn Abī D̲j̲aʿfar in Murcia and Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Valencia. It was a second outbreak of *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, where everyone sought to carve out an autonomous principality for himself; whether alone, or by having recourse to Alphonso VII (Ibn Ḥamdīn) or to the Almohads (ʿAlī b. Maymūn in Cadiz). The brief, partial re-establishment of the situation, in 540/1145, by Yaḥyā b. G̲h̲āniya (Cordova, Carmona and Jaen) was without a future and, in 542/1147, Alphonso VII of Castile occupied Almeria for several months.

Ibn Ḳasī even crossed to the Mag̲h̲rib to solicit help from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and to call on him to invade al-Andalūs. In fact, the Almohads on the first occasion (540-1/1146-7) limited themselves to occupying and leaving garrisons in the localities where they were able to count on a group of partisans. Only Maymūn b. D̲j̲addār maintained himself in Granada until 549/1155, while the Banū G̲h̲āniya [*q.v.*] created a neo-Almoravid state which, in 580/1184, carried the struggle against the *Muwaḥḥidūn* into the Tunisian D̲j̲arīd.

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(P. CHALMETA)

MURĀD, the name of an Arab tribe belonging to the great southern group of the Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ [*q.v.*]; genealogical tradition (Ibn al-Kalbī, *D̲j̲amharat al-ansāb*, Escurial ms, fols. 114b-117b and see now Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, which is followed by Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 238, 4; cf. also *LA*, iv, 409) regards Murād as a nickname, for this tribe was said to have been the first to rebel (*tamarrada*) in the Yaman; an etymology wich is not convincing. Murād's own name is said to have been Yuḥābir b. Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲ and he was therefore a brother of the ʿAns and the Saʿd al-ʿAs̲h̲īra (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 7, 11); Ibn Ḥazm, however, regards Murād b. Mālik b. Udad as the brother of Yuḥābir (*D̲j̲amharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 382-3). Although they were neighbours of the South Arabian civilisation, the Murād have always retained a typically Bedouin character, their country (usually called al-D̲j̲awf and placed to the east of Nad̲j̲rān and Maʾrib) is bare and sterile (cf. the picturesque description given of it by the *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xviii, 135, and "the mountains of the Murād" mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ii, 78) and its inhabitants are notorious as brigands (*fatk Murād*; cf. *Ag̲h̲ānī*, x, 147). The land inhabited by the Murād and by their neighbours, the Hamdān [*q.v.*], had once belonged to the Ṭayyiʾ (Yāḳūt, i, 129), who had left it to settle in the north of the Arabian peninsula; it is probable that it was from the old masters of the country that the Murād and the Hamdān inherited the cult of the god Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ (cf. below).

The Murād are attested in several Sabaic inscriptions, beginning with one of 522 A.D. (Ryckmans 508), in which the *Mrdm* figure as allies of Yūsuf (D̲h̲ū Nuwās [*q.v.*]) against the city of Nad̲j̲rān [*q.v.*]. They now appear further in connection with an episode, not however at all clear, of the last days of the dynasty of the Lak̲h̲mids of al-Ḥīra; as the king ʿAmr b. al-Mund̲h̲ir (III) b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ had excluded his half-brother ʿAmr, a son of Usāma, sister of Hind mother of the first-named ʿAmr, from a share in the kingdom, the latter sought refuge with the Murād, who recognised him as their chief but when he began to rule tyrannically, they killed him, which gave ʿAmr b. Hind a pretext for invading the land of the Murād and putting to death the murderer of ʿAmr b. Usāma (al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amt̲h̲āl al-ʿArab*, Constantinople 1300, 68-9, who gives a more satisfactory account than that contained in the passages quoted by G. Rothstein, *Die Dyn. der Laḥmiden*, 99, in which Yāḳūt, vi, 130, should be read for i, 130). ʿAmr is said to have been killed by a certain Ibn al-D̲j̲uʿayd (the same story is given by Ibn al-Kalbī, *D̲j̲amhara*); according to Yāḳūt, on the other hand, by Hubayra b. ʿAbd

Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲, surnamed al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ; the latter's son Ḳays seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islam.

The Murād had just then suffered a disastrous defeat, which had considerably weakened them, at the hands of the Hamdān, as the result of a quarrel which had arisen in connection with the control of the worship of the god Yag̲h̲ūt̲h̲ (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², 19-22, and the sources mentioned by him). It is probably this defeat (*Yawm al-Razm*), which tradition places in the same year as the battle of Badr, which made a section of the Murād think it advisable to seek an alliance with Muḥammad; but Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ refused to join in this. It was therefore another Murādī chief, Farwa b. Musayk, who went to Medina in the year 10 A.H., and concluded a treaty there with the Prophet (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 332). To what extent tradition is right in saying that Farwa was given authority to levy *zakāt* on all the tribes of the Yaman, is very difficult to ascertain. In any case, the policy of the Murād was not oriented towards Muḥammad under the leadership of Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ. In the great rising led by al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī against Persian hegemony in the Yaman, the Murād were against him. But if, as tradition has it, Muḥammad used his connections with some chiefs of the Yaman to prevent al-Aswad's success, after the death of the Prophet these same chiefs refused obedience to Abū Bakr and resolutely threw themselves into the struggle against Islam. It is again Ḳays b. al-Maks̲h̲ūḥ who plays the chief part in these events. Taken prisoner, Abū Bakr granted him his life and henceforth the chief of the Murād and his tribe played their part bravely in the conquests. We find them sometimes in Syria, sometimes in ʿIrāḳ, and Ḳays himself everywhere distinguishing himself by his exploits. He lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūk (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i-v, index s.v. Qays b. Hubayrah). But the account of his death in the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya at the battle of Ṣiffīn is based on confusion with another man of the same name of the tribe of Bad̲j̲īla (this fact, which is clearly indicated by Ibn al-Kalbī, *D̲j̲amhara*, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 3301-2, has already been noted by Ibn Had̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, v, 281; hence *Annali*, ix, 638, should be corrected). We also find the Murād in the conquest of Egypt (*Annali*, iv, 573, 21 A.H., § 191 *b* [29]. But it was at Kūfa that they settled in the largest numbers. It was there that one of them, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muld̲j̲am [see IBN MULD̲J̲AM], assassinated the caliph ʿAlī; it was there also that in 60/679 Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa al-Murādī was executed by orders of the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād after being found guilty of conspiring with Muslim b. ʿAḳīl in favour of al-Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 227). He was a descendant of the poet ʿAmr b. Ḳiʿās (*RSO*, xiii, 58, 327¹), one of the very few poets of this tribe, which does not seem to have produced many individuals of note either during the D̲j̲āhiliyya or under Islam. We may however mention Uways al-Ḳaranī (of the Banū Ḳaran b. Radmān b. Nād̲j̲iya b. Murād; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tab.*, 7, 25), one of the prototypes of Muslim ascetism. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the remnants of Murād were settled in the Sarw Mad̲h̲ḥid̲j̲, according to al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 92, 94, 102.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA*)

MURĀD (correctly S̲h̲āh Murād), nicknamed Pahari, second son of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], born on 3 Muḥarram 978/8 June 1570, died 1007/1599. Fayḍī was appointed to educate the prince. In 988/1580 Father Monserrate, and later Aquaviva, was asked to teach him Portuguese and the principles of Christianity. He seems to have impressed his Jesuit tutors. His first rank (*manṣab* [*q.v.*]), of 7,000 was granted in 985/1577, followed by a promotion in 982/1584 to the rank of 9,000/—. His important assignment came in 999/1590 when he was appointed governor of Malwā; in 1001/1592 he was entrusted with the governorship of Gud̲j̲arāt. In 1002/1593 he led the Mug̲h̲al army into the Deccan, where in 1004/1596 the ruler of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*] was forced to accept the cession of Berār [*q.v.*] to the Mug̲h̲als. Murād stayed in the Deccan as governor, but the military operations in the Deccan met with little success, partly because of Murād's lack of interest in the undertaking. He died in S̲h̲awwāl 1007/May 1599.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

MURĀD I (761-91/1360-89), according to the common tradition the third ruler of the Ottoman state, was a son of Ork̲h̲ān and the Byzantine lady Nīlūfer. Although some Ottoman sources profess to know the year of his birth (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, i, 74, gives the year 726/1326), this date, like all dates given by Turkish sources relating to this period, is far from certain. The name Murād (Greek sources such as Phrantzes have Ἀμουράτης, from which later Latin sources make Amurath, while contemporary Latin sources from Italy have Moratibei) must have originated in mystical circles and hardly occurs in earlier times. An Abdāl Murād lived in Ork̲h̲ān's time (cf. *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, iv, 354; ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ Pas̲h̲a-zāde, ed. Giese, 200; photographs of his tomb in R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, plates 9 and 10). The ancient Turkish chronicles often call Murād G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲unkʸār, later Turkish historians K̲h̲udāwendigār [*q.v.*].

During his father's lifetime, Murād had already been entrusted with the governorship of In Öñü and later of Bursa. His brother Süleymān Pas̲h̲a had held the more important *sand̲j̲aḳ*s and was destined to become Ork̲h̲ān's successor. Süleymān's untimely death, shortly before that of Ork̲h̲ān himself, placed Murād unexpectedly at the head of the Ottoman principality. This happened about 761/1360; the date of Ork̲h̲ān's death is uncertain.

Murād I became the first great Ottoman conqueror on European soil. In this he followed the footsteps of his brother Süleymān Pas̲h̲a and of other Turkish *amīr*s before him.

It is not yet possible to gain a clear idea of the series of the military acievements by which the Ottomans succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in the Balkan Peninsula. Even the outstanding victories are confounded with each other in the Ottoman and Western sources, and the exact dating of even important events is subject to great difficulties. The Byzantine sources, the most reliable of all, are mainly concerned with the tortuous policy of the Byzantine rulers. On the other hand, many tales of a legendary

character have entered the historical accounts of later times. The impression on the whole is, that the Ottoman successes were mainly due to the mutual rivalry between the then existing Balkan states, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, complicated by the struggle of Venice and Genoa for an advantageous position in the Levant, and the zeal of the Popes for bringing the Greek church back to Rome. This secured the Ottomans at all times allies in the Christian camp itself. Nor is it possible to ascertain which Ottoman expeditions were really planned by Murād and his counsellors and which were merely successful raids by Turkish bands. All this makes it extremely difficult to form an adequate judgment of Murād's personality as a warrior and as a statesman.

Provisionally, three periods can be distinguished. The first begins shortly after Murād's accession with the conquest of Western Thrace, in which were taken Čorlu, Demotika (Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*]) (if this town had not already been taken under Orkhān), Gümüldjine, Adrianople (about 763/1362; see EDIRNE) and Philippopolis, mainly through the activity of the *beglerbeg* Lala Shāhīn and Ewrenos Beg [*q.v.*]. These conquests provoked a coalition of Serbians, Bosnians and Hungarians, who were beaten on the river Maritza [see MERIČ] by Ḥādjdjī Ilbeki. The western part of Bulgaria was raided up to the Balkan Mountains, and the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus made his first submission as vassal to Murād. Murād himself had been on a campaign in Anatolia, which brought him as far as Toḳat [*q.v.*], during which he consolidated the Ottoman hold on Angora (Anḳara [*q.v.*]) (already taken by Süleymān Pasha in 755/1354; cf. Wittek, in *Festschrift Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 347, 351 ff.). He then came to Rūm-ili and took up his residence in Demotika, to exchange this town in 767/1366 for Adrianople, from this time on the European capital ot the Ottomans. The story about a treaty between Ragusa and Murād concluded in 1365 has a legendary character (cf. Giese, in *Festschrift Jacob*, 42, after Jireček). In the meantime, the hostility between Byzantines and Bulgarians gave Murād the opportunity of taking Ishtebol (Sozopolis) near Burgas, and the same hostility led to the failure, about 1366, of a crusade undertaken at the instigation of Pope Urban V by Count Amadeo of Savoy to come to the rescue of the Byzantine Emperor; the expedition only drove the Turks from Gallipoli for a short time.

A second period of Murād's reign may be said to begin with the crushing of a Serbian advance on the Maritza [see MERIČ], near Čirmen, probably in 1371. This Serbian defeat is known to the Turkish sources as *sïrf ṣïndïghï* and gave the Turks during the following years the important Macedonian towns of Serres, Drama and Ḳawalla, and at the same time the possibility of advancing west of the Vardar. These conquests were made by Ewrenos and Djandarlï Khalīl Pasha [see DJANDARLÏ], while Lala Shāhīn obtained about the same time successes in eastern Bulgaria (battle of Samakow). Then followed again some years of comparative tranquility, in which the newly-won regions were partly colonised by the Ottomans; the still unsubdued northern part of Serbia and Bulgaria were governed by the local rulers as vassals of Murād. The latter had more than once to interfere with the dynastic affairs of the Palaeologi. After John Palaeologus had sold in 1375 the island of Tenedos to Venice, this led to an action of Genoa in combination with the Turks, in the course of which John lost his throne and was imprisoned, until, by the favour of Murād, he became Emperor again in 1379; his dependency went so far as to help the Turks, together with his son Manuel, in the conquest of Philadelphia (Ala Shehir), the only remaining Greek fortress in Asia Minor. The end of this second period is marked by an increased activity in Anatolia. A part of the territory of the Germiyān-Oghlu [*q.v.*] was acquired as a wedding gift to prince Bāyezīd when he married the daughter of that ruler (probably in 1381); this territorial accession was followed by the sale of the greater part of the lands of the Ḥamīd-Oghlu [*q.v.*] to Murād and by the conquest of a part of the principality of Tekke.

About 787/1385 there followed new conquests in Europe. Turkish troops intervened in Epirus and Albania (under Khalīl Pasha), but decisive for the establishment of Ottoman power in the Balkans was the taking of Sofia (1385?) and Nish (1386?). About the same time, the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, obtained by treaties with Murād, concluded respectively in 787/1385 and 790/1388, commercial privileges in Turkish territory. Immediately after the successes in Serbia, probably also in 788/1386, Murād went to war with the Ḳaramān-Oghlu ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, his son-in-law; this conflict had long been threatening [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÏ]; now the Ottoman power had grown so far as to destroy the political equilibrium in Anatolia. Murād was victorious in the battle of Ḳonya, but left ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in his possessions and set the example, henceforward traditional, of leniency in dealing with the Anatolian population. This caused a lively discontent amongst the Serbian troops who had taken part in the battle of Ḳonya. These Serbians are said to have contributed to the anti-Turkish feeling among the Serbians in general, who, under the leadership of Lazar Gresljanović, and with the Bosnian king Twrtko as a powerful ally, were preparing a last effort to free themselves from Turkish sovereignty. They succeeded in defeating an Ottoman army at Pločnik (790/1388). The results were meagre, however, for at the same time the Turks made new conquests in Bulgaria (Shumla and Tirnovo) and even raided Morea. In 791/1389 Murād himself marched against the Serbians and their allies and fought the famous battle of Kossowo Polje (Turkish: Ḳoṣowa [*q.v.*]), where he himself lost his life, although the Serbians, partly owing to treachery in their own ranks, were defeated. The most probable date is 20 June 1389 (Gibbons, cf. also Giese, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, no. 34 [April 1928], 2-3). The way in which Murād was killed, during or after the battle, is not clear from the early sources; the later Serbian epic tradition has the well-known tale that Murād was murdered by Miloš Obranović, Lazar's son-in-law, who, claiming to be a deserter, had obtained an audience with Murād after the battle, was admitted to his presence and killed him with a dagger. Murād's body was transported to Bursa and buried in a *türbe* near the mosque which he had built in Čekirge in Bursa (cf. Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, iii).

Murād I was the first ruler under whom the state founded by ʿOthmān rose to be more than one of the then existing Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor. This development is symbolised in the successive change of titles given to him in different building inscriptions dated in his reign (cf. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 131 ff.). While the oldest inscription calls him simply Bey, like his father Orkhān, and gives him a *laḳab* (Shihāb al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn) after the Saldjūḳ fashion, he is already called Sulṭān [*q.v.*] in 785/1383, while in the inscription from 790/1388 on the *ʿimāret* built by him in Iznīḳ, we find the style which afterwards became a tradition with the Ottoman sultans

(*al-malik al-muʿaẓẓam al-khākān al-mukarram al-sulṭān ibn al-sulṭān*). It was a time when the old Saldjūḳ traditional institutions no longer held, and new forms of government and administration came into being, to which the example of Byzantine institutions, and also those of Mamlūk Egypt, may have contributed. Even if it is not true that Djandarlî Khayr al-Dīn Khalīl Pasha —who was appointed Murād's vizier at the beginning of his reign and died about 789/1387— was the first Ottoman grand vizier, it cannot be denied that the activity of this man —who by his origin belonged to a higher culture than the Ottoman— as Murād's councillor as well as his military deputy and administrator in Macedonia, makes him a true prototype of the grand viziers of a later age (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 66 ff.). His son ʿAlī Pasha began also to play an important military part during the later years of Murād's reign. It is also with Khalīl Pasha that the old Turkish sources connect the institution of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI] as troops formed from converted Christian prisoners of war. In the administration of the *timārs* [*q.v.*] a *ḳānūn* of Murād I is said to have brought improvements. Some of these measures were closely connected with the problem of acquiring a quiet and loyal population in the newly-conquered Christian territories; this was not possible by Turkish colonisation only but succeeded mainly through a humane treatment of the original inhabitants, after the region had once been conquered.

The more important buildings of Murād I are all in Asia Minor. The best known are the Khudāwendigār Djāmiʿi in Čekirge, near Bursa, where Murād himself is buried, and the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Bursa; further, a mosque in Biledjik, the Nīlūfer ʿImāreti in Iznīḳ (described by Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 127 ff.). There is also a mosque of Murād in Serres. The old Ottoman chronicles enumerate his foundations; see also on them, G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 40-6. On Murād I's coins cf. ʿĀlī, in *TTEM*, xiv, 224.

Bibliography: The information given by the old Turkish chronicles (ʿĀshîḳ-Pasha-Zāde, Anonymus, ed. Giese, Urūdj, the translations of Leunclavius, also *Düstūr-nāme-i Enwerī*, ed. Mükrimīn Khalīl, Istanbul 1928, and this editor's *Medhal*, Istanbul 1930) is sometimes supplemented by the later historiographers (Saʿd al-Dīn, ʿĀlī, Münedjdjim-Bashî). The Byzantine historians (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles), however, give a far clearer survey of this period in so far as it came under their attention, while documents from Venice, Genoa and Rome throw light on the diplomatic activities provoked by the advance of the Turks in Europe. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr fī anbāʾ al-ʿumr*, contains also a biography of Murād I. See further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and H.A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, 110 ff.; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918; F. Taeschner, *War Murād I. Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achibundes?*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 23-31; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 14-15; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 17-22, 306-7 (extensive bibl.); N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 37-45 and index (extensive bibl.); C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 26-36; *İA*, art. s.v. (İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı).

(J.H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD II (824-48, 850-5/1421-44, 1446-51), sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born in 806 (1403-4) and ascended the throne in Djumādā I 824/May 1421, when he arrived in Edirne some days after his father Meḥemmed I's death; his decease had been kept secret on the advice of the vizier ʿIwaḍ Pasha until the new sultan's arrival.

As crown prince he had resided at Maghnisa, and he had taken part in the suppression of the revolt of Simawna-Oghlu Bedr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Immediately after his accession he had to face the pretender known in Turkish history as Düzme Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] and his ally Djunayd [*q.v.*]. Both were supported by the Byzantine emperor Manuel and at first were successful in the European part of the empire. Bāyezīd Pasha, sent from Bursa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Sāzlî Dere (between Serres and Edirne) and the allied Greek forces took Gallipoli. Then Murād himself had to face them in Asia; he succeeded in sowing discord between Muṣṭafā and Djunayd and defeated the first in the battle of the bridge of Ulubād. Then Murād went over, with the help of ships from the Genoese colony of New Phocea (Yeñi Foča), recovered Gallipoli, after which he entered Edirne and killed the pretender. In 825/1422 he began a siege of Constantinople; this siege was raised, either by the effect of Byzantine gold (through the intermediary of the graecophile vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha) or as a result of the rise of a new pretender in Iznīḳ in the person of Murād's younger brother Muṣṭafā. The latter was at last betrayed by his former supporter Ilyās Pasha and killed. Then followed a struggle with Djunayd, who had established himself again at Aydîn, but surrendered at last in 828/1425, after which he was killed. Murād was now at peace with all his European neighbours and vassals; the Emperor Manuel had died in 1424 and was followed by John Palæologus, with whom peace was concluded. Several towns had been taken in the meantime in Morea, and Wallachia paid tribute. In Anatolia there had been a conflict in 826/1423 with Isfendiyār of Sīnūb [see ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU], ending with the acquisition of a part of his territory by Murād; after 828/1425 the Ottoman power was confirmed in Tekke and Menteshe [*q.vv.*] and the Ḳaramān-Oghlu Ibrāhīm [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÎ], who tried to take the already Ottoman Adalya, had to retire and made peace. In eastern Anatolia, Yürkedj Pasha subdued the Turkomans round Toḳat and Amasya and of the region of Djanîk. In 831/1428 there began difficulties on the Hungarian frontier. The most noteworthy exploit of this period was however the capture of Salonica (Selānik [*q.v.*]) in Djumādā II 833/March 1430, after the Greeks had sold this town to Venice in 1427; Murād had never given up the plan of avenging that transaction. Peace with Venice soon followed.

Meanwhile, the Turks had taken several fortresses in Epirus and Albania, but their interest began more and more to concentrate on the northwestern regions, where George Branković ruled as vassal over Serbia. With the latter, peace was renewed in 835/1432 and his daughter Mara was given in marriage to Murād, but the Turkish raids continued in Serbia as well as far into Hungarian territory. In 842/1438 the Turks made, together with Serbians and Wallachians, incursions in Hungary (capture of Semendra); in 1440 they besieged Belgrade in vain and in 1442 Turkish troops under Yezīd Bey laid siege to Hermannstadt. Here they suffered a heavy defeat by John Hunyadi, who in the coming years was to act as champion of Hungary and Christian Europe. He was the leader, in 847/1443, of a large crusading army including Ser-

bians, Poles and Germans; the Turks were thrown back at Nish, after which Sofia was taken. The campaign ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks at Jalowaz, between Sofia and Philippopolis. In the same year, Murād had to oppose again the Ḳaramān-Oghlu, who supported the Christian allies. But the peace with Hungary, concluded in Rabīʿ I 848/July 1444 at Szeged, though advantageous to Hungary, maintained the former frontiers of the zone of Ottoman political influence; only Wallachia (Eflāḳ [*q.v.*]) became tributary to Hungary.

After this peace, which was to last ten years and seemed to Murād a guarantee for the future, he abdicated in favour of his son Meḥemmed, leaving with him Khalīl Pasha, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha (who had died of the plague in 832/1429) and Khosrew Molla [*q.v.*] as counsellors. He retired himself to Maghnisa, but had to come back when, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/September of the same year, the Hungarians, flouting the peace treaty, were preparing a new crusade. They marched south of the Danube to Varna; here the army of Murād inflicted on them a crushing defeat, in which King Ladislas of Hungary was killed. Again Murād II went back to Maghnisa, but in the following year a Janissary revolt broke out in Adrianople, and it was the vizier Khalīl who invited Murād to return a second time, as the young Meḥemmed did not seem to be able to face the situation.

During the last six years of his reign Murād led again several campaigns in the Balkan peninsula. In 850/1446 an action was undertaken against the Palæologi in the Morea (destruction of the Hexamilion, capture of Corinth and Patras); in 851/1447 against Albania, where the activity of Iskender Beg [*q.v.*] had begun in 847/1443; in 852/1448 he faced again a Hungarian invading army, which was beaten on the plain of Ḳoṣowa [*q.v.*] or Kosovo; and in 854/1450 he was again in Albania (siege of Croja). In that year Constantine Palæologus became, by the grace of Murād II, the last Byzantine Emperor, after the death of John. Shortly afterwards, in the first days of Muḥarram 855/February 1451, Murād died at Edirne. He was buried in Bursa at the side of his mosque (cf. Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, iii, 1856).

His reign was of extraordinary importance for the future political and cultural development of the Ottoman Empire. After the first critical years, he continued his father's work of consolidation. His aim was mainly to live on peaceful terms with the vassal princes, of whom the ruler of Sīnūb and the despot of Serbia gave their daughters to Murād. This peaceful policy was in concordance with his character; the Byzantine historians and other Christian sources decribe him as a truthful, mild and humane ruler. His most influential viziers were not yet the renegades of later times; they belonged to the old families that had supported the cause of Murād's forefathers and were becoming a kind of hereditary nobility: Ibrāhīm Pasha and Khalīl Pasha of the Djandarlî-Oghullarî (F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 92 ff.), Ḥādjdjī ʿIwaḍ Pasha (Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 154 ff.), the sons of Timurtash, of Ewrenos and others. The mystical tradition was strong in his surroundings, as is proved by the great influence of a man like the Shaykh Amīr Bukhārī; other *shaykhs* came to his court from Persia and ʿIrāḳ. This determined also the direction which classical Ottoman literature was to take in following centuries. Murād II was the first Ottoman prince whose court became a brilliant centre of poets, literary men and Muslim scholars. But also to non-Islamic envoys and visitors, Murād's court seemed a centre of culture (cf. Jorga, i, 464 ff., which description applies principally to Murād II). Amongst the sultan's buildings a mosque in Bursa (cf. H. Wilde, *Brusa*, 51) and one in Adrianople (the Üč Sherefeli Djāmiʿ), are notable (see G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 66 ff., 70-1, 93-100) and some large bridges. His army organisation is well-known from a full description by Chalcocondyles.

Bibliography: The older Turkish sources: Neshrī (Haniwaldanus), ʿĀshīḳ-Pasha-Zāde, Orudj, Rūḥī, Anonymus Giese, are completed by the Byzantine historians Phrantzes (who himself played a part in the diplomatic history of the time), Ducas and Chalcocondyles, and also by the later Ottoman authors Saʿd al-Dīn, ʿĀlī and Münedjdjim Bashî. A curious contemporary description is that of an unknown captive from Mühlenbach in Transylvania (captured in 1438) in his *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (cf. K. Foy, in *MSOS*, iv, v.).

General later descriptions of Murād II's reign in the works of von Hammer, *GOR*, i; Zinkeisen, i, and Jorga, i. See also F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna (1444)*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 229-65, iv (1951), 80; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index; Halil İnalcik, *The Ottoman empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 19-22; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 44-54, 308 (extensive bibl.); N. Vatin, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris 1989, 66-80 and index (extensive bibl.); C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 91-143; *İA*, s.v. (Inalcik)

(J.H. Kramers)

MURĀD III, twelfth Ottoman Sultan (ruled 982-1003/1574-95). He was born on 5 Djumāda I 953/4 July 1546 in the princely summer camp at Bozdağ Yayla near Manisa [*q.v.*] where his father, the later Sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*], resided as *sandjaḳ-begi*. His mother was the Venetian-born *khāṣṣekī* Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*].

His ceremonial circumcision took place at Manisa in April 1557. At the time, prince Selīm was appointed *sandjaḳ-begi* of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*] in 1558 and Sultan Süleymān I [*q.v.*] made his grandson *sandjaḳ-begi* of Aḳshehir. In 1561 Murād stayed with his grandfather in Istanbul, and in 1562, when his father fought the battle with his brother Prince Bāyezīd on the plain of Konya, Murād was in command at Konya castle. Afterwards he was made *sandjaḳ-begi* of Sarukhān, residing at Manisa like his father. Here he lived till his accession to the throne (1 Ramaḍān 982/15 December 1574). In this provincial town he was given a suitable court and household. He took the Albanian-born Ṣāfiye as his first consort. She was given to him by his cousin, the Princess Humā Shāh, in 1563, when she was probably thirteen years old. Early in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 973/20-29 May 1566, she gave him his first son, his later successor, Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], born likewise in the summer camp on Boz Dağ. Till he became sultan, Ṣāfiye, who also gave him two daughters, ʿĀʾishe (d. 1013/1605) and Fāṭima Sultān, probably remained Murād's only wife. In 1574 the influence of his mother, now at his side as *Wālide Sulṭān* [*q.v.*], became supreme. She and Murād's sister Esmākhān, married to the Grand Vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], prevailed upon him to diversify his erotic attentions. He only had one son alive then. Like his father and his son, Murad III was to remain subject to the *ḳadînlar salṭanatî* ('rule of women') all his ruling days.

During the years at Manisa, Murād formed lifelong

bonds of trust and companionship with members of his household, *e.g.* his tutor Khodja Saᶜd al-Dīn Efendi [*q.v.*], his finance director (*defterdār*) Ḳara Üweys Čelebi, and Rāḍiye "Kalfa", the controller of his harem, appointed by his mother. It was this latter woman who introduced the Khalwatī dervish, Sheykh Shüdjāᶜ, who had the reputation of being an excellent interpreter of dreams. In spite of this man's illiterate, ecstatic brand of mysticism and his morally corrupt character, he remained spiritual adviser to the prince all his life.

Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha and Nūr Bānū informed Murād of his father's death in secret in order to ensure a smooth succession. Immediately setting off for Istanbul and embarking at Mudanya in the first available vessel, the small open boat of the *Nishāndjī* Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*], he managed to reach the capital in five days, in spite of the raging winter gales. The day after his arrival, 21 December 1574, the death of the old sultan and the accession of the new one were publicly announced. The principal officers of state paid their homage (*bayᶜat resmi*) to their new ruler. The ceremonial burial of Selīm II and his five other sons, who had been strangled inside the saray that day, took place afterwards. Then the *Wālide Sulṭān* was ceremoniously established in the palace. On 11 Ramaḍān 982/25 December 1574, Murād III held his first council; eleven days later, he proceeded to the mosque of Eyyüb to be girded with the sword by the *sheykh ül-islām*, the *naḳīb ül-eshrāf* and the *silāhdār aghasī*. On the way back, the new sultan visited the tombs of his illustrious predecessors.

The accession of the new monarch led to the formation of a new palace faction which was set on countering the dominant position of the Grand Vizier, Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha. Its prominent members were the courtier Isfendiyār-oghlu Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha (Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlü) (d. 1580), who had already served Sultans Selīm I, Süleymān and Selīm II, and the Chief White Agha of the palace (*Bābüsseᶜādet Aghasī*, *Khāṣṣodabashī* Ghazanfer Agha, the Hungarian renegade who already had been a trusted companion of Murad's father (exec. 1603). Important females of this group were the *Kahyā Ḳadīn* ("Mistress of the Harem") Djanfedā Khātūn, a creature of Nūr Bānū, and the latter's "*kira*" ("Jewish Agent"), Esperanza Malchi. The members of the inner circle at Manisa joined this faction. In 1577 Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 1580 [*q.v.*]) joined as well.

It was their influence that led to the war with Ṣafawid Persia (1578-90). The sultan was persuaded not to leave his capital but to appoint a Commander in-chief (*serdār-i ekrem*) in his stead. The imperial tent (*oṭagh-i hümayūn*) was, however, sent afield.

The conduct of foreign policy likewise was left in the hands of the viziers and the harem clique since the death of Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha in 1579. The involvement of Nūr Bānū and her *kira* in the diplomatic relations with Venice and France is evident from extant letters. Ṣāfiye and her *kira* wrote letters to Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1593.

Till her death on 7 December 1583, the *Wālide Sulṭān* reigned supreme over the palace of her son. Ṣāfiye succeeded to this power immediately, and retained her influence on affairs till her death in 1014/1605 [see MEḤEMMED III].

The hidjra year 1000 (A.D. 1591-2) with its messianic expectations of impending doom, actually did come to pass in a period of interior troubles in Ṭarābulus Gharb [*q.v.*], Yemen, Lebanon and the Danubian states, whilst widespread social unrest was caused by the change in the position of the empire in the world economy.

The Sultan occasionally interfered in the government of his realm. Dismissals of viziers and appointments were mostly effected at the instigation of the palace clique. The careers of Khodja Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*], three times his Grand Vizier, Siyāwush Pasha [*q.v.*] also three times vizier, Özdemir-oghlu ᶜOthmān Pasha [*q.v.*] and Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*], are in evidence. Revolts of the Janissary Corps and Sipahis of the Porte were especially awe-inspiring. The so-called "Beglerbegi Incident" of 16 Djumādā I 997/2 April 1589, made a direct impact on Murād III's private life. He had to sacrifice the life of one of his most trusted *muṣāḥibs* or boon-companions, Doghandjī Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Rumeli (by origin an Armenian *dewshirme* boy from Zeytun, see KHALĪL PASHA, KAYṢARIYYELI). Together with the *defterdār* Maḥmūd Efendi, who also was executed, he had operated a depreciation of the silver *aḳča*, debasing its content by half. The consequent rise of prices caused the troops to revolt, to refuse pay and to demand the heads of those whom they held responsible for their plight.

Murād's limited interferences seems to have occurred as result of conflicts of rival parties in the palace which were deeply involved in petty politics and the systematic sale of offices. The promptings of the war party led by Sinān Pasha are a case in point: they wanted war against the Habsburg empire. The vizier Ferhād Pasha, his rival, supported by *inter alios* Khodja Saᶜd al-Dīn Efendi, opposed war. Murād III convened an extraordinary council to debate the question (according to an eyewitness account reported by Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 132-3). Sinān Pasha's side gained the upper hand and the "Long War" between Sultan and Emperor began on 4 Shawwāl 1001/4 June 1593.

Murād III died on 6 Djumādā I, 1003/16 January 1595, 49 years old, in his palace, probably because of a stomach illness. His death had been presaged by dreams of his astrologer and announced by bad omens, according to contemporary historians (Selānikī, *Taʾrikh*, new ed. i, 425-8; ᶜAlī, quoted in Fleischer, 151-2). His death was kept secret. The new *Wālide Sulṭān* Ṣāfiye wished her son Meḥemmed to succeed to the throne in an indisputable manner, and thus to continue her "Woman's Sultanate".

Murād III is buried in his beautiful *türbe* situated next to the Aya Sofya, which contains 54 coffins of his wives and children. Next to it stands a small *türbe*, where his 19 sons who were executed at the accession of their brother Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*], lie.

Murād III was a keen swordsman, archer and horseman. His particular craft was the making of arrows. He seems to have had a generous and kind hearted personality. He was not cruel; he never had dismissed viziers executed; and he argued at length against having his younger brothers killed at the time of his accession. Nor was he addicted to drink. He rather liked to spend a great deal of his time in the harem. Next to his lifelong principal favourite Ṣāfiye, he probably took forty *khāṣṣekīs* into his bed. At the time of his death, 49 of his children were alive, and seven of his women were pregnant. He filled his palace with clowns, dwarfs and mutes. All kinds of festivities were arranged in the saray, as well as in other palaces and pavilions along the Bosphorus. Murād also liked to enjoy the civilised company of his *muṣāḥibs* who, as a rule, remained with him for life. The most noteworthy of celebrations organised for him was the series of ceremonies surrounding the circumcision of his son Meḥemmed (*sur*) which lasted for two months till 1 Radjab 990/22 July 1582.

Women played an important part in his life. Next to his mother and his principal *khāṣṣeki*, his sisters

Esmākhān (1545-85) the wife first of Ṣokollu Meḥmed Pasha and then of Ḳalaylîḳoz ʿAlī Pasha (d. 1587); Fāṭima (d. 1580), married to Siyāwush Pasha; Djewher-i Mülük, married to the admiral Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] (d. 1578) and later to Meḥmed Pasha; and Shāh (d. 1580), wife to Čaḳîrdjî Bashî Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1574) and to Zal Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 1580); all played their roles in palace politics. Some of his daughters rose to prominence, especially those born of Ṣāfiye: ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān (d. 1013/1605), wife to Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 1601) and then to Yemîshčî Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1012/1602), Fakhriyye (d. 1051/1641) and Fātima, happily married to the admiral Khalīl Pasha the Elder (d. 1012/1603) and then to Djaʿfer Pasha (d. 1018/1609).

Murād III led an active spiritual life. He was deeply involved in the esoteric forms of popular mysticism as well as astrology, cosmology and numerology. Hence a book on Naḳshbandī hagiography of 1420 was translated for him from the original Persian by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who likewise wrote a commentary on five mystical verses of the sultan. Murād III's principal mystic affiliation was with the Khalwetī order of dervishes [see KHALWATIYYA].

Under the *makhlaṣ* Murādī, he was a minor Ottoman poet of mystic verse. He also wrote probably a theological treatise *Futūḥāt al-ṣiyām* ("The revelations of fasting") (? contained in a *medjmūʿa* ms., Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi Ktp. 1901, dated 993 A.H.). His *dīwān* contains Arabic and Persian as well as Turkish verses. He was an active man of letters and favoured a number of writers, poets, historians, theologians and scientists, i.a. the poets Bāḳī (1526-1600 [*q.v.*]), Newʿī (1533-90 [*q.v.*]), who was a tutor to his younger sons, and the historians his Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn and ʿĀlī, who in 1569 at Manisa already was ordered to write a sex handbook (*bāhnāme*) for the education of Prince Meḥemmed, then two years old. The rhymed chronicles of the *shehnāmedjis* Seyyid Loḳmān and Taʿlīḳīzāde, written by order, derive their lasting importance from their splendid miniature painting illustrations Loḳmān's *Shehinshehnāme* and *Zübdet üt-tewārīkh* are wholly or partly devoted to the history of Murad III. Loḳmān and ʿĀlī wrote *inter alia* a *surnāme*, being descriptions of the circumcision festivities of 1582 and in fact a new literary genre. Magnificently illustrated copies exist.

Murād III was also a patron of architecture. The last mosque complex designed by Sinān [*q.v.*] is the Murādiyye at Manisa, built between 1583 and 1593. Splendidly decorated building took place inside Topkapî Sarayî, in Murad's private apartments, e.g. the Alay Köshkü was added to the palace by his command, as well as the Sinān Pasha Köshkü at the seaside facing Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The patriarchal church of St. Mary Pammacaristos was turned into the Fetḥiyye Djāmiʿi in 1586 to celebrate the recent conquests in Georgia and Adharbāydjān. Restoration and extension works were done at Mecca and Medina, e.g. to the walls of the Kaʿba in 983/1573.

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(A.H. DE GROOT)

MURĀD IV, seventeenth Ottoman sultan (1021-49/1612-40, reigned 1032-49/1623-40).

Born in Istanbul in a palace on the Bosphorus on 28 Djumādā I 1021/27 July 1612, son of the reigning sultan Aḥmed I [*q.v.*] and his principal consort, *khaṣṣekī*, Kösem [*q.v.*] Māhpeyker, a woman of Greek origin (Anastasia, 1585-1651). He grew up in the palace together with his brother İbrāhīm, confined in the *ḳafes* apartments, since he was five years old. The princes Süleymān, Ḳāsîm and İbrāhīm were his full brothers, and he had two full sisters ʿĀʾishe Sulṭān and Fāṭima Sulṭān. In 1032/1623 the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh ʿAlī Pasha (1623-4) in agreement with the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Zakariyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi and his already very influential mother, decided to depose Sultan Muṣṭafā again and to put young Murād in the place of his uncle. This being the fourth accession in six years, the *djülūs bakhshīshi* was dispensed with for once. The day after the accession (16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/11 September 1623), Murād IV was girded with the sword at Eyyūb by the venerated mystic of Üsküdār, Sheykh (ʿAzīz Maḥmūd) Hüdāʾī (d. 1038/1628 [*q.v.*]), with the *Sheykh ül-Islām*, the *naḳīb ül-ashrāf* and the *silāḥdār agha* also attending. Being too young to rule, the Wālide Sulṭān exercised power as the virtual head of state. To the great joy of the members of the household, the 16-year old Murād IV for the first time slept with a woman, a 13-year old slave girl, presented to him by his sister ʿĀʾishe (wife to the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha) on *ca.* 4 April 1626 (cf. the Dutch ambassador Haga's despatch of 4 April 1626, SG 6898 ARA-General Record Office The Hague). On 25 August 1628 Murād IV took a former consort of his brother and predecessor ʿOthmān II [*q.v.*], called Ḳalender, as his principal bedfellow (cf. Haga's despatch of 16 September 1628, SG 6899 ARA).

In Shawwāl 1041/May 1632, Murād's personal

rule began. Till then he had merely followed events and reacted upon them privately, e.g. the famous exchange in verse between him and the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, in trouble at the siege of Baghdād (1626). (cf. Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 207-8, 248-51). Aware of a series of rebellions and troubles in the capital, he became restive. Together with the *ḳizlar aghasi* Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha he began to make tours through the city in disguise to become acquainted with the true state of affairs.

An army mutiny broke out in Radjab 1041/February 1632. Probably instigated by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Redjeb Pasha, the soldiers marched to the palace and demanded the heads of the Grand Vizier, the *Sheykh ül-Islām*, the Janissary Agha and the Sultan's companion (*muṣāḥıb*) Mūsā Čelebi, etc. Murād had to make concessions, including sacrifice of the Grand Vizier Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha. The revolt lasted till May. At one point, most ominously, the insurgents demanded to see the princes Bāyezīd, Süleymān, Ḳāsim and Ibrāhīm, and heads of other prominent courtiers were demanded. But the rebels could not agree about the deposition of the sultan, and the new Agha of Janissaries, Köse Meḥmed, remained however loyal. At the meeting of the *dīwān* on 18 Shawwāl 1041/18 May 1632, the sultan moved quickly. He invited Topal Redjeb Pasha, now Grand Vizier, into the private apartments and had him strangled. The corpse was brought outside the palace for the insurgents to see. The new Grand Vizier, Tabanī yassī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], a protégé of the *ḳizlar aghasi* Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha, assisted the sultan in the suppression of the revolt. An extraordinary *dīwān* meeting was held in a *köshk* outside the palace. All loyal elements made an act of obedience which was recorded in a special *ḥükm-i hümāyūn* (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 119-25), and law and order were restored.

Murād continued to feel extremely suspicious and afraid of treason in his immediate surroundings, so that his intimates thus often fell victim to his distrust. Thus his counsellor Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] was dismissed and condemned to be publicly hanged in 1633, but was pardoned at the last moment and his sentence commuted to exile in Cyprus (cf. Haga's despatch, 2 July 1633, publ. in *Kronijk Historisch Genootschap Utrecht* [1867], 434). Not so lucky were the poet Nefʿī [*q.v.*], summarily executed on 8 Shaʿbān 1044/1635, and Ābāza Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] on 29 Ṣafar 1044/1634. The harsh régime of the young sultan was supported by a radical section of Muslim society led by Ḳāḍīzāde Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1635), a preacher of the Aya Sofya mosque. The closure of all coffeehouses and the renewed prohibition of tobacco smoking were a result. Opposition by more liberal-minded *ʿulamāʾ* led to draconic measures against the *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*] in general and to the execution of the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Akhīzāde Ḥüseyin Efendi on Radjab 1043/10 January 1634.

Having established his personal authority, Murād decided to reassert Ottoman power in relation to the neighbouring states. On 4 Ramaḍān 1044/21 February 1635, the imperial tent was set up in Üsküdār, and a month later (9 Shawwāl/28 March) the army left for Eriwan [see REWĀN] under command of the sultan. On 10 Ṣafar 1045/29 July 1635 the army arrived before the Safawid fortress at Eriwan. After the first attack, the sultan took great personal care of the well-being of his wounded soldiers. The Janissaries received medical treatment under his supervision and an extra payment (*merhem-bahā*) was distributed. After eight days, the fortress surrendered. Its commander Emirgūne-oghlu Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī Khān was received with all honours and the sultan recruited him into his service and gave him the appointment of *beglerbegi* of Ṭarābulus-Shām. Soon afterwards, the new Emirgüne-oghlu Yūsuf Pasha came to live at Istanbul, where Murād IV presented him with a palace and a pleasure garden on the Bosphorus (Emirgān).

While still on campaign, the sultan ordered the killing of his brothers Bāyezīd and Süleymān at the time, when the news from Eriwan reached the capital. In Rabīʿ II 1045/October 1635 he fell ill and retreated to Wan and via Bitlis to Diyār Bakr. Emirgüne-oghlu Yūsuf was awaiting him at İzmid, and upon his return to the capital, the victory celebrations lasted seven days and nights.

Next year, Murād ordered a counter offensive, since Eriwan in the meantime had fallen into Persian hands again. A peace offer by Shāh Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42 [*q.v.*]) was turned down, with the counterdemand of the surrender of Baghdād.

Having put to death his brother Ḳāsim (23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1047/8 April 1638), the sultan, accompanied by *Sheykh ül-Islām* Zakariyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi and the *Ḳapudān-pasha*, left for Baghdad. Murād's progress was a long bloody dispensation of rough justice on local oppressors, and he acquired among the common people the fame of a *mahdī* in the Arab provinces.

On 8 Radjab 1048/15 November 1638 Murād IV came before Baghdad. Forty days after the siege began, the Persian commander surrendered with all honours. The restoration of the town and fortifications was begun immediately. A sick man, the sultan left for home on 12 Ramaḍān 1048/17 January 1639. Half-paralysed from the middle downwards for a time, he had to rest at Diyār Bakr, where he had left behind his *khaṣṣeki*. Rumours of his death began to spread, but somewhat recuperated, he marched again. A quarrel between his *khaṣṣeki sulṭān* and the wife of the famous local mystic (Rūmī) Urmiyā Sheykhi Maḥmūd led to the latter's execution (Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 461 ff.).

Travelling overland till Izmid and then by galley, Murād landed at the seraglio on 8 Ṣafar 1049/10 June 1639, and insisted on a triumphal entry into his capital two days later.

In the meantime, peace was concluded between the Ottomans and the Ṣafawids, and the treaty of Ḳaṣr Shīrīn of 14 Muḥarram 1049/17 May 1639 meant a lasting peace. The sultan reacted violently upon the Venetian attack destroying the Algero-Tunisian squadron in the harbour of Awlonya [*q.v.*]. Diplomacy, however, prevailed and new capitulations given to Venice ensured peace in the West two months later.

Murād regained his health to the extent that he dared to go out hunting again, but was advised to stop his heavy drinking and other dissipations.

He could still receive congratulations on 1 Shawwāl 1049 in the Sinan Köshk. He watched horse races in the hippodrome and again took to drinking in the company of his intimates, Silāḥdār Mūsā Pasha and Emirgüne-oghlu Yūsuf Pasha. But he fell seriously ill next day, lost consciousness and died on 16 Shawwāl 1049/Thursday 8 February 1640, being buried in his father's *türbe* in the complex of the Blue Mosque.

According to contemporary sources (Ottoman and Venetian), Murād IV was a man of tall stature, broad shouldered, of majestic and beautiful appearance. He had a light black beard, hazel eyes and possessed an extraordinary bodily strength. He was an accomplished horseman, swordsman, archer, pikeman and *djerīd*-thrower.

He had at least sixteen children, among whom were

five sons who all died before their father. His daughter Kaya Ismikhān married the Grand Vizier Melek Aḥmed Pasha; Rukiyye married Sheytān (Melek) Ibrāhīm Pasha; and Ḥāfiẓe married Ḥüseyin Pasha. According to contemporary Western sources (e.g. Rycaut), the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem Māhpeyker prevented him from having his sole surviving brother Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], who now succeeded him, executed.

During his reign he spent little attention on pious foundations, but the Rewān and Baghdād kiosks in the seraglio are monuments to his good taste, and he further built garden palaces at Kandilli and Üsküdār (Istawroz).

Murād possessed some literary talent and was actively interested in artistic debate. His *salon* was a meeting place for leading men of letters such as the *Sheykh ul-Islām* Yaḥyā; Nefʿī [*q.v.*] wrote numerous *kaṣīdes* to the sultan and his horses. Ṭiflī Čelebi was the *shehnāmedji*. His most famous favourite is, of course, Ewliyāʾ Čelebi [*q.v.*]. A number of *naṣīḥat* works, including those by Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*] are evidence for his political and moral interests. He was a talented calligrapher. According to Ewliyāʾ Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 257) he used to discuss theological subjects on Friday evenings and to listen to *ilāhīs*, *sāz*-players and singers on Saturday nights.

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(A.H. de Groot)

MURĀD V, thirty-third Ottoman Sultan, who ruled for ninety-three days, from 31 May until 7 September 1876.

He was born on 21 September 1840, as the eldest son of Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*]. According to the Ottoman system of succession, he was crown prince during the rule of his uncle, Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76 [*q.v.*]). The latter, however, intended to change the line of succession in favour of his own offspring. Therefore, he deprived Murād of all influence in public affairs. Partly as a result of the way he was treated by his uncle, Murād, who had had a comparatively enlightened education, established contact with the liberal-democratic opposition movement of the Young Ottomans from the founding of that movement in 1865 onwards. He was especially close to Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*]. The Young Ottoman leaders Nāmiḳ Kemal and Ḍiyā Pasha acted as intermediaries between Prince Murād and Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], the leading Ottoman reformer. When Midḥat Pasha, together with Ḥusayn ʿAwnī and Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha decided to carry out a coup d'état against the reactionary régime of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and to depose him, Murād was informed beforehand. After the coup, on 30 May 1876, Murād was raised to the throne as Sultan Murād V.

Before his accession, Murād had promised to promulgate a constitution as soon as possible, and it seemed as if the Young Ottoman programme (constitution and parliament) would now be implemented in full. Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyā Pasha were appointed as palace secretaries. Once on the throne, however, Murād listened rather to Rüshdī Pasha, who urged caution and instead of a concrete promise of a constitution, as advocated by Midḥat Pasha and the Young Ottomans, only a vague statement on reforms was included in the *Khaṭṭ-i Hümāyūn* after the accession.

On 5 June 1876, the former sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz committed suicide. Then, on the 15th, a Circassian army captain called Ḥasan, motivated by personal grievances, shot and killed Ḥusayn ʿAwnī Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rāshīd Pasha and several others during a cabinet meeting. This changed the balance of power in favour of the more radical reformers. On 15 July the first meeting of the new Grand Council decided to proclaim a constitution, but this could not be carried through because of the rapidly deteriorating mental state of Sultan Murād.

Murād, who had already become an alcoholic by this time, had shown signs of extreme nervousness when he was taken from the palace on the night of 30 April-1 May in order to receive the oath of allegiance from the high dignitaries of state at the Porte (he was convinced that he was being taken to his execution). The suicide of his uncle and the murder of several members of his cabinet seem to have led to a severe nervous breakdown. After having the Sultan's health examined by Ottoman and foreign medical experts, the cabinet had to conclude that he was unfit to rule. It first tried to get the Sultan's younger brother, Ḥamīd Efendi, to act as regent, but on his refusal had no choice but to depose Murād and replace him with his brother, who ascended the throne as ʿAbd al-Hamīd II on 1 September 1876. Murād was taken to the Čirāghān palace on the Bosphorus, where he continued to live in captivity for nearly thirty years. On 20 May 1878, after ʿAbd al-Hamīd had prorogued parliament, a group led by the Young Ottoman activist ʿAlī Suʿāwī made an unsuccessful attempt to execute a coup d'état and liberate Murād. After that, the prince was kept under even closer guard, and any mention of Murād or any reference to his condition was prohibited by the Ḥamīdian censorship. Murād died on 29 August 1904.

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(E.J. Zürcher)

MURĀD BAKHSH, Muḥammad, fourth and

youngest son of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān [*q.v.*], born on 25 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1033/28 September 1624 and died 1072/1661. He was given a *manṣab* of 10,000/4,000 in 1048/1639, and after a year, of 10,000/7,000, being promoted in 1051/1641 to 12,000/8,000 (2,000 × 2-3h). His first important assignment came in 1052/1642 when he was appointed *ṣūbadār* of Multān [*q.v.*]. In 1055/1645 he received the rank of 12,000/10,000 (2,000 × 2-3h). He led the Mug̲h̲al army to Balk̲h̲ and Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān in D̲j̲umādā I 1056/June 1646, but after a successful campaign abandoned his command without permission and returned to India in Rad̲j̲ab 1056/August 1646. He was deprived of his rank and dismissed from the governorship of Multān, but the same year was pardoned and restored to his rank. In 1057/1647 he was appointed as *ṣūbadār* of Kas̲h̲mīr and in 1058/1648 as *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan. His term there was short, and in 1060/1650 he was appointed *ṣūbadār* of Kābul and in 1061/1651 of Mālwa. In 1064/1654 he received appointment to Gud̲j̲arāt and was promoted to the rank of 12,000/10,000 (5,000 × 2-3h). S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān fell ill in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1067/September 1657, and Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ crowned himself Emperor in Ṣafar 1068/November 1657 at Aḥmadābād. In 1068/1658 Awrangzīb and Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ entered into an agreement in which Awrangzīb promised his brother the Pand̲j̲āb, Multān, Thaffa, Kas̲h̲mīr and Kābul in the event of success. In Rad̲j̲ab 1068/April 1658, their joint armies united to inflict a defeat on the Imperial force at Dharmat. This was followed by Dārā S̲h̲ukūh's [*q.v.*] defeat at Sāmūgaṛh. The two brothers occupied Āgrā, the capital, but Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ was treacherously seized by Awrangzīb at Mathurā [*q.v.*] and sent as captive to Salīmgaṛh fort (Dihlī) then in 1069/1659 to Gwāliyār [*q.v.*]. In 1072/1661 he was executed on the charge of having murdered his *dīwān* ʿAlī Naḳī in 1067/1657. Murād Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ was reputed for his dash and bravery, but was apparently a poor administrator.

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MURĀD ḤĀD̲J̲D̲J̲Ī [see s̲h̲āmil].

MURĀD PAS̲H̲A, ḲUYUD̲J̲U, Ḳod̲j̲a, (*ca.* 928-1020/*ca.* 1520-1611), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Aḥmed I.

A *dews̲h̲irme* [*q.v.*] boy of Croat origin, he received his education in the imperial palace. His career began under patronage of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, the *beglerbegi* of Yemen and Egypt. Between 1560 and 1565 he was the latter's *ketk̲h̲udā*. In Egypt, Murād also held the office of *amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, which opened the way to public high office. In 983/1576 Murād (Pasha) became *beglerbegi* of Yemen himself for about four years. Dismissed in 988/1580 because of corruption, he was summoned to the capital and landed in Yedi Kule prison for a short time. Afterwards, he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Ṭarābulus-S̲h̲ām. In 993/1585 he joined the Tabrīz campaign, being *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān and second-in-command to the *serdār-i ekrem* Özdemir-og̲h̲lu ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. In a battle with the troops of the Persian commander Ḥamza Mīrzā, he was taken prisoner. He was set free at the conclusion of peace in 998/1590 and was made governor-general of Cyprus (999/1590), of Tarābulus-S̲h̲ām (1000/1592), of Damascus (S̲h̲ām) in 1001/1593 and of Diyār Bakr in 1003/1595 (Selānīkī gives 1005/1597). In this capacity, he took part in the Eğri campaign of 1596. He distinguished himself in the Battle of Mező-Keresztes [*q.v.*] in Hungary (1005/1596). He remained at the front and on 21 Rabīʿ I 1008/11 October 1599 was a member of the Ottoman delegation holding peace talks with the Imperial envoys, together with the *ṣadāret ketk̲h̲udasi̊* Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a and a representative of the K̲h̲ān of the Crimea at Vácz (Waitzen) and at Parkanzy (Čiğerdelen).

After the accession of Sultan Aḥmed I (17 Rad̲j̲ab 1012/21 December 1603 [*q.v.*]), Murād Pas̲h̲a was appointed *beglerbegi* of Rumeli and given the function of military governor of Buda (T. Budīn [*q.v.*]). On 28 D̲j̲umādā II 1014/12 October 1605 he became as Fourth Vizier a member of the imperial *dīwān*. When the Grand Vizier and *serdār* of the Western Front Lala Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] died (15 Muḥarram 1015/23 May 1606), Murād Pas̲h̲a, by now one of the most experienced commanders in the field, was made Commander-in-Chief in Hungary (*Engürüs Serdārī*). In this capacity he began to work towards peace. As a result, a treaty of peace was negotiated at Zsitvatorok on 17 D̲j̲umādā II-10 Rad̲j̲ab 1015/20 October-11 November 1606. Peace in the West made it possible for the Ottoman government to direct its forces to the East, where Anatolia was ravaged by the so-called D̲j̲elālī revolts [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and where the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629) had started a war in 1603. A month after concluding the peace in Hungary, Murād Pas̲h̲a received his appointment as Grand Vizier (10 S̲h̲aʿbān 1015/11 December 1606). The advice of the *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-islām* Ṣunʿullāh Efendi seems to have been decisive in the matter. "Old" (*Ḳod̲j̲a*) Murād Pas̲h̲a immediately left his headquarters at Belgrade and arrived at Istanbul on 15 S̲h̲awwāl 1015/13 February 1607: "this man hath continued ever since to the greate good of that estate raised from death to life by his wisdome and good fortune being indeede wise and a ancient souldier", was the commentary of the English ambassador Henry Lello.

Appointed *serdār* in the East, the new Grand Vizier left Üsküdār on 6 Rabīʿ I 1016/2 July 1607 for his campaign against the rebels in Anatolia and Syria; Ḳalenderog̲h̲lu Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] near Ankara, Muslu Čāwus̲h̲ at Silifke and the main target, the insurgent D̲j̲anbulāṭog̲h̲lu ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, who dominated an area from Aleppo to Adana. Having put out of action D̲j̲anbulāṭ's follower D̲j̲ems̲h̲īd near Adana, Murād Pas̲h̲a met the chief rebel pas̲h̲a himself in battle in the Oruč Owasi̊ near Baylān in the region of Anṭākya (2 Rad̲j̲ab 1016/23 October 1607). The united forces of D̲j̲anbulāṭ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and the other renowned rebel Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] were defeated and for the greater part massacred. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a managed to escape, at first to Aleppo and then to Istanbul, where he received a pardon from the Sultan and was made *beglerbegi* of Temes̲h̲wār (Temesvár), but Murād Pas̲h̲a had him executed soon after at Belgrade. One prominent prisoner, D̲j̲anbulāṭ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's treasurer, the young Ābāza Meḥmed [*q.v.*], was spared upon the intercession of the Janissary *Ag̲h̲a*, K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a Ḳaysariyyeli [*q.v.*], who took him into his personal service.

Murād Pas̲h̲a re-established government control in

the province of Aleppo. Next season he left to march against Ḳalenderoghlu Meḥmed, and reached Alačayir in the Göksün Yayla, where the rebel forces had concentrated with 20,000 men and 20 pieces of artillery (*shāhī ḍarbzan*). The aged Grand Vizier took personally part in the fighting (July or 5 August 1608 acc. to various sources). Ḳalenderoghlu was defeated, but escaped into Ṣafawid territory. On 21 Djumādā I 1017/2 September 1608 the remaining Djelālī leader Ṭawīl-oghlu Muṣṭafā ("Birāder-i ṭawīl", alias "Maymūn") was caught in battle at the pass of Ḳara Ḥasan near Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī [see SHĀBĪN ḲARAḤIṢĀR]. Mass executions followed all over Anatolia.

Having been far away from the capital a long time, the Grand Vizier decided to return thither in spite of the Sultan's order to remain in winter quarters in eastern Asia Minor, and entered Istanbul on 10 (or 21?) Ramaḍān 1017/ 18 (or 29) December 1608. The next season, Murād Pasha marched against the remaining Djelālī rebels in the regions of Aydïn [*q.v.*], Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] and Silifke (İčel [*q.v.*]). Both Yūsuf Pasha and Muslu Čāwush were taken prisoner and executed.

The following year, on 1 Rabīᶜ I 1019/24 May 1610, he set out to meet Shāh ᶜAbbās in battle and to reconquer the territories lost in Transcaucasia. In Erzurūm [*q.v.*] on 27 Djumādā II 1010/16 September 1610 he received Shams al-Dīn Aḳa, ambassador of Shāh ᶜAbbās, who carried his master's proposals for peace on basis of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555). The Ottoman demand was restitution of all territory formerly conquered by Sultan Murād III [*q.v.*]. Murād Pasha marched on to Kars, but did not break off negotiations. Avoiding a military confrontation, he marched on via Čāldirān [*q.v.*] Khōy and Salmās to Tabrīz, which city was evacuated by the Shāh. North of Tabrīz at Adjï Čay the two armies came face-to-face. (11 November 1610). Negotiations were resumed, but no agreement reached. Shāh ᶜAbbās's playing for time placed Murād Pasha in a difficult position. He could no longer remain in the field at such a distance from his base. He withdrew with the army to Diyār Bakr (29 Shaᶜbān 1019/16 November 1610). A Ṣafawid embassy was permitted to go to the Porte.

Next spring, Murād Pasha established his head-quarters at Čulek, where he died suddenly on 25 Djumādā I 1020/5 August 1611.

His surname Ḳuyudju is explained either by the pit (*ḳuyu*) in which he was found when taken prisoner of war in 1585 or by the pits which he had dug all over Anatolia to bury the dead rebels. (e.g. Naᶜīmā, confirming Pečewī)

He was buried in Istanbul in the *türbe* attached to the *medrese* which he had founded together with a *sabīl* in the Weznedjiler quarter near Shehzāde Bashï (nowadays housing the Department of Art History of Istanbul University).

A daughter of his is known to have married a *beglerbegi* of Buda, Ḳāḍīzāde ᶜAlī Pasha.

Murād Pasha was a devout Muslim and member of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] order of derwishes. He supported convents of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and Shaᶜbāniyya as well. The young Abāza Meḥmed became his spiritual son and was buried after his execution in Murād Pasha's türbe.

Bibliography: *İA* art. s.v. (C. Orhonlu), with a listing of older, mainly Ottoman, sources and literature; H. Andreasyan, *Abaza Mehmed Paşa*, in *TD*, xii (1967), 131-42; O. Burian (ed.), *The Report of Lello*, Ankara 1952, 27-8; Comte Th. de Gontaut-Biron, (ed.) *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut-Biron baron de Salignac 1605-1610*, 2 vols., Paris 1888-9; W.J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1590-1620*, Berlin 1983; A.H. de Groot *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic ... 1610-1630*, Leiden-Istanbul 1978, 52-6, 68, 185, 277-8, 287, 307; H.J. Kissling, *Šaᶜbān Veli und die Šaᶜbānijje*, in H.J. Kissling and A. Schmaus (eds.), *Serta Monacensia*, Leiden 1952 86-109; K. Nehring, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, Munich 1983; Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, 2 vols., ed. M. Ipşirli, Istanbul 1989; ᶜOthmānzāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, repr. Freiburg 1969, 55-9; *Ölümün üçyüzellinci yılında Nefʾî*, Ankara 1987.

(A.H. DE GROOT)

MURĀD SU(YU) [see AL-FURĀT].

MURĀDĀBĀD, a district in the Rohilkhand division in the north-west of Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union (formerly the United Provinces of British India), with an area of 2,290 sq. miles/5,930 km² and a population (1961 census) of 1,973,530 of whom 62% were at that time Hindu and 37% Muslim, the latter being stronger in the rural areas than the urban centres; the concentration of Muslims, almost wholly Sunnīs, is one of the thickest in the whole of Uttar Pradesh. Almost all the population is either Hindi- or Urdu-speaking. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. In the Islamic period it was successively ruled by the Sultans of Dihlī, from whom it was occasionally taken by the Sultans of Djawnpūr, the Mughals, the Rohillas and the Nawwābs of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]) until it was ceded to the British in 1801.

Murādābād is also the name of one of the six component subdistricts (*taḥṣīls*) of the district and that of the principal town of the district, lying 95 miles/120 km east of Dihlī in lat. 28°50′N. and long. 78°45′ E. on the Dihlī-Bareilly road and on the main line of the Oudh-Rohilkhand railway. The town is a Mughal foundation of the second quarter of the 17th century. Its founder was Rustam Khān who also built the Djāmiᶜ Masdjid, as an inscription testifies, in 1041/1632. The town takes its name from Murād Bakhsh [*q.v.*], the ill-fated son of Shāh Djahān. It rapidly ousted Sambhal from its place as the chief town of the district. Its industries are flourishing (chiefly textiles and brasswork). It was a mint of the Mughal Emperors and also of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] during his invasion of India in 1760. During the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8, Murādābād was held by native troops who had rebelled on hearing of the outbreak in adjacent Meerut (Mīrāṭ [*q.v.*]), and the Muslim population of the whole district espoused the rebel cause enthusiastically. British authority was not fully restored till the end of April 1858. Thereafter, a regiment of the British Army was stationed there till 1897, when the cantonment was abandoned. In 1961, the town had a total population of 180,000, approximately one-third being Muslim.

Sambhal is a very ancient site but has lost much of the importance it possessed in mediaeval times. It has an old mosque, an interesting example of Indo-Muslim architecture which has even been claimed as a converted Hindu temple. It is said to have been built by Bābur but it is undoubtedly earlier. Amrōhā was formerly the great Muslim centre of the district, the majority of its population being Shaykhs and Sayyids. The chief saint of the Sayyids is Sharaf al-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, an alleged descendant of the tenth Imām, who came here about 699/1300. His tomb is still

shown here. The Djāmiᶜ Masdjid is a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in the reign of the Dihlī Sultan Muᶜizz al-Dīn Kaykubād. It is much visited by pilgrims, mainly Hindus who seek relief from mental diseases through the power of Ṣadr al-Dīn, a former *muʾadhdhin* of the mosque, whose virtues are still believed to be efficacious. There are over a hundred other mosques in the town.

Bibliography: *District gazetteers of the U.P. Vol. XVI. Moradabad*, by H.R. Nevill, Allahabad 1911, and Vols. B,C,D, 1914, 1928, 1934; *Uttar Pradesh district gazetteers. Moradabad*, ed. E.B. Joshi, Allahabad 1968.

(J. ALLAN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MURĀDĪ [see MURĀD III and MURĀD IV].

AL-**MURĀDĪ**, the name of a family of sayyids and scholars established at Damascus in the 11th-12th/17-18th centuries.

1. The founder of the family, MURĀD B. ᶜALĪ AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, born 1050/1640, was the son of the *nakīb al-ashrāf* of Samarkand. He travelled in his youth to India, where he was initiated into the Nakshbandī *ṭarīka* by Shaykh Muḥammad Maᶜṣūm al-Fārūkī, and after extensive journeys through Persia, the Arab lands and Egypt settled in Damascus about 1081/1670. He subsequently made several visits to Mecca and Istanbul, where he acquired considerable influence, and died in the latter city in 1132/1720. He was an ardent missionary of the Nakshbandī order, and was instrumental in spreading it in the lands of the Ottoman empire, himself founding two *madrasas* for the purpose in Damascus. His literary works consisted mainly of treatises relating to the *ṭarīka*, and included a work on Kurʾānic exegesis, entitled *al-Mufrada al-Kurʾāniyya.*

2. MUḤAMMAD AL-MURĀDĪ, born at Istanbul in 1094/1683, son of Sayyid Murād, continued with marked success his father's missionary work in Syria and Turkey, and stood in high favour at the Ottoman court. He died at Damascus in 1169/1755. See Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muᶜdjam al-muʾarrikhīn al-dimashkiyyīn*, Beirut 1398/1973, 356.

3. ᶜALĪ AL-MURĀDĪ (1132-84/1720-71), and 4. ḤUSAYN AL-MURĀDĪ (1138-88/1725-74), sons of Sayyid Muḥammad, held in succession the offices of Ḥanafī Muftī and *raʾīs* of Damascus.

5. ABU 'L-MAWADDA MUḤAMMAD KHALĪL AL-MURADĪ, son of Sayyid ᶜAlī, succeeded his uncle as Ḥanafī *muftī* and *raʾīs* of Damascus and was appointed also to the office of *nakīb al-ashrāf* there. He devoted himself to the collection of biographical notices of his contemporaries and their predecessors, and on the basis of the personal information and written works available to him composed in Arabic a biographical dictionary of the notable men and scholars of the 12th century of the Hidjra, entitled *Silk al-durar fī aᶜyān al-karn al-thānī ᶜashar* (printed at Cairo in 4 volumes, 1291-1301). The work contains about 1,000 notices; in comparison with the work of his predecessor al-Muḥibbī [*q.v.*], it is more limited in range and somewhat more literary in style. A lengthier biography of his father and other relatives (*Maṭmaḥ al-wādjid fī tardjamat al-wālid al-mādjid*) is still extant in ms. B.L. Suppl. 659. Sayyid Muḥammad Khalīl deserves the credit also for encouraging al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] to undertake the composition of his history of Egypt (the statement in Brockelmann (see *Bibl.* below) that al-Djabartī translated al-Murādī's *Silk al-durar* into Arabic is apparently due to a misunderstanding of the colophon to vol. ii of the printed text). He died in Aleppo in 1206/1791. See al-Munadjdjid, *op. cit.*, 373-5.

6. ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-MURĀDĪ, son or cousin of the preceding, succeeded to the office of Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus, and was put to death in 1218/1803 on secret instructions from Djazzār Pasha [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, i, 3-4, ii, 70-2, iii, 219-28, iv, 114-16, 129-30; Djabartī, *ᶜAdjāʾib al-āthār*, ii, 233-6; Mikhāʾīl al-Dimashkī, *Taʾrīkh Ḥawādith al-Shām wa-Lubnān*, ed. Maᶜlūf, Beirut 1912, 12-13; Brockelmann, II², 379, S II, 404.

(H.A.R. GIBB)

MURĀKABA [see MUḤĀSABA. 1.].

MURAKKAᶜ (A.), lit. "that which is put together from several pieces", sc. an album. Unlike their European counterparts, who hung or attached their pictures on walls, Muslim connoisseurs and collectors mounted theirs in albums. In the classic *murakkaᶜ*, paintings and drawings alternate with specimens of calligraphy, the whole being generally provided with a handsome binding and sometimes with an illuminated frontespiece. These albums were usually large, the stiff pages having wide and often decorated margins. But considerable variety, both in size and quality, is encountered, from the large and lavish, such as the Clive Album in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to comparatively small and modest volumes put together by less wealthy collectors. Over the years the great majority of these albums have been broken up and their contents widely scattered.

It is difficult to say when this practice arose; no actual examples earlier than the 16th century have survived. But we find references in the literature to a *djung* (or *čung*, a term originally applied to the prophet Mānī's album of paintings) made for Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir at the end of the 14th century, and to another for Bāysunghur (*ca.* 1430); while the historian Khʷāndamīr [*q.v.*] preserves the preface to an album collected by the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*] at the end of the 15th century. So it would appear that the period of the *murakkaᶜ* (at least of those containing paintings as well as calligraphy) is coterminous with that of classical Persian painting.

The largest and finest range of complete albums is in the Topkapı Museum Library, Istanbul, and among them the best-known and most remarkable are those numbered H. 2152 and H. 2160. With these must be bracketed the Diez albums in the Berlin Library, which form part of the same series. This group of albums remains controversial, but it seems likely that they are the result of the Ottoman capture of Tabrīz in 1514, the contents of the royal *kitāb-khāna*, mostly inherited from the 15th century Turkmen rulers, but including a quantity of material from the Mongol period and earlier, being transported to the Turkish capital and hurriedly mounted in these albums. But they are far from typical. No order or system is observed: Turkmen, Djalāyirid and Mongol miniatures, drawings, rough sketches and fragments, European and Chinese drawings, specimens of calligraphy and pages of poetry jostle one another higgledy-piggledy, sometimes mounted sideways or even upside down, in these huge albums, and little or no margin is allowed. But most of the other Topkapı albums date from the later 16th century onwards, and are of the normal "classic" form. They include the celebrated album of Bahrām Mīrzā, in which he commissioned the court painter Dūst Muḥammad to mount a series of pictures to illustrate the history of painting. Dūst Muḥammad prefaced the album with an essay on the subject which remains our most important and reliable source. In making up such albums as this, especially at the behest of royal patrons, the compilers did not hesitate to plunder manuscripts in the royal library. Thus Bahrām

Mīrzā's album contains a miniature cut from the celebrated Khwādjū Kirmānī manuscript of 1396 (now British Library Add. 18113) which was then in the Ṣafawid library.

By about 1530 it was not uncommon for separate paintings and drawings to be produced expressly for mounting in albums. Much of the work of such painters as Muḥammadī, Shaykh Muḥammad and Ṣādiḳī is of this nature, and in the 17th century the best work of artists like Riḍā, Muḥammad Ḳāsim and Muʿīn is no longer to be found in manuscript illustrations but in album pictures. A number of magnificent albums were made for the Mughal emperors at the same period, and these sometimes contained one or two European prints in addition to Persian and Mughal paintings, drawings and calligraphy.

A splendid album from the end of the Ṣafawid period is preserved in Leningrad containing, in addition to much Indian (Mughal) work which was greatly admired at the time, elaborate figure compositions and meticulous flower paintings by Muḥammad Zamān and his contemporaries at the Ṣafawid court. The Topkapı Library possesses albums made up in the 18th and 19th centuries for the Ottoman sultans with works by Lewnī and other Turkish artists as well as examples of "thumb-nail" calligraphy, cut-out work, and other vagaries.

The practice of album compilation continued throughout the 19th century. Thus there is a splendid album of royal portraits put together for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and perhaps painted by Mihr ʿAlī; and another made for Nāṣir al-Dīn of miscellaneous (largely Ṣafawid) content appeared on the market not long ago.

Bibliography: The only publication that gives a good idea of a complete album is A.A. Ivanov, T.V. Grek and O.F. Akimushkin, *Albom indiiskikh i persidskikh miniatyur XVI-XVIII vv.*, ed. L.T. Gyuzalian, Moscow 1962 (with English summary of the text). The Istanbul and Berlin albums have been the subject of several publications, e.g. (Istanbul) M.S. Ipşiroğlu, *Painting and culture of the Mongols*, London 1965, and (Berlin) idem, *Saray-Alben*: *Diez'sche Kleberbände aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band VIII), Wiesbaden 1964, but these are concerned with the contents, and not the albums themselves.

(B.W. Robinson)

MURAḲḲISH, cognomen by which two pre-Islamic Arab poets are known, belonging to a family of which several members have made their mark in the history of poetry in the Arabic language.

1. The Elder, al-Akbar, was called either Rabīʿa, or ʿAwf, or even ʿAmr, the uncertainty deriving from the fact that his father, Saʿd b. Mālik b. Ḍubayʿa, had eleven sons (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 155) whom the historians and biographers may have confused; ʿAmr b. Saʿd seems however to be the form that should be retained. The Arab authors of the Middle Ages state that Muraḳḳish (and not al-Muraḳḳish, which is inadmissible) is a cognomen drawn, as is not uncommon (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alḳāb al-shuʿarāʾ*, 320; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 374; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets*, etc.), from one of the poet's verses, which would be the following: "The abode is deserted, and the relics resemble the fine marks that a pen has traced (*raḳḳasha*) on the back of a skin" (metre *basīṭ*, rhyme - *am*), but the question remains, whether this is in fact a genuine name or, at a pinch, a pseudonym, *Marḳus = Mark, which would not be at all surprising in the vicinity of the Christians of al-Ḥīra and in an individual who had blue eyes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 331) and who is moreover believed to have served as the secretary of a Ghassānid.

Muraḳḳish al-Akbar was a brave and resourceful soldier who took part, under his father's command, in the famous war of al-Basūs [*q.v.*] and in other conflicts between the Bakr and the Taghlib. Father L. Cheikho arbitrarily dates his death around the year 552 A.D.

He owes his reputation less to his poetical works than to the fact that he is reckoned one of the famous lovers (*ʿushshāḳ al-ʿArab*) and that he became, probably in the 2nd/8th century, the hero of an anonymous romance the text of which was still in circulation in the 4th/10th century, in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 525, *Kitāb M.r.ḳ.s wa-Asmāʾ*). This romance, of which the *Aghānī* supplies a fairly detailed version, may be summarised as follows: ʿAmr b. Saʿd wishes to marry his cousin Asmāʾ bint ʿAwf, who is also a childhood friend. The girl's father demands, as a condition of giving him her hand, that ʿAmr proves his worth but, during the absence of the latter, he finds a way of improving his situation, giving Asmāʾ in marriage to a wealthy Murādī. ʿAmr's brothers hide the truth from him on his return, declaring to him that his loved one is dead; to convince him, they show him her apparent tomb, which in fact contains the carcase of a goat which they have slaughtered for this purpose. Children playing in the vicinity betray the secret, and ʿAmr sets out in pursuit of the Murādī with a couple of slaves belonging to his household, but he falls ill during the journey, and his two companions abandon him in a cave. He has time to write on a saddle verses in which he describes his condition and, when the companions return to the family of Muraḳḳish, his brother Ḥarmala who, like him, has learned to write under the tutelage of a Christian of al-Ḥīra, deciphers the message and forces the two slaves, before killing them, to reveal to him the place where they have left their master. By a fortunate chance, the shepherd of the husband of Asmāʾ finds Muraḳḳish, who entrusts his ring to him, charging him to have it delivered to his loved one. The latter finds it in a jug of milk, recognises it, and sets out at once with her husband to succour the sick man; they take him back to their home, but he dies immediately after.

Anthologists have preserved about a dozen compositions comprising a total of 140 verses which evoke Asmāʾ and other women, military campaigns, the death of a cousin, the aggression of a Ghassānid against the Ḍubayʿa. Ibn Ḳutayba attributes to Muraḳḳish al-Akbar the invention of certain original themes and, in a verse quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, ii, 215), the purity of his language appears to be somehow proverbial. He is moreover considered by Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ (*apud* Ibn Sallām, 44) the best poet of the Djāhiliyya, a view contested by Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 80). However, the work attributed to him is not easily separated from that attributed to his nephew, especially since both led the same nomadic and warlike existence and benefited from the popularity of the romantic tales which were current in ʿIrāḳī society from the 2nd/8th century onward.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 155; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 103-5 (ed. Shākir, i, 162-5); *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 457-93; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 374-5, ii, 183, 215; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; *Aghānī*[3], vi, 127-35 (ed. Beirut, vi, 121, 8); Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 457-60, 484; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 201; Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 514-5; Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 282-92; N.H. al-Ḳaysī, *al-Muraḳḳish al-Akbar, akhbāruh wa-shiʿruh*, in *al-Arab*, iv/6 (1389/1970), 485-95; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 252

and index; idem, *Remarques sur deux élégiaques arabes du VI^e siècle de J.-C.*, in *Arabica*, vii/1 (1960), 30-40.

2. The Younger, AL-AṢGHAR, called Rabīʿa b. Sufyān (also known as ʿAmr b. Ḥarmala) was the nephew (and not the brother, as in the *Djamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī, Tab. 155) of the foregoing and the uncle of Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd [*q.v.*]. His cognomen is not explained, and the automatic assumption is that it was given to him later as an honour of some sort, but it could indeed reinforce the hypothesis according to which it is simply a variant of the name *Markus. Like his uncle, he was a Bedouin warrior who lived a nomadic existence in the region of al-Ḥīra. L. Cheikho dates his death to *ca.* 570 A.D. Also reckoned one of the famous lovers, he is the hero of a romance composed in the 2nd/8th century and comprising the following episodes: the princess Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān notices him and a slave of the latter, Hind bint ʿAdjlān, is charged with the task of bringing him to her in secret; she fulfils her mission, even carrying the young Bedouin on her back, and Fāṭima takes him as her lover. ʿAmr b. Djanāb pleads with Murakkish, who is his cousin and trusts him implicitly, for permission to take his place for one night with his paramour, but she discovers the deceit, expels the usurper and refuses to have anything more to do with the one whom she chose. Murakkish regrets having acceded to his cousins's request and finds himself dishonoured. This romance possibly draws its origin from a verse composition in *ṭawīl* metre and *-āʾimā* rhyme in which the poet expresses his regret at having lent himself to this substitution, but in any case, this is not an uncommon theme.

Among the half-dozen verse compositions attributed to him, a *ḥāʾiyya* forms part of the *Mudjamharāt*; in two of them, he sheds tears over the encampment abandoned by Hind bint ʿAdjlān (!); several comprise only very brief fragments, and there is one of them, of Bacchic theme, which is also attributed to ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See that of the previous section of the article; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 105-7 (ed. Shākir, 166-9); Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, Cairo 1345/1926, 310-13; *Aghānī*³, vi, 136-9 (ed. Beirut, vi, 129-33); Cheikho, *Naṣrāniyya*, 328-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

MURCIA [see MURSIYA].

MURDĀDH [see TAʾRĪKH].

AL-**MURDĀR**, ABŪ MŪSĀ ʿĪSĀ B. ṢUBAYḤ, a Muʿtazilī theologian from Baghdād who died in 226/840-1. He was a pupil of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir [*q.v.*], the founder of the Muʿtazilī school of Baghdād, and had discussions with fellow-Muʿtazilīs, among them Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.v.*]. According to the *Fihrist*, he wrote 35 treatises, mostly on Muʿtazilī themes: on the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*), on justice, knowledge, the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and theodicy; they include criticisms of his fellow-Muʿtazilīs al-Nadjdjār, Thumāma b. Ashras, al-Shaḥḥām and al-Naẓẓām. A few books are dedicated to the refutation of the Djahmiyya or predestinarians of the Christians, especially Theodore Abū Ḳurra, of the Jews (*al-aḥbār*) and the Magians; single treatises deal with juridical questions and with the arts of dialectic theology (*kalām*). Three titles, the *Book on Repentance* (*al-tawba*), the *Book on the Middle* (*Right*) *Way* (*K. al-Iḳtiṣād*) and the *Book of the Guided* (*al-mustarshidīn*) apparently deal with mystical themes and confirm the classification of al-Murdār as "monk of the Muʿtazilīs" in later heresiographical literature since al-Khayyāṭ. His ascetism became exemplary for his pupils Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] and Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir [*q.v.*].

His theology can only partially be reconstructed from fragments and reports in the heresiographical literature. His Muʿtazilī doctrine of God's "oneness" (*tawḥīd*) forms the starting-point for his denial of perception of God "in whatever manner"—by explicitly excluding the *balkafa* by his contemporary Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. This accentuation of God's transcendence, however, has not induced him to keep to Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād's [*q.v.*] doctrine of an endless chain of determinating causes (*maʿānī*) which are inserted between God and his creation; against Abu 'l-Hudhayl, he did not simply classify the cause of created things as "creative act" (*khalḳ* [*q.v.*]), as God's "will" or ordering "word" (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVI, 40/42). As cause of creation appears the final purpose of every "creative act", the created things (cf. Daiber, 230-2). Thus God remains remote from the created world in a much stricter sense than can be found in the doctrines of his fellow-Muʿtazilīs.

This remoteness of God may have been the background of al-Murdār in his refutation of the Djahmiyya and generally the determinists (*al-Mudjbira*); God has neither created the Ḳurʾān nor the acts of man: al-Murdār denied the "creation" (*khalḳ*) of man's acts by God; man has not "acquired" (*kasaba/iktasaba*) his acts. These polemics against the *khalḳ-kasb* theory were apparently directed against his fellow-Muʿtazilīs al-Nadjdjār and al-Shaḥḥām and against al-Naẓẓām's doctrine of "generation by God's acting", who provided things created by God with their casual "nature" (Daiber, 400). Al-Murdār kept to the *tawlīd/tawallud* theory as taught by his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir; according to it, things are caused by man's action which "generates" them. Consequently, al-Murdār could postulate two kinds of acting causes: (1) those induced by man's acting and (2) those inducing, "generating" causal effects. Against Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, the "generated" effects do not include "colour, taste, smell and perception" (ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 166,18). Al-Murdār's doctrine of "generation" presupposes man's independence from any determination by God. This enables al-Murdār to give an answer on the problem of theodicy by offering a combination of the thesis of God's almightiness with that of man's sovereignty; "God wills man's sins in the sense that he gives him a free hand in them (*khallā*)" (al-Ashʿarī, 190, 9 f. = 512, 11 f.; cf. 228, 14); "God has the power over injustice and deceit; however, He shall not do that" (al-Ashʿarī, 555, 9 f.; cf. 201, 1 ff., and Daiber 261⁴). This power of God suggests that He is all-powerful and also that He wills men's sins. According to al-Murdār and his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir, God's endless power is not real power; it will not be realised (contrary to al-Naẓẓām and ʿAlī al-Uswārī, but in conformity with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb al-Ashadjdj and al-Iskāfī, cf. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 198, 15-200, 17; idem, *al-Milal*, 136, 11-138,3; Daiber, 261 ff.). However, al-Murdār criticises Abu 'l-Hudhayl for his doctrine of the "vanishing of God's abilities" (*fanāʾ al-maḳdūrāt*: al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 166,17; cf. Daiber 247) which in his eyes led to a restriction of God's almightiness.

The described separation between man's acting and God's power forms the starting-point of al-Murdār's doctrine of the Ḳurʾān: in conformity with the Muʿtazilī thesis of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and as a result of his theory of *tawlīd/tawallud*, al-Murdār could maintain that "man is able to (produce) something like the Ḳurʾān as regards the purity of his language, his arrangement and eloquence" (al-Shahrastānī, i, 67, ult.; cf. al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 165, 4 f.).

Little is known about al-Murdār's doctrine of *Imāma* [*q.v.*]. According to al-Nāshiʾ (cf. van Ess, 44 ff.; Watt, *Formative period*, 227 ff., German version, 231 ff.), al-Murdār, like his teacher Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and generally the "school" of Baghdād, held the view that after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, an Imām may be chosen who is inferior; al-Nāshiʾ speaks of *imāmat al-mafḍūl* in contrast to *imāmat al-fāḍil*. We do not know whether al-Murdār, like his teacher, classified ʿAlī as *afḍal*; for various reasons, it may be doubted. If we can believe the report of al-Khayyāṭ (74-8), al-Murdār, like his pupil Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir, followed the Muʿtazilī principle of neutrality (*wuḳūf*) and restraint from any condemnation of ʿUthmān. According to the heresiographers (al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ*, 165,9 f.; idem, *al-Milal*, 109,9; al-Shahrastānī, i, 68, 2 f.) "someone who is concerned with the reign of his time (or: who joins the ruler of his time) is an infidel"; "He can neither inherit (power) nor can he bequeath (it)". This utterance sounds like criticism of al-Maʾmūn's decision to designate ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] as heir to the caliphate; ʿAlī al-Riḍā was designated in 817 in the presence of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and Thumāma as witnesses (Watt, *Formative period*, 176 ff., German version, 180 f.).

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(H. Daiber)

MURDJIʾA, "upholders of *irdjāʾ*", is the name of a politico-religious movement in early Islam and, in later times, refers to all those who identified faith (*īmān* [*q.v.*]) with belief, or confession of belief, to the exclusion of acts. The names Murdjiʾa and *irdjāʾ* are derived from Ḳurʾānic usage of the verb *ardjā* (in non-Ḳurʾānic usage *ardjaʾa*) in the meaning of "to defer judgment", especially in sūra IX, 106. The related meaning of "to give hope" (*radjāʾ*), although often imputed by opponents to the Murdjiʾa from an early date, was not implied.

The early politico-religious movement. It is now generally accepted that the movement arose in the aftermath of the Kūfan Shīʿī revolt under al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*]. Ibn Saʿd and other sources describe Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya's son al-Ḥasan as the author of the doctrine of *irdjāʾ*, which he first defended in a circle of scholars debating the conflict between ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Al-Ḥasan argued that the judgment about the right and wrong in this conflict should be deferred to God, and Muslims should abstain from declaring either solidarity with them or dissociation from them. He then composed an open letter on his doctrine of *irdjāʾ* and had it read in public. Although some doubt has been cast on the role of al-Ḥasan and the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* attributed to him (M. Cook), there are no cogent reasons to reject them. Other early sources name either Ḳays b. Abī Muslim al-Māṣir or Dharr b. ʿAbd Allāh, both Kūfans, as the first propagator of *irdjāʾ*. These reports, if not understood as a denial of al-Ḥasan's role, certainly reflect the importance of Kūfa as the main centre of the early Murdjiʾa. The movement had also adherents in Baṣra and in Mecca. From ʿIrāḳ it spread to Khurāsān at an early date.

The earliest Murdjiʾite doctrine, as reflected in particular in the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* attributed to al-Ḥasan and in the Ibāḍī anti-Murdjiʾite polemics of the *Sīrat Sālim*, affirmed unconditional solidarity with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and suspension of judgment with respect to ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. This was justified by the unanimous backing which the former two caliphs had enjoyed among contemporary Muslims, in contrast to the division of opinion under the latter two. Suspension of judgment was obligatory in regard to the past which could no longer be witnessed. It was not proper for the present, and the early Murdjiʾa upheld the principle of justice (*ʿadl*) against contemporary rulers. They held that Muslims would not lose their status of believers by any actions, but they were prepared to condemn wrongdoers as aberrant believers (*muʾminūn ḍullāl*) who might ultimately be punished or forgiven by God. The identification of faith with true belief to the exclusion of acts, which later became the essential trait of *irdjāʾ*, was clearly implied, though not central, in the earliest Murdjiʾite teaching.

Politically, the early Murdjiʾa were primarily concerned to restore the concord in the Muslim community by opposing radical religious groups. In Kūfa this pitted them primarily against the Sabaʾiyya, the radical Shīʿī movement which had recently emerged under al-Mukhtār and which repudiated the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. In the *Kitāb al-Irdjāʾ* of al-Ḥasan, the Sabaʾiyya are accused of taking a single family (*ahl bayt*) of Arabs as the Imām and of judging people's religion by their attitude to them, of claiming that most of the Ḳurʾān had been suppressed, of sowing discord and hoping for their reign through the return of the dead before the Resurrection. The Murdjiʾa evidently also distanced themselves from the

Khāridjite condemnation of both ʿUthmān and ʿAlī as infidels. In some early sources and older orientalist studies, they have been described both as loyalist supporters of the Umayyads and as political quietists. This is clearly mistaken. Their suspension of judgment concerning ʿAlī clashed with the official Umayyad condemnation of him, and their insistence on their right to criticise the injustice of the rulers quickly led to conflict. Many of them, including Ḳays al-Māṣir and Dharr b. ʿAbd Allāh, joined the broadly-based rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], fought in the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim (82/701), and were subsequently persecuted by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥadjdjādj. The sharply anti-Umayyad attitude which the *Sīrat Sālim* ascribes to them probably reflects the situation at this time. The Murdjiʾa backed the caliphate of ʿUmar II and maintained friendly relations with him. Under Yazīd II, the Baṣran Murdjiʾite Abū Ruʾba actively supported the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see MUHALLABIDS]. In general, however, the Murdjiʾa held that Muslims must not draw the sword against fellow-Muslims except in self-defence.

Around the turn of the 1st/7th century, the Murdjiʾa took on a new political role, associating themselves with the struggle for equality of the new non-Arab converts to Islam, especially in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania, and for their exemption as Muslims from the *djizya* which the Umayyad authorities continued to impose on them. Doctrinally, this effort was based on the older Murdjiʾite thesis that the status of faith depended on the mere confession of faith to the exclusion of all acts such as the performance of the ritual and legal obligations of Islam. The converts thus could not be denied their full status of Muslims by the government on the pretext that they still ignored, or failed to fulfill, some of their most basic duties under Islam.

In 100/718-19, a Murdjiʾite *mawlā*, Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf or Saʿīd al-Naḥwī, complained to ʿUmar II about the fact that some 20,000 clients in Khurāsān were serving in the army without stipend and a similar number of new converts were being forced to pay *djizya*. ʿUmar ordered the governor to lift the *djizya* from all those praying in the direction of the Kaʿba and, when the governor responded with a subterfuge, dismissed him. In 110/728-9 the governor of Khurāsān commissioned Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ with the propagation of Islam in Transoxania, pledging that the converts would be exempted from *djizya*. When the pledge was broken and the Soghdian converts put up resistance, Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ and several associates sided with them against the authorities. He and Thābit Ḳuṭna, a prominent fighter of the faith and propagator of *irdjāʾ*, were imprisoned. In 116/734 the great revolt of the radical Murdjiʾa under al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who was closely associated with several companions of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ, broke out. His religious spokesman in the later stages of the revolt, Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], is commonly associated with the extreme Murdjiʾite thesis that faith consists of mere knowledge in the heart. Although Ibn Suraydj's call for reform on the basis of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet, for the overthrow of the Umayyad régime, went well beyond the common political programme of *irdjāʾ*, his movement sprang out of the Murdjiʾite struggle for the equality of the non-Arab converts to Islam.

Ibn Suraydj's armed rebellion against the caliphate and his alliance with its infidel enemies led to a break with the moderate Murdjiʾa who had backed the more peaceful struggle of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ. The schism, however, was not complete, as is revealed by the fact that Abū Ḥanīfa, the leading representative of *irdjāʾ* in ʿIrāḳ at the time, personally facilitated Ibn Suraydj's pardon by the caliph Yazīd III in 126/744. Abū Ḥanīfa was fundamentally opposed to armed revolt, yet he unconditionally backed the claim of the converts to equal treatment by affirming that a Muslim convert in the territory of polytheism who confessed Islam without any knowledge of the Ḳurʾān or any of the religious obligations of Islam is a true believer (*muʾmin*).

Abū Ḥanīfa's strong engagement in the struggle for equality of the non-Arab converts to Islam paved the way for the spread of his teaching, including *irdjāʾ*, throughout eastern Iran, Transoxania and among the Turks adopting Islam. Initially Balkh became the eastern stronghold of his school. The town was nicknamed Murdjiʾābād on account of the devotion of its scholars and inhabitants to Abū Ḥanīfa and his doctrine. Murdjiʾite tenets were propagated in the east by Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī in his *al-Fiḳh al-absaṭ* containing Abū Ḥanīfa's answers to theological questions and Abū Muḳātil al-Samarḳandī in his *Kitāb al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-mutaʿallim*, an exposition of *irdjāʾ* attributed to the master. These works formed the basis of all later Ḥanafī Murdjiʾite theology, including Māturīdism. Murdjiʾite doctrine was also espoused in the so-called *al-Sawād al-aʿẓam*, the official creed under the Sāmānids. Through its ties with the school of Abū Ḥanīfa, Murdjiʾite doctrine on faith has maintained its place within Sunnism to the present, despite the vigorous opposition of traditionalist Sunnīs to it.

In his *Risāla ilā ʿUthmān al-Battī*, Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the name Murdjiʾa for himself, asserting that it had been given by the innovators (*ahl al-bidaʿ*) to those who were in fact the People of Justice (*ʿadl*) and the Sunna. The term *ʿadl* must be understood here as implying political justice and reform and not the Muʿtazilī doctrine of free will. Abū Ḥanīfa was, like the early Murdjiʾa in general, a strict predestinarian. The name Murdjiʾa, however, had become a *nomen odiosum* used only by opponents. As recognition of ʿAlī as the fourth rightly-guided caliph gradually became in ʿAbbāsid times universal Sunnī doctrine, the primary demand of the early Murdjiʾa, sc. suspension of judgment in the conflict between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, lost its significance. The meaning of Murdjiʾa and *irdjāʾ* was henceforth focussed on the definition of faith as excluding acts, a theological doctrine strongly opposed by both Sunnī traditionalists and the Muʿtazila.

The theological Murdjiʾa. The new theological definition of *irdjāʾ* facilitated the heresiographers' classification as Murdjiʾa of various groups and theological schools who were not connected with the early movement. Thus they counted among the Murdjiʾa the Ḳadarī Ghaylāniyya [see GHAYLĀN B. MUSLIM and ḲADARIYYA] and Muʿtazilī theologians like Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī, Abū Shamir, Muḥammad b. Shabīb and sometimes Ibn al-Rāwandī, who deviated from Muʿtazilī school doctrine in the question of God's unconditional threat (*waʿīd*)) to the unrepentant sinner and the intermediate state of the grave sinner (*fāsiḳ*) between the faithful and the infidel (*kāfir*). Other groups classified as Murdjiʾa, like the Nadjdjāriyya [*q.v.*], the school of Bishr al-Marīsī [*q.v.*] and the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] arose out of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa.

The theological teaching of the Murdjiʾa, in the broad definition of the heresiographers, primarily involved the following questions: Faith (*īmān*) was

mostly defined as both knowledge (*ma'rifa*) and public affirmation (*iḳrār*) of God, of His prophets and their message in general. Knowledge of God was moreover often defined as including submission (*khuḍū'*) to Him and love (*maḥabba*) of Him. The position of the Djahmiyya that faith consisted only of knowledge in the heart to the exclusion of affirmation with the tongue, submission and love, was generally condemned as extremist. Some heresiographers accused the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] of the opposite extreme in teaching that faith consisted only of affirmation by the tongue to the exclusion of knowledge and belief (*taṣdīḳ*) in the heart, thus holding that the Hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]) in the time of the Prophet had been true believers. As al-Shahrastānī correctly explained, this doctrine of the Karrāmiyya referred merely to the legal status in this world. The *munāfiḳ* verbally professing Islam while concealing unbelief was in their view truly a believer in this world but deserved eternal punishment in the hereafter. Their position thus agreed in substance with the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Faith was generally described as an indivisible (*lā yataba''aḍ*) whole of beliefs and affirmation. Partial belief thus could not constitute it. On this basis, the earlier Murdji'a, including Abū Ḥanīfa, generally held that faith can neither decrease nor increase. Under the pressure of Ḳur'ānic passages expressly mentioning an increase of faith among Muslim believers, the later Murdji'a of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa, the Nadjdjāriyya, Māturīdiyya and others, mostly affirmed that faith can increase but not decrease. This increase was variously explained as an additional knowledge of details of the *sharī'a* beyond the indispensable minimum, as an increase of conviction (*yaḳīn*), or more broadly, of the subjective traits (*ṣifāt*) of the believers in relation to the unchangeable essence (*dhāt*) of faith.

The Murdji'a prohibited *istithnā'*, i.e. the addition of the formula "if God wills (*in shā' Allāh*, [*q.v.*])" to the affirmation "I am a believer (*anā mu'min*)" as implying doubt in one's own faith. They called their opponents in this question doubters (*shukkāk*), a nickname deeply resented by these last.

The Murdji'a generally did not distinguish between Islam and *īmān* and considered all Muslims as *mu'minūn* except for those excluded by Muslim consensus. Muslims falsely interpreting (*muta'awwilūn*) aspects of the message of Islam were mostly recognised as believers. Those committing forbidden acts were called sinful believers (*mu'minūn fussāḳ*). While the Murdji'a rejected the Khāridjite and Mu'tazilī doctrine of *wa'īd*, the unconditional punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter, they generally admitted that God might either punish or forgive Muslim offenders. While some held that this punishment of Muslims could be eternal, others affirmed that it would be temporal and that all would eventually enter paradise through the intercession (*shafā'a*) of Muḥammad. The latter view agrees with predominant Sunnī traditionalist doctrine. Only the eccentric theologian Muḳātil b. Sulaymān is described as a Murdji'ite who taught that true faith inevitably outweighs any offence before God and that He would not punish any Muslim affirming His unity. Any description of the Murdji'a as either laxists or as raising excessive hope for divine forgiveness, even though suggested by some early anti-Murdji'ite polemics, is basically mistaken.

The most fanatical opposition to Murdji'ite doctrine in early Sunnism came from traditionalist circles in Kūfa and Baṣra associated with al-A'mash, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Wakī' b. al-Djarrāḥ and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī. These circles affirmed the absolute requirement of *istithnā'* and tried to exclude the Murdji'a from the Muslim community. This extremist rejection was also adopted and espoused by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who in one of his creeds counted the Murdji'a together with the Ḳadariyya, the Rāfiḍa and the Djahmiyya, among the innovators whom the Prophet had excluded from Islam and for whom Muslims must not perform funeral prayers. Later non-Murdji'ite Sunnism was mostly more tolerant and often tended to minimise differences, especially with Ḥanafī Māturīdī *irdjā'*. A major factor in this change of attitude was the fact that a large section of the school of al-Ash'arī came to define *īmān* basically as belief (*taṣdīḳ*) in God, while assigning acts to a secondary rank, a doctrine not far removed from *irdjā'*.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**MURDJIBĪ**, ḤĀMID B. MUḤAMMAD (*ca.* 1837-1905), a personality in the history of East Africa and the Congo during the 19th century.

Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad al-Murdjibī, alias Tippu Tip, was born of Afro-Arab parentage in Zanzibar *ca.* 1837. His great-grandfather, Radjab b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Murdjibī from Muscat [see MASḲAṬ], had established himself on the coast opposite Zanzibar where he had married an Afro-Arab wife, the daughter of a member of the famous Nabhānī clan, Djuma' b. Muḥammad al-Nabhānī. Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad's grandfather, Djuma' b. Radjab al-Murdjibī, was among the earliest Arabs to lead caravans into the interior, where he supported Mirambo, ruler of Unyamwezi. His son Muḥammad b. Djuma' b. Radjab al-Murdjibī continued to expand his father's business interests in the interior, ensuring it by marrying one of the daughters of Fundikura, chief of the Nyamwezi. At his death in 1881 (cf. J. Becker, *La vie en Afrique*, Brussels 1887, ii, 45-8, 139) he owned large plantations at Ituru near Tabora. At the age of twenty, Ḥāmid was leading expeditions on behalf of his father to the area around Lake Tanganyika. During these expeditions he encountered David Livingstone (*The last journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to his death*, repr. London 1974, i, 222, 228, 230). (An Editor's footnote explains the name Tippu Tip as one which he gave himself after conquering Nsama. As he stood

over the spoil he gathered it closer together and said "Now I am Tippu Tip", that is, "the gatherer together of wealth" (230). An onomatopoeic interpretation is offered in the autobiography, section 30. For other interpretations, see F. Bontinck, *L'Autobiographie de Hamed ben Mohammed el-Murjebi Tippo Tip (ca. 1840-1905)*, 200, n. 95; V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London 1885, 292 ff., 300; H.M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa, or Quest, rescue, and retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria*, New York 1890, i, 53, 63 ff. *et passim*, and others.)

Cameron describes him as "...a good looking man, and the greatest dandy I had seen among the traders. And, notwithstanding his being perfectly black, he was a thorough Arab, for curiously enough the admixture of negro blood had not rendered him less of an Arab in his ideas and manners" (293). Stanley, who met him in 1876, described him as "a tall, blackbearded man ... His *tout-ensemble* was that of an Arab gentleman in very comfortable circumstances" (*Through the Dark Continent*, London 1878, ii, 95-6), and T.H. Parke noted an Arab "with bright intelligent black eyes, displaying manners of imperial dignity and courtesy" (*My personal experiences in Equatorial Africa*, London 1891, 18).

Ḥāmid acquired great popularity among the Arabs and the indigenous people of Manyema (Eastern Zaire). By the mid-1870s he possessed authority to appoint or confirm Arab and indigenous leaders in lands stretching between the Lomami and Lualaba rivers. By the end of the 1870s, the Congo region as far as Stanley Falls [see CONGO] was a vital component of the Zanzibar sphere of influence. He was always courteous and obliging to Europeans. Everyone who came in contact with him found a conciliatory spirit. Being more realistic than many of his co-religionists, he understood that in order to safeguard his interests in the interior it was necessary to adopt a comprehensive conduct of goodwill *vis-à-vis* the Europeans. This brought him into conflict with some of the other Arabs, in particular Saʿīd b. Abīb, who in 1884 had been sent by Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar to Manyema to secure his interests in the ivory trade, although the sultan had previously requested Ḥāmid to secure the area for him.

He was appointed governor of the Stanley Falls District of the Congo Free State in 1887 by King Leopold on the advice of Stanley. He returned to Zanzibar in 1891, where he remained until his death on 14 June 1905 a highly-respected person whose advice on matters pertaining to the interior was sought by all those with an interest in that part of the continent. He was succeeded as governor of Stanley Falls by his nephew Rashīd. His son Sefu was left in charge of his extensive holdings at Kasongo on the left side of the Congo River as far as Isangi and at the confluence of the Lomami and the Congo. Two years later, the conflict between the Belgians and the Arabs in Manyema destroyed all his interests there. At Ujiji, his associate Muḥammad b. Ghalfān, alias Rumaliza, was responsible for his interests.

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(S. VON SICARD)

MURGHĀB, a river of Inner Asia, and like many rivers in that region, one without outlet to the sea or to any more extensive river system. It rises in the Kūh-i Ḥiṣār mountains in north-central Afghānistān, flows westwards and receives tributaries from the Band-i Turkistān and Paropamisus mountains in north-western Afghānistān. Some 250 miles from its source, it reaches the town of Bālā-Murghāb in the modern Bādghīs province of Afghānistan, and then enters the Turkmen SSR and flows for another 250 miles northwards towards the Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*] to New Marw (Russ. Mary), and then peters out. Its only major tributary is the Kushk, flowing northwards to join the Murghāb at Tashkopri.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the upper course of the Murghāb (usually called by the geographers "the river of Marw") flowed from the regions of Darmashān and Revshārān through Gharčistān [see GHARDJISTĀN], and then had on its lower course the towns of Marw al-Rūdh [*q.v.*] and Marw [see MARW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN]. At this period, a complex irrigation system utilised the Murghāb's waters at Marw; at the present time, there are dams to control irrigation waters at Tashkopri and Iolotan. On this lower course of the river, some 30 miles on the Russian side of the modern frontier, lies the Pandjdih oasis [*q.v.*], occupied by the advancing Russians in 1885 and the scene of a battle between the Russians and Afghāns and then the focus of diplomatic tension between Russia and Britain [see PANDJDIH].

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MURĪD (A.), literally "he who seeks", in Ṣūfī mystical parlance, the novice or postulant or seeker after spiritual enlightenment by means of traversing (*sulūk*) the Ṣūfī path in obedience to a spiritual director (*murshid*, *pīr*, *shaykh* [*q.vv.*]). The equivalent Persian term is *shāgird*, literally "pupil, apprentice".

The stages of the novice's spiritual initiation are detailed in numerous Ṣūfī manuals and works touching on Ṣūfism, such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*, and the term *murīd* figures in numerous titles of such works. One of the earliest manuals was the *Ādāb al-murīdīn* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Nadjīb ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168; see Brockelmann, I², 563, S I, 780), who was the uncle of the author of an even more famous manual, the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]). The *murīd*'s embarkation on the path might be marked by various attestations of his *murshid*'s guidance and teaching, such as the giving of a rosary (*subḥa*), a handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) and the donning of the patched dervish cloak (*khirḳa murakkaʿa* [see KHIRḲA]). For further details, see ṬARĪḲA and TAṢAWWUF.

Murīds was also the name given to the adherents of the Naḳshbandī [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] *shaykh* Shāmil, leader of Muslim resistance in Dāghistān [*q.v.*] in the Caucasus to Russian penetration there in the mid-19th century; see on his movement, SHĀMIL.

For the Murīds of West Africa, see MURĪDIYYA.

Bibliography: In addition to the older references in the *EI*[1] art., see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, index. (Ed.)

MURĪDIYYA, Murīdism, a West African religious brotherhood which was originally nothing more than a ramification of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. Around the figure of Amadu Bamba, its founder, a distinct *ṭarīḳa* gradually came into being, quite specific to the milieu of Senegal, on the history of which it was to leave a lasting impression.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Allāh, known by the name of Amadu Bamba, was born in the Wolof country, around 1850, into a religious family. His father, Momar Anta Sali, was a scholar associated with the Ḳādiriyya and a regular visitor to the courts of local princes. At the time of the extension of French colonisation, Amadu Bamba, convinced of the futility of any armed resistance, became known as the advocate of pacific policies. On the ruins of the Wolof state of Kajoor (the defeat of Dekkile, 1886), Amadu Bamba gathered together in the South of the country, in Baol, a party of followers from all strata of society, including former dignitaries and warriors, alleged "pagans", and former adversaries of the "marabouts". Thus he offered to the demoralised Wolof peoples an alternative structure for living, a refuge: such was the principal social function of the Murīd brotherhood in the history of contemporary Senegal.

His personal charisma worried the French authorities; suspected of subversion, Amadu Bamba was arrested in 1895. Thus began a long period of hardships which—supplemented by miraculous tales—definitively established his status as a saint in the popular imagination: exile to Gabon (1895-1902), followed by house-arrest in Mauritania until 1907 and then in the village of Cheyen, in the north of the country, until 1912. Having given numerous pledges of his peaceable intentions—in particular a *fatwā* of 1910 calling upon his supporters to obey the authorities—Amadu Bamba was permitted to return to Baol in 1912. The *shaykh* then lived quietly at Diourbel until his death, devoting himself to study and to pious observance. He died on 19 July 1927 and was buried immediately at Touba, in the heartland of Bambian mysticism. The brotherhood then had a membership of about a hundred thousand.

The social and political role of Amadu Bamba has tended to obscure his own vocation, which was that of a mystic. Around 1889, he had been initiated into the Ḳādiriyya by its Mauritanian master, Shaykh Sidiyya Bābā, who later conferred on him the title of *muḳaddam*. In 1891 or thereabouts, Amadu Bamba had a vision of the Prophet, in a place which Murīd tradition identifies with the site of Touba. It does not seem that he intended to create a distinct *ṭarīḳa*: he never used this term in speaking of his doctrine and of his followers. The phenomenon, which proceeded gradually, probably dates from the Mauritanian exile (1907) or, at the latest, from 1912.

The written work of Amadu Bamba consists essentially of *ḳaṣīdas* in Arabic. Forty-one printed collections, part of a broader corpus, have been edited and studied (F. Dumont, 1975). Examination of these texts shows that, in common with other brotherhoods of the period, Amadu Bamba, who adopted the title of *khādim Rasūl Allāh* (servant of the Messenger of God), stressed the need for imitation of the *sīra* of the Prophet. Although his teaching was impeccably orthodox, some of his loyal disciples felt at liberty to develop a form of religious exclusivism in which Amadu Bamba tended to occupy the place of the Prophet, and the monumental mosque of Touba replaced that of Mecca. But such a trend, by no means peculiar to Murīdism, was the product of popular piety and not the teaching of the founder.

The first and the second sons of the founder, Mamadu Mustafa Mbacke (1927-45) and Falilu Mbacke (1945-68) succeeded their father, bearing the title of "Caliph-general of the Murīds", but contests between candidates never ceased absolutely, since no rule or consensus had been established for succession in the leadership of the brotherhood. Such contests led to the elimination, with the active participation of the colonial power, of a brother of the founder, Shaykh Anta and, later, of the elder son of Mamadu Mustafa, Shaykh Mbacke.

The "Caliph-general" stands at the apex of a complex pyramidal structure consisting, in descending order, of "caliphs" (chieftains of religious lineages), local *shaykhs* and simple "talibés". Unconditional obedience of the disciple to his *shaykh*, who is himself the dispenser of the *baraka* of the founder, is the corner-stone of a brotherhood renowned for its discipline and the power of its hierarchy.

The major movement towards development of the new territories of the Baol, which began at the end of the 1920s, conferred on this hierarchy considerable land-owning, economic and financial power, earning its members the well-known nickname of "marabouts of the ground-nut". The Murīd system which thus came into being was centred upon local *shaykhs* and their *daras* (from the Arabic *dār*), kinds of units of production to which young men would come to place themselves at the service of the *shaykh*.

Under the distant control of the colonial authorities, who saw their interests served by this form of indirect administration, the Murīd zones constituted virtually autonomous enclaves. In these zones—and this was one of the advantages of the system from the point of view of the local people—the colonial influence was absent from daily life. Negotiations with the French power over matters such as taxation and labour were conducted directly, at the top of the hierarchy. Henceforward, both before and after independence, the Murīd brotherhood was to constitute a kind of state within a state, exerting considerable influence in the life of the country (for example supporting Leopold Senghor, although a Catholic, against Mamadou Dia in 1962). This political role, more that of a demanding client than of a challenger in power, has constituted to this day one of the dominant features of Senegalese politics.

The contemporary brotherhood — image and reality.

Although limited to the Senegalese sphere, where furthermore it stands in second place, after the Tidjāniyya, in terms of membership, the Murīd brotherhood has enjoyed a celebrity which far exceeds its real influence in Africa. The particular interest shown in it by the French administration and its economic role account for this renown. After the period of repression, colonial observers chose to see it as a model of an ethnicised Islam, contaminated by local practices and, as such, deprived of any subversive potential, a prototype of what was then called "Black Islam". It is Paul Marty (1913) who is to be credited with the invention of hyperbolic formulas, subsequently to enjoy wide circulation, such as "new religion born of Islam" and "Islamic vagabondage". In fact, Murīdism is seen today as a major component of Sunnī Islam in Senegal, and its fundamental orthodoxy is undisputed.

Since its inception, the brotherhood has above all

demonstrated its remarkable capacity for adaptation, in economic as well as in political areas: first as an instrument of passive resistance to colonisation, then as a structure of compromise and cooperation with it, it has presented itself since independence as the major national brotherhood. The crisis in ground-nut cultivation could have been fatal for it; it then transformed its structures and investments, setting up powerful commercial networks and extensive real estate holdings in the towns, also undertaking, in the south of the country (Sine-Saloum and Casamance), the development of new territories. It thus constitutes, in contemporary Senegal, as well as in its expatriate communities in Europe and America, a social reality with renewed dynamism and propagandist skills, which is not really threatened by the new concurrence of reformist and Islamist associations.

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(J.L. Triaud)

MŪRISṬUS or Mūrṭus, a Greek author (?) of works on musical instruments that have only been preserved in Arabic. He appears to be identical with the Mīrisṭus mentioned by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), and these works must therefore have been known in Arabic at least as early as the 3rd/9th century. According to the *Fihrist* (completed in 377/987-8). Mūrisṭus wrote two books on organ construction: 1. *Kitāb fī 'l-Ālāt al-muṣawwita al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun al-būķī wa 'l-urghanun al-zamrī*; 2. *Kitāb Āla muṣawwita tusmaʿu ʿalā sittīn mīlan*. On the other hand, Ibn al-Ķifṭī (d. 646/1248) speaks of one book dealing with both instruments mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz. a *Kitāb al-Ālat al-muṣawwita al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun al-būķī wa 'l-urghanun al-zamrī yusmāʿu ʿalā sittīn mīlan*. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 1331) refers to a book that only deals with the second instrument mentioned in the *Fihrist*, viz. a *Kitāb fī 'l-Ālat al-musammāt bi 'l-urghanun wa-hiya āla tusmaʿu ʿalā sittīn mīlan*. The above description of the works of Mūrisṭus does not tally with the three actual works attributed to him that have come down to us. These, in the British Museum and Istanbul mss., carry the titles: 1. *Risāla li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanʿat al-urghīn [urghanun] al-būķī* ("Treatise by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the flue-pipe organ [i.e. the *hydraulis*]"); 2. *Risāla... li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanʿat al-urghīn [urghanun] al-zamrī* ("Treatise... by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the reed-pipe organ [i.e. the pneumatic organ]"); 3. *Risāla... li-Mūrisṭus fī ṣanʿat al-djuldjul* ("Treatise... by Mūrisṭus on the construction of the chime[s]"). Copies of these works preserved at Beirut have different titles as follows: 1. *ʿAmal al-ālat allatī ittakhadhahā Mūrisṭus yadhhabu ṣawtuhā sittīn mīlan* ("Construction of the instrument which Mūrisṭus invented, the sound of which travels sixty miles"); 2. *Ṣanʿat al-urghan[un] al-djāmiʿ li-djamīʿ al-aṣwāt* ("Construction of the comprehensive organ for all the sounds"); 3. *Ṣanʿat al-djuldjul* ("Construction of the chime[s]"). This last-named work mentions that the constructor of these chimes was a certain Sāʿāṭus or Sāṭus, who is mentioned in the *Fihrist* as the author of a *Kitāb al-Djuldjul al-ṣiyyāḥ* [or *ṣayyāḥ*] ("Book of the octave [or clamorous] chime[s]"). The Arabic texts of these three works were printed in *Mashriķ*, ix, under the editorship of L. Cheikho, but a new text is needed. Carra de Vaux gave a part-translation into French of one text, in the *Revue des études grecques*, xxi. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser gave a German translation of all the Mūrisṭus treatises in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii, collating the Istanbul with the *Mashriķ* text. H.G. Farmer, using the British Library ms., which he collated with the *Mashriķ* and Istanbul texts, produced translations into English of the two works on the *hydraulis* and the pneumatic organ in his *The organ of the Ancients: from eastern sources*.

Who was this Mūrisṭus, Mūrṭus or Mīrisṭus? As the author of such works as the above, he is unknown in Greek literature. D.S. Margoliouth suggested that he is Ameristos (*ca.* 630-550 B.C.), the ancient Greek mathematician whom we know through Proclus or Euclid (i, 65, 11-15), and seeing that we have such forms of this name as Mamerinos, Mamerkus, Mamertios (or Marmetios) in Suidas (*sub* "Stesichoros"), Freidlein's edition of Proclus, and Heiberg's edition of Hero's *Definitions*, there would appear to be some ground for this suggestion. Ameristos might very well have been the author of the work on the pneumatic organ but not that on the *hydraulis*. Carra de Vaux argued that the works have been wrongly ascribed to Mūrisṭus owing to the fact that the Arabic scribes mistook the Arabic particle *li* to be the genitive instead of the dative, and that "by Mūrisṭus" should be read "to Mūrisṭus". He bases his argument on a passage in the Arabic version of Philo's *Pneumatics* (*Kitāb fī 'l-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*) where the dedicatee is a certain Risṭūn or Arisṭūn. In the Latin translations of this work this individual is called Marzotom, whilst in the same author's *Treatise on the Clepsydra*, attributed to Archimedes, this dedicatee is also mentioned. This led Carra de Vaux to argue that Mūrisṭus, Risṭūn, Arisṭūn, etc. are all scribal malformations of Philo's friend Ariston or Aristos. Yet whilst it is possible that Philo may have been the author of the treatise on the *hydraulis*, he could scarcely have penned the treatise that deals with such a primitive pneumatic organ as that described. On the other hand, as the present writer pointed out (*JRAS* [1926], 503), is not Mūrisṭus a scribal error for Ktēsibios? In the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated into Arabic by Yūḥannā b. al-Biṭrīķ (d. 815), the inventor of the *hydraulis* is given as Yāyasṭayūs, Thāsṭiyūs, Thāsīṭūs or Tāsīṭūs in the various mss., and the orthographical morphogony of Ķatāsibiyūs (as Ktēsibos would be written in Arabic) through the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* forms to Mūrisṭus and Mūrisṭus is certainly an intriguing suggestion. Even if we accept this suggestion, it is clear that only the treatise on the *hydraulis* can be ascribed to Ktēsibios. That on the pneumatic organ deals with such a primitive instrument that it must belong to a writer who lived several centuries earlier.

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(H.G. Farmer)

MŪRĪTĀNIYĀ, Mauritania (now officially named the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, *al-Djumhūriyya al-Islāmiyya al-Mūrītāniyya*), an extensive region of the Western Sahara and the western section of the Sahel. It is the homeland of the Arab-Berber people who speak the Ḥassāniyya dialect of the Arabic language. In times past, and to some degree today, these people were called "the Moors" [*q.v.*], although this term was also used for other North Africans and, hence, gave Mauritanians no special identity. The "Moors" of the former Spanish Sahara call themselves Ṣaḥrāwīs. In the Muslim East, however, they were for long regarded as an individual Muslim people and were named *Shanāḳiṭa*/*Shanādjita* after the small town of scholars in the Mauritanian Ādrār known as Shinḳīṭ/Shindjīt. Their country was also named Shinḳīṭ/Shindjīṭ. Geographers, jurists and men of religion were uncertain whether their territory formed a part of the Maghrib or the Sūdān. In Morocco, not only was it deemed to be part of the Djazīrat al-Maghrib but it was also specifically regarded as a part of the domain of the Sultans of Morocco during different periods of North African history.

The Moors, themselves, the bulk of whom are Mauritanian citizens, together with their negro fellow citizens, are today conscious and proud of their Mauritanian citizenship and nationalism. Nevertheless, the Moors amongst them also feel part of a wider community of Ḥassāniyya speakers, who refer to themselves as *bīḍān* (sing *bīḍānī*), "whites" to distinguish themselves from the negroes who live to the south of them. The "land of the *bīḍān*" is more extensive than the existing boundaries of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The *Turāb al-bīḍān* includes all of the former Spanish Sahara, likewise desert regions in Mali. In the north, it reaches the Wādī Darʿa in Morocco and up to a line which joins Tinfouchy (Tin-Fūshi) to Hassi Bou Bernous (Ḥāsī Bū Burnūs), these last two in Algeria. In the west, their territory is bounded by the Atlantic. In the east, the border follows the northern bank of the Senegal River and then the length of the frontier of Mali to the city of Timbuctoo. In the east, a line in the desert north of Timbuctoo as far as Djebel Timétrine (Djabal Timatrīn) to the west of the Ādrār-n-Īfōghās, then due north to Hassi Bou Bernous, effectively completes the boundaries of the *Turāb al-bīḍān*. The whole of the Azawād region of Mali is thus included. Ḥassāniyya is a *lingua franca* throughout. There are also speakers of this dialect in the Azawāgh region of the Niger Republic, although they are not included within the *Turāb al-bīḍān*. With the exception of the former Spanish Sahara (especially western Tīris, which was annexed for a time) the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has never claimed the whole of the *Turab al-bīḍān* as its "historical borders".

1. *Geography*.

Mauritania is bounded by Morocco and the former Spanish Sahara to the north; the Atlantic to the west; the Republic of Senegal to the south; and to the east, Algeria in the far north, where Tiris Zemmour adjoins the Département de Saoura, and further south, the Republic of Mali. It extends over 1,685,000 km² from the 5th to the 17th degree west longitude and from the 16th to the 26th degree north latitude.

Mauritania can be divided into two great natural regions:

(a) In the south, a Sahelian zone, which stretches from the Senegal River valley up to a line which passes approximately through the towns of Nouakchott, Moudjéria, Tamchakett, Aioun el Atrouss and Néma. This region is formed by fixed dunes (also called "dead dunes") and flat plains, and in the south-west is known as the *gebla*. Characteristic of it are the annual falls of rain which exceed 100 mm., though in recent years the prevailing drought conditions have changed this rainfall pattern. On the left bank of the Senegal river, the valley is covered with river deposits, which, in good years, are watered by the river flood and the rain which falls between July and October. This region is called Chemama (*Shamāma*) where the population is predominantly negro sedentaries. Principal markets and administrative centres on the river are Rosso, Boghé and Kaédi. Typical of the Sahelian zone are the numerous forests of gum trees and the herbaceous plants which have fixed the dunes and which furnish a good pasturage for herds of oxen and sheep.

(b) In the north, a Saharan zone, which is an arid expanse of "live dunes", pebbly plains and, further north still, mountainous plateaux. Rainfall is below an average of 100 mm. per year. Trees are small and grow sparsely, the grass is burnt by the sun and water points are rare. Mauritanian writers like to compare it with the Ḥidjāz. Herds consist of camels, sheep and goats. The coast is inhospitable and difficult of access due to sand banks. A single bay, Lévrier Bay, affords safe shelter, where Port Étienne (Anwādhībū) has been built. The central-north of Mauritania contains the plateaux of the Ādrār [*q.v.*] (500 m.) and Tagānit (300 m.), with steep cliffs, and the high land is elongated eastwards by the lesser plateaux of the Assaba and Affolé. There is more water here than in the rest of the Saharan zone, so that such streams as are drained by torrents and by the wādīs water large palm groves, some of them ancient. Here are sited several of the most ancient towns of Mauritania, the *ḳṣūr* of Chinguetti (Shinḳīṭ), Ouadan (Wādān), Atar (Aṭār), the former Almoravid capital at Azouggui (Azzugī), Tidjikdja (Tīdjidjka), and, further to the east in the lower-lying region of the Ẓhar Tichit (Tīshīt) and the Hodh (*al-Ḥawḍ*), "the basin", such historic caravan towns as Oualata (Walāta) and the ancient cities of Ghāna and Awdaghust.

Mauritania is a very arid country. The climate is extremely hot, though dry and healthy, except in the southern parts of the country near the river. Port Étienne and Nouakchott benefit from sea winds.

2. *Population*.

The population of Mauritania totals approximately 1,750,000 inhabitants; sedentarisation has increased by 45% since 1977, thereby doubling the population of the towns and exerting a strong demographic

pressure on the irrigable regions of the country.

Certain cantons in the Senegal valley have a density of population which now exceeds 35 inhabitants per km² and, in general, the inhabitants are relatively numerous and concentrated in the Sahelian zone to the north of the river where the negro sedentaries mostly live. The Saharan zone, which is predominantly Moor, becomes increasingly depopulated the further north one travels. In the Ādrār, the figure had been estimated at 50,000 inhabitants for 489,000 km². Some desert areas such as al-Mirayya, al-Djawf and Ārg Shāsh are all but destitute of humanity, even of the desert traveller.

In general, two races inhabit Mauritania. The Moors form a majority amounting to some four-fifths of the total. Some of them are descended from the ancient Ṣanhādja Berbers who, with some intermarriage with the negroes and non-negro peoples (the so-called Bāfūr) who preceded their arrival, were masters of the desert zone until the 9th/15th century, after which time small groups of the Banū Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] Arabs, who later called themselves Awlād Ḥassān, entered Mauritania. The Moors today are the descendants of earlier intermarriage between these two peoples. Other small groups, Zanāta Berber Ibāḍīs, Jews (who are also identified with the Bāfūr), and people of mixed race in the coastal regions, have long been absorbed. The negroes consist of Toucouleur (75,000), Sarakollé or Soninké (30,000), Wolof (10,000-15,000), Bambara, Peul and certain other groups. These figures are only approximate totals. Intermarriage between Moors and negroes has taken place, but to a lesser extent than that between Tuareg and negroes in the Sahelian lands to the east of Mauritania.

3. *History*.

(a) Prehistory. Mauritania has produced a rich harvest of artefacts and archaeological sites which show that the Western Sahara was not only inhabited since Palaeolithic times but that towards the close of the Neolithic age, between 2,000 and 1,000 BC, the Ẓhar of Tīshīt was very densly populated. It contained at least 250 villages, superbly planned and built, the inhabitants of which were negroid in race, and were perhaps the ancestors of the *ḥrāṭīn* [see ḤARṬĀNĪ] of today. Many of them lived in the upland areas of the Ādrār, Tagānit and the Ḥawḍ. These people were skilled in the making of weapons used in the hunt, in the fabrication of pottery, and far later, around Akjoujt, during the Chalcolithic period, the exploitation of copper, which still exists in abundant deposits. The climate was at that time more humid and wet. Rock engravings in the Sahara depict Sahelian fauna, antelopes, gazelles and warthogs, and scenes of herding, tending and riding cattle. These prehistoric cultures were also found in fishing communities on the Atlantic coast. They bear resemblances to prehistoric cultures in the Maghrib and also to others to the south of the Sahara. There is nothing to suggest that Mauritania was in any way influenced by those leading cultures which attained a high peak in the early civilisation of the Mediterranean region.

Mauritania has suffered from, and its very existence is increasingly threatened by, desiccation. Archaeological discoveries suggest that it was one such period of brutal desiccation that resulted in a southward migration of these pre-historic peoples. In their place came Berber-speaking invaders who made use of copper and iron. They hunted ostriches and gazelles, they rode on horseback and in chariots, and it was they who introduced the camel a little before the Christian era into this part of the Sahara. Related to the Berber Getules of classical times, they have left traces of their nomadic settlement in scattered tombs, in tumuli and in rock engravings of all kinds, depicting them mounted upon horses and armed with spears and shields. It is during this period that the first Libyco-Berber inscriptions were engraved [see LĪBIYĀ. 2]. Every suitable stone face, cave wall or eroded *inselberg*, for example Glayb al-Nimish in the Ḥawḍ, manifests this southward displacement of the sedentary population. This historical process, enforced by climatic change, and made unavoidable by desiccation, is the key to an understanding of the history of Mauritania from earliest times. All the folk tales in Mauritania tell of this happening, the subordination of the negroes of the Bāfūr and of ancient Judaised peoples, by the Berber and the Arabs. However, this very long period has been telescoped in such tales. The kingdom of Ghāna was located in south-eastern Mauritania, Awkār. The world renown which it attained may, in fact, be the apogee of that African culture which had its origins in the Neolithic herders of Tīshīt millennia before.

(b) Ghāna, Takrūr, and the pre-Almoravid Berber Ṣanhādja kingdoms. In the early mediaeval period, Mauritania contained (i) one major pagan kingdom, Ghāna [*q.v.*]; (ii) part of an increasingly Islamised society amongst the Toucouleur (al-Takrūr), along both banks of the Senegal river; and (iii) a series of Ṣanhādja Berber kingships, the most important of which was centred in the town of Awdaghust [see AWDAGHOST], later to fall under the influence of Ghāna. The kingdom of Ghāna was centred in Awkār (the eastern Ḥawḍ), and especially near to Kūmbī Ṣāliḥ [see KUNBI ṢĀLIḤ], to the south of Tinbadgha (Timbédra). Ghāna remained a rich, gold exporting pagan kingdom throughout this period, although it contained a Muslim quarter and was much frequented by Muslim merchants. The most comprehensive account of life in Ghāna is to be found in al-Bakrī, who described it at the beginning of the Almoravid movement (see N. Levtzion and J.H.C. Hopkins, *Corpus of early sources for West African history*, London 1981, 79 ff., and Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali*, London 1973, 183-7). The first Muslim king of Takrūr (most of whose realms lay south of Mauritania, although the kingdom had footholds in and launched raids deep into Mauritania) was Wār-Dyabe (or War-Ndyay) who died in 432/1040-1 (cf. al-Bakrī, in Levtzion and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 77). Islam had entered the river region prior to this date. The saint Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Takrūrī lived during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muʿizz (365-86/975-96), and died and was buried in Cairo (see al-Maḳrīzī, cited in Levtzion and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 352, 428). His father ʿAbd Allāh was buried in the Fāṭimid town of al-Bahnasā in Middle Egypt, which was later, if not then, linked by desert routes, known to the *Murābiṭūn*, to the Western Sahara region. His *ḳubba* is a central building in its *djabbāna*.

This chronology is important since it gives credence to the tradition that the Ṣanhādja *Mulaththamūn* [see LITHĀM], in the north and east of Mauritania, were converted to Islam at an early date. They were called the "confederation" of the "muffled Anbiya" and they comprised the Gudāla/Djudāla [see GUDĀLA], who were principally centred in the Río de Oro and in south-west Mauritania, the Massūfa who lived between the Drā (Darʿa) in southern Morocco, the Ḥawḍ and the salt mine at Taghāzā, and the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], who occupied the Kākudam desert from the Ādrār northwards towards the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ.

They seem to have also ruled parts of Tagānit and, for a time, the town of Awdaghust (Ghaṣt). Lewicki (*Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara occidental*, in *SI*, xxxii [1970], 203-14) argues that this islamisation and part-Arabisation was principally the achievement of the Arab governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb and his son Ismāʿīl, between 735-6 and 739-40 A.D. Strategic wells were dug, Arab-organised expeditions launched as far south as the Senegal river and regular commerce with Awdaghust and Ghāna was established, especially from Ṣufrī Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*]. The Berber or Arab-Berber kingdoms of Tīlūtān (Tayalūthān, d. 222/837) and his successors of Tin Yarūtān (Ḳays b. Yarwātiḳ, etc., *ca.* 350/961) of Awdaghust, and, even more so, of Tārashni (d. *ca.* 414/1023), father-in-law of Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm, one of the alleged founders of the Almoravid movement, were all nominally Muslim, the last of them militantly so. The Arab accounts describe these chiefs as enjoying greater pomp than they were probably ever entitled to, adjacent to regal Ghāna. Nevertheless, they probably were the most noteworthy and richest of the chiefs of early mediaeval Mauritania (see Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1968, 56-66).

(c) The Almoravid movement and post-Almoravid Mauritania. The movement of the "men of the *ribāṭ*", the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], became established in the Río de Oro and in parts of Mauritania by missionaries who were adepts of the saint Wadjādj b. Zalw, who had previously established a *ribāṭ* at Aglū in the Sūs of Morocco, not far from present-day Tīznīt and Ifnī (see F. Meier, *Almoraviden und Marabute*, in *WI*, xxi, 80-163). However, the raids of the Saharans who joined the movement were primarily launched from within against Morocco itself, so that Mauritania never became its major centre. Only Azuggī, the capital of the southern wing, under Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and his successors, was considered worthy of mention by such geographers as al-Idrīsī and Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī. The Almoravids are important in Mauritanian history for the following reasons: (i) the legacy left by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, founder of the Mauritanian *daʿwa*, and his followers, the deep-rootedness of Mālikī *fiḳh* and the tradition of al-Ḳayrawān, Ibn Yāsīn's *fatāwā* which laid down rules for the administration of Ṣanhadja society and the first establishment of urban communities, Aratnannā (see Norris, *New evidence on the life of ʿAbdullāh. b. Yāsīn and the origins of the Almoravid movement*, in *Jnal. of African History*, xii [1971], 255-68), and M. Brett, *Islam and trade in the Bilād al-Sūdān, tenth-eleventh century AD*, in *ibid.*, xxiv [1983], 437-440). (ii) The authority and tribal cohesion which was established by the Lamtūna [*q.v.*], which became the leading tribe in the Western Sahara for several centuries. Under Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and, above all, Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, Mauritanians, for once in their history, produced leaders of international renown who changed world history. The most important of these for the future of Mauritania was Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, who until 480/1087 and after his split with Yūsuf, ruled Mauritania from Azuggī. He reputedly died in Tagānit fighting negro infidels. Latest research suggests that accounts of the conquest of Ghāna by him, or by one of the Almoravid leaders, in 1076, cannot be substantiated from the evidence (see H.J. Fisher, *Early Arabic sources and the Almoravid conquest of Ghana*, in *JAH*, xxiii [1982], 549-60). (iii) The appointment of the *Imām* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥadramī as the *ḳāḍī* of Azzugī. He is mentioned by al-Tādīlī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Maḳḳarī (see P.F. de Moraes Farias, *The Almoravids: some questions concerning the character of the movement during its period of closest contact with the Western Sudan*, in *BIFAN*, xxix, ser. B, nos. 3-4 [1967], 851-7). According to al-Maḳḳarī (*Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār ʿIyāḍ*, Cairo 1942, iii, 161), "This al-Murādī was the first to introduce the dogma and the doctrines of the faith to the furthest Maghrib. He resided at Aghmāt. When Abū Bakr betook himself to the Sahara, he brought him with him and he appointed him to administer the *sharīʿa* law. He died in Arkār (Azzugī) in the desert of the Maghrib in 489/1096". Some Mauritanians claim descent from him. (iv) Other Almoravid legacies amongst the Moors include the *geste* of Abū Bakr b. ʿĀmir (ʿUmar); the décor and the domestic architecture of Walāta and Tīshīt; commerce with the Maghrib and al-Andalus; and a lineal claim to the ancient Yemenites among the Mauritanian Zwāya.

(d) The entry of the Banū Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] into the Western Sahara and their domination of Mauritania. The decline of the Almoravids in the Saharan regions which they had ruled and the geographical extent of the rule of the kingdom of Mali beyond Walāta is undocumented. The *ḳaṣīda* of Shaykh Muḥammad Mbārak al-Lamtūnī states that the tribe became divided into four groups which appear to denote its existing principal divisions, the Īd ag Bāmbara, the Īdačfagha, the Īd Abyān and the Itmaddak, who include the Ahl Imbāy and the Ahl Āritnīn (who may have once been associated with the settlement of Ibn Yāsīn called Aratnannā). All these clans claim descent from Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar and Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn. Elements of the Lamtūna resided at Tadamakkat in Mali and are reported as far east as Agadez in Niger. In the north of Mauritania, the Lamtūna formed part of the Ibdūkalen confederation of Ṣanhādja tribes at the time of the first Maʿḳil incursions, whilst the Massūfa were desert guides (*takshīfs*). They controlled the salt mine at Taghāza and were a literate element in Walāta and elsewhere in the Ādrār. Other groups entered Mauritania from Berber districts of southern Morocco. These included the ancestors of the Tashumsha Zwāya, for example, Muḥunḍ Amghar (see Norris, *Znāga Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 496-8). These Berber groups seem to have absorbed the last remnants of the Almoravids, including the "maverick" Gudāla. Other tribes, for example the Kunta [*q.v.*], who were later to dominate large areas of the Algerian and Malian Sahara, seem to have arisen out of the Tādjākant in the 9th/15th century (see T. Whitcomb, *New evidence on the origins of the Kunta. I and II*, in *BSOAS*, xxxvii [1975], 103-23, 404-17). The Arab Maʿḳil, of Yemenite stock, left Egypt and reached southern Morocco in the first half of the 7th/13th century. They entered the service of the Marīnīds [*q.v.*], who used them as tax collectors in the areas they claimed beyond the Atlas. Driven by drought, by punitive measures taken against them on account of insubordination, by the prospect of plunder from Saharan commerce, or as mercenaries, they moved south into the Sahara. They called themselves Awlād (Dhawī) Ḥassān, which is the name still employed by all branches which descend from them. In the 9th/15th century, the Awlād Nāṣir reduced to vassalage (allegedly aided by the Kunta) the Ṣanhādja of Zammūr and Idjdjil (Djabal Ḥassān); other Ḥassānis of the area of Wādān and Tagānit in the 10th/16th century, and the *gebla* in the Ḥawḍ were conquered in the 11th/17th century. The prominent tribes which took part in this movement, which drew to it numbers of originally Berber client tribes,

included the Awlād Rizg, the Awlād Mubārak, the Brākna, the Trārza and the Awlād Yaḥya b. ʿUthmān. Other tribes of importance which occupied areas beyond Mauritania's existing frontiers in the Western Sahara included the Awlād Dalīm, the Barābīsh and the Raḥāmina (see Norris, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, London 1986, 17-35; J.C. Baroja, *Estudios Saharianos*, Madrid 1953, 425-38; idem, *El Grupo de Cabilas "Hasania" des Sahara occidental*, in *Estudios Magrebíes, Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, Madrid 1957, 111-21; Johannes Leo, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, London 1600, repr. Amsterdam and New York 1969, 16-17).

(e) The War of Shurbubba and the amīrates of the Awlad Ḥassān. Until recently, it was believed that the so-called "War of Shurbubba" (named after a Zanāga war cry, though the form *wakʿat Ashrābība* is found in the text of the Walāta chronicle), which allegedly lasted from 1055/1645 to 1085/1675, was the important watershed in Mauritanian history. The class divisions which became a marked feature throughout Western Saharan society, it is said, came into being following the triumph of the Arab "Ḥassān" in this war. Since such classes characterise Saharan and Sahelian societies far beyond Mauritania's borders, it is clear that such was not the case. One reason for the notoriety of this "war", or rather, series of tribal engagements, was the fact that two of Mauritania's leading historians of the 12th/18th century, Muḥammad al-Yadālī and his pupil Wālid b. Khālunā, had familial reasons for giving a particular emphasis to the war, and it featured prominently in their literary works. Outside the *gebla* its importance was given far less prominence.

A number of factors led to this war taking place in the *gebla*: (i) the expansion of the negroes, more especially the Peul to the north of the Senegal river, and the impact which this had on the Tashumsha and Ḥassānī commercial and trading posts on the banks of the river; (ii) the growing tribal rivalries between the Awlād Ḥassān and Zenāga-speaking groups; (iii) the ill-treatment of the latter by the former; (iv) and Islamic revival amongst Zenāga speakers and in the commercial towns of the Ādrār. This revival was encouraged through a greater number of religious texts, of all kinds, in Arabic, entering Mauritania from Morocco or from the Middle East. Outside stimulus and European hostility combined and brought about an Islamic movement which reflected Ṣūfism and the growth of the *ṭuruḳ*, Mahdism and a "neo-Almoravid" patriotism, exemplified by the cult of the Imām al-Ḥaḍramī amongst the Shamāsīd in the Ādrār. This led to rifts locally between tribal groups and individual scholars (cf. Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh and B. Saison, *Vie(s) et mort(s) de Al-Imam Al-Hadrami. Autour de la prosperité saharienne du mouvement almoravide (11e-17e siècles)*, in *Nouvelles études mauritaniennes*, i/2 [1984], 55-104); and (v) especially in the *gebla*, the charismatic personality of Awbik b. Ačfagha Abḥanḍ b. Yaʿḳūb b. Awbik al-Daymānī al-Lamtūnī, known as Nāṣir al-Dīn.

During his brief life, and the lives of his successors, a *djihād* was launched in order to subdue the nominally Muslim rulers of the negro states to the north and to the south of the Senegal river and to curb the power and to impose Muslim observances on the Awlād Ḥassān. After the defeat and death of Nāṣir al-Dīn at Tin-Yifḍāḍ in 1674, this movement lost its momentum and the *gebla* was reduced to vassalage to the Awlād Ḥassān. Only in Tagānit did the Ṣanhadja Īdaw ʿĪsh, led by their chief, Muḥammad Shayn, attain a total independence from the continuing encroachments of the Awlad Ḥassān towards the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century, the Īdaw ʿĪsh expanded into the Ādrār and they maintained their independence until the French occupation. They claimed a direct descent from the Almoravids; nevertheless, they forsook the Zenāga language and they assumed all the princely titles, the Arab status and the courtly bardic traditions of the Ḥassānī *amīrs*. The "War of Shurbubba" was only an important episode amongst many in the continuous process of Arabisation of Mauritanian society. As part of this social and linguistic process, the social and political situation of the tribes became stabilised. Small chiefly states were formed. The dynasty of the Awlād Aḥmad b. Dāmān ruled amongst the Trārza with noteworthy kings, such as ʿAlī Shanẓūra (1703-27). Aided militarily by the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, he delivered his tribe from the rule of the Brākna. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (1827-60) shouldered the burden of Moorish resistance when it was first threatened by permanent European penetration and domination. Amongst the Brākna, the *amīrs* of the Awlād ʿAbd Allāh played a predominant role during the age following the "War of Shurbubba" and their authority, at times, extended from Tagānit to the Atlantic. Their power declined in the 19th century, excluding the noteworthy reign of Ahmaddu I (1818-41). They were reduced into submission and to a subordinate status by the French. In the Ādrār, the Awlād Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān produced several famous princes: the strong-minded Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (1871-91), who sought to revive trans-Saharan commerce, and Aḥmad b. Sīdī Aḥmad (1891-9). Nevertheless, the greatest Mauritanian princely ruler of the 19th century was Bakkār b. Swayd Aḥmad of the Īdaw ʿĪsh of Tagānit, who was a descendant of Muḥammad Shayn. In view of the threats to the authority of these Ḥassānī princes within their tribal society and from without, whether from negro rulers to the south or from European encroachment along the coast or from the river, or from the officialdom of the sultans of Morocco, it was their achievement to have preserved a Mauritanian identity during two to three centuries and to have been the protectors and patrons of Mauritania's most famous scholars and men of letters.

(f) European rivalries on the coast of Mauritania. During the first half of the 15th century, the Portuguese explored the Mauritanian coast and made their first landings there. In 1434 Gil Eanes reached Cape Bojador; and between 1442 and 1445, at the instigation of Henry the Navigator, expeditions commanded by Gonzalvez and Lanzarote discovered Naar, Tīdra and Arguin. The town of Wādān in the Ādrār was a focus of attention on account of its trading connections with Tīshīt and with the Sūdān interior. It received special mention in the descriptions of Ca da Mosto (1455-7) and, yet more so, in the writings of Valentim Fernandes in the 16th century, who for the fist time reports the salt mine at Idjdjil in the north of the Ādrār. In 1448 the Portuguese established a permanent settlement on Arguin island. This lay in a key geographical situation for their African activities (cf. Th. Monod, *L'Ile d'Arguin (Mauritanie), essai historique*, Instituto de Investigacaô Cientifica Tropical, Centro de Estudos do Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon 1983). It was from Arguin that the Portuguese endeavoured to extend their power into the interior, and especially into the Ādrār, with the final aim of commanding, or cutting, the major caravan routes between the Sūdān and Morocco. Their factories were principally, though not exclusively, sited on the coast,

and the trade which took place between them and the merchants of the Awlād Ḥassān entailed the exchange of woven cotton garments, silver, coral and cornelian for slaves, gold, oryx skins, gum arabic, civet and ostrich eggs.

The Portuguese enjoyed the profit of the Arguin trade for two centuries; then it passed to the Spaniards. From Arguin, European activity spread to Portendick in the *gebla* (Marsā D̲j̲arīda). In 1626 the French established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal River. In 1638 the Dutch, as a prize in their war with Spain, took Arguin. Twenty-seven years later they lost it to the English. For a century Arguin and Portendick remained a bone of contention between the three powers. In the meantime, France consolidated her commercial position at the mouth of the Senegal river. The Treaty of Versailles (3 September 1783) recognised French sovereignty over the Atlantic coast between the river and Cap Blanc, which was regarded by the Sultan of Morocco as the southernmost limit of his domain at that time, (cf. the letter sent by Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd Allāh to the Governor of Gibraltar in 1178/1765, in J.F.P. Hopkins, *Letters from Barbary 1576-1774*, Oxford 1982, 87, 88).

For a time during the 19th century, the British challenged French control and influence. However, in 1817, three years after treaty of Paris, France took formal possession of the territory, by which time both Arguin and Portendick had lost their importance, although the British retained the right to trade in the latter until 1857. European rivalries enabled the princes of the Trārza to prolong their independence.

(g) The French occupation. In 1854, with the appointment of Louis Faidherbe as governor of Senegal and the establishment at St. Louis of a "Bureau des affaires extérieures", a more vigorous French policy was pursued towards the *gebla*. After four years, Walo, on the Senegalese bank of the river, was subdued and the Moors who were established there were driven out. The *amīrs* of the Trārza and the Brākna were made to sign a treaty which acknowledged that France had a right of suzerainty over the peoples near the river and that the right to trade in freedom was guaranteed. However, as C.C. Stewart has remarked, "The actual implementation of French policy in Mauritania in the early nineteenth century was misdirected, owing to the assumption that Brakna and Trarza constituted amirates, each led by a powerful and absolute ruler. In fact, ... the so-called 'amirs' had neither authority nor power inherent to their positions. Their influence, rather, depended upon their personality, patronage, social position, and the composition of the *jamāʿa* within the dominant Hassani tribe or tribes in the region" (*Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 93). For nearly fifty years these treaties were respected, and this allowed the French to make commercial agreements as far as Tagānit and the Ādrār. By the end of the century, however, the situation in the *gebla* had gravely deteriorated, to the point that commerce was seriously threatened on both banks of the Senegal river. A conquest of Mauritania, despite the formidable logistic problems this entailed, became imperative. Attempts to use the influence of the marabouts was only partially successful. M. Coppolani, Commissaire-Général of the government since 1902, backed by military force, achieved the occupation of the Trārza in 1903, the Brākna in 1904 and Tagānit in 1905. The pacification of the north of Mauritania was to follow in 1913, though only after Coppolani himself had been assassinated in 1905 and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] had been defeated.

(h) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The French protectorate over the territory of the Moors of French West Africa was created in 1903. On 17 October 1904 it was transformed by decree into a civil territory, placed under control of a Commissaire of the Gouvernement-Général de A.O.F. The decree of 4 December 1920 transformed Mauritania (Mūrītāniyā) into a French colony. Up to the eve of the World War II, Mauritania was regarded as a territory principally administered through "chefs de grande tente". The prime task of the French administrators was to ensure that government at the level of these chiefs was carried out peacefully and at minimum cost.

Following reforms which were introduced immediately after the war, Mauritania was made a part of the French Republic in the same manner and with the same status as the seven other territories which formed part of the Fédération de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Ten years later, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1958. It became a member state of the Communauté, endowed with internal independence. There was to be a progressive transfer of the services which then existed at Saint-Louis, Senegal, to the new capital, Nouakchott (Anwāks̲h̲ūṭ). A National Assembly was elected on 17 February 1959 through direct and secret single voting universal suffrage. On 23 June 1959 the National Assembly unanimously agreed to the investiture of Moktar Ould Daddah (al-Muk̲h̲tār wuld Dāddāh) as Prime Minister. After the signature in Paris on 19 October 1960 of the agreement dealing with the transfer of jurisdictions, the independence of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. On 20 May 1961 the National Assembly adopted a new constitution of the presidential type. In June of the following year, agreements signed in Paris defined the future of French and Mauritanian co-operation. On 20 August 1961, Moktar Ould Daddah, sole National Union candidate, was elected by universal suffrage to be the first President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

It was the aim of Moktar Ould Daddah to see his country as the bridge between the Arab world and Afrique Noire or as a *trait d'union* between the Mag̲h̲rib and the *bilād al-Sūdān*. Ironically, it was the partition of another *trait d'union*, the former Spanish Sahara, which was to lead to the fall of his Presidency and, together with the disastrous consequences of the Sahelian droughts, to question the viability of the original goals of the state and even the viability of the state itself.

On 7 August 1966, Moktar Ould Daddah was elected President of the Republic for a further five years. In September 1969 he attended the Islamic Summit in Rabat and met King Ḥasan II. This marked a change in Moroccan policy towards his country, the independence of which had never been acknowledged. The resumption of diplomatic relations took place in June 1970. The following year, Moktar Ould Daddah was re-elected as President of the Republic. On 4 December 1973 Mauritania became a member of the Arab League. Between 1975 and 1978, the occupation by Mauritania of the southern part of the partitioned Spanish Sahara (Río de Oro) had as its consequence a skilfully planned and effected series of raids and frightening attacks by the Polisario Front, which sought self-determination for the territories formerly Spanish. These disrupted Mauritania's export of iron ore and even reached the outskirts of the capital. On 10th July 1978 a military *coup d'état* took place. The government of President Moktar Ould Daddah was replaced by a Comité

Militaire de Redressement National directed by Colonel Ould Salek. Mauritania subsequently withdrew from the Western Sahara conflict.

4. *Ethnography and social groups.*

The people of Mauritania are divided into Arab-Berber *Bīḍān* or Moors, and the *Sūdān*, the negro minorities. The country takes a pride in being a *hamzat al-waṣl*, a cultural bridge link so to speak between the Maghrib countries and the peoples of former Takrūr and, far later, French West Africa, fulfilling a role in the west of Africa comparable to that of the Sūdān Republic in the east. But Mauritania differs markedly from the Sūdān in one important respect, namely that its entire population, of whatever ethnic origins, is Muslim by religion. There is no religious minority group. The people were once subdivided into clear-out cut social classes, some of which may have originated for ethnic or historical reasons. In this respect of class, the Moors have similarities to the Tuareg and, to some extent, to the Tubu. In broadest terms the Moors may be categorised into three descending social tiers: "warrior", "cleric"; and "tributary" or "plebeian". By tradition, it was believed that this has come about due to one traumatic historical event, the "War of Shurbubba". However, this is to oversimplify and to telescope a complex and evolving historical process. Nor, as Captain A.C. De Laiglesia has shown, does the above accepted and simplified class structure furnish an accurate or meaningful description of a people whose social overlap is within the unit of the tribe (*ḳabīla*), its subdivisions (*fakhdh*) and protected clients (*tiyyāb*, *laḥma*, etc.).

Supreme amongst the "free" (*aḥrār*) are the *ʿArab*. This term denotes the aristocracy of the Awlād Ḥassān, and it also indicates the chiefs of the Īdaw ʿĪsh, who are allegedly descended from the Lamtūna "veiled Arabs", ʿArab al-Niḳāb. This claim to Arabhood by the Īdaw ʿĪsh is acknowledged in the opening verses of the *rasm* of the *īggīw* poet Saddūm, composed in the mid-18th century:

"The prince of the Arabs of Tinzilāṭ, Gīr, Irāṭ, Inyizrig and Tashmāṭ, and of great renown.

Chief of the Anbāṭ (sc. Ṣanhādja), of the chiefs of the Īdaw ʿĪsh, the leader in whom inherited, deeply rooted, noble chieftainship lies!"

In another sense, all who claim to be Ḥassān are ʿArab, likewise those who speak Ḥassāniyya. It is this wider sense of "Arab" that had inspired the Mauritanian poet Muḥammad Fāl wuld ʿAynīna to compose his often-cited couplet:

"We are the Banū Ḥasan (Ḥassān), the purity and eloquence of our tongue proves that we are descended from the ancient Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿarbāʾ*).

If no self-evident signs clearly prove that we are Arabs, then in our tongue there is a clear and unequivocal proof that we are so".

In former times, the camp (*maḥṣar*) of an ʿArab *amīr* became a veritable village with fifty tents or more, and indeed assumed the status or reached the size of a town if the camp was a *ḥalla* of a chief. Within it were located tents and quarters for scholars, artisans, minstrels, *ḥrāṭīn* and slaves (see P. Dubié, *La vie matérielle des Maures*, in Méms. IFAN, no. 33 [Dakar 1953], 110-252).

The Ḥassān, Banū/Awlād Ḥassān, were principally warriors, fighting men who were subject to an ʿArab *amīr*. However, their title lacks the latter's status and honour; furthermore the name had, at times, a certain pejorative sense. Occasionally it denoted "irreligious", "unruly" and "collectors of protection money (*ghafara* or *ḥurma*)" from the conquered. Marriage is always within the clan, and usually within the joint family. All Ḥassān claim descent from Ḥassān b. Maʿḳil in the line of descent given on p. 617.

The second major division in Mauritanian society is that of the maraboutic class, the Zwāya, whose eponyms are frequently Berber and occasionally merge with Moroccan or with Almoravid tribes or saints. They enjoyed, and enjoy, a wide reputation for knowledge of Classical Arabic, Islamic studies, the ability to perform religious duties and to teach, more especially the Ḳurʾān. In some localities the Zwāya established peripatetic "universities" (*maḥāḍir*) where the students whom they taught (*talāmīdh*) continued their herding and their studies (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 478, 517-21). The term Zwāya comes from Arabic *zawāyā*, pl. of *zāwiya*, indicating a fixed centre for Ṣūfī teaching and practice. In Mauritania, it may ultimately hark back to the notion of the Almoravid *ribāṭ*, although devoid of the militant sense of the latter. The Zwāya are divided into two broad categories, *Zwāyat al-Shams* (Zwāya "of the sun") were independent religious groups of a high religious reputation, e.g. the Lamtūna of the *gebla*. They were self-reliant and were sufficiently powerful to need no protection and had no need to pay protection money. It is out of such groups, e.g. the Awlād Abiyāri, that modern Mauritania has been supplied with leading political figures, outstanding scholars, men of law and teachers, not only from the nomadic groups but also from the Zwāya who were settled in the country's caravan towns and whose non-academic activities were principally commercial. *Zwāyat al-Ẓill* (Zwāya "of the shade"), indicated tribes which were in need of defence and protection, although they were not of the status of tributaries (the Awlād Daymān were in this category, needing Ḥassānī protection, prior to the movement of Nāṣir al-Dīn and the "War of Shurbubba"). Linked to the Zwāya were the *Tiyyāb*, warrior Ḥassānīs, who had "repented" and, having foresaken their arms, had taken to study and to a religious life as their divine calling. Considered separate from the bulk of the Zwāya, although fulfilling much of their role in religion, in study and in trade, are those tribes which claimed to be *Shorfa* (*Shurafāʾ*). They allege descent from the family of the Prophet. Some of them founded the Adrār towns and also controlled Tīshīt and Walāta. Others are from the family of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn or are related by marriage to the *Shurafāʾ* of Morocco.

The tributaries, the Znāga or Laḥma, were tribute-paying members of tribes that were either Ḥassān or Zwāya. None of them could claim any blood kinship to the eponym of the tribe. Their activities involved herding and menial tasks in the camp, and occasionally, agriculture. They were and are predominantly *bīḍān*, and their name indicates that their ancestors were of Ṣanhādja Berber stock. There are a number of categories of Znāga, some of lower status than others. A few, like the Idayshilli, once carried weapons and paid no tribute. Others, like the Tayzigga of the Ādrār, cultivated dates and may once have been makers of the Lamṭī shields. Znāga have intermarried with negroes.

The coloured tributaries, the *ḥrāṭīn*, are, legally, manumitted slaves and their descendants. They are sedentary and live in separate tribal groups and unprotected by their former master. They are usually landless negroid folk who work as share croppers in the plantations of landlords who furnish the land and the water and who receive half of the crop which is produced. The status of the *ḥrāṭīn*, though "free", is so low that little distinction could be made between them and those legally slaves, *ʿabīd*, some of whom

Ḥassān b. Maʿḳil

Ḥamw al-Barābī<u>sh</u> (of Azawād in Mali) — ʿUbayd Allāh (Yaʿḳūbiyyīn of the Ta<u>sh</u>um<u>sh</u>a and the Ahl Bārik-alla) — ʿUdāy — Dalīm (Awlād Dalīm of the Río de Oro) — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (al-Raḥāmina)

ʿArrūg — Ma<u>gh</u>far — Rizg (Awlād Rizg)

ʿUgba (Awlād ʿUgba) — Dāwūd — Yūnis (Awlād Yūnis) — al-Nāṣir (Awlād al-Nāṣir) — ʿU<u>th</u>mān — <u>Kh</u>alīfa — Rmay<u>th</u>

ʿAllū<u>sh</u> — <u>Dj</u>aʿfar — Zayd

ʿArrūg

Dāwūd

Mbārak (Awlād Mbārak) — Dāwūd — Mḥammad — Aʿlī (al-Ṭur<u>sh</u>ān) — Yaḥyā — ʿUmrān

Sulaymān — Mḥammad — Ṭalḥa — Aʿlī — (Awlād Yaḥyā)

Na<u>kh</u>la — Bullah — Manṣūr — Bū Fāyida

Haddā<u>dj</u> — Dāwūd (Dāwūdāt)

Dāwūd Mḥammad

Tarrūz Awlād Aḥmad b. Dāmān (the Trārza) — Barkannī (the Brākna)

(Based on the lineage *<u>Sh</u>a<u>dj</u>ara ʿāmma li-<u>dh</u>urriyyat Ḥassān*, in *Kitāb al-Takmila* by Muḥammad Fāl b. Bābah al-ʿAlawī (1265-1349/1849-1930), edited by Professor Aḥmad wuld al-Ḥasan, published by al-Muʾassasa al-Waṭaniyya li 'l-Tar<u>dj</u>ama wa 'l-Taḥḳīḳ wa 'l-Dirāsāt, Bayt al-Ḥikma, Tunis 1986).

were better treated amongst the Zwāya than the former by the Awlād Ḥassān, who paid little heed to the *<u>sh</u>arʿ*. Slaves were the frequent cause for raiding in past centuries, together with other riches of the African peoples to the south of Mauritania, especially Walo, Futa and Gajaga. Le Brasseur indicated in 1778 that in Gajaga, Moorish commerce with the Sarakollé and the Malinké supplied more than 3,000 slaves per year. The Moors exchanged horses for slaves at the rate of ten to eighteen slaves per horse.

The lack of any meaningful distinction between *ḥarṭānī* and *ʿabd* in terms of personal freedom or in social status, has led to the establishment of a social "liberation" movement throughout Mauritania amongst the *ḥrāṭīn* called *al-ḥurr*. They have been aided by anti-slavery movements from abroad, pressure from within the Mauritania government itself and made more necessary by the destitute state of the drought refugees amongst all classes of Mauritania society. All of these have brought attention to bear on the injustices and inequalities, almost beyond belief, which traditional Moorish society was prepared to tolerate, even though such abuses very frequently flouted or disregarded Muslim law, and, indeed, were not infrequently attacked by enlightened members of the Zwāya.

There were other despised and degraded clases in Mauritanian society. However, their well-being was frequently ensured by their own efforts or by their indispensable services in society. Among such were the artisans, the *mʿallamīn* or *ṣunnāʿ*, who as makers of weapons, tools and implements received fixed payments for the objects they made or repaired, in the form of meat, live animals or cereals. The smiths were held to be descended from Jews (especially from King David) or negroes.

The author of *al-Wasīṭ* (359-60) makes the observation that the tribe of the Liḥrākāt, noted for their skill in Ḥassāniyya verse, claimed to be descended from smiths (*mʿallamīn*) and were regarded as men of low status on account of this. He points out that such a view was peculiar to the people in the Western Sahara. He found it bizarre, illogical and reprehensible. His suggestion that it arose in Zwāya circles due to a lampoon by <u>Dj</u>arīr on al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*] wherein the former accused the latter of being the grandson of a blacksmith, cannot be accepted as likely in view of the low status of smiths in almost all Saharan societies.

The Nmādi hunters in the Ḥawḍ, aided by their dogs, still survive in very small numbers. More numerous are the fisherfolk, the *Imwragen*, on the Atlantic coast, extending northwards into the Río de Oro, a primitive people who seem to be descendants of very ancient races of the Western Saharan littoral. Very different are the often decried, yet individually admired and feared, *Iggāwen*, the bards, men and women, whose verse and song, praise and satire, were an indispensible adjunct to the country life of the princes of the Awlād Ḥassān. They play an important part in the Mauritanian media and many of them have become extremely wealthy and influential. Hated in particular by the puritanical Zwāya, in far earlier days, like their negro counterparts to the south, they once sustained in battle the ardour of the warriors with their heroic and rigorous airs played on the *tīdīnīt* guitar in the warlike mode of *fāghū*.

5. *Economic activity.*

Traditional Mauritanian economic activity over past centuries, and up to quite recent times, was centred around trans-Saharan caravan commerce in salt, slaves, and dates, in gum-arabic trafficking, pastoral nomadism, cattle-breeding and the sale of skins. Millet and rice cultivation, in plots and small farms, is especially characteristic of the region along the northern bank of the Senegal river, whereas date tree cultivation and date harvesting takes place in the large Ādrār and Tagānit palm groves. There is some fishing along the Atlantic seaboard. Hunting of gazelles, guinea fowl and bustards also once played a part in desert life. In the days of the Almoravids and in the remoter areas of the desert after them, the famous Lamṭī (oryx) shields were fabricated [see LAMṬ]. They were dearly prized and fetched a high price in al-Andalus and the Middle East.

Endemic drought conditions, tribal and social upheavals and the impact of the modern age have now totally altered most of these past activities. Prospecting for copper, for oil, iron ore, gypsum, phosphates and uranium, and the exploration of fishing resources, are now the essential economic activities of Mauritania, in as far as foreign revenue is concerned, the mining sector alone accounting for 50% of all receipts and 80% of return payments. Even so, the dominance of this sector has been subject to variation, reflecting world demand. The copper mines at Akjoujt, which were closed in May 1978, following the collapse in the world price of copper, have now been reopened and are currently exploited by SAMIN (La Société Arabe des Mines de l'Inchiri).

The iron-ore deposits at Zouerate still face an uncertain future. Started by MIFERMA in 1952, they were seen as the great white hope for the new state. Times and circumstances changed. The war in the Western Sahara directly threatened the railway line, 670 km. in length, which brought the ore to the port of Nwadhibou (Anwādhībū). Today, the dwindling deposits are now worked by SNIM, a mixed society in which a number of states are associated, including Mauritania, France, the Islamic Bank of Iraq, Morocco and Kuwait. The deposits are all but exhausted. The new project of "Guelbs El Rhein" envisages the development of new deposits, some 25 km. from Zouerate, and this will take place when the Zouerate mines close at the end of the 1980s. To finance the new exploration and exploitation, the 500 million dollars needed have been supplied by Arab states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Iraq), and by Japan, France and the World Bank. When fully exploited, the "Guelbs project" will enable the costly railway line to stay open and it will help to maintain jobs for 6000 employees.

Fishing is the growing major economic activity, second only to mining and seeming to overtake it. Mauritania has some 800 km. of coastline and has one of the richest fishing grounds in the world, with an annual catch of 600,000 tons, one of a great variety of fish. But the operation of making the industry successful and competitive has yet to be achieved, more especially as these coasts have been exposed to pirate fishing vessels. Mixed national and foreign commercial societies have been formed to exploit the catch, but the full potential of fishing for Mauritania's economy is still a matter for the future until such time as the country has a patrol boat fleet with the capability to control, ameliorate and supervise its sea catch. Very few Mauritanians are engaged in fishing activities.

The Sahel droughts have hit Mauritania badly. Rainless years have destroyed its livestock and ruined much of its agriculture. The survival of the state depends on the success of the regional plan, which involves Mali and Senegal as well, to develop and to make the maximum of the Senegal river. On the 10th December, 1979, the then President of Mauritania, Colonel Ḥaydallāh, visited Saint-Louis, at the mouth of the river, and there he laid the first stone of the Diama barrage, in the presence of Presidents Senghor of Senegal and Moussa Traore of Mali. Work has now begun and already some irrigated land has been cultivated and crops planted. When completed, there will be two barrages. The Diama barrage will hold back 500 million cubic metres of water; the second barrage will be at Manartali, 1000 km. further up the river. The plan envisages two large river ports, Saint-Louis and Kayes, ten landing stages and around 500,000 hectares of irrigated land, although only a part of this will be in Mauritania itself.

This grand design is to prevent saline water returning upstream during the drop in water level in the dry season and, in general, to maintain the water level at one that is most desirable and most productive for cultivation. The regulation and the control of the water will take place at Manartali. It will allow Mauritania to double the amount of her rice cultivation and to allow the creation of artificial lakes in the Aftout es Sahel, extending to the south of Nouakchott. The development of fish is also being considered. The aim of the Mauritanian government is that, by 1988, it will cover 40% of its cereal demand, 20% of vegetables, 50% of its milk products and its meat. The ports of Nouakchott and Nwadhibou in 1983 handled 398,000 and 385,000 tons of goods respectively. Exports have doubled in the last five years and now attain the figure of 294 million dollars.

The Mauritanian government plans to attract foreign capital on a co-operative basis. At present the OMVS (L'Organisation de mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal) is subject to foreign financing. Here again, the Arab states are playing a major role, Saudi Arabia with 150 million dollars, Kuwait with 70 million, Iraq with 40 million, and, from Europe, the European Development Fund with 100 million dollars, the German Federal Republic with 100 million, France with 70 million, Italy with 35 million and the United States, the Agency of which for international development, USAID, brings 85 million dollars. Its purpose is economic research. Other projects which are planned include the promotion of light industries, and iron and steel complex at Nwadhibou, a dairy at Nouakchott and a textile factory at Rosso.

The life of pure nomadism is already at an end. Sedentarisation is the future faced by most Mauritanians, although the influx into the capital has to be curbed. In towns of 5,000 inhabitants or more, seden-

tarisation in 1960 was only 3.5% of the population; in 1977 it rose to 23%; and today has surpassed 40%. Nouakchott in 1960 had 5,000 inhabitants. By 1985 this figure had risen to 500,000 and it is estimated that the total will reach a million by the end of the century.

Agricultural and cattle breeding in the south will almost certainly mean further desertification in the north, apart from the mining regions and the few oases in Ādrār, though these are now in decline. A better future also demands more and improved communications. Mauritania has 7,534 km. of road, two international airports and ten secondary airports. Better water resources are needed. Only 15% of the Mauritanian population has proper drinking water and 30% of the villages have no water at all. Above all, it is the education of the younger generation in Mauritania which will decide its future. Here there is great promise and there is a strong national sentiment. In 1960 some 5% of the population received a school education. By 1984 this figure had risen to 30.6%. The teaching of Arabic to everyone has also made rapid strides.

6. *Languages.*

The predominant language, both written and spoken, in Mauritania is Arabic, both Classical Arabic and Colloquial. The latter is the very individual Bedouin dialect of Ḥassāniyya. It is also the *lingua franca* of the Moors of south-western Morocco, the former Spanish Sahara, much of northern Mali and parts of the Niger Republic. Ḥassāniyya has created its own verse and prosody which is influenced by Classical Arabic, both in form and theme. Such verse was composed as early as the 15th century, since reference is made to this activity by the voyager Marmol and by others. The poetry is of two kinds: (a) popular *zad̲j̲al* and *g̲h̲azal*, consisting of a *gāf* of two rhyming verses (*a,b,a,b*) and *ṭalʿa*, three verses which rhyme in the pattern *c,c,c,b*. A *ṭalʿa* must be crowned, or tailed, by a *gāf*. (b) *leg̲h̲na*, sung poetry, which is accompanied by the minstrels and the popular ballad singers (the *Iggāwen*) on the Mauritania guitar (*tīdīnīt*) played by the men, or, by women, on a kind of harp (*ardīn*). *Leg̲h̲na* is often performed as part of a recital of the art of *azawān*, that is, an ensemble of airs and improvised moods selected for such verses. The *séances* are well attended, and this art form blends negro music and Senegalese and Malian names of modes with other airs classified by colours in Ḥassāniyya and with poetic metres derived from those of Classical Arabic, *k̲h̲afīf*, *wāfir* and *basīṭ*, though the prevailing metre is a truncated form of *basīṭ*. Ḥassāniyya prosody is based on the aggregate number of open and closed syllables in each verse. In earlier times, even down to the late 18th century, a number of these sung poems were martial odes and panegyrics, occasionally of epic dimensions, known as *kerza*, *rasm*, *t̲h̲aydina*, *Bū ʿUmrān*, etc. One of the most famous of *rasms* was composed by the singer Saddūm wuld Nd̲j̲artu in praise of *amīr* Aḥmad, the uncle of Wuld Bakkār wuld Aʿmar (d. 1761; cf. Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature and song*, 79-81), Ḥassāniyya is commonly used in local broadcasting and, in the past, was occasionally used in verse and prose by the lettered. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad al-Māmī was especially famous for his written compositions in Ḥassāniyya.

Zenaga Berber (*aznāg*) is the second language of less than 7,000 speakers in the *gebla*, especially in the Trārza to the south of Nouakchott. It is close to Moroccan Chleuh and it incorporates the pre-Ḥassānī language of the Almoravid Sahara (where the Libyco-Berber alphabet, akin to Tuareg *tifinag̲h̲*, was engraved on rocks and epitaphs, for example in the cemeteries at Tinīgī) and extensive borrowings from Ḥassāniyya. Many toponyms and names of plants are Zenaga. A little verse has survived.

Azayr or Azer, once spoken in Wādān and Tīs̲h̲īt, was a form of Soninké, and was a language of Old G̲h̲āna. It is now all but extinct (see Ch. Monteil, *La langue Azer*, Publications du Comité d'Études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, série B, no. 5, 1939, 213-41). The negro population along the Senegal river speak Pulaar Sarakollé and Wolof; some opposition to Arabic is still expressed by these people. (For an overall assessment, see C. Cheikh, *Aperçus sur la situation socio-linguistique en Mauritanie*, in *Introduction à la Mauritanie*, Paris 1979, 167-73.)

7. *Religious and Intellectual Life.*

(a) The *ṭuruḳ* in Mauritanian Islam.

The Islamisation of Mauritania is sometimes held to be a direct result of the Almoravid movement. However, there is little evidence to suggest that either an early penetration of Ibāḍism from Sid̲j̲ilmāsa or from within Awdag̲h̲ust, or even the Almoravid movement itself, other than its strict Mālikism (see Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, 67-77, and Mourad Teffaḥi, *Traité de successions musulmanes d'après le rite malékite*, Études Mauritaniennes, no. 1, Centre IFAN, St.-Louis 1948) has left any particularly permanent and deep mark on the Mauritanians as a whole. The Awlād Ḥassān arrived in the country long after the Almoravid movement, nor is it certain that those Zwāya tribes, such as the Lamtūna and the Tas̲h̲ums̲h̲a, who, without a doubt, have some blood relationship and spiritual kinship with the historical Almoravids, maintained their sacred and perennial tradition intact from the 5th/11th century, a tradition and a way of life which had not been radically changed during subsequent centuries. The Tuareg *Ineslemen* are remarkably similar to the Zwāya, yet (if one excludes the Kel Ntassar) they do not seem to have been involved, as a class, in the Almoravid movement of history; furthermore, some adoption of Islamic practice before the Almoravids was recorded amongst the Western Ṣanhād̲j̲a nomads. The Zwāya "Almoravid tradition" is in part a creation of the colonial age, an attempt by the French to woo the Zwāya lettered classes and to promote them at the expense of the troublesome Awlād Ḥassān of the *bilād al-sība*, conveniently ignoring the fact that the warrior Īdaw ʿĪs̲h̲ of Tagānit openly and unashamedly alleged their blood descent from the fighting aristocracy of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī and his progeny yet were otherwise barely distinguishable from the other amīrates of the Banū Maʿḳil which had eventually occupied every corner of the *Turāb al-bīḍān*.

The Ṣūfī orders were the principal channel whereby Islam affected and moulded every aspect of Mauritanian life: in the open desert, in the caravan towns, in the villages, of the river bank and within the new towns which were built by the French and, after independence, by the Mauritanians themselves. Only the lowest social classes, where such survive, the Nmādi hunters, the *Imwragen* fisher folk and the ex-slave and servile population, lived, or live, a life where animistic beliefs were dominant or survive in their beliefs, though this does not mean that numerous elements of animism and magic have not markedly influenced the practice of Saharan Islam itself in the past, even amongst the Zwāya, whose charms, medical prescriptions, magic formulae and prophylactics once had many of the characteristics of the Muslim "mixers" amongst all the populations which have lived as neighbours of the negro peoples along

the historical borders between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* in Africa.

Every Moor was, in theory, affiliated to one or other *ṭarīḳa*, although many of them were barely aware of all the obligations which this imposed upon them. The principal *ṭuruḳ* were and are the following:

1. The Ḳādiriyya (from which are derived the Bakkā'iyya, Fāḍiliyya/Faḍliyya, ʿAyniyya, etc.). It owes its establishment to the Kunta and the leadership of Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and his successors.

2. The Tidjāniyya, which entered Mauritania at a later date and to which belong the Īdaw Aʿli and Aghlāl of Tagānit region and the great majority of the negroes of the river region, especially in Fuuta Tooro.

3. The Ḥamawiyya, a recent off-shoot of the Tidjāniyya which spread vigorously amongst the Aghlāl of the Ḥawḍ and amongst certain fractions of the Awlād Billa and the negro population in the region of Nioro (now in Mali).

Two *ṭuruḳ*, regarded by many as heretical to both the Ḳādiriyya and the Shādhiliyya, are:

4. The Ghuẓfiyya which survive principally in Tagānit. The majority come from the Īdaybusāt; they are headed by the descendants of Shaykh al-Ghazwānī and are centred at Bū-Mdeid. The *Ikhwān* are divided between the *Ahl al-Msīd* (Muslim of the mosque) and the *Khshīm* (the provisioners).

5. The Ahl al-Gazra. This is a recent and very little-known sect linked to the first, which has the bulk of its followers in the Ādrār and in Tagānit and its main centre at Awdjaft (Oujeft).

(b) The history of the ṭuruḳ.

The Mauritanian historian Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun has summarised the history of the rise of these orders in an article which was published in Nouakchott in the newspaper *Mūrītāniyā* in 1380/1960-1: "As for Ṣūfism amongst them, it is upon the path of al-Djunayd, and as for their [doctrinal] prop and their syllabus within it, that is found in the books of al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī and al-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565) and al-Zarrūḳ (1442-93; Brockelmann, II, 253) and their likes. Such books are read but are not studied in the *madrasas*. There the *tilmīdh* only studies the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿĀshir (d. 1631), from his poem called *Guide to the essentials of religious knowledge* (*al-Murshid al-muʿīn*). They also have locally-written compositions on Ṣūfism which are in common use and of wide benefit and which circulate amongst the common people. These include the works of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Yadālī, Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and his son Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdjī, Shaykh Ibn Muttāliyya al-Tandaghī, Muḥammad Mawlūd b. Aḥmad Fāl al-Yaʿḳūbī and Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī, and works by others.

"The bulk of Mauritanians understand Ṣūfism as al-Suyūṭī defined it; the laying bare of the heart before God and the fear of Him, by performing the divine precepts and in forsaking those things which are interdicted. Next, it entails the doing of that which is recommended, forsaking that which is reprehensible, and fulfillment of the purposes of the faith as far as one is able, with endeavour to subdue the self (*djihād al-nafs*), making use of prayers recited in private worship (*awrād*). This is either by taking them from the content of books, such as the prayers (*adhkār*) of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (631-76/1233-77) and *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* by al-Djazarī (d. 739/1338) or, else, by initiation of one of the *shaykhs* of the *ṭuruḳ*.

"The Shādhiliyya was the most widespread *ṭarīḳa* in the country until Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī appeared and many famous men came into prominence by his help, amongst them Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and Shaykh al-Ḳāḍī Īdyadjbī and others, and the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* spread. Then the Tidjāniyya appeared at the beginning of the 19th century, and many people were drawn to it. The Ḳādiriyya formed two branches, the first being the Kuntiyya ascribed to Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtar al-Kuntī. The history of it, and its chain of initiation (*silsila*), has been commentated upon and exposed by his son Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad. The second, the Fāḍiliyya, was ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil al-Ḳalḳamī. The history of it has been commented upon and exposed by his son Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and by others.

"As for the Tidjāniyya, it formed two branches, the Ḥāfiẓiyya, ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿAlawī, and its history has been commented upon and exposed by al-Tidjānī b. Bāba al-ʿAlawī, and by others; and the Ḥamawiyya, ascribed to Shaykh Ḥamallāh (Ḥamahu'llāhu), the *Sharīf* (1883 or 1886-1943).

"As for the Shādhiliyya, it formed two branches, the Ghuẓfiyya and the non-Ghuẓfiyya. The Ghuẓfiyya is ascribed to Shaykh Muḥammad al-Aghẓaf al-Dāwūdī (d. *ca.* 1860) and ultimately to al-Djaʿfarī. A considerable number of people remain unbound by any specific *ṭarīḳa*, and they also sometimes criticise some of the Ṣūfīs."

It will be observed from the above comments of Mukhtār b. Ḥamīdun that he does not deem the Ghuẓfiyya to be a heretical *ṭarīḳa*.

(c) The fight of the *ṭuruḳ* against the French.

The Mauritanian *ṭuruḳ* took an important part both in resisting and in coming to a *modus vivendi* with French colonial policy. The most active Ṣūfī-inspired resistance movements were the Ḥamawiyya and the Mayābiyya (a small *ṭarīḳa* founded by Muḥammad al-Ḳādir wuld Mayāba, who favoured *hidjra* from Mauritania if a *djihād* proved to be impossible), and the resistance of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī [*q.v.*], who was principally based at Ṣmāra in the Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ but whose forward bases were in the Mauritanian Ādrār. The hostility to the French, as to other Christians, was of long standing; it arose partly out of fear of European penetration and suppression of Muslim belief and partly out of a positive and aggressive belief in the total infidelity of their European foes. By the turn of the century, the French were convinced that the gum traffic on the Senegal river was threatened and that the Moors also threatened the French territories to the south of that river. Xavier Coppolani saw that some peaceful progress of France's interests might be possible through Shaykh Sīdiyya Bāba in Boutilimit, who was himself convinced that the French would gain the upper hand and that through cooperating with them the Ḳādiriyya might gain and increase its following and influence at the expense of its competitors. Coppolani's occupation of the Trārza and Brākna owed much to Shaykh Sīdiyya's support and cooperation. However, the most significant threat to further expansion came from Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and Sīdī wuld Mawlāy Zayn, who laid siege to the fort at Tidjikdja (Tijikja) in 1905. During this and other attacks planned by Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, Coppolani was assassinated on 12 May by a *muḳaddam* of the Ghuẓfiyya. The northern resistance in the Ādrār became a veritable *djihād*, with active support coming from the Sultan of Morocco. However, this did not prevent the French from advancing and in 1909 the Ādrār was pacified. Only in the extreme north did Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn continue his resistance until his death in 1910.

The attitude of the French to Islam in Mauritania fluctuated between a general sympathy and a limited backing for certain marabouts amongst the alleged "Berber" Zwāya (a view discernable in the writing of Paul Marty and in some of those who were interpreters and aides of the French administration, for example Ismaël Hamet in his *Chroniques de la Mauritanie Sénégalaise* and other writings), and in an obsession with the threat of a pan-Germanic and pan-Islamic alliance, in which that Machiavellian *éminence grise*, Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, had a particularly important rôle to play. Over a period, some foreign Arabic papers were banned from internal circulation, the *Zwāya* were closely watched, mail was sometimes censured and Arabic higher education undoubtedly suffered. Differences between the Ḳādiriyya and the Tidjāniyya were exploited wherever possible. In the view of D.C. O'Brien, Islam became "a traditional subject of French paranoia" (*Towards an "Islamic Policy" in French West Africa (1854-1914)*, in *JAH*, viii [1967], 309). Where the French allowed and at times encouraged *madrasas* to be built, it was principally to facilitate tribal control by them and to simplify their constant observation. The encouragement of certain marabouts to visit their flocks in adjacent Afrique Noire was in part shrewd policy, in part cosmetic. It was aimed at impressing a far wider Muslim public. Some of the men of the *ṭuruḳ* vigorously rejected the French, amongst them, Shaykh Ḥamallāh wuld Muḥammad wuld Sayyidnā ʿUmar of Tīshit (see C. Hames, *Cheikh Hamallah, ou qu'est-ce qu'une confrérie islamique (ṭarīqa)?*, in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, no. 55/1 [1983], 67-83). Repeatedly deported or under surveillance, he died in obscure circumstances in January 1943 and a number of his followers, as well as two of his sons, were executed.

In those years which followed the World War I, the death of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn and the desecration of his *zāwiya* at Ṣmāra did not mean that his sons retired from the struggle nor that the northerly Moorish tribes of the *bilād al-sība*, the Rgaybāt in particular, refrained from raiding both French and Spaniard alike. Harking back to the Gazūla and to the Lamṭa in the days of the Almoravids (cf. Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 67) and anticipating the current raids of the Polisario against the sixth Moroccan "wall" in the Western Sahara, the Rgaybāt raided the Ādrār on 26 March 1924. Port Etienne was attacked and Shinḳīṭ threatened. Descendants of Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn, and more especially his son, Shaykh Murabbīh Rabbuh (1886-1942), were the spiritual supporters and indeed sometimes the master-planners and part-executors of these attacks. However, after 1932, in the course of which the French were fiercely attacked in the Trārza near Nouakchott by the Awlād Dalīm, the religious leaders who supported these movements failed to sustain the momentum of the struggle or to maintain any kind of coherent spirit. The sole exception of this was the Ḥamawiyya. New *madrasas* were built by the French, four of them major, at Boutilimit (founded in 1914), Timbedra, Atar and Kiffa. By World War II, the teaching of Arabic and of Ḳurʾānic studies were generally in a decline. This was in Mauritania itself; outside it, the *shaykhs* of the Mauritanian *ṭuruḳ* had thriving communities and *talāmīdh* in adjacent parts of French West Africa.

With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in November 1960, Islam was given new encouragement and a fresh spur. The constitution (adopted in 1961) stipulates that the religion of Islam is the religion of the Mauritanian people, whatever their ethnic origin may be. However, the Republic guarantees everyone liberty of conscience and the right to practise his or her religion under the conditions laid down by morality or public order. Article 10 of the constitution specifically affirms that the President of the Republic and Chief of State must be a Muslim. With Islamic law reinstated, many new mosques built, and strong support afforded for fulfilling the duty of the *ḥadjdj*, the Islamic character of the nation has decisively influenced its foreign policies. On the other hand, while Islam is a force for great national strength and unity, the religion faces grave problems which are in part the outcome of the political problems in the Third World. These include (i) the perennial drought conditions which have disastrously afflicted almost all classes in Mauritanian society; (ii) the demand of the nominally ex-slaves and lower classes for social equality in all respects and a total freedom from the degrading occupations which they have been condemned to practise for centuries; (iii) the appeal of fundamentalism; (iv) the conflict of national interest and Islamic loyalties, and especially Mauritanian and Ṣaḥrāwī nationalism; and (v) the promotion of Arabic outside religious studies, and the competition with French. All these, and many others, are the problems which the Zwāya, and the former Zwāya in particular, are being called upon to face as they enter the country's unknown future.

(d) The place of the Ḳurʾān in Mauritanian Islam.

The Ḳurʾān, its study, its memorising and the observance of its teaching, has always been at the heart of Mauritanian Islam. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī is alleged to have said to Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Ḳayrawān, when he appealed for a qualified teacher to be sent to instruct them, "If you were desirous of divine recompense by teaching them what is good, you would send one of your disciples or students with me to teach them the Koran and instruct them in religion" (*apud* Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Kitāb al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, in Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 240). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when he stayed in Walāta, whatever reservations he may have harboured about some of the ethics of its Massūfa people, was prepared to concede that "these are Muslims who observe the prayer and memorise the Koran" (*ibid.*, 285).

Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun, *op. cit.*, has outlined the history of Ḳurʾānic recitation and study in more recent times:

"As for the rendition of the Ḳurʾān amongst them, it is by the manner of the reading (*ḥarf*) of Nāfiʿ. The *riwāya* of Warsh is more widespread amongst them than the *riwāya* of Ḳālūn, save amongst the *mudjawwidūn* amongst them, where both the *riwāyas* are on a par. If it be said that the proportion of those who know the Ḳurʾān in the Zwāya social class attains 70%, this would not seem far-fetched on account of the intensity of their concern for the Ḳurʾān, likewise the proportion of the *mudjawwidūn* amongst the reciters. A company of them, beyond reckoning, from the *imāms* amongst the reciters, have attained a renown in the recitation of Nāfiʿ, or in the seven or the ten readings, men who were skilled in Ḳurʾānic *tadjwīd*, in mastering it and in writing it down and in its transmission by a continuous chain of *idjāza*. Amongst such men were al-Fagha ʿAbd Allāh al-Daymānī, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanwādjīwī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdjī, al-Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh al-Djakanī, Sayyid al-Mukhtār Idabhumī, Lamrābiṭ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Turkuzī, and others.

Beginning at the time he can talk properly and speak clearly, a boy begins to memorise the Ḳurʾān.

Then he writes it and the recites it correctly according to the rules laid down. The most renowed of the texts which they use is the poem *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Barrī (d. 730/1339; see Brockelmann, II, 248), the ode of al-Shawshāwī, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn al-Djazarī and the ode of al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194 [see *EI*¹ s.v.]). All of these have been commented upon by a number of people and have been imitated by others, in works in verse or in prose, lengthy or concise, in Arabic or in Ḥassāniyya. Every Ḳurʾānic *idjāza* in Mauritania is traced back to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāḍī. However, they disagree over the pronunciation of some of the letters, such as the softened *hamza*. Amonst them are some who pronounce it as a pure *hāʾ*. As for the *djīm*, there are some who pronounce it hard, approaching the sound of the *dāl*, whilst others pronounce the *djīm* in an open and free manner approaching the sound of the *zāy*. In ancient times they used to pronounce it in the latter manner, and they did so until the beginning to the 12th/18th century. The first of them who recited with the hardened *djīm* was Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Tanwādjīwī (d. 1145/1732-3). He adopted it from Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb, the 'pole' (*ḳuṭb*) of Sidjilmāsa. On account of that, the people used to call it 'the *djīm* of Tanwādjīw', and the other one 'the *djīm* of Massūma', because the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Massūma and the Tadjakānt supported it. Ibn Sayyid al-Amīn al-Djakanī put pen to paper amongst them in his refutation of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh. Amongst those who also supported the free and openly-pronounced *djīm* at that time was the *faḳīh* Min Naḥna al-Daymānī. In regard to this he said, amongst his verses:

> A tribe, whose habitation was the Ḥidjāz, have corrupted the *djīm*.
> They are a rabble from amongst the negroes.

The openly-pronounced *djīm* was favoured by Muḥammad al-Yadālī al-Daymānī and by others. Then those who recited with the hardened *djīm* increased in number during the last two centuries. One of them said, in regard to it:

> We recited the Book of God with the *djīm* first of all, but the substitution of one *djīm* for another is preferable to continuous dissension and debate between us.

Wars with the pen have continued up to the present day. All the participants agree that the '*djīm* of Tanwādjīw' is hard and that 'the *djīm* of Massūma' is both open and depressed, and that both *djīm*s are voiced. The dispute is now only about the degree of hardness of 'the *djīm* of Tanwādjiw' and the openness and the depression of 'the *djīm* of Massūma'. In a similar way, they differ in regard to the pronunciation of the *ẓāʾ* and the *ḥāʾ*."

(e) Arabic and Islamic scholarship in Mauritania.

(i) *In the* gebla. The dune and gum forest country of south-west Mauritania, the *gebla* (Trārza and Brākna and, by extension, parts of Gorgol), throughout Mauritania's history has been an important tribal meeting point, attracting the influx of groups from the Saharan regions to the north, drawn towards the coast by trade, to the river Senegal and its fertile pastures and to the salt mines in the region of Awlīl. The Arabic and Islamic studies of the Moorish and non-Moorish scholars of the *gebla* have been influenced by the following factors: the survival of the Zenaga language and the use of it in religious works by Zwāya scholars, contact with Europeans at an early date in Arguin island and at trading points along the Senegal river, intercourse between scholars along a different axis from that in the north, between the Ādrār and Timbuctoo, via Tagānit and al-Ḥawḍ, and the growth of Ḥassāniyya in the art form of *azawān* amongst the Ḥassānī princes of the *gebla* at the same time as this was taking place in Tagānit region.

Scholarship was very strong amongst such tribes as the Awlād Daymān and the Tandagha. Four scholars and poets from the former tribe, where Zenaga is still spoken and written in Arabic script, have been especially studied and selected. They are: Shaykh Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Mukhtār al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1684-1752), the author of a number of important historical works about the history and life of the southern Zwāya, prior to, and following the "War of Shurbubba", of works of *tafsīr* and *sīra*, and of Arabic grammar (al-Yadālī was nicknamed al-Naḥwī and, according to Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun, "Muḥammad Sāʿīd al-Yadālī was the first who brought Arabic grammar to the *gebla*"), and he practised the extensive use and even abuse of *badīʿ* in his verse. He was the leading figure amongst a group of such poets, including Bū Fumwayn, Alumma al-ʿArbī and al-Dīb al-Ḥasanī. Al-Yadālī's pupil Wālid b. Khālunā (Wālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, d. between 1212/1798 and 1214/1799-1800), was also important for a commentary on Khalīl and for his studies of the Zwāya Imāmate of Nāṣir al-Dīn, though especially of the hagiographical archives of the Awlād Daymān and their genealogies. His two great religious poems in Zenaga and Arabic, *al-Makzūz* and *al-Mazrūfa*, are his most original compositions and are probably unique survivors in all Mauritanian literature (on both al-Yadālī and Wālid, see Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature*, Oxford 1968, 123-54; idem, *Znāga Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii [1969], 496-526; and idem, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, London 1986, 61-3). The Arabic works studied in the *gebla* and catalogued in *al-Makzūz* are listed in Appendix 1 of Norris, *Ṣanhāja scholars of Mauritania*, in Willis, ed., *Studies in West African Islamic history*, i, London 1979, 158-9. The life and poetry of al-Yadālī may be read in *al-Wasīṭ*, 223-36. Another outstanding scholar of Khalīl and grammarian of the Awlād Daymān was Maḥanḍ Bāba b. ʿUbayd (1185-1277/1771-1860), (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 236-8, and M.M. Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du mālikisme en Mauritanie*, Tunis 1982, 47).

The fourth scholar, Muḥammad wuld Ahmad Yūra, whose book of Zenaga toponyms of the Trārza, *Kitāb Ikhbār al-akhbār*, was published and translated by René Basset in his *Mission au Sénégal*, i, Paris 1909, 561-91, was born in 1260/1844-5 and died in 1340/1921-2. It is, however, as a poet that he is best remembered, since no Mauritanian poet is more spontaneous or closer to the heart of the people. In his poems, sometimes quatrains or short love verses, he expressed the emotions of the people of the *gebla* or described their nomadic existence, their tea ceremonies, their riddles and their sandy habitat. An individual poet who often broke free from classical restraints, he was equally at home in classical form and in popular verse which owed much to Ḥassāniyya *leghna*. According to Mohamd El Moktār Ould Bah, "in his classical work, he was the poet who was the closest to the environment in which he lived. His poems are short, strewn with Ḥassāniyya and Aznāga (Zenaga) words, and they are embellished with adages and proverbs. The tone of these poems is sometimes sad and touching, sometimes cheerful and witty. His style is easily recognisable" (*Arabica*, xviii [1971], 45). An equally marked individuality may be observed in the writings of Awfā b. Abū Bakr al-Īdadjfaghī (1217-1300/1802-83), who was a student of the scholar

Muḥammad Fāl b. Muttāliyya al-Tandag̲h̲ī, (*al-Wasīṭ*, 343-5). Awfā was skilled in Mauritanian medicine and surgery. He wrote in Ḥassāniyya, and also wrote lengthy works in Classical Arabic on the science of medicine, *Ummahāt al-ṭibb*, *Ḳawāʿid al-ṭibb*, *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿa* (on the treatment of bones), a treatise on the reciprocal rights of doctor and patient in medical treatment, and his *urd̲j̲ūza* of 1,182 verses on medicine called *al-ʿUmda* (Norris, *Mauritanian medicine*, in *The Maghreb Review*, ix/5-6 [1989], 119-27, and *al-Wasīṭ*, 575-8).

It was at Būtīlīmīt (Boutilimit) that Mauritanian scholarship in the *gebla* attained one of its glories in the shape of the example, the life and teaching of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya al-Kabīr and his successors, and through the foundation of its *al-Maʿhad al-Islāmī*, which was to become one of the most famous Islamic centres of learning in the whole of West Africa, drawing students from Senegal, Mali, Niger and beyond, as well as from within Mauritania itself. It is interesting that the Awlād Abiyāri (from which came not only S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya al-Kabīr, and his grandson S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya Bābā, but also ex-President al-Moktar ould Daddah) were originally a tribe of the ʿArab, "warrior", caste but became Zwāya "of the sun" (*Zwāyat al-S̲h̲ams*). Of special importance were the studies which S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1190-1284/1773-1868) made in Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfism with S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdī 'l-Muk̲h̲tār al-Kuntī (1142-1226/1729-30 to 1811) in Azawād, thus linking the scholarship of the *gebla* with that of the eastern marches of Mauritania (Stewart, *op. cit.*, 34-53). But Ṣūfism and *fiḳh* apart, the family of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya were also noteworthy poets. They are given an honoured place in *al-Wasīṭ* (240-77). Despite the conservatism of his verse, Mohamd El Moktâr ould Bah (*loc. cit.*, 47), dubs Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya (1247-86/1832-69) an "independent", and he deems his verse to have been "original in its accent". Likewise a mystic, his poetry was noteworthy even during the lifetime of his father (Stewart, 148-50).

It should be mentioned that there is little influence of the *Sīra Hilāliyya* in folk tales of the Banū Maʿḳil in Mauritania other than a few fragments recorded amongst the Awlād Dalīm. Adventures that are akin to the exploits of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī are not however attributed to him. The Hilālīs are locally described as heathens with supernatural powers. The raids and miracles of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ characterise the Kunta of Mali, who claim descent from him. In Mauritania, amongst the Kunta as well as amongst the S̲h̲amāsīd and other Zwāya groups, the personality who approaches nearest to that of the hero of a *geste* is Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī, who, accompanied by his Yemenites and by his eventually martyred *ḳāḍī* counsellor the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, breaks the power of the negroes and the infidel monsters of the Ādrār and Tagānit and their armies of ferocious dogs. In the content of the narrative there is much borrowing of stories in the tales of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and from the early Islamic Yemenite cycles of ʿUbayd b. S̲h̲arya al-D̲j̲urhumī and Wahb b. Munabbih (Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, 126-59).

The Lamtūna survive as an entity in parts of the *gebla*, more especially amongst the Brākna and in Gorgol. Ḳurʾānic studies are attributed to the *Imām* Ibn Makkī al-Lamtūnī. An unusual poet from amongst them was S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Mbārak al-Lamtūnī, a prolific author and a friend of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Sīdiyya al-Kabīr. He claimed to be a descendant of the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲ufīn (Norris, *op. cit.*, 110-6). His *ḳaṣīda* of some 115 verses, though much indebted to the *ḳaṣīda al-Ḥimyariyya* by Nas̲h̲wān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, and principally composed as a riposte to the Kunta who, by tradition, claimed to have subdued the Lamtūna in alliance with the Awlād Ḥassan, nevertheless also contains wisps of folk epic otherwise lost. It is of local interest in view of the statements it makes about relations between the Lamtūna and the Toucouleur of the Senegal basin. It is the latter, in fact, at the battle of Tisrilābāw (Dasrilabā?), under their chief (Lāmṭu?) Bū Suya who ultimately defeated the Lamtūna. They were, it is claimed, betrayed by a Berber client who was in league with the Kunta. The name of the king of Takrūr in the poem, G̲h̲ayūr, would appear to refer to the province of Kajoor, where the founders of the Imamate of Fuuta Tooro received their Islamic schooling, derived from the movement of Nāṣir al-Dīn, principally at Pir Sanakuur, in the 18th century.

(ii) *In Wādān and S̲h̲inḳīṭ*. Wādān was allegedly founded in 535/1141 according to Mauritanian popular traditions. However, certain of them furnish the later date of 730/1329. The original nucleus of villages at this important point of the Ādrār included Kawlān, Tāmgūna and Tiftil. The indigenous population was in part Ṣanhād̲j̲a, either Lamtūna or Massūfa, in part non-Ṣanhād̲j̲a speakers of Azayr, who were possibly descended from an earlier stratum of population, the Bāfūr, and who had historical and cultural links with Tīs̲h̲īt and Māstina (Ke-Macina) in Mali. Local legend states that when the town was founded it was administered by two scholars, al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUt̲h̲mān, the eponym of the Īdaw al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲, and Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Yaʿḳūb. They claimed descent from the Ḳurays̲h̲ and Anṣār respectively. The former came with the S̲h̲arīf ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the founder of Tīs̲h̲īt, from Ag̲h̲māt, and like him, it is said, studied with Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. These scholars were welcomed by the Massūfa Tiftil and Tāmgūna and they built *ḳaṣr* Wādān. At a later date they were joined by al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāʾim (the ancestor of the Ṣayyām), although these latter now form a branch of the widely-spread Īdaw al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ Zwāya. From Morocco came Yaḥyā al-Ag̲h̲mātī b. Mūsā and al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿAlī. The latter claimed descent from Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar al-Lamtūnī. The Īdaw al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ of Assaba and the Western Ḥawḍ (especially the Īdawabad̲j̲ and the Lūtaydāt) claim descent from Abad̲j̲ and Ūtayd, the sons of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿAlī, who had married the daughter of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUt̲h̲mān. What is certain is that the Īdaw al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ were to become the leading family of scholars in Wādān, in all their branches, and that it is principally from them that the Īdaw al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ scholars of Timbuctoo, and Mali—there forming the Aḳīts—established a major line of scholars and stemmata. Their families were for a while the source of learning in the whole of the eastern part of the Sahara and along the Niger buckle (Norris, *Ṣanhājah scholars of Timbuctoo*, in *BSOAS*, xxx [1967], esp. 638). Very close ties were established between Wadān, Tīs̲h̲īt, Timbuctoo, the salt deposit at Id̲j̲d̲j̲il and Portuguese Arguin in the late mediaeval period. Scholars from S̲h̲inḳīṭ came to Wādān to study, and its jurists gained a high reputation for the close examination of and commentary upon the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of al-K̲h̲alīl.

A sub-fraction of the Ṣayyām, the Ahl Ṭwayr al-D̲j̲anna, takes its name from a noted Wādānī pilgrim al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Ṭuwayr al-D̲j̲anna (Ajjanna), the author of *Riḥlat al-munā wa 'l-minna*, wherein he described his journey on pilgrimage to Mecca and his academically fruitful stay as guest of the Sultan of Morocco, and who benefited through his meetings with scholars in Tunis and Egypt. Al-Ṭālib

Aḥmad left Wādān in 1245/1829 and returned to it in 1250/1834. He completed his *Riḥla* in 1253/1838. He landed in Algiers after its capture by the French and he was received in Gibraltar as "tributary king of Chinguetti" by its then governor, General Sir William Houston, on Monday, 12 January 1833. He had brought with him four hundred volumes from the Holy Places (Norris, *The Pilgrimage of Aḥmad*, and Oswald, in *ibid.*, 212-13).

The town of Shinḳīṭ or Chinguetti is the most famous in the Ādrār, probably the most famous ancient town of Mauritania and, by repute, the seventh holiest city in all Islam. The two principal tribes who stem from it, the Īdaw Aᶜli and the Aghlāl, descended from ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the first caliph Abū Bakr respectively, have produced an outstanding number of scholars who were honoured in the Middle East as pilgrims and teachers and who also rose to high estate in the courts of the Sultans of Morocco. Yet Shinkīṭ (if we exclude its half-mythical predecessor, Abbwayr) is not a specially ancient town. It was founded in the 8th/14th century at the earliest. In the *Tārīkh al-Sūdān* by al-Saᶜdī (tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1900, French text, 38, Arabic text, 22), during the reign of the Tuareg sultan Akil, Tinbuctoo was governed by Muḥammad Naḍḍa, a Ṣanhādjī from Shindjīṭ. He had held this post prior to 836/1433, the year which marked the fall of the dynasty of Mali. He died in the middle of the 9th/15th century.

The only history of the town written in Mauritania is the brief *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naḳl fī ᶜAlawiyyat Īdaw Aᶜli wa-Bakriyyat Muḥammad Ghull*, penned by the outstanding Shinḳīṭī scholar Sīdī ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm (d. 1233/1878), whose life and works are comprehensively covered by the author of *al-Wasīṭ*, himself from Shinḳīṭ, Aḥmad b. al-Amīn (d. 1331/1913), pp. 37-41. The *Ṣaḥīḥat al-naḳl* furnished the core of the historical information about the town of Shinḳīṭ (424-77).

Shinḳīṭī scholars travelled and taught and settled widely in Mauritania. Mohamd El Moktar ould Bah has remarked (*Arabica*, xvii [1971], 22) that the Īdaw Aᶜli transplanted the cultural tradition of Shinḳīṭ, thanks to the arrival in the Trārza of a reputed *ᶜālim*, the *ḳāḍī* ᶜAbd Allāh, who died in 1112/1691-2. His grandson Wuld Rāzga was both an *ᶜālim* and a poet. The family tradition has been continued by Ḥurma wuld ᶜAbd al-Djalīl (1150-1243/1737-1828), a brilliant disciple of the famous grammarian (of the Tadjakānt), "the crown of the *ᶜulamā*ʾ", Mukhtar wuld Būna. One knows that it was in the *maḥḍara* of Ḥurma that Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabir (al-Intishayti, see Stewart, *op. cit.*, 10-53) first began his studies.

One of the earliest jurists of Mauritania, the first to compose *nawāzil* [see NĀZILA] on legal and other matters and a vigorous opponent of the *Imām* Nāṣir al-Dīn and his allies who supported the *Imām* al-Majdhūb al-Shamsadī in the Ādrār, wishing to resuscitate the cult of the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī, was al-Ṭalīb Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Aᶜmash al-ᶜAlawī al-Shinkīṭī (known as Bilaᶜmash) (1036/1626-7 to 1102/1690-1 or 1107/1695-6). These *nawāzil* were a landmark in Mauritanian literature, and the author was a pioneer figure. He earned the praise of the author of *al-Wasīṭ*, who remarks (578) *fa-innahu awwalu man adjāda min ahl tilka 'l-bilād fī taṣnīf al-nawāzil wa-kullu man allafa fīhā yankulu ᶜanhu*. These *nawāzil* were later versified by others. Ibn al-Aᶜmash also composed a noted ode on mathematics.

Probably the greatest Arabic poet who was born in Shinkīṭ was Sīdī ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāḍī, known, after his mother, as Ibn Rāzga (d. 1143/1730-1). He was a master of *ᶜilm al-badīᶜ*. El Moktar ould Bah ranks him first amongst *rhétoriqueurs* and remarks that before him and his generation there were no "poets" in Mauritania but only simply versifiers. He also leads the poets in *al-Wasīṭ* (1-24). He was praised for his verses by Muḥammad al-ᶜĀlim, the son of Sultan Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl. He began his studies in Shinḳīṭ and Wādān, continued them in the *gebla*, and became the principal pupil of the *faḳīh* Min Naḥna Ibn Mawdi Mālik and of his grandfather al-Ḳāḍī. He journeyed far, and on several occasions visited the court of Mawlāy Ismāᶜīl and lauded the latter. Muḥammad al-ᶜAlīm gave him a library, and supported both him and his companion, the *amīr* of Trārza ᶜAlī Shanẓūra b. Haddi, with a contingent of troops (*maḥalla* [*q.v.*]) to ensure the régime of this notable Ḥassānī *amīr* (1139-70/1727-57). Despite his high rank, only a fraction of the works of Ibn Rāzga are well-known. To him are attributed a treatise on logic, an epistle on the application of the *sharīᶜa* amongst the Bedouin which foreshadows the later masterpiece by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī on this theme, another treatise on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and a work on rhetoric entitled *Nuzhat al-maᶜānī fi 'l-bayān*. Because of his weaker verses, Ibn Rāzga had many opponents as well as admirers. His lengthy stay in Morocco opened Mauritania to literary and cultural influences from that quarter and did much to stimulate the interest of Mauritanian scholars in ᶜAbbāsid and Andalusian verse. The *Dīwān* of Ibn Rāzga has been edited by Muḥammad Saᶜīd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd (*Dar al-Muᶜallimīn al-ᶜUlyā*, Nouakchott 1980). Ibn Rāzga made a noteworthy address to the *ᶜulamā*ʾ of Fez.

Shaykh Sīdī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīdī Aḥmad b. Hāmanni was a scholar, author and teacher and a *ḳāḍī* of the Aghlāl in Shinḳīṭ, who died at the age of eighty in *ca.* 1900. Another noted scholar of the Aghlāl was Aḥmad b. Ṣīdī Muḥammad b. Ḥabbut, who was likewise a *ḳāḍī*. He died in 1892-3 and was also described as an important grammarian. His father wrote a history of the Almoravids in Mauritania called *Kitāb Ansāb al-Maḥalla*.

Most curious of all the town's scholars was the almost legendary Shāṭirī youth, who in the 11th/17th century allegedly appeared in a blaze of light in a Shinḳīṭ date grove. He passed on knowledge and initiated Shinḳīṭī scholars, such as Muḥammad b. al-Aᶜmash and the grandfather of Ibn Rāzga, in many branches of learning. This youth allegedly vanished into the Atlantic on a skin rug, having claimed to be a *Sharīf* from Fez. This tale was repeated by the lettered (see *al-Wasīṭ*, 578-9). It would seem to suggest that no knowledge had survived in the town about scholarship prior to the 11th/17th century and that the sources of learning there owed much to the *Shurafā*ʾ of Fez who had settled there as they had done elsewhere in the Sahara (e.g. the Adrār-n-Īfōghās in Mali) in the earlier mediaeval period.

(iii) *In Tīshīt and Wālāta.* Tīshīt (Tichit), the most famous and among the most ancient of caravan centres of eastern Tagānit (Tagant), lay on the route joining the Ādrār, the salt mine of Idjdjil and Wādān with Walāta and Mali. Trans-Saharan routes to the north linked it with the Maghrib. Its population consists of indigenous former Azayr-speakers who have kinsmen in Māsina (Ke-Macina) and who are of negroid blood, though of free status; Ṣanhādja *Shurafā*ʾ who ultimately claim descent from ᶜAlī b. Ṭālib; and Awlād Billa of the Awlād Ḥassān, who exerted a domination of the town, unique in its stone architecture and cultural self-sufficiency, from the end of the 12th/18th century.

A Tīshīt tradition maintains that the founder of the

town was the Sharīf ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ṣāliḥ, who came from Aghmāt in Morocco and who, like the reputed founder of Wādān al-Ḥādjdj ᶜUthmān, was a pupil of the Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Faḍl ᶜIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Sabtī (476-544/1083-1149). The date of foundation given in the so-called Tīshīt chronicles, 548/1153-4, cannot be corroborated from any mediaeval Arab geographer. A much later date in the 8th/14th century, currently cited in Mauritania, casts doubts on the foundation of the town in the early middle ages. The Sharīf ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin lies buried in the precincts of the principal mosque (see Oswald, *Die Handelsstädte der Westsahara*, 414-59), and according to de Laiglesia (*Brevo Estudio*, 63-4) those who claim descent from him may have come as late as the 12th/18th century.

Tīshīt has always been noted for its scholars and for its family archives, and it receives mention in the writings of the Mauritanian historian Mukhtār b. Ḥāmidun, more especially for contributions made to *fiḳh* and to the study of Arabic grammar. Two scholars contributed some forty additional disputed issues (*masāʾil*), Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad Abūbuddi al-Zaydī al-Tīshītī (1065-1123/1654-1711) and the Sharīf Ḥamallāh "Mbala" (Anbāla) b. Muḥammad al-Muslimī (see Oswald, *op. cit.*, 453-5), who lived early in the 11th/17th century.

Three grammarians are mentioned: *al-faḳīh* Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ayyadjil al-Zaydī al-Tīshītī (d. 1117/1705-6, see Oswald, 492, (62)) and his son Sīdī Aḥmad (1110-71/1698 to 1757-8) (see *ibid.*, 497 (110)), and Abū Bakr al-Ṭufayl al-Muslimī, who died in 1116/1704-5 (see *ibid.*, 516-17).

Walāta (Berber Īwalātan, French Oualata), formerly Birū, is the most easterly of Mauritanian towns within the eastern Ḥawḍ (Hodh). It was one of the greatest of Saharan caravan towns, competing with Timbuctoo over the border and with Agades and Ghadāmis. Local tradition dates its first cultural *essor* after the empire of Ghāna fell to the Soussous. Shaykh Ismāᶜīl founded the town, the population of which was predominantly Soninké, and it absorbed elements from the earlier city of Awdaghust. Over a period, the Ṣanhādja Massūfa branch of the Almoravids assumed the role of scholars and merchants, as they were to do in the Saharan towns of Takaddā and Agades further east. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town in 753/1352, coming from Sidjilmāsa, he was well-received by the Massūfa scholars there. The *ḳāḍī* of Walāta was Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd b. Yanūmar al-Massūfī, whose brother Yaḥyā was a *faḳīh*. The culture, the architecture and the *décor* of its merchants' houses display Islamic influences from as far away as al-Andalus, Fez, Tilimsān, Ghadāmis and Cairo. When Sunnī ᶜAlī occupied Timbuctoo in 1469 and began his harassment of Ṣanhādja scholars. the forebears of Aḥmad Bābā (866-929/1462-1523) and al-Mukhtar al-Naḥawī b. And-Agh-Muhammad, together with ᶜUmar Aḳīt and his sons, fled to Walāta which gained from this influx, despite a threat to its independence from Sunnī ᶜAlī. The main asylum for these scholars may have been the township of Tāzakht, today a ruined suburb of Walāta. This town gave its name and *nisba* to some noted scholars, amongst them Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Muḥammad, known as Ayda Aḥmad al-Tāzakhtī who studied with Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Tilimsānī in Takaddā. Later he became *ḳāḍī* of Katsina in Hausaland and died there in 936/1529-30. The cemetery at Tāzakht contains the tomb, with an epitaph, of the *walī* and *imām* ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt (Oswald, *op. cit.*, 485 (7)). Other scholars of the Massūfa were buried there and the cemetery has been frequently visited by the devout, despite the destruction of the township of Tāzakht by the Ḥassānī Awlād Yūnis.

In more recent centuries, Walāta became the nucleus of disparate Zwāya and Ḥassānī groups, the early Kunta, including Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (d. *ca.* 921/1515) who is buried there but whose historicity is not confirmed outside Kunta records, the Maḥādjīb (Lemhadjba) *Shurafāʾ* from Baghdād, other *Shurafāʾ* of Walāta who claim to have come from Tuwāt, Aghlāl from Tagānit (who may be related to the Aghlāl of Shinḳīṭ), of Timbuctoo, and possibly the Kel Aghlāl *Ineslemen* of the Kel Denneg Tuareg of Niger, the Īdyilba from the Wād Nūn in Morocco and the Tadjakānt. The chronicle of Walāta does not trace the town's history further back than the 10th/16th century.

Walāta was famous for its scholars, many of whom received a mention in the noteworthy biographical dictionary written by Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭālib ᶜAlī al-Bannānī al-Bartīlī al-Walātī, known as al-Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ, who died on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1219/24 March 1805. His book *Fatḥ al-shakūr fī maᶜrifat aᶜyān ᶜulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, written in 1214/1799-1800, has been edited and published by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kattānī and Muḥammad Ḥadjdjī (Beirut 1981). The chief scholars of Walāta must include Ṭālib ᶜUmar al-Walī b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh al-Mahdjūbī (1004-70/1595-1659) (Oswald, *op. cit.*, 489 (24)), Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Hāshim(i) al-Ghallāwī (d. 1098/1687) *ibid.*, 490 (49)) and the grammarian Anbaway ᶜUmar b. al-Imām Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh who lived in the early 8th/14th century.

(iv) *In Western Tīris* (*Tīris al-Gharbiyya*). This bleak desert region which, in the past, once knew more fertile periods of climate, is located along the southern and eastern border of the former Spanish Sahara and Mauritania. Until Mauritania withdrew from the Western Saharan conflict it formed the greater part of its territory which was allocated to it by the partition. This region enjoyed a reputation for Islamic scholarship and for the presence of small desert "universities" (*maḥāḍir*). Its leading poets and men of letters are highly esteemed as Mauritanians, although for the Ṣaḥrāwīs these outstanding men, together with Shaykh Māʾ al-ᶜAynayn and his successors, represent the national scholarly legacy of the Ṣaḥrāwī people. Both Saharan peoples take a joint pride in their achievement. The Ahl Bārikalla, to whom many of them belonged, were the most powerful subtribe of the Īdayḳub in Tīris. They dug the bulk of its wells and they formed part of that group of Zwāya tribes, many of which were centred in the Mauritanian *gebla*, which were deemed to be branches of the Tashumsha Zwāya. Pastoral activities, more especially camel-breeding, enabled scholars to devote their time to study and to writing.

Representative of this scholarship were:

The Ahl Muḥammad Sālim, who were noted for their expertise in *fiḳh* and whose members acted as judges and jurists in all parts of the Western Sahara. Some of this family claim descent from Ibrāhīm al-Umawī, *ḳāḍī* of the army of the Almoravid Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar.

The neo-Djāhilī poets of the late 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries who were expert in the *Muᶜallaḳāt*, the verse of Dhu 'l-Rumma and the *dīwāns* of the six pre-Islamic poets. Several of these came from the Īdaykūbī tribe. The most famous of them was probably Muḥammad wuld Ṭulba al-Yaᶜḳūbī (*al-*

Wasīṭ, 94-190), the so-called "al-Nābigha of Shinkīṭ", who was praised by Wuld Haddār as the "pole of the Zwāya of Tīris and its *Imām*" (*kuṭb Zawāyā Tīris wa-Imāmuhu*). Muḥammad wuld Ṭulba lived from 1188/1774 to 1272/1856, and his verse embraced eulogy, elegy, love, poetry and tribal boasting (*fakhr*); he even modelled his own life on that of the traditional *nasīb* and *kaṣīda* of the pre-Islamic poets, claiming to equal the exploits and achievements of Ḥumayd b. Thawr al-Hilālī, Aᶜshā Bakr b. Wāʾil and al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār al-Ghaṭafānī. Yet he deeply loved his native Tīris and he filled his verses, otherwise hardly distinguishable from Djāhilī models, with its toponyms and allusions to tribal history and species of Saharan flora and fauna.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī b. al-Bukhārī b. Ḥabīb Allāh b. Bārikalla b. Bā Zayd (d. *ca.* 1282/1865), buried at Ayg in Tīris, was one of the greatest of polymaths of Mauritania, and indeed of the entire Western Sahara (Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature and song*, 92-101). He was also noted for his hospitality to his guests, who visited him both in winter and in summer. To him are attributed numerous *dīwāns* of verse on Islamic topics ranging from Ḳurʾānic studies, *fiḳh*, mathematics, the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], theology, logic, grammar and elocution. Much of this poetry is in Ḥassāniyya. In his verse, especially in prayers for rain and praise of the Prophet, this dialect was elevated to the level of a literary and a national language and his versatility in it has never been equalled since. However, many hold his masterpiece to be his *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, the "Book of the Bedouin and their customary law and lore". This comprises some 100 folios and also bears the title of "Dogs' wool" (*Ṣūf al-kilāb*), following the saying "he who shears a dog is in need of its wool". It is also called *Kitāb al-Talmiyāt* in view of the innumerable times the conjunction *lammā* (since) appears in the text. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī was one of the first to seek for guidance outside the standard Mālikī texts in Mauritania in order to resolve pressing legal problems which needed a solution. Although paying hommage to the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn* Abu 'l-Maᶜālī ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] in this work, his catholic taste and enquiring mind reveal the wide distribution of Middle Eastern manuals and books in the Western Sahara by the middle of the last century. Much of his book is taken up with a discussion of the function of the mosque amongst the nomads in the *bilād al-sība*, the nature of the call to prayer and the duty of *ṣalāt al-djumᶜa*. He also deals with *ḥubus* and the need for some forms of usury, loans of animals, especially camels, the legality or otherwise of types of *zakāt* (*zakāt al-ḥubus*, *zakāt māl Aznāga*, etc.), the apportioning of shares, the legality of the non-inheritance of daughters, the practice of discreet mediation and the flattering of the Awlād Ḥassān by the Zwāya *shaykhs* (*al-mudārāt*) and its permissibility, citing as one of the authorities Ibn al-Aᶜmash that it was the *sabīl Allāh*, the propriety of ear piercing as practised by the Saharan women, the harmlessness of certain games of chance, smoking and the use of tobacco, the property called *mustaghriḳ al-dhimma*, illegal measures of weight and reprehensible relationship between the sexes, together with the non-wearing of the *ḥidjāb* by Moorish women. In Mauritania, this book is regarded by some as controversial, but it would have to be included amongst the most significant works of law Moorish society has ever produced.

Mention might also be made of Limdjaydrī b. Ḥabīb Allāh al-Yaᶜḳūbī (*al-Wasīṭ*, 214-16) who is regarded by some as one of the four who were unsurpassed in their erudition, sc. Ibn Rāzga, Ibn al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad al-Yadālī and himself, although the author of *al-Wasīṭ* is of the opinion that al-Mukhtār b. Būna al-Djakānī was a worthier candidate. Limdjaydarī was deeply attached to Tīris and longed for it when he visited the East, including Egypt. Amongst his pupils was the Ṣūfī Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī.

(v) *The learning and scholarship of Moorish women.* Mauritanian women, like their Tuareg sisters, have played an important rôle in Saharan society, though in their own case their literacy in Arabic and their profound grasp of Islamic belief, including Ṣūfism, have made them teachers, governesses and administrators and so enabled them to play a significant part in the shaping of Mauritanian history. In the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries the Ṣanhādja, more especially the Lamtūna, women took an active part in Almoravid politics. They also fought as equals beside their menfolk. When the Almohads attacked Marrakech in 541/1147, they fought fiercely until noon on the day when it was captured and the attackers only secured its citadel after Fānnū, the daughter of the Almoravid ᶜUmar b. Yīntān, had been overcome. She had fought, clad as a man, and the Almohads marvelled at the ferocity of her fighting up to the moment of her death.

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Walāta he was shocked to observe what he regarded as the lack of modesty of the unveiled Ṣanhādja women. He upbraided his friend Abū Muḥammad Yandakān al-Massūfī when he saw the latter's wife entertaining a "companion" in the courtyard of his house. Abū Muḥammad replied, "The association of women with men is agreeable to us and a part of good conduct, to which no suspicion attaches. They are not like the women of your country" (Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 285-6).

Mauritanian traditions recount that at Tīnīgi in the Ādrār, an important settlement around the 8th/14th century of the Lamtūna Tadjakānt, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] was taught in the *maḥḍar* to pupils who included 300 girls, and that amongst the Midlish (a Zwāya tribe, the name of which is an abbreviated form of *madjlis al-ᶜilm*), the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnun [*q.v.*] was likewise studied. The Zwāya tradition of girls' education would seem to date back to a period prior to the settlement of the Awlād Ḥassān, amongst whom concern for female education was by no means unknown. Moorish girls were taught from a syllabus which included the Ḳurʾān, the *Sīra* of the Prophet, selected passages of *fiḳh* and Classical Arabic poetry and grammar. The girls began their studies towards the end of the Ḳurʾān with the shorter Meccan *sūras* and especially those in the last *ḥizb*. As studies progressed, so the early *sūras* were memorised, a process called *silka*. The full recitation of the Ḳurʾān in chapter sequence is termed *ᶜalla*. The study of *Sīra* was based upon the following works: *Ḳurrat al-abṣār*, attributed to a scholar named al-Lamṭī; *al-Ghazawāt*; and poems and commentaries attributed to Aḥmad al-Badawī al-Madjlisī (*al-Wasīṭ*, 350-1). In *fiḳh*, the syllabus included the commentary by ᶜAlī al-Sidjilmāsī (d. 1057/1647) on *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ᶜibādāt* by Abū Zayd ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sayyidī al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*] and on the writings of Ibn ᶜĀshir and on the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd. Arabic poetry was less often studied by young women, and the poets were carefully selected. Girls were normally taught by a woman teacher who maintained attention and discipline with the help of a long and flexible stick of *titārek* (*leptadenia spartum*) or *mrekba* (*panicum turgidum*). The education of

women amongst the Zwāya was aimed at the maintaining of high ethical standards amongst the marabout class, and at the same time to supply teachers for the tents of the Awlād Ḥassān. Aḥmad wuld ʿAyda (d. 1932) the last *amīr* of the Ādrār, was taught the Ḳurʾān by Fāṭima bint ʿAbd al-Wadūd of the Ahl Ḥādjdj. The following women scholars are amongst the most noted in Mauritania: Taslām bint ʿAmr al-Īdyaydjbiyya, who lived during the 12th/18th century and who was the wife of the scholar Muttāliyya b. Sīdī al-Fāl (*al-Wasīṭ*, 343), and Khadīdja bint Muḥammad al-ʿĀḳil al-Īdabhumiyya, an authoress and commentator on the *Ṣughrā* of al-Sanūsī called *Umm al-barāhīn* and on works of logic. Her noted pupils included her younger brother Aḥmad al-Daymārī (d. 1234/1826-7), to whom she taught the esoteric sciences, the scholar Mukhtār b. Būna (*al-Wasīṭ*, 277-8), al-Māmi ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the first al-Māmi of Fuuta Tooro (1141-1221/1728-9 to 1806); Maryam bint al-Amīn, a noted poet of the Īdashughra branch of the Īdablaḥsan, who composed an ode in honour of Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr (1773-1868); ʿĀʾisha bint Sayyid al-Mukhtār b. Sayyid al-Amīn, the wife of Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, to whom were attributed miracles, pious deeds, frequent recitation of Ṣūfī prayers and constant support of her husband's many activities. The Shaykh's son Sīdī Muḥammad, the author of the biography of his father *Kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid* [see KUNTA], had originally planned a short biography of her, hence his allusion to the miracles of both *shaykhs* in his full title (*karāmāt al-Shaykhayn*). This was never completed. Those few references to her many virtues early in his book, where he outlines his plan, form a fitting tribute to his ideal of Mauritanian Muslim womanhood.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography of Mauritania may be obtained from the following publications: (a) *Actes du VIIème Congrès de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines = Hespéris*, xi, Paris 1930; (b) D.T.B. Blaudin, *Essai de bibliographie du Sahara et des régions avoisinantes*, Arts et métiers graphiques, Paris 1960; (c) Ch. Toupet, *Orientation bibliographique sur la Mauritanie*, in *BIFAN*, xxiv/3-4 (1962), 594-619; Mohamed Ben-Madani, *Selected Bibliography on Mauritania*, in *The Maghreb Review*, ix/5-6 (1984), 135-41. A comprehensive list of archival collections and Arabic manuscripts may be found in C.C. and E.K. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 167-95, and on Arabic sources, in particular, in A. Heymowski, *Mauritanie, Organisation de la bibliothèque nationale de Mauritanie*, UNESCO, Paris 1965, and Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, in Ulrich Rebstock, *Rohkatalog der Arabischen Handschriften in Mauretanien (catalogue provisoire des manuscripts arabes en Mauritanie)*, Tübingen 1985, nos. 6584, 6585; and in *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara*, Paris 1987, no. 1, 109-13. Mauritania and the Western Sahara question are extensively covered in Lynn F. Sipe, *Western Sahara, a comprehensive bibliography*, New York and London 1984. In many respects the most informative book about Mauritanian culture, history and geography is *Introduction à la Mauritanie*, (including a comprehensive chronology of the country's history since pre-historic times), published by the CNRS, Paris 1979.

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Studies on Mauritanian history and the tribes of the Western Sahara: R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*. i. *Étude sur le dialecte Zenaga*, *Notes sur le Hassania*, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1909; I. Hamet, *Chroniques de la Mauritanie sénégalaise*, Paris 1911; the following works of P. Marty: *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, Paris 1918-19; *Les tribus maures du Sahel et du Hodh*, Paris 1921; *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus maures, les Brakna*, Paris 1916; *L'Émirat des Trarzas*, Paris 1916 (several of these works being reprints of articles which appeared in *RMM* between 1915 and 1921); F. de la Chapelle, *Esquisse d'une histoire du Sahara occidental*, in *Hespéris*, xi (1930), 35-95; Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972; idem, *The Arab conquest of the Western Sahara*, London 1986; and more specifically on the "War of Shurbubba"; idem, *Znāga Islam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *BSOAS*, xxxii (1969), 496-526. The early Islamic penetration of the region is discussed by T. Lewicki, *Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara Occidental: Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr et ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb*, in *SI*, xxxii (1970), 203-14. Islam in a broad perspective is surveyed by A. Traore, *L'Islam en Mauritanie*, in *Introduction à la Mauritanie*, Paris 1979, 155-67 and, specifically, in his *Cheikh Hamahoullah, homme de foi et résistant*, Paris 1983. For Islam in a tribal context, the Almoravids, the 16th and 17th centuries, and the role of the Kunta, see in J.R. Willis, ed., *Studies in West African Islamic History*, i, *The cultivators of Islam*, London 1979, N. Levtzion, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn and the Almoravids*, at 78-112; A.A. Batran, *The Kunta, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and the office of "Shaykh al-Ṭarīqa 'l-Qādiriyya"*, at 114-46, and Norris, *Muslim Ṣanhāja scholars of Mauritania*, at 147-59. For Islam in the *gebla* in the 19th century, see C.C. and E.K. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, and, for the more recent history of Mauritania, the article and bibl. of Geneviève Désiré-Vuillemin, *Aperçu historique de la Mauritanie du XIXe siècle à l'indépendance*, in *Introduction à la Mauritanie*, 67-100. For the history of Islam in the river region, see Moustapha Kane and D. Robinson, *The Islamic regime of Fuuta Tooro*, African Studies Center, Michigan State University 1984, and Oumar Kane, *Les Maures et le Futa-Toro au XVIIIe siècle*, in *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* (1974), 237-52.

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Mauritanie, Paris 1963; Catherine Taine Cheikh, *Bibliographie sur le ḥassāniyya*, in *Inventaire des études linguistiques sur les pays d'Afrique Noire d'expression française et sur Madagascar*, 263-78, CILF, Paris 1978; Mohamd El Moktâr ould Bah, *Introduction à la poésie mauritanienne (1650-1900)*, in *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 1-48; Norris, *Shinqīṭī folk literature and song*, Oxford 1968; M. Guignard, *Mauritania*, in *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, ii, 844-6; Oswald, *op. cit.*

Mediaeval cities and archaeological sites: R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen Age*, Méms. IFAN, no. 61, Dakar 1961 (by far the most comprehensive publication, covering the early and mediaeval sites in Mauritania, including Koumbi Saleh (Ghāna?), Tegdaoust (Awdaghust) and Azougui (Azuggī, Azukkī, etc., the Lamtūna "capital"). More recent excavations undertaken at Tegdaoust have appeared in J. Devisse, *Tegdaoust. 1. Recherches sur Audaghost*, Paris 1970. On the relation between Azougui, the Almoravid town, and the *Imām* al-Ḥaḍramī in Mauritanian history and legend, Portuguese commerce in the Ādrār and the "War of Shurbubba", see Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh and B. Saison, *Vie(s) et mort(s) de Al-Imam al-Hadrami. Autor de la postérité Saharienne du mouvement almoravide (II^e-17^e siècle)*, in *Nouv. éd. Maurit.*, i/2 (1984), 55-104, 7 plates. To the former the author of the present article is grateful for much of the information which appears in this article, parts of which are also in the original article by F. de la Chapelle in *EI*[1] art. MOORS. (H.T. NORRIS)

AL-**MŪRIYĀNĪ**, ABŪ AYYŪB SULAYMĀN B. MAKHLAD (the *nisba* stemming from Mūriyān in Ahwāz, see Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 221), secretary of the second ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Various stories are given in the sources about how he came to enjoy al-Manṣūr's confidence: that in the time of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad he had saved the ʿAbbāsid Abū Djaʿfar from a flogging for embezzling state funds (al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Djahshiyārī); that he was a freed slave of al-Saffāḥ's, taken into his successor's service (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā); and that he had been a secretary in ʿIrāḳ under Hishām's governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar who later sought the favour of the ʿAbbāsids (al-Balādhurī). The second of these at least seems improbable.

At all events, Abū Ayyūb secured an influence under al-Manṣūr over the finances of the empire, displaying considerable unscrupulousness and placing members of his own family in lucrative positions where possible, being involved in the condemnations of Abū Muslim and Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.vv.*] and acting as the caliph's private secretary for some 15 years until al-Manṣūr became aware of his peculations and lost confidence in him. He imprisoned him in 153/770, confiscated his wealth and executed his relatives; Abū Ayyūb himself died in jail the following year.

It is unclear whether Abū Ayyūb was ever designated officially as *wazīr*, as al-Djahshiyārī and later sources name him; the earliest sources simply describe him as a *kātib*; he may have been known informally as vizier without ever being granted the title officially.

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MURRA, BANŪ, an Arab tribal term.

The Arab genealogical works record the name Murra in the genealogies of many tribes, but apparently the name does not always denote functioning tribal groups. In the Ḳuraysh, e.g., Murra is merely a link in the genealogical chain, and not the name of a clan (see Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1962, 14 ff.). It is also difficult to determine whether a given (ancient) Murra was a tribe, a clan or a lineage. As effective tribal groups may be considered the following (among others): (1) the B. Murra b. ʿUbayd, of the Tamīm confederacy. In the 2nd/8th century, they lived in Kūfa (Ibn Ḥazm, 217; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1932, v, 517). (2) The B. Murra b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, clan of the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām [*q.v.*] (al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Riyāḍ 1980, 135; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, Cairo 1963, 115). There seems to be a confusion regarding the genealogy of this poet (see *Madjallat al-ʿArab*, i (1966-7), 37, 48, 1154); however, these B. Murra were better known by their mother's name, Salūl (Ibn Ḥazm, 281, 482; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Beirut 1986, 379-80). Today in Arabia there is a clan called Murra b. Salūl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, which forms a part of the great confederacy of ʿUtayba (M.S.Ḥ. Kamāl, in *Madjallat al-ʿArab*, iii (1968-9), 819). (3) The B. Murra of the tribe of Djudhām, who lived in Palestine in al-Ḳalḳashandī's days (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries) (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalāʾid*, 68, and see also 57; al-Ḳuṭb, *Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1969, 175). (4) The B. Murra of the tribe of Djuhayna, who lived in the Ḥidjāz (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿarab*, Leiden 1884, 180). (5) The B. Murra of Kinda, who had a *masdjid* to themselves in Kūfa (al-Ḳuṭb, 177). (6) The B. Murra of the tribe of Aws; they seem to have been a lineage, since they are said to have occupied one of Medina's "fortresses" (*āṭām*) (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959, 418; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1955, ii, 330; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ii, 728). (7) The B. Murra of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. One of the families of this group, the ʿUyūnids, ruled al-Aḥsāʾ (Baḥrayn) from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUḳayl, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, xvii [1982-3], 501; art. BAḤRAYN). (8) Several groups called Murra were included in the Shaybān, a branch of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederacy, whose homeland was basically in ʿIrāḳ. The most important of these groups seems to have been the B. Murra b. Hammām. Some of them held important positions as governors and generals during the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, whereas others joined the Khāridjī opposition. They are usually mentioned, however, as "Shaybānī" rather than as "Murrī" (Ibn Ḥazm, 324-7; Ibn al-Kalbī, 497-519; W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab, Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, ii, 23-4; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, 120; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 348; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 147, 975, 1633-4).

By far the most important Murra groups are the ancient B. Murra b. ʿAwf, and the contemporary Āl Murra of Saʿūdī Arabia.

The B. Murra b. ʿAwf was a North Arabian tribe or clan, part of the larger tribal groups (from the narrower to the broader) Dhubyān, Ghaṭafān, Ḳays ʿAylān, Muḍar. In pre-Islamic times their territories lay to the north and east of Medina (Ḥamad al-Djāsir, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, iv [1969-70], 126, 610; al-

Mawṣilī, *al-Isʿāf fī sharḥ shawāhid al-ḳāḍī al-Bayḍāwī wa 'l-Kashshāf*, Edin. Univ. Lib. Or. 2, fol. 149b). They were politically allied to other Ghaṭafānī tribes, in particular the Fazāra, on whose side they fought against several other tribes (al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 3, fols. 478a-479b; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, ii, 118 ult.; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. al-Shinḳīṭī, Cairo, ix, 141, xiii, 134; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Būlaḳ 1299, iv, 217; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, i, 642; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xv, 364). The most famous conflict in which they were involved in pre-Islamic times was the war of Dāḥis wa 'l-Ghabrāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], fought between the Dhubyān (including the B. Murra) and the ʿAbs. In connection with this war, the Murrī leaders, notably Harim b. Sinān and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, were praised not for their valour but for their efforts to restore peace. The poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*] composed his famous *muʿallaḳa* in their honour (M.A. Djād al-Mawlā Bek, A.M. al-Bidjāwī, and M.A. Ibrāhīm, *Ayyām al-ʿArab fī 'l-Djāhiliyya*, Cairo n.d., 246-77; Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1964, 58 ff., 73 ff.). One of the most famous Murrī heroes in the *Djāhiliyya* was the fearless al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, whose actions brought him and his kin into conflict even with the king of Ḥīra. The B. Murra were also raided by forces of the Ghassānid kingdom, apparently as a punishment for trespassing (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 20, al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iv, 180-3; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 2, fols. 123b-125a; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1293, 42 ff., 63).

At some point in pre-Islamic times, the B. Murra (or a part of them) participated in a Ghaṭafānī attempt to establish a centre competitive with the Kaʿba in Mecca. This attempt failed, and the B. Murra were incorporated into the Meccan religio-economic system. In addition, they had a military alliance with the Jews of Khaybar (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Beirut n.d., 267, 315; Yaḳut, iv, 169; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 503; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 204; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xii, 121, xxi, 63; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1098; al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, London 1966, ii, 637; M.J. Kister, *Mecca and Tamīm*, in *JESHO*, iii [1965], 134, 136). These commitments may account for the B. Murra's hostile attitude towards the Prophet Muḥammad. They participated in the siege of Medina organised by Ḳuraysh and the Jews in the year A.H. 5 (al-Khandaḳ), and were raided by Muslim forces on several occasions in subsequent years (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 443-4, 478-80, 723-5, cf. ii, 566, 639, 642; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, Cairo 1936, iii, 226, iv, 271; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 47; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1465, 1473-4, 1592, 1759, 1762-3; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Cairo 1959, i, 343, 378-9; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya li 'l-Ḳasṭallānī*, Cairo 1325, ii, 250, 266). The Murrī leader al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf did not give Muḥammad's enemies his wholehearted support, fearing that the Prophet would eventually win. When he tried to come to terms with Muḥammad, however, the B. Murra did not follow him, and killed Muḥammad's messenger to them. After the Muslim conquest of Mecca in the year 8/630, a delegation of the B. Murra arrived in Medina and apparently accepted Islam. Their leader al-Ḥārith was appointed tax-collector, and was asked by Muḥammad to give him his daughter in marriage. This request al-Ḥārith refused, however (al-Wāḳidī, ii, 443, 479-80, 652; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1593; Ibn al-Ḳayyim, *Zād al-maʿād fī hady khayr al-ʿibād*, Cairo 1326, iv, 217-8, 249-50, v, 212; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 343; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 252; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 42-3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xviii, 42-3; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī, *Taʾrīkh*, Nadjaf 1967, 63; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, Beirut 1970, 61).

After the Prophet's death in 11/632, the B. Murra participated in the so-called apostasy wars (*ridda* [*q.v.*]). Having been defeated by the Muslim forces, they rejoined Islam. In this, as in the previous political vicissitudes, they were closely related to the other Ghaṭafānī groups (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1873-80).

The B. Murra's close relation with the Fazāra (of the Ghaṭafān) did not prevent the occurrence of conflicts between segments of the two groups. The poet al-Rammāḥ b. Mayyāda [see IBN MAYYĀDA] (late Umayyad-early ʿAbbāsid period) recorded a quarrel over property between Fazārīs and Murrīs. A political issue, i.e. the alliance with groups from the tribe of Asad, formed a point of conflict between the Djāhilī Murrī poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*] and leaders from the Fazāra. The same issue apparently caused division among the B. Murra themselves. For this or other reasons, al-Nābigha's clan aroused the hostility of other Murrī clans, who went as far as to contract an alliance against it. There were other internal conflicts as well, such as the one between the two poets Shabīb b. al-Barṣāʾ and ʿAḳīl b. ʿUllafa in the Umayyad period (Caskel, ii, 19-20; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, 69; al-Mawṣilī, *al-Isʿāf*, Or. 2 fols. 79b, 149b, 616a).

During the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, several Murrīs attained high positions. Al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān served as governor of Khurāsān under the caliph Hishām, and when he died he appointed as his successor one of his fellow-tribesmen, ʿUmāra b. Khuraym. ʿUthmān, son of this ʿUmāra, served as governor of Armenia, Ādharbāydjān and Sidjistān under the caliphs al-Mahdī and Hārūn. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān was governor of Medina for al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and his son Riyāḥ held the same position under al-Manṣūr. Muslim b. ʿUḳba and ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra were important generals. Al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd (or Saʿd), related to the Murra although not one of them, was in charge of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] under the ʿIrāḳī governor Yūsuf b. ʿUmar (120-6/738-44). Ḥabīb b. Murra was a commander in the army of Marwān II, and after the latter had been killed he continued the fight against the ʿAbbāsids, until eventually he came to terms with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. In addition, several Marwānids were married to daughters of the Murrī notable and poet ʿAḳīl b. ʿUllafa (Ibn Ḥazm, 253-4; Ibn al-Kalbī, 415, 418, 420, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v, 513, 520; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 303, 312; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 2, fol. 616a, Or. 3, fol. 359a; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1282, 1564, iii, 56). It was perhaps these close relations with the ruling élite which gave rise to the claim that the B. Murra indeed originated in the Ḳuraysh. As tradition would have it, however, the claim preceded the Umayyad period. Verses of poetry are attributed to the Djāhilī warrior al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim, in which he claimed Ḳurashī descent after he had been ousted by his own clan, on account of the incessant troubles which he was giving them. Stories were told about Murra's grandmother, or about his father, explaining how they came to leave the Ḳuraysh and settle with the Ghaṭafān, thereby causing a shift in the genealogy of their offspring Murra. When the delegation of the B. Murra came to Muḥammad, they sought to curry favour with him by mentioning that they belonged to his own tribe, the Ḳuraysh. This claim, however, although accepted by some genealogists, was not universally recognised. According to some reports, ʿUmar decreed that they did not belong to the Ḳuraysh (ʿUmar was an expert on *ḳiyāfa* [*q.v.*], the art of identifying genealogical relations). According to another story, it was ʿUmar who suggested that they

should resume their (allegedly) ancient genealogy, but they preferred to remain Ghaṭafānīs on account of their high rank among the Ghaṭafān (Abū al-Baḳā' Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1984, 460; al-Mawṣilī, *Isʿāf*, Or. 3, fol. 123b; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, Cairo 1967, i, 410-16; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, ʿAmmān 1982, ii, 561; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 42-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 204; Ibn Ḥazm, 13; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iii, 616, s.v. Hāshim b. Ḥarmala; M.J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi, n. 26).

The B. Murra seem not to have been a large and complex group, yet they dispersed during the Arab conquests, and probably later on as well. Groups of them were found in the various provinces, from Khurāsān in the east, through Syria and Egypt, to Elvira and Seville in Spain. Some of these may have been just splinter groups (Ibn Ḥazm, 252-5; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 425, iii, 625). A part of them remained in the ancient territories in Arabia, where they continued to follow the patterns of their pre-Islamic nomadic life. Together with other Bedouin tribes, they pestered the Ḥidjāzī town-dwellers, so that the caliph al-Wāthiḳ sent punitive expeditions against them in the years 231/846 and 232/847 (*ibid.*, iii, 1339, 1342, 1362; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vii, 19, 29).

The traces of the B. Murra b. ʿAwf are apparently lost. The genealogists of the later Middle Ages do not know anything about them, except that which they found in the earlier books. The dispersed groups of the B. Murra were either assimilated by other tribal groups, or assumed new names, or both.

The modern Āl Murra is a powerful tribe of nomadic pastoralists, which belongs to the élite of the pure, ancient Bedouin tribes in contemporary Saʿūdī Arabia. Their dialect, unintelligible to many, is considered to be the purest Arabic, and they master ancient Bedouin skills such as hunting and tracking down animals and people. With the progress of life in Saʿūdī Arabia, however, hunting became curtailed, and the Āl Murra's services in tracking down criminals became redundant (D.P. Cole, *Nomads of the nomads*, Chicago 1975, 43, 55).

The original home of the Āl Murra was in Nadjrān, from which they started to expand around the middle of the 18th century. Today, their territory extends from Nadjrān northeastward across the Empty Quarter, and in the eastern part they reach northward to the oasis of al-Ḥasā. Occasionally, they exceed their own territory and wander as far north as Kuwayt and southern ʿIrāḳ.

The Āl Murra claim a pre-Islamic origin and a descent from Yām, a branch of the ancient southern tribe of Hamdān. The classical genealogical works, however, do not record a "Murra b. Yām", nor do the Murra themselves know the details of their genealogical chain up to their eponym. They consist of seven or eight clans, whose total number was estimated by Cole (in the late 1960s) at about 15,000 (*op. cit.*, 33-4). The whole tribe never unites except, perhaps, in times of war, yet it has a paramount chief, whose headquarters are located near the town of Abḳā'iḳ. His authority, however, is far from absolute, and his duties are mainly to advise, to solve internal conflicts, and to act as intermediary between the tribe and the state. In general, the Āl Murra are strongly egalitarian, so that their leaders are not singled out in any special way.

Being nomadic pastoralists, the Āl Murra follow a regular pattern of migration. In the summer, the lineages (which include about 50 households each) gather around their own wells. As the weather cools in September, they disperse in small groups of two to four households to seek pasture farther away from their wells. During the months of December or January, after the first rains, they migrate northward, again in small uncoordinated groups. In late March or April, they start to drift back to their wells where they congregate in the larger summer camps. Unlike many other Bedouin tribes, the Āl Murra do not have a base in the form of a permanently settled section. They do have four small oases in the northern part of their territory, the largest of which is Yabrīn, but they do not inhabit them. Only about a third of the tribe frequents these oases twice a year, once in order to pollinate the dates, the other in order to harvest them (Cole, 30; K.S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1958, 35, 75). These oases in fact represent an abortive attempt on the part of the Saʿūdī government to sedentarise the Āl Murra. In the beginning of the 20th century, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz created the organisation of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*], whose purpose was to spread the Wahhābī doctrine and to bring the Bedouins back to the original and true form of Islam. Within this project, settlements were established for the Bedouins [see AL-HIDJAR], but the Āl Murra found it impossible to abandon their nomadic way of life. However, the royal attempt at sedentarising them does not reflect a conflict between the Āl Murra and the ruling house. On the contrary, the tribe is allied with the Āl Saʿūd, and has given it its ardent support. Although in the past there were confrontations between Murrīs and the Āl Saʿūd, the founder of the modern state of Saʿūdī Arabia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, found among the Āl Murra refuge in times of trouble, and aid in times of struggle. The alliance is cemented by the marital ties which exist between the royal house and noble families of the tribe.

The Āl Murra were not unaffected by both the changes which occurred in Arabia with the founding of the modern state, and the discovery of oil. Many of them became incorporated in the national guard, so that they receive salaries from the state. Many others engage in wage-labour, which involves settlement, albeit on an individual basis. On the other hand, traditional means of subsistence beside camel raising, such as hunting and raiding, became unlawful. Yet on the whole, the Āl Murra are still a tribe of nomadic pastoralists. Their social structure and their way of life, at least until the late sixties, remained unchanged.

Bibliography: The indices of the works cited in the text should be consulted, in addition to the specific references. In addition, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, indices prepared by M. Shafīʿ, Calcutta 1935, s.vv. Murra, Ghaṭafān, al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim (the indices of the later Cairo edition are less adequate); Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 32, 49, 58, 59, 62, 68, 71, 126; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif al-ḳabā'il wa-mu'talifuhā*, Wiesbaden 1964, 65; Mubarrad, *Nasab ʿAdnān wa-Ḳaḥṭān*, ed. Maymanī, 1936, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 20-21, 23; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Ḳaṣd wa 'l-amam*, and idem, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabā'il al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1350, index s.v. Murra; Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 507, 534-7; Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Leiden 1912, fol. 525a-b; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, i, Cairo 1963, 129, 133; ii, Cairo 1966, index; x, Cairo 1368, index; A.Kh. al-Barrī, *al-Ḳabā'il al-ʿarabiyya fī Miṣr*, Dār al-Kātib al-ʿArabī 1967, 140, 162; Farrādj b. Shāfī, in *Madjallat al-ʿarab*, vi (1972-3), 477; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*

ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab al-ḳadīma wa ʾl-ḥadīt͟ha, Damascus 1949, iii, 1070-3, v, 199 (this last-mentioned source is sometimes misleading). On the B. Murra b. ʿAwf specifically, see Abu ʾl-Baḳāʾ, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, index s.vv. Murra, al-Ḥārit͟h b. Ẓālim; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1321, 104-6; F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen 1853, 296; A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, ii, 408-9, 424-501. On the Āl Murra specifically, the most important work is Cole's monograph, cited in the article. In addition, see M.F. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Wiesbaden 1952, iii, 157-9; H.St.J. Philby, *The Empty Quarter*, New York 1933, index; idem, *Saudi Arabia*, London 1955, index; R.B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, index; Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1958, 32, 72, 75, 152; Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-ʿArab*, iv (1969-70), 609-25; A.M. al-Ḥibs͟hī, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-ʿArab*. vii (1972-3), 38-40; S.A. al-Ḳuṭb, *Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1969, 121, 227-8; F. Ḥamza, *Ḳalb d̲j̲azīrat al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1933, 182, 203; Sirḥānī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ ansāb ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Ḳaṭar n.d., 159.

(Ella Landau-Tasseron)

MURSAL (a.), a technical term in the science of *ḥadīt͟h* [*q.v.*]. The oldest definition of this term, when applied to an *isnād* [*q.v.*], was that a link was missing. This definition was soon abandoned for a more specific one: *mursal* is an *isnād* in which between the Successor and the Prophet the name of the Companion is lacking. In the course of time, the older definition gave rise to the technical term *munḳaṭiʿ* (lit. "cut up"; its opposite is *muttaṣil*). Mediaeval Muslim *ḥadīt͟h* experts got rid of the confusion by concluding that not every *munḳaṭiʿ* is *mursal*, but every *mursal* is *munḳaṭiʿ*. (A closely related technical term for an *isnād* which stops at the Companion, thus without mention of the Prophet, is called *mawḳūf*; another term for an *isnād* which is "cut off" at the level of the Successor, thus without mention of either the Prophet or a Companion, is called *maḳṭūʿ*; finally, although it has the appearance of a contradiction in terms, with a tradition qualified as *mursal al-ṣaḥābī* is meant that a Companion describes some event involving the Prophet at which he/she could not possibly have been present, such as ʿĀʾis͟ha's account of the first revelation Muḥammad allegedly received, cf. Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Cairo 1349, 30.)

A text in which *mursal* has still its original meaning (later reserved for *munḳaṭiʿ*) is the introduction which Muslim b. al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]) added to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, i, 30, tr. G.H.A. Juynboll in *JSAI*, v [1984], 296). In the *Risāla* of al-S͟hāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) there is a passage (461-71) in which both terms are still used indiscriminately, although *mursal* gradually seems to be acquiring its own (later) definition.

At first there was still difference of opinion on whether or not certain *mursalāt* or *marāsīl* traditions of certain major Successors constituted an argument (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) in a legal argument. It was finally al-S͟hāfiʿī who settled the matter: they do not, unless substantiated by a Prophetic tradition of more or less the same purport supported by an uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*) and sound *isnād*. The most extensive account of this dispute is given in Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima* [sc. *fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīt͟h*], edited together with the *Maḥāsin al-iṣṭilāḥ* of ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulḳīnī by ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1974, 130-43, and al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 195-207.

The historical origins of *mursal* traditions may be reconstructed as follows: During the 1st/7th century, a number of legal experts in the different centres of Islamic learning gave their opinions on legal issues about which the public had sought their advice and these opinions acquired a certain fame. Thus we find in Medina Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713 [see fuḳahāʾ al-madīna, in Suppl.]), in Mecca ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732), in Damascus Makḥūl (d. 112-8/730-6), in Baṣra Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) and in Kūfa al-S͟haʿbī (d. 103-10/721-8), to name only one for each main centre. (For a survey of other early *fuḳahāʾ*, see fiḳh.) In the course of the 2nd/8th century, these legal opinions were partly "raised to the level" (Arabic: *rafʿ*) of Prophetic traditions by the addition of a name of a Companion who was reported to have heard the Prophet decide thus in the matter, and partly entirely reworded and provided with fictitious *isnāds* (Arabic *waḍʿ*) also going back to the Prophet, this in order to meet the growing demand for precedents which might 'establish' the antiquity, or even the "Prophetic provenance", of a legal decision. In this way a large number of these *marāsīl*, thus doctored to look like what later became known as genuine Prophetic *ḥadīt͟h*, found its way into collections which were later canonised, and from the point of view of Muslim scholarship became authenticated as Prophetic *sunna*. Western students of *ḥadīt͟h*, on the other hand, are inclined to see these *marāsīl* as the oldest relics of 1st/7th-century legal thinking in Islam, a phenomenon of basically post-Prophetic origin, in the formation of which Muḥammad's example or inspiration may at most have played a role transmitted through living memory. However, because of the wholesale *rafʿ* and *waḍʿ* mentioned above, a standardisation which effectively obliterated the traces of their true origins, the route taken by each of these *marāsīl* individually must be considered as no longer traceable, except perhaps in the case of a few isolated instances.

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(G.H.A. Juynboll)

MURS͟HID (a.), literally, "one who gives right guidance, *rus͟hd*, *irs͟hād*, in Ṣūfī mystical parlance, the spiritual director and initiator into the order (*ṭarīḳa*) of the novice or *murīd* [*q.v.*] who is following the Ṣūfī path; synonyms are *baba*, *pīr* and *s͟hayk͟h* [*q.vv.*]. As part of the guidance for the postulant, the *murs͟hid* bestows various tokens of spiritual grace and attainment upon the seeker [see murīd for details].

A special use of the term within the Persian world, in the compound form *murshid-i kāmil* "perfect spiritual director", occurred amongst the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] who ruled during the 10th-early 12th/16th-early 18th centuries in Persia. From our first knowledge of the Ṣafawiyya Ṣūfī order in 8th/14th century Ādharbāydjān, it seems that its *shaykhs*, from their base at the Ardabīl [*q.v.*] shrine of the founder, assumed this title of *murshid-i kāmil*, demanding complete obedience from all their adherents. This requirement continued to be exacted by the Ṣafawid Shāhs when they had also become temporal monarchs, *pādishāhs* [*q.v.*], in Persia as a whole, with resultant stresses within the state and tensions amongst the loyalties of their servants. See ḲIZIL-BĀSH and also R.M. Savory, *The emergence of the modern Persian state under the Ṣafavids*, in *Iran-Shinasi, Jnal. of Iranian Studies, Tehran University*, ii/2 (1971), 21-4, repr. in *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. VIII; idem, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, index.

Bibliography: See also that for MURĪD. (ED.)

MURSHID ḲULĪ KHĀN, commander and official of Mughal India (d. 1068/1658). He was a Turk by birth and first in the employment of ʿAlī Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Ḳandahār. He came to India along with ʿAlī Mardān Khān when the latter surrendered Ḳandahār to the Mughals (1047/1638). He was appointed *dīwān* of the Pandjab in 1049/1639 and of Multān in 1051/1641. His later offices were: *Mīr ātish* (1052/1645), *Fawdjdār* of the foot-hills of Kangra (1055/1645) and *Akhta begi* (1058/1648). When Awrangzīb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1062/1652, he was appointed *Dīwān* of Balaghat and was promoted to the rank of 1500/500. In 1066/1656 he was given the additional charge of Painghat, thus holding the charge of the revenues of the whole of Mughal Deccan with the rank of 1500/1000.

Murshid Ḳulī Khān made significant changes in the revenue administration of the Deccan. He appointed new village headmen (*muḳaddams*). He established the system of "differential" crop-sharing and took half of the produce from the dry lands, one-third from the land irrigated by wells and one-fourth from those under superior crops. The old system of assessing the revenue on the basis of plough-counts was still retained in certain areas, but over the larger area the system of measurement was introduced. For this purpose, Murshid Ḳulī Khān determined the *rai* (standard output per unit of area) for each crop, and having in view the prices fixed the *dastūr* or cash rate (later to be known as the *dhara* of Murshid Ḳulī Khān). He also advanced loans (*taḳāwī*) to the cultivators for the purchase of seed and cattle.

When Awrangzīb marched northwards to contest the throne with Dārā Shukūh [*q.v.*], Murshid Ḳulī Khān accompanied him as his *Mīr ātish*, but was killed at the battle of Dharmat in 1068/1658.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

MURSHIDĀBĀD, a district of India, in the Presidency Division of the State of West Bengal, area 24,641 km² (1971), population 2,940,204 (1971), of whom 1,503,427 were males and 1,436,777 were females. Of the total population, 56.34% were Muslims and 43.6% Hindus. Murshidābād is one of the few districts in India where Muslims form a majority of the population, the only others being Malappuram District of Kerala State and six districts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the decade 1961-71, the Muslim population grew by 28.5%, and the Hindu population by 26.6%. In the rural areas of the district, Muslims form 59.3% of the total rural population, but in urban areas only 24.2% of the total urban population, a reversal of the more usual pattern in India, where the overall figures (1971) give Muslims as 16.2% of the urban population, and only 10% of the rural. At the partition of India in 1947, Murshidābād was initially allocated to East Pakistan on account of its Muslim majority population, but when the details of the Radcliffe Award were published it was re-allocated to India. Apart from a small community of Shīʿīs in Lalbagh sub-division, the Muslims of the rest of the district are Sunnī. Of these "Shaykh" has become the common designation for all who cannot claim to be Sayyids, Paṭhāns, or Mughals.

The history of Murshidābād is part of the general history of Bengal [see BANGĀLA] until the early 18th century, when it came to prominence in connection with the establishment of a new administration by Murshid Ḳulī Khān (to be distinguished from the Murshid Ḳulī Khān of the previous article). Until this time, the town of Murshidābād had been known as Makhṣūṣābād, and had not attracted many Muslim settlers, even in the period of Mughal rule, partly because it was regarded as unhealthy on account of its low-lying position in the Bengal delta. From the beginning of the 17th century, however, it began to be important as a centre of commerce, particularly in silk, and attracted the attention of English, French and Dutch trading agents. Murshid Ḳulī Khān, a Brahman by birth, had been sold as a boy to Ḥādjdjī Shafīʿ Iṣfahānī, who brought him up as his son, under the name of Muḥammad Hādī. Educated in Persia, he was subsequently given high office by the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb, and became *dīwān* of Bengal, and in 1702 was given the title of Murshid Ḳulī Khān. The revenue of the province until then had been insufficient even to pay the salaries of the military and civil establishment, and he therefore set up a new and more efficient system of revenue, choosing as his contractors new men of the official and trading class and thus creating a new (and eventually landed) aristocracy in Bengal. The change of name of his capital from Makhṣūṣābād to Murshidābād appears to have been made in 1705. The English East India Company set up a factory in the district, at Cossimbazar, in 1659. In his dealings with foreign trading companies is to be seen a large part of Murshid Ḳulī Khān's success in increasing the revenue; he was also in personal life a man of puritan character, sleeping little, observing the stated times of prayer, and engaging himself "in copying the Ḳurʾān and administering justice" (Karim, 238). Himself a Shīʿī, he was the first of a succession of Shīʿī *ṣūbadārs* of Bengal, including those who were nominal only, after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. From Murshidābād, the Shīʿīs migrated and formed colonies in other parts of Bengal

(Karim, 247). Finally, it should be noted that Murshidābād was a mint city, becoming a standard one for the East India Company, called on the earliest issues Makhṣūṣābād.

Bibliography: L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*: *Murshidabad*, Calcutta 1914; *1961 Census. District Handbook*: *Murshidabad*; Abdul Karim, *Murshid Qūlī Khān and his times*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications, no. 12, Dacca 1963. Murshidābād has a number of important Islamic monuments; see for these, Catherine B. Asher, in G. Michell (ed.), *The Islamic heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Protection of the cultural heritage, 1, Paris 1984, 87-100, 206-12. (T.O. Ling)

MURSIYA, Murcia, a town in the south-east of Spain, 43 m/140 feet above sea level in the centre of the famous *huerta de Murcia* ("gardens of Murcia") watered by the river Segura (Ar. *Wādī Shakūra* [*q.v.*] or *Wādi 'l-Abyaḍ*, "the white river") . Murcia has a large population, 265,000 people (1980), and is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of a bishop; it has also a university; this province has over a million inhabitants, with an area of 11,317 km². Its port, 40 miles to the south on the Mediterranean coast, is Cartagena, the *Karṭādjanna* [*q.v.*] or *Karṭādjannat al-Khulafā'* of the Arabs.

The situation of Murcia in the centre of very fertile gardens, forming an island of vegetation in a bare country poorly endowed by nature, had been noticed already by the Arab geographers who give more or less long accounts of it. Abu 'l-Fidā', for example, says that, it was like Seville for the number of its groves and parks (*muntazahāt*), among which he mentions the famous al-Rushāka.

Murcia in the Umayyad period was the capital of a province or *kūra* which bore the name of Tudmīr [*q.v.*]. This name which is connected with the name of Theodemir, a Visigothic chief of the region at the time of the Muslim conquest, was also applied to the town of Murcia itself, from the time when it supplanted Orihuela [see uryūla] as the chief town of the region. Indeed, almost all the Arab authors who speak of Murcia agree in saying that it was a comparatively recent foundation; it was built by order of the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II al-Ḥakam about the year 210/825, but according to *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, in 216/831 by the governor Djābir b. Mālik b. Labīd.

The land of Tudmīr and with it, of course, Murcia was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanīs and the Muḍarīs of Spain in the period of the independent *amīrs* of Cordova. In the reign of ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912), a rebel, the renegade Daysam b. Isḥāḳ, rose there with the connivance of the famous agitator Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. He ruled independently all the province of Tudmīr until the *amīr* of Cordova sent to suppress him in 283/896 an army led by his uncle Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and the general Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī ʿAbda. Daysam was defeated between Aledo and Lorca and the latter town besieged. The country was only definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova in the reign of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his successor al-Ḥakam II.

During the events which ended in the breakup of Umayyad Spain, Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state (*ṭā'ifa*) [see mulūk al-ṭawā'if. 2.]. At first in the hands of the "Slavs" [see ṣaḳāliba] Khayrān and Zuhayr (403-29/1012-38) along with Alméria and Jaen, the principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the region of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Ṭāhir; when he died in 455/1063, after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad, who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty.

The principality of Ibn Ṭāhir soon aroused the covetousness of Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], minister of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville 471/1078 and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashīḳ. Ibn Ṭāhir was taken prisoner and shut up in Monteagudo, but escaping, he reached Valencia where after acting as adviser to al-Ḳādir Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508/1119. The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn ʿAmmār in the name of the ʿAbbādids was only nominal, and it was Ibn Rashīḳ who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Ṭāhir.

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids [see al-murābiṭūn. 4.]. Murcia was taken for Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 484/November-December 1091 by the Lamtūna general Ibn ʿĀ'isha, who next took Denia and Játiva. Ibn ʿĀ'isha remained governor of Murcia; he was replaced later by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Tīfilwīt, then by a brother of the sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm.

A general rising against the Almoravids took place in Spain in the beginning of the 6th/12th century and gave rise to the formation of a new series of kingdoms or "taifas". Murcia was therefore between 540-3/1145-7 in the hands of two rival leaders, ʿAbd Allāh b. Iyāḍ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Faradj, until the Valencian ruler Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] seized it and took up his residence there. This individual, who was of Spanish origin, soon became the powerful ruler of all south-eastern Spain, between Valencia and Almeria, and instituted a series of fruitful alliances with the Christian rulers of Catalonia, Aragon and Castile. He was for long able to resist the attacks of the first Almohads ʿAbd al-Mu'min [*q.v.*] and Yūsuf [*q.v.*], and it was only after his death in 567/1172, during the siege of his capital Murcia, that his kingdom passed finally to the Almohad sovereigns.

From the fall of the Almohad empire in Spain until its conquest by the Christians, Murcia had a very troubled existence. It was in turn the residence (from the beginning of the 7th/13th century) of princes of the family of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mutawakkil, the latter's uncle, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Wāthiḳ, then it passed to the Naṣrids of Granada, to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Ibn Ashkīlūla. For details of the obscure history of this period, see the monograph by Gaspar Remiro quoted below. According to Ibn al-Abbār (cf. M. Bencheneb, *Notes chronologiques sur la conquête de l'Espagne*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, ii, 73), Murcia was surrendered to the Christians by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hūd, son of the governor, on Thursday 10 Shawwāl 640/2 April 1243. But if we may believe the Christian chronicles, it was in February 1266 that Don Jaime of Aragon took definite possession of Murcia.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy and de Goeje, 194-236; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 178-256; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 497; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ*

al-miʿṭār, s.v. Mursiya; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, *passim*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii and iii, indices; all the historians and biographers of the Muslim West; European writers: A good monograph has been written on Muslim Murcia by M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*², *index*; idem, *Recherches*, *passim*; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana*, 57, 82, 88; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid 1926; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, 96 ff.; idem, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xième siècle. Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, index; idem, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index; E. Tormo, Levante (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 92-3, with detailed bibl. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SHARĪF AL-**MURTAḌĀ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN b. Mūsā... b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Imāmī theologian, grammarian, writer and poet, in short, an Arab *adīb*, born and died in Baghdād (355-436/967-1044). A direct descendant of ʿAlī, he was, in the city of his birth, *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ṭālibīs, and his predominance in Imāmī circles furthermore earned him the titles of Dhu 'l-Madjdayn and ʿAlam al-Hudā. Little is known of his life, other than the following facts: he had a friend and pupil in Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (385-460/995-1067 [*q.v.*]), he was an associate of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*], and he defended al-Mutanabbī when Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]) criticised him. It should also be noted that he performed the duties of director of the *Dār al-ʿilm* [*q.v.*] and, according to an anecdote relayed by the son of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, he received an income of 24,000 *dīnārs* per year.

Although abundant, his work survives only in part, and is furthermore not easily distinguished from that of his brother, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*]. From the list of his works, as compiled primarily by al-Ṭūsī and Yāḳūt, the following deserve mention: (1.) the principal work, *Ghurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-ḳalāʾid bi 'l-muḥāḍarāt*, known more briefly as *al-Ghurar wa 'l-durar* and, erroneously, as *al-Amālī*, was completed on 22 Djumādā I 413/14 August 1022; this amounts to a genuine book of *adab* divided into 80 *madjālis*, in which the main theme, the interpretation in a somewhat Muʿtazilī manner of verses of the Ḳurʾān and of *ḥadīths*, is supplemented by philological and lexicographical commentaries illustrated by a large number of poetic quotations. It was lithographed in Tehran in 1272, published, under the title *al-Amālī*, in Cairo in 1325/1907, then again in Cairo in 1373/1954, through the efforts of Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. (2.) the *Kitāb al-Shāfī fi 'l-imāma* is a defence of the imāmate of the Twelve Imāms against the *Mughnī* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]); a summary, written in 432/1040 by al-Ṭūsī, under the title *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*, was included in a collection published in Tehran in 1301. (3.) the *Irshād al-ʿawāmm* was also printed in a collection published in Tehran in 1304 (cf. E.G. Browne, *A year among the Persians*, 554). (4.) *al-Dharīʿa ilā uṣūl al-sharīʿa*, ed. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Gurdjī, Tehran 1967-9. (5.) *al-Masāʾil al-nāṣiriyya*, which features in the collection entitled *al-Djawāmiʿ al-fiḳhiyya* (Tehran 1276), is composed of about a hundred *masāʾil* on the most diverse subjects, partially preserved, in particular in Mashhad. (6.) *al-Intiṣār*, on the differences between the Shīʿīs and the other *madhāhib*, was lithographed in Bombay in 1315 and printed in the *Djawāmiʿ fiḳhiyya* (see I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 271). (7.) *al-Shihāb fi 'l-shayb wa 'l-shabāb*, Istanbul (*Djawāʾib* edition) 1302 and previously in a collection published in Tehran in 1272 (see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, ii, pp. xvi, lvi). (8.) *Sharḥ al-ḳaṣīda al-mudhahhaba fī madḥ Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*], ed. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1970. (9.) *Dīwān*, ed. R. al-Ṣaffār, Cairo 1958. (10.) *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Tabrīz 1290, 1303, Nadjaf 1332. (11.) *Risāla fī radd (naḳd) iʿtibār al-ʿadad fi 'l-shuhūr* exists in Persian translation. Other works recently published include (12.) *Djumal al-ʿilm wa 'l-ʿamal*, ed. R. al-Ṣaffār, Nadjaf 1967, and ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Nadjaf 1967. (13.) *Rasāʾil al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Kāẓimiyya 1966.

Some critics also reckon al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā to be the compiler of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* [*q.v.*], a collection of speeches and sayings supposedly by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, which others attribute to his brother al-Raḍī (thus in the Yemen, according to the Ambrosiana mss., see *RSO*, iii, 5 ff.). Thus the authenticity of the contents of the *Nahdj al-balāgha* remains controversial, as does the authorship of two works which have been variously attributed to al-Murtaḍā and to al-Raḍī. The anthology *Ṭayāf al-khayāl* is definitely to be attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *pace* Derenbourg (*cat. Esc.*², no. 348), since he quotes in the preface his own work *al-Shihāb* (no. 7 above); it has now been edited by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1381/1962. But the recent editors of *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī madjāzāt al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan, Cairo 1955) and *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* (ed. Ṭāhā Muḥ. al-Zaynī, Kuwait 1967) have opted for al-Raḍī as author of these (in the first case, following Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 11377). Also mentioned in the same place by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa is a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, which the Turkish commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Murtaḍā published under the name of ʿAlī attributes also to al-Murtaḍā.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, i, 53-6; Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī, Baghdād 1390-1/1970-1, i, 192-5; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 472; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Nadjaf 1380/1961; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 454, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, no. 443, iii, 313-17, tr. de Slane, ii, 256-60; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 223 ff.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 256-8; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 402 ff.; Ghars al-Niʿma, *Hafawāt*, 59, 143-4, 241; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ al-ruwāt*, 548; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 335-6; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 173-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 146-7; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hdss. in Berlin*, no. 16; Brockelmann, I², 510-12, S I, 705-6; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 85, 597-8, vii, 364, viii, 186, ix, 288; ʿA. Muhyī 'l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā, min sīratihi wa-āthārihi*, Baghdād 1957; W. Madelung, *A treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the legality of working for the government*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980). (C. BROCKELMANN*)

(AL-)**MURTAḌĀ** B. AL-ʿ**AFĪF** (= ʿAfīf al-Dīn?) b. Ḥātim b. Muslim al-Maḳdisī al-Shāfiʿī, the author of a work in Arabic on ancient Egypt of which the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris once possessed a ms. of the 10th/16th century, now lost, but of which there exists a French translation by the translator of al-Makīn [*q.v.*], Pierre Vattier (d. 1667), and published at Paris in 1666 under the title *L'Égypte de Murtadi fils du Gaphiphe, où il est traité des Pyramides, du débordement du Nil et des autres merveilles de cette Province, selon les opinions et traditions des Arabes.* This version, in its turn translated into English as early as 1672, has been profitably utilised by the literary orientalism of recent centuries. If it is true that the author's main aim is to describe the marvels of ancient Egypt, he nevertheless devotes a part of it to the beginnings of the Islamic

history of the country, in particular, to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] and the foundation of his mosque.

Since Vattier's work deserves rescue from oblivion, it was made the subject of a facsimile edition accompanied by a copious and instructive commentary at the hands of G. Wiet (Paris 1953). An interested reader can find in the introduction some information on the author (who lived, at the earliest, in the 7th/13th century), his possible sources and the connections which should be made with other works of the same type. (ED.)

MURTAḌĀ NIẒĀM SHĀH [see NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS].

MURTADD (A.), "one who turns back", especially from Islam, an apostate. Apostasy is called *irtidād* or *ridda*; it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Ḳurʾān with disrespect.

1. In the Ḳurʾān, the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only; the "wrath of God" will fall upon him according to a sūra of the latest Meccan period (XVI, 108-9) and severe punishment (*ʿadhāb*) "except he did it under compulsion and his heart is steadfast in belief". Similarly, it is written in the Medinan sūra III, 80 ff., "... This is the punishment for them, that the curse of Allāh, the Angels and of men is upon them for all time (82); the punishment shall not be lightened for them and they shall not be granted alleviation, (83) except for those who later repent and make good their fault, for Allah is forgiving and merciful. (84) Those who disbelieve after believing and increase in unbelief, shall not have their repentance accepted; they are the erring ones. (85) Those who are unbelievers and die as unbelievers, from none of them shall be accepted the earth-full of gold, even if he should wish to ransom himself with it; this is a painful punishment for them and there will be no helpers for them" (cf. also IV, 136; V, 59; IX, 67). Sūra II, 214, is to be interpreted in the same way, although it is adduced by al-Shāfiʿī as the main evidence for the death penalty, "... He among you who falls away from his belief and dies an unbeliever—these, their works are fruitless in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever".

2. There is little echo of these punishments in the next world in the Traditions (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 409, 430, 464-5; v, 4, 5). Instead, we have in many traditions a new element, the death penalty. Thus Ibn ʿAbbās transmits an utterance of the Prophet, "Slay him, who changes his religion" or "behead him" (Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 14; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2689; Mālik, *Aḳḍiya*, tr. 15; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217, 282, 322). According to another tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet is said to have permitted the blood to be shed of him "who abandons his religion and separates himself from the community (*djamāʿa*)" (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 6; Muslim, *Ḳasāma*, tr. 25, 26; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 5, 14; *Ḳasāma*, *bāb* 6; Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; al-Tirmidhī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 10; *Fitan*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 382, 444). But there was no agreement from the first on the nature of the death penalty; thus ʿIkrima (d. 106/724) and Anas b. Mālik (d. 91/710) criticise ʿAlī for having burned apostates (al-Bukhārī, *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217; according to a variant the reference is to Zindīḳs or Zuṭṭ, who served idols; al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 282, 322). According to a tradition of ʿĀʾisha's, apostates are to be slain, crucified or banished (al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bāb* 11; *Ḳasāma*, *bāb* 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1).

On the question whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent, traditions differ. According to one tradition of Abū Burda (d. 104/722), Muʿādh b. Djabal refused to sit down until an apostate brought before him had been slain "in accordance with the decision of God and of his apostle" (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 60; *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, *bāb* 2; *Aḥkām*, *bāb* 12; Muslim, *Imāra*, tr. 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 231). In the same tradition in Abū Dāwūd, however, it is added that they had tried in vain for 20 nights to convert the apostate. The caliph ʿUmar is also represented as disapproving of this proceeding with the words: "Did you then not shut him up for three days and give him a round loaf (*raghīf*) daily and try to induce him to repent. Perhaps he would have repented and returned to obedience to God. O God! I was not there, I did not order it and I do not approve; see, it was thus reported to me" (Mālik, *Aḳḍiya*, tr. 15). There are also traditions according to which God does not accept the repentance of an apostate (Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 2) and others according to which even the Prophet forgave apostates (al-Nasāʾī, *Taḥrīm al-dam*, *bābs* 14, 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 1; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 247; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 223).

3. *a*. In *Fiḳh*, there is unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only if he is grown up (*bāligh*) and *compos mentis* (*ʿāḳil*) and has not acted under compulsion (*mukhtār*). A woman, on the other hand, is imprisoned, according to Ḥanafī and Shīʿī teaching, until she again adopts Islam, while according to al-Awzāʿī, Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 25), the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs (cf. *Umm*, i, 131, where al-Shāfiʿī vigorously attacks Abū Yūsuf who is not mentioned by name) she also is put to death. Although this punishment is not properly *ḥadd* (cf. thereon, al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii, 330, ll. 20-2) it is regarded as such by some jurists, as it is a question of a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh* (cf. e.g. al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 162); therefore the execution of the punishment lies with the *imām*; in the case of a slave, however, the *mawlā* can carry it out, as with any other *ḥadd* punishment. Execution should be by the sword. According to the above traditions, apostates must sometimes have been tortured to death. The caliph ʿUmar II had them tied to a post and a lance thrust into their hearts (Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 112). Al-Bādjūrī expressly forbids any form of torture, like burning, drowning, strangling, impaling or flaying; according to him, Sultan Baybars II (708-9/1308-9) was the first to introduce torture (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 198). Lane (*Manners and customs*, ch. iii, near the end) records the case of a woman who had apostatised and was led through the streets of Cairo on an ass, then strangled in a boat in the middle of the Nile and thrown into the river. (The throwing of a corpse into the Nile was already usual in Cairo in the Fāṭimid period; cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 29.) In quite recent times, followers of the Ḳādiyānī or Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] sect in Afghānistān were stoned to death (*OM*, v [1925], 138). In the former Turkish territory and Egypt, as well as in Muslim lands under European rule, since the middle of the 19th century, under European influence, the execution of an apostate on a *ḳāḍī*'s sentence has been abolished, but we still have imprisonment and deportation (cf. Isabel Burton, *The inner Life of Syria*, London 1875, i, 180 ff.); but nevertheless, renegades are not sure of their lives, as their Muslim relatives endeavour secretly to dispose of them by

poison or otherwise. Occasionally modern Islamic writers (such as those of the Aḥmadiyya movement) endeavour to prove that Islam knows of no death penalty for apostasy; the Indian apologist Muḥammad ʿAlī lays great stress on the fact there is not once an indication of the death penalty in the Ḳurʾān (Zwemer, *The law of apostasy in Islam*, 17, 37-8, London 1924; *OM*, v [1925], 262).

One should here call attention to an agreement which is probably not accidental. Since in Islam, in addition to apostasy, unchastity and unnatural vice are punished by death, even by stoning, according to both Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, as well as blaspheming God or a prophet, and magic, we find in Islam all crimes punished by death which in the Mishna (*Sanhedrīn*, vii, 4) are threatened with stoning.

b. Whether attempts at conversion must be made is a question of *ikhtilāf*. A number of jurists of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries deny this (as do the Ẓāhirīs) or like ʿAṭāʾ (d. 115/733) make a distinction between the apostate born in Islam and one converted to Islam; the former is to be put to death at once (so also the Shīʿīs). Others insist on three attempts at conversion (relying on sūra IV, 136; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 193-4) or have him in the first place imprisoned for three days (cf. above, 2). According to others again, one should await the cycle of the five times of prayer and ask him to perform the *ṣalāt* at each; only when he has refused at each is the death punishment to be enforced. If, however, he repents and professes Islam once more, he is released (cf. thereon, al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i, 228; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 109). In later times, *istitāba* was always applied.

c. Apart from the fact that apostasy deprives the *murtadd* of burial with Muslim rites, it has certain civil consequences. The property of the *murtadd* is *fayʾ* according to al-Shāfiʿī and the Mālikīs; if the fugitive *murtadd* returns penitent, he is given back what remains (cf. *Umm*, i, 231, where al-Shāfiʿī opposes the contrary Ḥanafī view). Others, especially later Shāfiʿīs, regard the rights of ownership of the apostate as suspended (*mawḳūf*) and regard him as one who is under guardianship (*maḥdjūr*); only if the fugitive apostate dies in the *dār al-ḥarb* does his property become *fayʾ* (al-Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo 1343, ii, 240; cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vii, 355). Among the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, the estate is allotted by the *ḳāḍī* to the legal heirs (cf. also the traditions in al-Dārimī, *Farāʾiḍ*, *bāb* 40), the *mudabbar* and *umm walad* are set free, even when the apostate escapes into the *dār al-ḥarb*, for this is equivalent to his death. If he comes back penitent, however, he receives of his property what still exists; the heirs however are not liable for compensation.—The marriage of the *murtadd* is void (*bāṭil*). Of his legal undertakings, the *istīlād* is effective (*nāfidh*), i.e. the *umm walad* becomes free; the *kitāba* also continues. Other legal activities, like manumission, endowment, testament and sale are suspended (*mawḳūf*), according to Abū Ḥanīfa; according to Abū Yūsuf, they are effective as in the case of a person in good health; according to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, however, only as in the case of an invalid, i.e. they cannot deal with more than one-third of the estate. In the case of the female apostate, however, they are always effective. If the apostate makes such legal arrangements after his flight into the *dār al-ḥarb*, they are invalid (al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 152; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 111). But since according to Shāfiʿī and Mālik, his whole estate becomes *fayʾ*, such legal arrangements are invalid; only the manumission of a slave remains suspended until his possible return penitent; in the case of his death also this slave becomes *fayʾ* (cf. above, however, the view of later Shāfiʿīs).

He is punished for crimes committed before apostasy, if he returns penitent; for crimes committed during *ridda*, no notice is taken of the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh* (i.e. no *ḥadd*) but only of the *ḥuḳūḳ al-ʿibād*, and he must for example pay the *diya* (al-Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv, 163, 208-9; cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, i, 231).

Bibliography: In addition to the books on Tradition and *Fiḳh*, see especially Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i, 227-34; v, 51; vii, 330 ff., 355; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1302, 109-12; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1336, iv, 146-219; Dabūsī, *Taʾsīs al-naẓar*, Cairo n.d., 22; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Halle 1889-90, ii, 215-16; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i, 131-4; S.M. Zwemer, *The law of apostasy in Islam*, London 1924, German tr. Gütlersloh 1926; C.F. Pijper, *Echtscheiding en Apostasie*, in *Fragmenta islamica*, Leiden 1934; see also ḲATL. (W. HEFFENING)

MURTADI FILS DU GAPHIPHE [see (AL-) MURTAḌĀ B. AL-ʿAFĪF].

MURŪʾA (A.), MURUWWA, a term used especially in pre-Islamic and early Islamic usage. In the Arabic language there are a number of terms the meaning of which is imprecise (cf. Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī*, Cairo 1910, 34-8). The word *murūʾa* is one of these. Indeed, we are assailed on all sides by a host of differing post-Islamic definitions and contradictory pronouncements (*aḳwāl*) regarding it. These definitions and pronouncements will be found in the various dictionaries and in Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt*, Cairo 1898, 32 pp.; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1311, i, 212; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925, i, 225, 296 ff.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1339, i, 35; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, i, 221; Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā*, ed. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, 30 ff.; Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī, *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳalāʾ*, Cairo 1328, 205-6; al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1342, i, 52; al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1326, i, 145; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 2nd ed. Zakī Mubārak, i, 89; al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn*, Cairo 1921, 254-5; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1348, iii, 213; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Cairo 1893, ii, 317-18; al-Muttaḳī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1312, i, 84, 162-3.

One might be tempted to quote derivatives (especially the present participle) of the Aramaic root *m-r-ʾ* which indicate especially pre-eminence, the power and dignity of a chief (cf. the dictionaries of Payne-Smith, Margoliouth, Brun and Brockelmann; cf. also al-Ḳardāḥī, *al-Lubāb*, Beirut 1891, ii, 78; Yūsuf Dāwūd, *al-Lumʿa al-shahiyya...*, Mawṣil 1896, i, 361; cf. Bauer, in *ZDMG* [1913], 342-4) in order to claim that the Arabic *marʾ* means *sayyid* and that *murūʾa* therefore means *siyāda*. One can support this conjecture by the fact that Ibn Ḳutayba (*op. cit.*) places the chapter *murūʾa* under the rubric *al-siyāda*. Now Ibn Ḳutayba only gives a single saying in which *murūʾa* means *siyāda* and this is not pre-Islamic. On the other hand, the term *marʾ* (or *imruʾ*, on the latter orthography, see Fischer, *Imraʾalqais*, in *Islamica* [1925], 1-41, 365-90] with *murayʾ* as a diminutive: Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Göttingen 1854, 229) in Arabic only means man in general (*al-insān*: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, i, 117, below; cf. the German *Mensch*). Proof of this is given in the Ḳurʾān (e.g. sūra II, 96; XIX, 29; XXIV, 11; LII, 21; LXXVIII, 41; LXXX, 34) as well as in pre-Islamic literature (e.g. *Djamhara*, ed. Būlāḳ, 51, 91, 104, 118, 136; *Ḥamāsat al-Buḥturī*, Cairo 1927, 147, 148, 155, 178, 252, 281, 336, 342, 358; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*,

Cairo 1926, 105, 107). In its turn, *imraʾa*, fem. of *imruʾ* (*TA*, i, 117) means woman in general (cf. sūra IV, 5; XXVIII, 23; XXXIII, 49) or even wife (XIX, 59; LXVI, 10, 11).

There is then reason to believe that *murūʾa* was not originally applied to pre-eminence (*siyāda*) in order to imply, by borrowing or extension, superior qualities (those of a *sayyid*), but rather it describes the sum of the physical qualities of man (*marʾ*) and then by a process of spiritualisation and abstraction his moral qualities (cf. the similar word *radjul*: *TA*, i, 11-12). Indeed, in the definitions and pronouncements already mentioned we may distinguish a conjunction of two contrary elements: one concrete (e.g. wealth and management of property), the other abstract and predominating. In the latter case, *murūʾa* would be identical with good manners; in the former it would take into consideration the material conditions of life. In our view, the first meaning originates in the Djāhiliyya, whilst the second is Islamic. The opposition between these two *murūʾas* is clearly brought out in a characteristic story in *Aghānī*, xix, 143-4: A satirical poet of the period of the Rightly-guided Caliphs asks the governor of a city to help him to meet the demands of his *murūʾa* (*djiʾtuka li-tuʿīnanī ʿalā murūʾatī*, i.e. to appease my hunger to prevent me coveting the food of others; cf. for the interpretation of this phrase, *al-Muwashshā*, 32); the governor replies to him: "What can be the *murūʾa* of one who disobeys God and devotes himself to calumny...?" (it should be remembered here that Islam took a stand against poets for their diatribes; see HIDJĀʾ).

It is in any case misleading to claim that *murūʾa* in pre-Islamic usage was based only on the material. In this period *imraʾa* already meant in effect perfect woman (al-Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Fāʾiḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1324, ii, 243; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1311, iv, 87). We even find these lines *idha ʾl-marʾu aʿyat-hu ʾl-murūʾatu yāfiʿan* * *fa-maṭlabuhā kahlan ʿalayhi shadīdū* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 511; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1349, iii, 198, cf. a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1927, 371). The meaning of the word *murūʾa* in this verse is obscure, although it certainly has a moral significance (it is the same later, e.g. Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1292, 146; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1911, 750; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, Berlin 1861, 56). Besides, if the meaning of the word *murūʾa* had been precise in the pre-Islamic period, the definitions and post-Islamic statements relating to it would have borne some trace of their origin and have gravitated round the same centre. Still oscillating between the concrete and abstract, *murūʾa* can only have been a vague term in the period of the Djāhiliyya.

It appears that it was with Islam that *murūʾa* definitely became a term to define an abstraction. We are inclined to believe that the Muslims only identified *murūʾa* with eminent virtues (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*; see al-Thaʿālibī, *Mirʾāt*, 2; esp. al-Zurḳānī, *op. cit.*) by relying on the following *aḥādīth* (not canonical, according to Wensinck; we may add that al-Thaʿālibī, in *Mirʿāt*, esp. 6-7, does not give a single *ḥadīth* relating to *murūʾa*): (a) *wa-ʾin kāna laka khuluḳun fa-laka murūʾa* (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 295; *al-Muwashshā*, 31); (b) *lā dīna illā bi-murūʾa* (*ʿIḳd*, *loc. cit.*, attributed to al-Ḥasan in *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, *loc. cit.*); (c) *Murūʾat* [*al-muʾmin*] *ʿaḳluhū* (Ibn Abi ʾl-Dunya, *Kitāb Makārim al-akhlāḳ*, ms. Ar. Berlin, no. 5388, p. 16, ed. J.A. Bellamy, Wiesbaden 1973, cf. *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳalāʾ*, 205. This same saying is credited to the caliph ʿUmar, with the variant *khuluḳuhū*; al-Zurḳanī, *op. cit.*; cf. *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 163).

After Islam, *murūʾa* extended its meaning thanks to the now pre-dominating moral focus. Broadly speaking, with the Rightly-guided Caliphs it means chastity, good nature and observance of Ḳurʾānic laws. With the Umayyads, it implies politics, diplomacy, work, dignity and compassion (on the last meaning, cf. the *Dīwān* of Bashshār b. Burd, Cairo n.d., 70). With the early ʿAbbāsids it implies merit (*al-faḍl*: *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Beirut 1899, 266) and is contrasted with abjectness (according to al-Aṣmaʿī; cf. *al-Adab al-kabīr*, Cairo 1331, 70), while with the moralists it is identified with *al-adab* in the meaning of good conduct. Ṣāliḥ b. Djanāḥ (cf. *al-Muḳtabas* [1930], 649) wrote a work on ethics entitled *al-Adab wa ʾl-murūʾa*, published in *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, ed. Kurd ʿAlī, Cairo 1913 (these two words are already associated in ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid al-Kātib, quoted in the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, Beirut 1900, 248, l. 10; cf. also *Mirʾāt*, 12, ll. 12-13; 25, ll. 4-6 below); but what is upsetting is that Ṣāliḥ b. Djanaḥ said that "*murūʾa* in its origin means firm resolve (*al-ḥazm*); success (*al-ẓafar*) is its fruit" (*MMIA*, iv/1, 32). In time, among the lexicographers, *murūʾa* means urbanity (*al-insāniyya*: al-Djawharī, d. 398/1007-8, *op. cit.*), distinction (*al-sarw*: Ibn Sīda, d. 458/1066, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iii, 17; meaning borrowed from Abū Zayd [al-Anṣārī]) and ideal manhood (*kamāl al-rudjūliyya*: Ṣāghānī, d. 650/1252, quoted in *TA*, i, 117, 13). On the other hand, with the moralists, *murūʾa* was to find a place in Muslim ethics (al-Bustī, d. 354/965, *op. cit.*, 208), to be raised to an ethical notion covering a number of qualities, especially those of kings and lords (al-Thaʿālibī, d. 429/1038, *Mirʾāt*, 2) and in proportion as Muslim speculation developed, it was to occupy a place in the first rank in the theory of morals, including definite qualities and conditions which were elaborated in the abstract (al-Māwardī, d. 450/1058, *op. cit.*). Continuing in this way in the path of ethical significance and becoming more and more abstract, *murūʾa* finally came to mean virtue in the lexicographers (al-Fayyūmī, d. 770/1368-9, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*, Cairo 1912, 878) and the moralists (al-Djurdjānī, d. 816/1413-14, *Taʿrīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 223). On the other hand, in the legists it indicates the fact of abstaining from any act capable of offending religion although not constituting an illicit act (Fagnan, *Additions*, Algiers 1923, 163). In Muslim Spain, assuming the forms *muruwwa* and *marāwa* (with the adjective *marawī* = variant of the classical *marʾī*: *Ḳāmūs*, Bombay 1298, 18), it meant politeness and civility (Schiaperelli, *Vocabulista*, Florence 1871, 184, 328, 424-5; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 578). As to *murūʾa* in the spoken language of to-day, it means in Egypt nobility of soul and liberality (classical meanings); whence the Turkish adjectival form used in Egyptian Arabic *murūʾatlī* (obliging). It becomes *miriwwa* (*mⁱriwwa*) in Egypt and *muruwwa* (*m^uruwwa*) in Syria, and means in effect energy, as in the expression "so-and-so has not the *m.* to accomplish such a thing" (cf. in the classical language, al-Thaʿālibī, *Aḥāsin kalim al-nabī... Syntagma dictorum*, ed. Valeton, Leiden 1844, 28).

Murūʾa has further been developed in Ṣūfism. It was regarded as one of the "branches" of *futuwwa* (al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1330, 103, ll. 2, 3 below). In any case, there is no doubt that its meaning here is on the moral plane (we find bracketed together *murūʾa* and *futuwwa*: *Mirʾāt*, 15, ll. 1, 2 below; 23, l. 4; 24, l. 6; 25, l. 2; 26, l. 12; *al-Muwashshā*, 30, l. 13; Fleischer, *Ali's Hundert Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837, 7, l. 1, 8; 15, l. 11; 25, l. 13; 29, l. 1; Ahlwardt, *Berlin catalogue*, v, 30-1, nos. 17, 32; al-Iṣbahānī, *op. cit.*, juxtaposes them). However, *murūʾa* is fundamentally distinguished from

futuwwa, and it has gone a long way outside Ṣūfism, both as a word and as an ethical idea (cf. against this, Taeschner, *Die islamischen Futuwwabünde*, in *ZDMG* [1933], 11, 27).

This being the case, it seems difficult to agree with Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 1-40, esp. 13) who connects the idea of *murūʾa* with that of *virtus* (cf. before him, de Goeje, *Dīwān poëtae... al-Anṣārī*, Leiden 1875, p. lxviii, referring to a very doubtful text) among the pre-Islamic Arabs. In his view *murūʾa* (opposed to the *dīn* of Islam) is their moral principle, from the fact that it presupposes certain obligations, viz. liberality, the protection of the *djār*, observance of the law of the vendetta and fidelity to one's plighted word. This thesis presents two disputable points. The first is philological: if we survey the semantic evolution of the word *murūʾa*, it must be granted that on the one hand the word is only identified with virtue at a late date, and on the other, in the pre-Islamic period it was not yet an absolutely abstract term capable of being taken as a symbol. The second point is connected with the method; if one starts from an idea one has formed about virtue, one cannot see all the aspects of a moral system, the essence of which we do not understand because it is quite foreign to us. It is therefore better not to isolate a moral phenomenon from the atmosphere of ideas and facts in which it has developed. In grouping these facts and ideas and observing them, one is led to substitute the term *ʿirḍ* [*q.v.*] for *murūʾa* when seeking for a moral principle of the pre-Islamic Arabs (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 32-3). (B. Farès)

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Ch. Pellat, *Ḥawla mafhūm «al-murūʾa» ʿinda ḳudamāʾ al-ʿArab*, in *al-Karmil*, iv (1983), 1-17, who debates the opinions of Goldziher and B. Farès and shows how the notion of *murūʾa* was complex in the Djahiliyya as well as in Islam.

(Ed.)

MURZUḲ, a town in the urban district (*baladiyya*) of the same name in southern Libya and in the province of Fezzān or Fazzān [*q.v.*]. The town is situated in lat. 25° 55′ 55″ N. and long. 14° 7′ 5″ E. The district includes the sub-districts of Agar ʿAtaba, al-Ghatrūn, Murzuḳ, Trāghan, Umm al-Arānib and Zuwayla.

In antiquity, Murzuḳ was within the territory of the Garamantes, whose centre Garama was 60 miles/100 km northeast of Murzuḳ (see C.M. Daniels, *The Garamantes of southern Libya*, Stoughton, Wisc. 1970). It has always been on the important trans-Saharan caravan route linking Bornū and Kānem [*q.vv.*] with the Mediterranean coast. In recent times, Murzuḳ was under the control, in fact very nominal, of the Ḳaramānlī [*q.v.*] *amīrs* of Tripoli until *ca.* 1830 (see J. Wright, *Libya, a modern history*, London 1983, 16). It was the capital of the Fazzān region and headquarters of the Ottoman Turkish forces in southwestern Libya until the Italian invasion of 1912, but insecurity prevailed and trans-Saharan trade declined. In the early years of Italian occupation, the population of Murzuḳ was estimated at 800 (Touring Club Italiano, *Guida d'Italia. Possedimenti e colonie*, Milan 1929, 384) though British estimates in 1920 set the total at approximately 3,500 to 7,000 (Admiralty, *Handbook of Libya*, London 1920, 205). The foundation of the original town is thought to date to the work of Sīdī al-Muntaṣir al-Muḥammad in 710/1310, at which time the stone and mud fort, casbah and town wall were built. Water supply was available for the town and the palm gardens from shallow aquifers fed by the Wādī Ḥufra. The Turkish fort, barracks and a mosque were located in the north west corner of the walled town. The *sūḳ* with a daily market, and main mosque with a notable truncated conical minaret, were set on the main thoroughfare of the town on a south-east to north-west axis between Bāb al-Kabīr, the principal of three town gates, and the fort. Among European travellers to visit Murzuḳ were Heinrich Barth in 1851, Vice-Consul Warrington in 1855, Gerard Rohlfs in 1865 and Gustav Nachtigal in 1869. In the Italian period and after Libyan independence in 1951, Murzuḳ grew steadily as a small regional settlement. Murzuḳ was given *baladiyya* status in the 1970s, acting as administrative, security and educational centre for much of southern Libya as far as the Chad and Niger borders. The town population was reported at 6,290 in 1981, by which time the residential area, which included 1007 houses, had spread considerably beyond the walled town. The population of the urban district was 42,294 at the census of 1984. Modern farms were established on newly-reclaimed land to the east of palmeries and irrigated gardens. Finds of oil were reported in 1980 for the Murzuḳ region, but the extent of the field is not known.

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(K.S. McLachlan)

MŪSĀ, the name in Arabic for the Biblical prophet Moses.

1. In the Ḳurʾān. Here, Mūsā is considered as the precursor of, the model for, and the annunciator of Muḥammad (VII, 156). The two prophets share the same belief (XLIII, 11). Mūsā is also conceived in Muḥammad's image. Charges are brought against him similar to those made against Muḥammad and he is said to want to pervert people from the faith of their fathers (X, 79); he practises magic (XXVIII, 18). Mūsā and Hārūn seem rather to be sent to the stubborn Pharaoh [see firʿawn] than to the believing Israelites. Revelation is granted him: *tawrāt, kitāb, furḳān, ṣuḥuf* (II, 50; XXI, 49; LIII, 37; LXXXVII, 19), illumination, instruction and guidance. The picture of him is made up of Biblical, Haggadic and new elements. Mūsā is exposed, watched by his sister, refuses the milk of other nurses and is suckled by his own mother. Coming to the assistance of a hard-pressed Israelite, he kills an Egyptian but repents of his crime to which Satan had tempted him. He is pursued and escapes to Madyan [see madyan shuʿayb]. At a well there he waters the flocks of the two daughters of a *shaykh*. One of them invites him home modestly. He receives her as his wife at the price of 8-10 years service. This preliminary history is told in sūra XXIII, 1 - 28; the mission itself is often mentioned.

Mūsā receives from the burning bush in the holy valley of Ṭuwan (XX, 12; LXXIX, 16) a message, a voice which orders him to take off his shoes, the message to Pharaoh, the signs of his mission, the rod, the snake and the hand that becomes white. His speech is difficult to understand (XLIII, 52); Hārūn accompanies him as *wazīr* (XX, 30; XXV, 37). Pharaoh reproaches Mūsā with ingratitude, saying he had been brought up by them (XXVI, 17). Pharaoh assembles his magicians but their rods are devoured

by Mūsā's. The magicians profess their belief in God and are mutiliated in punishment (VII, 106-123; XX, 59-78; XXVI, 36-51). Pharaoh wishes prayers to be offered to him as God and orders Hāmān [*q.v.*] to build him a tower so that he can reach the God of Mūsā (XXVIII, 38; XL, 38). Mūsā performs nine miracles (XVII, 103; XX, 59-78; XXVII, 12). These are: 1. the rod and snake; 2. white hand; 3. deluge; 4. locusts; 5. lice; 6. frogs; 7. blood; 8. darkness; 9. separation of the waters of the sea (cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 485).

Mūsā spends 30 and 10 nights with God (VII, 138). He brings instruction and admonition on the tablets. In his absence, al-Sāmirī makes the lowing golden calf (VII, 146; XX, 79-98). Mūsā breaks the tablets. He desires to see God. God crumbles the hill to dust (VII, 139). Israel fears war and has to wander 40 years in the wilderness (V, 24-9). Mūsā's enemies, Ḳārūn [*q.v.*] (Korah), Pharaoh and Hāmān, perish (XXIX, 38).

Some details differ from the Biblical story. Instead of Pharaoh's daughter, it is his wife who rescues the infant; instead of seven shepherdesses Mūsā assists two. Instead of ten plagues, the Ḳurʾān speaks of nine miracles. Mūsā strikes twelve springs out of the rock, one for each tribe (II, 57, a memory of the twelve springs of Elim, Exodus xv. 27). The divergence is greater when Hāmān is made minister to Pharaoh. Then there are new features: Mūsā repents of having slain the Egyptians. Mūsā sees the burning bush at night and desires to take a brand from its fire for his house (XX, 10; XXVIII, 29). Pharaoh's magicians die for their belief in God.

The following seems to originate in Haggada: God forbids the infant to be suckled by an Egyptian mother (XXVIII, 11). In the Haggada Moses is offered to all Egyptian suckling mothers; but the mouth that is to speak with God cannot imbibe anything impure (*Sōṭa*, 12b). That God tilts the mountain over Israel (II, 60, 87; VII, 170) is explained from the Haggada: Israel hesitated to accept the Pentateuch and God tilted Sinai over them: Torah or death (*Sabbath*, 80a; *ʿAboda Zara*, 2b). The turning of the sabbath breakers into apes (II, 61; IV, 50; V, 65; VII, 166) recalls the Haggada in which the builders of the tower of Babel become apes (*Sanhedrin*, 109a). Ḳārūn is represented as an exceedingly rich man, the keys of whose treasure can hardly be carried by many strong men (XVIII, 76, 79); the Haggada says that Korah found a hidden Egyptian treasure; 300 mules carried the keys of his treasury (*Pessachim*, 119a; *Sanhedrin*, 110a; Pal. *Sanh.*, x, 27d; Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi, 99, 560). The Ḳurʾānic story of a believer at the court of Pharaoh who wants to save Mūsā is not quite clear (XL, 29). Ought we to compare Jethro in the Haggada who advises clemency at Pharaoh's court (*Sōṭa*, 11a; *Sanhedrin*, 106a; Ginzberg, v, 392, 21, v, 412, 101)?

The story of Mūsā accompanying a wise man on a journey seems without parallel (XVIII, 59-81). The attempt is often made to distinguish this Mūsā of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] as Mūsā b. Manasse from Mūsā b. ʿImrān.

2. Mūsā in post-Ḳurʾānic legend. The histories of the prophet (especially al-Thaʿlabī's) supplement the Ḳurʾānic story with much from the Bible, Haggada and folklore.

Much is added from the Haggada. Pharaoh's sick daughters are cured as soon as they touch Moses's cradle. *Exodus Rabba*, i, 23, makes Pharaoh's daughter be cured of leprosy. The infant Mūsā scratches Pharaoh's chin. Pharaoh wants to slay him. On the intercession of Āsiya [*q.v.*] he tests him by putting gold and jewels on one side and burning coals on the other. Mūsā reaches for the gold but Gabriel directs his hand to the burning coal. Mūsā puts his burned hand on his tongue and therefore becomes a stammerer (Ginzberg, v, 402, 65; Hamilton, in *Zeitschr. f. romanische Philologie*, xxxvi, 125-59).

Elements of other legends are woven into the legends of Mūsā. The Abraham-Nimrod legend supplies the following features: Pharaoh frightened by dreams persecutes the infants; Mūsā is hidden from the assassins in the burning oven but the fire becomes cool and does him no harm. Pharaoh orders prayers to be offered for himself as to a god, has a tower built and shoots an arrow against heaven; the arrow comes back blood-stained and Pharaoh boasts he has slain God (al-Ṭabarī, i, 469). From the story of Jacob and Laban come the following: Mūsā serves 8-10 years for his wife (XXVIII, 27). His father-in-law offers him the spotted lambs born in his flock and the ewes for the watering troughs bear spotted lambs (al-Thaʿlabī, 112). There are frequent references to a pious Egyptian woman who is martyred by Pharaoh with her seven children, the youngest of whom is still at its mother's breast (in al-Thaʿlabī, 118, 139); this is of course modelled on the martyr mother of the Maccabees.

There are many fanciful embellishments, e.g. the miracle of the snakes, the plagues and the scenes on the Red Sea; Moses's rod in particular plays a great part. It came from Paradise; Ādam, Hābil, Shīth, Idrīs, Nūḥ, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Isḥāḳ and Yaʿḳūb had previously used it (al-Kisāʾī, 208). In al-Ṭabarī (i, 460-1), an angel brought the rod. Mūsā obtained it from his wife; his father-in-law quarrels with him about its ownership and an angel decides in favour of Musā. It is a miraculous rod and Thaʿlabī (111-16) in particular relates the wonders it performs. It shines in the darkness; it gives water in a drought, and placed in the ground it becomes a tree bearing fruit; it produces milk and honey and fragrant scent; against an enemy it becomes a double dragon. It pierces mountains and rocks; it leads over rivers and sea; it is also a shepherd's staff and keeps beasts of prey from the herds of Moses. When Mūsā was asleep on one occasion the rod slew a dragon, on another occasion seven of Pharaoh's assassins.

The varied Biblical, Haggadic, legendary and fairy tale features in the Islamic legend of Mūsā are thus blended into a very full picture and in al-Thaʿlabī form a regular romance.

Bibliography: Sūra II, 48-130; VII, 101-60;X, 76-88; XX, 8-93; XXVI, 9-65; XXVIII, 2-76; XL, 24-56 and the commentaries thereon; Ṭabarī, i, 414-49; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 105-56; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 194-240; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Būlāḳ, i, 61-78; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 1902[2], 149-77; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 153-85; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 141-3; R. Basset, *1001 Contes, Récits et légendes arabes*, iii, 67, 85; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la vie des prophètes*, Paris 1933, 73-103; J. Walker, *Bible characters in the Koran*, 84-111. (B. Heller)

3. In Islamic tradition, Moses bears a special honorific title, that of *Kalīm Allāh*, whose exact meaning merits discussion. In effect, *kalīm* can be interpreted as meaning "a person who speaks to someone" or "a person whom one addresses". The first meaning is given by al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 445, 583, 595), who makes the equation *kalīm* = *mukālim*, and adopted by Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, xv, 428), who nevertheless adds that al-Azharī in his *Tahdhīb* opts for the

second meaning. Several Ḳur'ān passages speak of a direct conversation between Allāh and Moses, notably IV, 162: *wa-kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīm*[an], where the use of the cognate infinite, *li 'l-ta'kīd*, shows that this "conversation" should be taken literally and not as a metaphor (*LA*, xv, 429; al-Ashʿarī, *Ibāna*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 27). These passages always emphasise God's speech to Moses, and that may be the reason for al-Azharī's interpretation. The Form III *kālama* is not found in the official text of the Ḳur'ān, but sūra II, 254, contains a variant, *kālama Allāh*[a], which could be, according to al-Bayḍāwī, i, 130, the origin of the official title; but, in this passage, there is no question of Moses. See also the epithet *nadjī* applied to Moses (Ḳur'ān, XIX, 53) and assimilated by al-Bayḍāwī, i, 583, to *munādjī*.

Bibliography: See Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslesung*, 174; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 486. (D.B. Macdonald*)

MŪSĀ, BANŪ, three brothers (in order of seniority) Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, who were among the most important figures in the intellectual life of Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century. We do not know their dates of birth, but Muḥammad died in 259/873 and could hardly then have been less than 70 years old because the youngest brother al-Ḥasan was already a brilliant geometrician in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33 [*q.v.*]). Their father, Mūsā b. Shākir, was said to have been in his youth a resourceful highwayman who made the roads in Khurāsān unsafe. By all accounts, however, he became a noted astronomer and a close companion of al-Ma'mūn when the latter was residing at Marw in Khurāsān before he became caliph. When Mūsā died, al-Ma'mūn became the guardian of his sons, who were given a good education in Baghdād, becoming skilled in geometry, mechanics, music, mathematics and astronomy.

Under the successors of al-Ma'mūn, the brothers became rich and influential. They devoted much of their wealth and energy to the quest for the works of their predecessors, especially in Greek and Syriac, and sent missions to the lands of the Byzantine Empire to seek out manuscripts and bring them to Baghdād. Muḥammad is said to have made a journey to Byzantium in person. The brothers acted as sponsors to a group of scientists and translators, to whom they used to pay about 500 *dīnārs* a month. The most outstanding of these scholars were Thābit b. Ḳurra and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.vv.*], who rendered numerous works, many of which would otherwise have been lost, from Greek and Syriac into Arabic. Muḥammad was on friendly terms with this group of scholars, particularly with Ḥunayn, who translated and composed books at the request of his patron. The brothers therefore played a leading rôle in the transmission of Greek works into Arabic, and in the foundation of the long and important contribution of the Islamic world to the sciences.

The Banū Mūsā, particularly Muḥammad, were employed by the caliphs on various undertakings, and became involved in the turbulent political life of Baghdād. Muḥammad and Aḥmad, for example, were among a group of twenty men responsible for the construction of the new town of al-Djaʿfariyya for the caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and are mentioned as having directed the excavation of canals. It seems, however, that they subcontracted the actual constructional work to others. They appear to have been of an envious and somewhat malicious nature. For example, they became enemies of the famous philosopher Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī [*q.v.*] and caused him to lose the favour of al-Mutawakkil, who ordered him to be beaten and allowed the brothers to confiscate his library. In his last years, Muḥammad was deeply involved in palace politics, in the period during which Turkish commanders were assuming effective control of the state. After the death of the caliph al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], Muḥammad successfully campaigned for the nomination of al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*] in preference to Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim because the latter was a friend of al-Kindī. When Baghdād was besieged by the army of the caliph's brother Abū Aḥmad, Muḥammad was sent by al-Mustaʿīn's commander, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to estimate the strength of the enemy forces, and he was one of a delegation sent by the Ṭāhirid to Abū Aḥmad's army to ascertain the terms for al-Mustaʿīn's abdication.

These reports are interesting for the information which they give us about Muḥammad's standing in the courtly circles, but his political activities were not of the first importance, since it was of little moment who occupied the caliphal throne when the real power lay elsewhere. In any case, the rôle of the brothers as patrons of scholars, and their own scientific achievements, are of much greater significance than their entrepreneurial or political activities. A list of their works, taken from Arabic sources, will be found in *The book of ingenious devices*, an annotated translation of the Banū Mūsa's *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* by D.R. Hill, Dordrecht 1979, 5-6. Twenty works are known to us by name, including books on mathematics, astronomy and mechanics, but only three of these are known to have survived. The Latin text of a translation by Gerard of Cremona of a mathematical work was published by M. Curtze (*Nova Acta der Kaiserl. Leo. Carol. Deutschen Akad. der Naturf.*, xlix [1883]). A work on a musical automaton was published in *Machriq* (1906), 444-58 and in German translation by E. Wiedemann, in *Centenario... Amari*, Palermo 1909, 169-80; the attribution of this work to the Banū Mūsā is, however, doubtful.

The best known and most important of the brothers' books, which was largely the work of Aḥmad, is their *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* (see Eng. tr. given above, Arabic text ed. Ahmad Y. Al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981). The work comprises descriptions of some 100 small machines, including alternating fountains, self-filling and self-trimming lamps and a clamshell grab. About 80 of the devices, however, are trick vessels of various kinds that exhibit an astonishing mastery of automatic controls. The inspiration for Aḥmad's work is undoubtedly to be found in the machine treatises of the Hellenistic writers, particularly the *Pneumatics* of Philo of Byzantium (mid-3rd century BC) and the *Pneumatics* of Hero of Alexandria (*fl. ca.* 60 AD). *The Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, although some of the devices in it come directly from Philo or Hero, in general goes well beyond its Greek predecessors, particularly in the use of small pressure variations and conical valves and other components in automatic controls. Indeed, the work of the Banū Mūsā in the variety and ingenuity of their control systems was unsurpassed until quite recent times. There may have been some didactic intention in their writing, but most of their constructions are quite trivial to our eyes. Nevertheless, many of the ideas, techniques and components that they used were to be of considerable importance in the development of machine technology. In the present state of research, we cannot establish how their ideas were transmitted to Europe. Diffusion may not have occurred at all, but given the popularity of the book throughout the Middle Ages in the Islamic world, including al-Andalus, it seems probable that some at

least of the Banū Mūsā's ideas entered northern Europe.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): Biographical material on the Banū Mūsā will be found in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348, 378-9; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, Cairo 1326, 208; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiᶜa, *ᶜUyūn al-anbāʾ*, 2 vols., Cairo-Königsberg 1882-4, i, 207, 215, 219. For details of Muḥammad's political activities, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1438, 1502, 1557, 1634, 1641, 1747. An appraisal of their work in relation to their Greek predecessors and Islamic successors is given in Hill, *The book of ingenious devices*, 19-24. (D.R. Hill)

MŪSĀ b. ABI 'l-ᶜĀFIYA, a chieftain of the Miknāsa [see al-butr], a prominent Berber tribe of the Zanāta confederation. His claim to fame rests on his role in the troubled history of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*] of Fās (Fez) and the politics of the western Maghrib in the 4th/10th century. To an understanding of that role some account of the background against which it was played is essential.

In the last years of the 3rd/early years of the 4th century, Fās was politically as well as physically divided between the Ḳayrawānī and Andalusian banks of the city and plagued with civil war. It was in this context that in 292/905 the Idrīsid Yaḥyā b. al-Ḳāsim, dubbed al-Miḳdām (Yaḥyā III of the dynasty), was succeeded by his rival and kinsman Yaḥyā (IV) b. Idrīs b. ᶜUmar, at whose general's hands he had met his death. Far from ending Fās's troubles, the advent of Yaḥyā IV marked the start of a reign that was to be marred and then ended by foes from an unexpected quarter. In Ifrīḳiya, at the other end of the Maghrib, the Syrian Fāṭimid ᶜUbayd Allāh had dislodged the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] and, styling himself al-Mahdī [see al-mahdī ᶜubayd allāh], assumed the office of caliph (297/910). Only a year or two thereafter he had, as the first step in an eastern policy designed to secure for him universal recognition as caliph, attempted to conquer Egypt—a venture ending in defeat and a hasty return to Ifrīḳiya. Doubtless seeing consolidation of his position in the West as a precondition of success in his eastern policy, he then focused attention on the western Maghrib and set in train a western military offensive under the command of his *ḳāʾid* Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs al-Miknāsī. On the chronology and details of operations the Arabic sources are at variance, and the inconsistencies they contain are to some extent reflected in the most readily accessible European-language accounts of events. The version that follows therefore should not be regarded as definitive.

In 305/917-18 Maṣāla's military target was Fās. In the approaches to the city, Yaḥyā (IV), who had gone out to do battle with him, was worsted and took refuge behind the city walls. A siege followed that ended only after he had come to terms with Maṣāla and agreed to recognise, in a written declaration, the sovereignty of al-Mahdī. In return for vassalage he was to be allowed to retain his authority over Fās and its immediate territories. Everything beyond, however, was to be subject to Maṣāla's cousin, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀfiya, lord of Tasūl (Tsoul) and Tāzā (Taza) and chieftain of the Miknāsa, tribal masters of the Malwiyya (Moulouya) valley.

Mūsā, realising the incompatibility of Yaḥyā's continuing presence in Fās with his own plans for total control of the western Maghrib, resolved to have him removed. Accordingly, when Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs next appeared on the scene in 307/919-20, Mūsā contrived to convince his cousin of the need to be rid of the Idrīsid. Taking the road to Fās, Maṣāla succeeded in seizing and deposing Yaḥyā, who was then banished by Mūsā to Aẓayla (Arzila). Thereafter, Fās remained under Fāṭimid control until 313/925, when the courageous and enterprising Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, known as al-Ḥadjdjām, rose in rebellion and, rallying forces to his standard, marched on Fās. Having managed to dislodge the Fāṭimid governor of the city, one Rayḥān, he moved to meet the challenge of the rapidly advancing Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀfiya and successfully engaged his forces in a hard-fought battle on the Wādī 'l-Maṭāḥin between Fās and Tāzā.

Though al-Ḥadjdjām had regained Fās for the Idrīsids and thereafter rapidly gained extensive control of the territories around his capital, the days of his reign were numbered; in 315/927 an act of treachery from within his own circle paved the way for his imprisonment and death at the hands of Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀfiya.

Once more in power as undisputed master of the western Maghrib, Mūsā set out to annihilate al-Ḥadjdjām's Idrīsids, tracking them down wherever they took refuge, whether, as in the case of the Banū Muḥammad in 317/929, it was their mountain retreat at Ḥadjar al-Nasr [*q.v.*] or, as in the case of the Banū ᶜUmar, scattered among the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] in far north-western territories almost as far as Sabta (Ceuta) and Ṭandja (Tangier). But for the Berbers of northern Morocco, who called for moderation out of respect for the Prophet's descendants, Mūsā's policy of extermination would almost certainly have been pursued to the bitter end.

While preoccupied with the Idrīsids, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ᶜĀfiya seems either not to have fully appreciated or to have ignored the mounting concern with which the ruler of Umayyad Spain, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, was viewing the growing power and prestige of the Fāṭimids in an area dangerously close to al-Andalus. In 314/927 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān had taken his first step in a policy of defensive expansion by occupying Malīla (Melilla) and, by 316/928-9, he had opened negotiations with the Idrīsids. By way of retaliation Mūsā had attacked and utterly crushed the Umayyad's Rīfan vassal, al-Muʾayyad, the Ṣāliḥid ruler of Nakūr [*q.v.*], a small principality situated between Tiṭwān (Tetuan) and Malīla. In 319/931 ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, now an impressive potentate who had, at the end of 316/early 929, proclaimed himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*], took possession of Sabta and transformed it into a North African bulwark against any possible Fāṭimid invasion of Spain. With the Umayyad seizure and fortification of Sabta came Mūsā's realisation—possibly prompted by a visit from Umayyad emissaries—that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was now in a commanding position and well able to bring him to heel, should he feel so inclined. Mūsā therefore suddenly abandoned his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and with it his position as the official representative of their authority in the West. His allegiance he forthwith transferred to Cordova.

When the news of Mūsā's defection eventually reached ᶜUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī in Ifrīḳiya, he duly arranged for Ḥumayd (some sources: Ḥamīd) b. Yaṣāl, nephew and successor of Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs, who had died in battle in 313/924, to launch an offensive against Mūsā (320/933). Worsted in the plain of Masūn (Msoun), a little to the east of Tāzā, Mūsā fled, abandoning Fās to the Fāṭimid general. Once Fāṭimid forces had left the region, Mūsā again affirmed his recognition of the Umayyad Caliph's suzerainty in the western Maghrib.

In 322/934 ᶜUbayd Allāh died and was succeeded

by al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*]. Encouraged by the news of the former's death, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya enlisted the aid of one Aḥmad al-Djudhamī and succeeded in regaining Fās (325/935). His triumph was short-lived: within a few months, al-Ḳāʾim's forces were beneath the walls of Fās, led by a *fatā* named Maysūr, and Mūsā was obliged to flee as the Fāsīs themselves came to terms with the enemy and agreed to recognise al-Ḳāʾim. The victory of the latter's troops marked the end of Mūsā's political career. The precise date, place, and manner of his death are matters which our sources make hard to determine. One account (in *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*) has it that, as soon as Maysūr had finished with Fās, he pursued the fleeing Mūsā, who fought a series of losing battles, in which the Idrīsids—now re-established in the Rīf and north-western Morocco with new loyalties—played a prominent part; that after a life of wandering through the desert and such territories as remained under his control from Adjarsīf, i.e. Garsīf [*q.v.*] (Guercif) to Nakūr, he met his end somewhere in the Malwiyya region; that the date of his death was either 328/939-40 or 341/952-3; that, as ruler, he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm (d. 350/961), who was in turn succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh (d. 360/971), the "dynasty" disappearing with the death of the latter's son Muḥammad in 363/973-4 or, according to one chronicler, the death of al-Ḳāsim, Muḥammad's son, in 445/1055. However, for the date of Mūsā's death and the name of his immediate successor, if not for a number of other matters, by far the most reliable source is Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis V*—available to us only since 1979. From it we can, with a high degree of certainty, take it that Mūsā's death occurred in Shawwāl 326/August 938 and that he was succeeded by his son Madyan, one of just three sons—the other two bearing the names Abū Munḳidh and Muḥammad.

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(J.D. LATHAM)

MŪSĀ B. ʿAZRA, Abū Hārūn Mōshē ben Yaʿḳōb b. ʿEzra, Judaeo-Arabic literary theorist and Hebrew poet in Muslim Spain. He probably lived from *ca.* 1055 to *ca.* 1135-40. He was born in Granada and was a pupil of Yisḥaḳ b. Ghayyāth (Ghiyāth) in Lucena. His education must have comprised all kinds of learning including Hebrew and Arabic literature. His Classical Arabic was of a high standard. He apparently had an important administrative function in Granada because he bore the title *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* ("head of the police" or "captain of the guard"); this title, however, is to be considered perhaps as purely honorific. Among his pupils during his time in Granada we find Yehudah al-Lewi (d. 1141), whom he encouraged in composing poetry.

In 1090 Granada fell into the hands of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN. 4.], who were intransigent towards the Jews; their arrival meant the destruction of the Jewish community. Most of the members of the Ibn Ezra family left the city. Moses ibn Ezra, however seems to have remained in Granada for a while; perhaps he did not have the necessary funds to flee. Finally, he succeeded in escaping to Christian Spain (Castile). He did not return to his native city and considered himself in exile for the rest of his life, although his family and friends invited him to return there. We know little about the conflicts which he had with his family; he had some disagreements, it seems, with his brother Yosef and with his own children.

He wandered around, dependent on the gifts of munificent patrons. Some of his patrons are mentioned in the Arabic dedications of his poetry, like Ibn Mudjāhir (Abraham b. Meʾir, who served at the court of the ʿAbbādid king al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*]), to whom his *Sefer ha-ʿAnaḳ* ("The Book of the Necklace") is devoted. This *Sefer*, entitled in Arabic *Kitāb Zahr al-riyāḍ* ("Book of the flowers of the meadows"), contains a collection of Hebrew poems, each rhyming on *tadjnīs tāmm*, i.e. words identical in sound, but different in meaning. Moses Ibn Ezra's other poetry bears witness to his many letters to colleagues in Muslim Spain, which compensated for the loneliness of the poet in Northern Spain. He lived in towns like Saragossa, of whose inhabitants' low intellectual status other contemporaries also complained, such as the Arabic poet Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] and the Hebrew poet and philosopher Solomon ibn Gabirol (d. 1058 or 1070).

Moses ibn Ezra's two important Judaeo-Arabic works are the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara* ("Book of Discussing and Memorising") and the *Maḳāla bi 'l-Ḥadīḳa fī maʿnā al-madjāz wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa* ("The Book of the Garden on Figurative and Literal language"). The *Muḥāḍara* is a treatise on rhetoric, dealing mainly with the question of how contemporary Hebrew Andalusian poets should compose their poems according to the laws of the poetics of the Arabs. This book must have been written in old age, when he was in exile; a possible suggested date is *ca.* 1135. The book is divided into eight chapters, being apparently answers to a friend who posed him eight questions about the nature of the poetry of the Hebrews and the Arabs. The book is unique in the sense that it is the only Judaeo-Arabic treatise about poetics. The book is mainly of interest from two points of view: it contains a chapter (no. 5) with a historical survey of contemporary Hebrew Andalusian literature, and chapter no. 8 (covering about half of the book) deals, amongst other subjects, with twenty-three traditional Arabic figures of speech, quoting examples from the Ḳurʾān, Arabic poetry, Hebrew Scripture and contemporary Hebrew Andalusian poetry. In his presentation of the figures of speech, Moses ibn Ezra was above all influenced by al-Ḥātimī's [*q.v.* in Suppl.] *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, and to a lesser extent, by Ibn Rashīḳ's [*q.v.*] *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*.

The *Ḥadīḳa* deals, amongst other subjects (such as the position of man in the universe, the unknowability of God, and the intellect, following a Neoplatonic

orientation), with the metaphorical interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages about God in the Hebrew Scriptures, perhaps considering God in somewhat the same way as the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] did earlier ("It follows from the absolute unity of God that the Divine Essence cannot be comprehended by the human mind, but only described by metaphor"). The book contains some references to Arabic poetry. It is perhaps of interest in the light of recent research on the *ḥaḳīḳa* and *madjāz* terminology in early works on Ḳurʾānic *tafsīr*. The *Ḥadīḳa* has not yet been edited. Being part of the Sassoon collection, it came into the possession of the Israel National Library in 1976.

Moses ibn Ezra also composed some fifteen Hebrew *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] in which he imitated Arabic examples, and adopted Arabic and Romance *kharadjāt*.

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2. Secondary literature: M. Schreiner, *Le Kitab al-mouhadara wa-l-moudhakara de Moïse b. Ezra et ses sources*, in *R. Et. Juives*, xxi (1890), 98-117, xxii (1891), 236-49 (also in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1983, 217-70); A. Diez Macho, *Mose ibn Ezra como poeta y preceptista*, Madrid-Barcelona 1953; D. Pagis, *Shirat ha-Hol we-Torat hash-shir le-Mosheh Ibn ʿEzra u-bene doro* ("Secular poetry and poetic theory; Moses ibn Ezra and his contemporaries"), Jerusalem (Bialik) 1970; R.P. Scheindlin, *Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra on the legitimacy of poetry*, in *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, N.S. vii (1976), 101-15; J. Dana, *Poetics in "Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wal Mudakara" by Moshe Ibn ʿEzra and its sources in Arabic books of poetry and criticism* [in Hebrew], diss. Tel Aviv 1977; R.I. Brann, *Structure and meaning in the secular poetry of Moshe Ibn Ezra*, diss., New York Univ. 1981 (available University Microfilms, Ann Arbor); A. Schippers, *Arabic tradition and Hebrew innovation; Arabic themes in Hebrew Andalusian poetry*, diss., University of Amsterdam 1988, now published, Inst. for Modern Near Eastern Studies, Univ. of Amsterdam. (A. SCHIPPERS)

MŪSĀ B. **MAYMŪN**, MAIMONIDES [see IBN MAYMŪN].

MŪSĀ B. **NUṢAYR** B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ZAYD AL-LAKHMĪ (or AL-BAKRĪ) ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, conqueror of the western Maghrib and of Spain. He was born in 19/640; his father had been in the immediate entourage of Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. Mūsā was at first appointed by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik to collect the *kharādj* at al-Baṣra, but having been suspected of embezzlement, he fled and took refuge with the caliph's brother, the governor of Egypt ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān; the latter took Mūsā to Syria to the caliph, who fined him 100,000 *dīnārs*. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz provided half of this sum for Mūsā and brought him to Egypt, where he gave him the governorship of Ifrīḳiya which had been previously held by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān. The various chroniclers are not agreed as to the date of his appointment to the office, but it possibly took place in 79/698 or the following year.

Mūsā and his troops thereupon entered on a career of successful conquest which ended in the consolidation of Muslim power in Ifrīḳiya and in the conquest of the rest of North Africa and of Spain. Here we give only the most essential details. Assisted by his sons ʿAbd Allāh and Marwān he sent successful expeditions against Zaghwān and Sadjūma (?) and reduced the Hawwāra, the Zanāta and the Kutāma [*q.vv.*]. The Berbers taking refuge in the west of the Maghrib, Mūsā decided to bring them to subjection; confirmed in his office by ʿAbd al-Malik's successor al-Walīd, he continued his advance to Tangier and the Sūs [*q.v.*] and returned to Ifrīḳiya, leaving as his deputy in the Maghrib his freedman Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*]. The latter in 92/710-11 invaded Spain, and Mūsā, anxious about and at the same time jealous of the progress made by his lieutenant, himself crossed in the following year, leaving his son ʿAbd Allāh as governor of Ifrīḳiya. Landing at Algeciras in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 with his other son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he refused to take the same route as Ṭāriḳ and taking the towns of Sidona (Shadhūna [*q.v.*]), Carmona, Seville and Merida, he was on his way to Toledo when Ṭāriḳ came to meet him and was bitterly reproached by his master. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr then continued his march and completely subjugated the north of Spain from Saragossa to Navarre. In 95/713-14 he left Spain with immense booty, leaving his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor; he reached Ḳayrawān at the end of the year and continued by land to Syria in a triumphal procession of Arab chiefs and Berber and Spanish prisoners. The caliph al-Walīd, then near his end, urged him to hurry while his brother and heir-presumptive Sulaymān, eager to appropriate the vast wealth brought by Mūsā, tried to delay him. He arrived in Damascus shortly before the death of al-Walīd, and when Sulaymān assumed power in 96/715, he at once displayed his hatred of the conqueror. Regarding Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's stay in Syria before his death in 98/716-17, the Arab historians give a number of details which are obviously of quite a legendary character.

Bibliography: All the Muslim chroniclers who have described the conquest of North Africa and Spain in their works have dealt with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr at fair length, but with details of a more legendary than historical nature. Moreover, these historians have copied each other, and in this connection one should consult the study made by A. Gateau on the relationships between the various chronicles, in *RT*, xxix (1937), xxxiii-xxxiv (1938), xxxviii-xl (1939) and lii (1942). Amongst the principal historians whose works are accessible, one may cite: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, ed.- partial tr. Gateau, Algiers, 2nd ed. 1948 (cf. R. Brunschvig, *ʿIbn ʿAbdalhakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7]); Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ribera, Madrid 1926; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, ed.- tr. Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867; Ibn ʿIdjārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, i-ii, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-51; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Lévi-Provençal, *Naṣṣ djadīd ʿan fatḥ al-ʿArab li 'l-Maghrib*, in *Ṣaḥīfat al-Maʿhad al-Miṣrī*, ii (1373/1954), 223-4. There are biographical notices devoted to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, v, 318-29, no. 748; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, no. 1454; Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, no. 1334; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1964. See also, in addition to the general histories of North Africa and Muslim Spain, Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1857-75;

Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892; Ḥ. Muʾnis, *Fadjr al-Andalus*, Cairo 1959. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

MŪSĀ b. ʿUKBA al-Asadī (after 55-141/675-758), early Medinan scholar and historian, especially interested in the Prophet's expeditions or *maghāzī* [*q.v.*]. A *mawlā* of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām's and a pupil of al-Zuhrī [*q.vv.*], he taught in the Prophet's mosque in Medina, showing in his work the characteristic, increasing emphasis of the Medinan school on *isnāds* and also displaying a concern in giving dates for the events which he describes. His *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, transmitted by his nephew Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUkba, has not survived as a complete work, although one fragment survives and it was cited by later writers such as Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Wāḳidī and al-Ṭabarī.

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MŪSĀ ČELEBI (?-1413); Ottoman prince, son —probably the youngest— of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*]. At the battle of Ankara in 1402, he fought in the rear of the contingent commanded by his father (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāme*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, 255) and seems to have fallen into Tīmūr's captivity at the same time as Bāyezīd (cf. the *Relazione* of Gerardo Sagredo, dated 12 October 1402, in M.M. Alexandresca-Derscu, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie*, repr. London 1977, 130). Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (*op. cit.*, 60) asserts that Tīmūr's men found him and brought him into Tīmūr's presence after the battle. He appears to have remained in Tīmūr's custody until his father's death in 1403, when Tīmūr released him and sent him with his father's coffin to Yaʿḳūb, the lord of Germiyān [*q.v.*]. Yaʿḳūb released him into the custody of his brother Meḥemmed (I) [*q.v.*] in Bursa, but only after Meḥemmed had defeated and expelled their third brother, ʿĪsā (*Anonymous chronicle*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. Marsh 313; quoted *verbatim* by Neshrī, ed. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen, *Kitâb-i Cihânnümâ*, i, Ankara 1949, 419; ii, Ankara 1957, 423-31). Despite several conflicting traditions to the contrary (e.g., Enwerī, *Düstūrnāme*, ed. M.H. Yınanç, Istanbul 1928, 91; Oruč b. ʿĀdil, *Tewārikh-i Āl-ʿOthmān*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover, 37, 105) it is probable that between 1403 and 1409, Mūsā remained in the custody of his brother Meḥemmed. In this year, Meḥemmed released him, evidently as a political instrument in his war against his brother Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*].

In 1409, Süleymān Čelebi ruled in Rumelia and in Ottoman Anatolia as far east as Ankara (see E.A. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman chronicles*, in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 268-90). As presented in the *Anonymous chronicle* (Bodleian, Marsh 313, *verbatim* in Neshrī, ii, 473-9), Mūsā requested Meḥemmed to release him, so that he could seize Rumelia from Süleyman Čelebi and rule there as Meḥemmed's vassal. Before his departure, he visited Meḥemmed, the lord of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*], and Isfendiyār-oghlī Mübāriz al-Dīn, the lord of Sinop, presumably to seek their co-operation in an alliance against Süleymān Čelebi. From Sinop, he travelled to Wallachia. Here he concluded a marriage alliance with the *voyvoda* Mircea —also an enemy of Süleymān Čelebi— and, with the assistance of Wallachian troops, invaded Süleymān's territory (Neshrī, *loc. cit.*). His success was immediate. At this time, Süleymān Čelebi was in Anatolia. The fortresses in Rumelia acknowledged Mūsā's overlordship; he occupied Edirne [*q.v.*] (P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i, Vienna 1975, Chronicle no. 96, p. 636) and, by May 1410, Gallipoli (Gelibolu [*q.v.*]). With this fortress in his possession, he was able to prevent Süleymān's crossing the Straits (St. Stanojević, *Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, xviii [1876], 442). However, with assistance from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Palaeologus he was able to cross the Bosphorus and, on 15 June 1410, to defeat Mūsā at Kosmidion (Hasköy) (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*). Mūsā fled to his temporary ally Stephen Lazarević, the Despot of Serbia (M. Braun, ed., *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen*, Wiesbaden 1956, 33). Mūsā soon returned to Rumelia, and the civil war continued into the autumn of 1410. A Ragusan report of August 1410 comments that Süleymān Čelebi was the most successful of the warring princes (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 444-5). Nevertheless, Mūsā emerged victorious. In February 1411, he advanced from Yambol to Edirne and, according to both Greek and Turkish traditions, attacked Süleymān when he was drunk. As his own troops began to desert him for Mūsā, Süleymān Čelebi fled. On 17 February 1411, Mūsā's agents captured and killed him (Schreiner, *loc. cit.*; Neshrī, ii, 484-7).

The death of his brother left Mūsā as sole ruler in Rumelia. However, immediately on his accession, Stephen Lazarević allowed his men to pillage Mūsā's territory, and the Byzantine emperor sought to prolong the Ottoman civil war by releasing from custody Süleymān Čelebi's son Orkhan (Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 447). It was this act of provocation that led Mūsā, in the autumn of 1411, to lay siege to Constantinople. This operation was unsuccessful, not so much, it would appear, as a result of a Greek victory over his naval force (Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum libri decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1843, 176-7), as through the desertion of several lords of Rumelia. Mūsā's vassal, George Branković, the nephew of Stephen Lazarević, fled to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel; the Ottoman lords Mīkhāloghlī [*q.v.*] Meḥemmed and Djandarlī [*q.v.*] Ibrāhīm fled to Mūsā's brother in Anatolia (Braun, *op. cit.*, 44-5). The *Anonymous chronicle* (*verbatim* in Neshrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 488-9) reports that Djandarlī Ibrāhīm informed Meḥemmed that the lords of Rumelia wished to overthrow Mūsā, who had aroused their hatred by killing some of their number and confiscating their property. These desertions seem to have emboldened Meḥemmed to attack his brother. In the spring of 1412, he crossed the Bosphorus with the help of Manuel, and attacked Mūsā at Inceğiz (Neshrī, ii, 490-5). Mūsā was victorious, but after the battle, two more of his lords, Pasha Yigit and Mīkhāloghlī Yūsuf, deserted him, fled to Stephen Lazarević, and plundered Mūsā's realms with Serbian troops. In the autumn of 1412, Meḥemmed again crossed the Bosphorus with Manuel's help to attack Mūsā, but again turned back, as bad weather and swollen rivers blocked his passage (Braun, *op. cit.*, 46-8).

On Meḥemmed's withdrawal to Anatolia, Mūsā attacked his ally, Stephen Lazarević. He set out from Sofia at the beginning of January 1413, seized Vranja in the Morava valley and laid siege to Novo Brdo (*ibid.*, 49-50). A Ragusan report of 8 March 1413, describes this failed siege, but notes Mūsā's successes elsewhere (St. Stanojević, *op. cit.*, 448). In Serbia, he

apparently conquered Sokolac, Lipovac, Bolvac, Svrjlig, Stalać and Koprian (Braun, *op. cit.*, 50). The probable reason for Mūsā's ending this successful campaign was the news that Orkhan, the son of Süleymān Čelebi, had landed in Thessaloniki, presumably released again by the Byzantine emperor. Mūsā departed from Serbia to Albania (*ibid.*, 50), and it was probably at this time that he formed an alliance, by marriage to his daughter, with the despot of Ioannina, Carlo Tocco (G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo*, Rome 1975, 360). From Albania he marched to Thessaloniki, destroying the fortified monastery of Chortiates on the Kassandra peninsula (Braun, *op. cit.*, 50). From here he returned to Edirne.

In the meantime, Stephen Lazarević had sent an envoy to Meḥemmed, urging him to attack Mūsā from the east, while he attacked from the west with Serbian, Hungarian and Bosnian troops (*ibid.*, 50). Meḥemmed evidently agreed and announced a campaign against Mūsā, presumably in the spring or early summer of 1413. With an army which included troops from his father-in-law, the lord of Dulghadir [*q.v.*], he crossed the sea of Marmara in ships provided by Manuel. At Vize he received word from Ewrenos [*q.v.*] that his son Barak, Pasha Yigit, and Sinān Bey of Trikkala would desert Mūsā and join him at Pirot. From Vize he marched to Pirot and on to the Morava valley (Neshrī, ii, 502-11), where he concluded a treaty with Stephen Lazarević (Braun, *op. cit.*, 53), and received soldiers from Ewrenos and John VII Palaeologus, the governor of Thessaloniki. Near Kosovo he received a further Serbian contingent, and troops under the command of Mūsā's erstwhile ally, Ḥamza Bey, the brother of Djüneyd of Aydin [*q.v.*]. Despite desertions, when Mūsā encountered Meḥemmed's army on 5 July 1413 beneath Mt. Vitosha near Sofia, he was at first victorious. Eventually, however, he fled the field, and Meḥemmed's men caught and killed him (Neshrī, ii, 513-17; Braun, *op. cit.*, 53-4).

Three years after Mūsā's death, Shaykh Badr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as *ḳāḍīʿasker* [*q.v.*], led a rebellion against Meḥemmed I in Rumelia, apparently hoping to win support from Mūsā's former office-holders, whom Meḥemmed had dispossessed following the defeat of his brother.

Bibliography: The most reliable narrative sources for Mūsā Čelebi appear to be the account of the Ottoman civil war in the Turkish *Anonymous chronicle*, copied *verbatim* by Neshrī; Constantine the Philosopher's Serbian *Life* of Stephen Lazarević; and the Greek *Short chronicle* listing events of the Ottoman civil war (references given in article). All these appear to be the work of contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Coins and documents from the time of Mūsā are extremely scarce. For coins, see A.C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 89, 156. For documents, see P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (II), (III)*, repr. in Wittek, *La formation de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. V.L. Ménage, London 1982; E.A. Zachariadou, *Early Ottoman documents of the Prodoromos Monastery (Serres)*, in *Südostforschungen*, xxiii (1969), 3. Modern studies of Mūsā Čelebi are N. Filipović, *Princ Musa i šeyh Bedreddin*, Sarajevo 1971, and the relevant chapters in E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht — Die Osmanen*, Weimar 1985. Modern studies strongly reflect the theory that Mūsā Čelebi and his *ḳāḍīʿasker* Badr al-Dīn were social and religious egalitarians. For a narrative of Mūsā Čelebi's reign, see C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 67-73.

(C. IMBER)

MŪSĀ AL-HĀDĪ [see AL-HĀDĪ].

MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM ("he who restrains himself" or "who keeps silent"), the seventh Imām of the Twelver Shīʿīs. He is known as Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Awwal (or al-Māḍī), Abū Ibrāhīm, Abū ʿAlī, and al-ʿAbd al-Ṣāliḥ. He was born at al-Abwāʾ (between Mecca and Medina) or in Medina on 7 Ṣafar 128/8 Nov. 745. Other dates given are Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 127/Sept. 745 and 129/746-7. His mother Ḥamīda (or Ḥumayda) bint Ṣāʿid al-Barbariyya (or al-Andalusiyya) was an *umm walad* bought from a Berber slave-dealer; she is often referred to as al-Muṣaffāt, "the purified".

Little is known of al-Kāẓim's early life; in a work of the Zaydī al-Nāṣir al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) he is said to have taken part in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh against the ʿAbbāsids in 145/762 (cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 160; see also Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, 277). He first came into prominence at the death in 148/765 of his father Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. This event led to splits in the Shīʿī community over the succession. Al-Ṣādiḳ's son and designated successor Ismāʿīl predeceased his father, while a second son, ʿAbd Allāh, died shortly after his father, leaving no male offspring. These two sons nevertheless both had their followers: the proto-Ismāʿīliyya and the Faṭḥiyya respectively. There also arose a group called the Sumayṭiyya (variants: Samṭiyya, Shumayṭiyya), who argued that the imāmate should go to another son, Muḥammad, and a further group, the Nāwūsiyya, who affirmed that Djaʿfar had not died and would reappear as the Mahdī. According to Twelver belief, in contrast, al-Kāẓim had already as a boy been designated by his father as the future Imām. Al-Ḳāẓim's imāmate was supported by some leading Shīʿīs, including Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*]; others withheld their recognition for a time.

When the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (ruled 136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) received news of al-Ṣādiḳ's death, he reportedly sent spies to Medina to discover the identity of the appointed legatee and have him killed. Al-Ṣādiḳ is said to have anticipated this move, and to have let it be known shortly before his death that he had appointed five legatees, including al-Manṣūr (in first place) and Mūsā al-Kāẓim; thus the caliph's plan was foiled.

Al-Kāẓim adhered to a quietist policy. He devoted himself to prayer and contemplation and, like his father before him, spread the Shīʿī doctrine among his disciples. Yet this did not spare him from harassment by the ʿAbbāsids. Al-Manṣūr's son and successor al-Mahdī (ruled 158-69/775-85) brought al-Kāẓim to Baghdād as a prisoner. There the Imām is said to have been placed in charge of the prefect of police, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī (d. 175/791-2 or 176/792-3), who became a follower of his. If this report is true, then al-Kāẓim's arrest could not have taken place during al-Musayyab's governorship of Khurāsān, which lasted between 163/779-80 and 166/782-3 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 500-1, 517. According to a less reliable account, 166/782-3 is the date of al-Musayyab's appointment as governor; see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, xiii, 137). Al-Kāẓim's detention seems to have been brief; his release reportedly followed a dream in which ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib appeared before al-Mahdī and berated him for arresting al-Kāẓim. Al-Mahdī made al-Kāẓim promise that he would not rebel against him or any of his children; he then gave the Imām 3,000 *dīnārs* and sent him back to Medina (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 533).

According to some reports, al-Kāẓim was again in danger after the collapse in 169/786 of the revolt of al-

Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī Ṣāḥib Fakhkh [*q.v.*]. Although al-Kāẓim had refused to support this revolt and had warned al-Ḥusayn that he would be killed, the caliph al-Hādī (ruled 169-70/785-6 [*q.v.*]) accused him of instigating the uprising and planned to have him killed. He was, however, dissuaded from this intention by the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb b. Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] and died soon after. Al-Kāẓim is said to have composed the prayer known as al-Djawshan ("coat of mail") in gratitude for his deliverance (see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhadj al-daᶜawāt*, Tehran 1322, 217 ff.).

Al-Kāẓim remained in Medina until the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 170-93/786-809 [*q.v.*]). Nine years into his reign, the caliph had al-Kāẓim arrested. Various accounts are given of the background to this event. One report has it that al-Rashīd took an interest in the views of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and, finding them dangerous, ordered the arrest of the Imām. According to another report, al-Kāẓim was the victim of intrigues at the ᶜAbbāsid court: when al-Rashīd placed his son Muḥammad (the future caliph al-Amīn) in the care of Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath (who headed the *dīwān al-khātam* between 170/786-7 and 171/787-8 and was later governor of Khurāsān until 173/790), the *wazīr* Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak feared that if his son were to become caliph, Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad would rise to prominence, thus endangering the privileged position of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA]. Yaḥyā therefore planned to disgrace Djaᶜfar by revealing his ᶜAlid connections. To this end he enlisted the help of al-Kāẓim's nephew and confidante Muḥammad (or ᶜAlī) b. Ismāᶜīl b. Djaᶜfar, who supplied him with information about the financial network of the ᶜAlids. Yaḥyā then told al-Rashīd that Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad belonged to the *shīᶜa* of al-Kāẓim and was sending him money (the *khums*); that al-Kāẓim was receiving donations from all corners of the earth; and that he had bought an estate (*ḍayᶜa*) called al-Yasīr (variants: al-Busriyya, al-Bishriyya, al-Yasīra, al-Yasīriyya) for 30,000 *dīnārs*. In other accounts, the caliph is said to have been told that people believed in al-Kāẓim's imāmate and that al-Kāẓim planned to rebel against al-Rashīd. The persons who denounced the Imām are on occasion identified as his brother Muḥammad or the Zaydī Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Yaᶜḳūb b. Dāwūd [*q.v.*]. The latter possibility is unlikely: by the time in question, Yaᶜḳūb was a broken, blind man; furthermore, he is known to have helped ᶜAlids escape from the authorities, and it would have been out of character for him to betray al-Kāẓim.

Al-Rashīd used the opportunity of a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina to have al-Kāẓim seized. The pilgrimage is said to have been either an *ᶜumra* (in Radjab 179/Sept.-Oct. 795 or Ramaḍān 179/Nov.-Dec. 795) or a *ḥadjdj* (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 179/Feb.-March 796). According to some sources, al-Kāẓim was sent directly to Baghdād; other, apparently more reliable reports indicate that he was first taken to Baṣra and held prisoner for a year by the governor ᶜĪsā b. Djaᶜfar b. al-Manṣūr. Al-Rashīd then ordered him to be killed, but ᶜĪsā, who had been impressed with al-Kāẓim's piety, managed to avoid this, and instead had him brought to Baghdād. He was handed over to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīᶜ (who had been appointed *ḥādjib* in 179/795) and placed under house arrest. Al-Rashīd is said to have released him at some point in consequence of a dream he had, only to have him re-arrested. Later, al-Kāẓim was entrusted to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who also kept him under house arrest, but treated him with respect.

Al-Kāẓim was able to communicate with his followers, who now also included local Shīᶜīs; one of them, ᶜAlī b. Yaḳṭīn (d. 182/798), was asked by al-Kāẓim to use his influence with the authorities to help the Shīᶜīs. This was consistent with al-Kāẓim's view that working for an illegitimate government (in this case, the ᶜAbbāsids) is permissible if it is done to further the Shīᶜī cause. ᶜAlī b. Yaḳṭīn also acted as financial agent of al-Kāẓim and sent him precious gifts (cf. W. Madelung, *A treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the legality of working for the government*, in *BSOAS*, xliii [1980], 17-19).

When news of al-Kāẓim's relatively comfortable situation was communicated to al-Rashīd (who was at al-Raḳḳa at the time), the angry caliph sent al-Faḍl a written order to kill al-Kāẓim. One account has it that al-Faḍl refused and was given one hundred lashes, while al-Kāẓim was transferred to the prefect of police al-Sindī b. Shāhak (grandfather of the poet Kushādjim [*q.v.*]). Al-Faḍl's father Yaḥyā b. Khālid hastened to al-Raḳḳa and, in an attempt to placate al-Rashīd, promised that he would do whatever the caliph wished. Al-Rashīd repeated his order to have al-Kāẓim killed; Yaḥyā returned to Baghdād and conveyed the message to al-Sindī, who brought about al-Kāẓim's death by serving him poisoned fresh dates (*ruṭab*). In another account it is al-Faḍl who is depicted as having al-Kāẓim poisoned. According to a third report, al-Kāẓim was wrapped in a carpet and crushed to death. Finally, it should be noted that al-Ṭabarī, iii, 649, mentions al-Kāẓim's death without comment, thus implying that he died of natural causes. This is indeed the view of most Sunnī authors, and it is also favoured by some modern scholars (e.g. F. Omar, art. HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD; A. Clot, *Haroun al-Rachid et le temps de Mille et Une Nuits*, Paris 1986, 91). The dates most commonly given for the Imām's death are 6, 24 or 25 Radjab 183/13, 31 Aug. or 1 Sept. 799; other dates are 181/797-8, Radjab 182/Aug.-Sept. 798, Radjab 184/July-Aug. 800, 186/802 and 188/804. He died at a prison (or mosque) near the Kūfa gate known as al-Musayyab (after al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr).

The manner of al-Kāẓim's death as described in Twelver sources presented Twelver theologians with a problem: for if the Imām, who is supposedly omniscient, knew in advance the time and manner of his death and did nothing to prevent it, did he not thereby assist in bringing about his own demise (*muᶜīn ᶜalā nafsihi*)? One answer, ascribed to al-Kāẓim's son, the eighth Imām ᶜAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], is that al-Kāẓim indeed knew of his impending death and made all the necessary provisions, but that at the crucial moment God made him forget this information (lit. "threw forgetfulness over his heart", *alḳā ᶜalā ḳalbihi 'l-nisyān*). According to another tradition, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī brought al-Kāẓim poisoned fruit on three successive days, but the Imām would not touch it. When the food was brought in on the fourth day, the Imām called out, "My Lord, you know that if I had eaten it before today I would have assisted in my own destruction". He then ate the fruit and became sick. The next day a physician was sent to examine him; al-Kāẓim first ignored him, but at the physician's insistence he finally showed him the palm of his hand, which had turned green from the effects of the poison. The physician then told the ᶜAbbāsids that al-Kāẓim was well aware that he had been poisoned; al-Kāẓim died shortly thereafter (Ibn Bābawayh, *ᶜUyūn*, i, 86-8; idem *Amālī*, 130-1). The implication is that the Imām knew the exact date of his death and took the poison in accordance with that knowledge. In a similar story, a respected Sunnī scholar from Baghdād describes how, shortly before al-Kāẓim's death, al-Sindī

assembled eighty leaders of the community and brought them to al-Kāẓim in order, as he said, to give the lie to rumours that the Imām had been maltreated. Al-Kāẓim acknowledged that he had been accorded comfortable living conditions, but then added: "I have been given poison in seven (or nine) dates; tomorrow I shall turn green (from the effects of the poison) and the day after tomorrow I shall die". "At that", the Sunnī scholar reports, "I saw al-Sindī b. Shāhak, shake and tremble like a palm-leaf" (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 258-9; Ibn Bābawayh, *ᶜUyūn*, i, 79). A different version has it that the Imām was not at liberty to do as he pleased, and was forced to eat the poisoned dates (Ibn Bābawayh, *ᶜUyūn*, i, 70-2).

According to some Shīᶜī accounts, al-Kāẓim's death was a direct result of the sinful behaviour of his community: as al-Kāẓim explains, God was angry with the Shīᶜa and told the Imām to choose between sacrificing himself to save his followers and having the Shīᶜīs killed; he chose to protect the Shīᶜa at the price of his own life (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 260). Al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] (*Mirʾāt al-ᶜuḳūl*, Tehran 1404/1984 ff., iii, 126-7) explains God's anger with the Shīᶜa as stemming from their lack of loyalty and obedience to the Imām, coupled with their abandonment of *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*] (self-protection through dissimulation). This abandonment of *taḳiyya* caused the identity of the Imām to become generally known, which in turn led to his arrest.

After al-Kāẓim's death, al-Sindī (or al-Rashīd) assembled representatives of the Hāshimīs, Ṭālibīs and other notables of Baghdād, uncovered the Imām's face and had them acknowledge that there was no sign of foul play; then al-Kāẓim was washed, enshrouded and buried. According to another account, al-Kāẓim's body was placed on a bridge in Baghdād to counter the belief among some Shīᶜīs that he was the Ḳāʾim, that he had either not died or had been resurrected, and that he was in hiding pending his reappearance. He was buried in the cemetery of the Arab aristocracy in north-west Baghdād (*maḳābir al-Shūnīzī* or *maḳābir Ḳuraysh*) at the Bāb al-Tibn ("The straw gate"), in the area which became known as al-Kāẓimiyya (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdād*, 160-5). At first, a visit to his tomb was not devoid of risk: al-Riḍā is quoted as saying that when it is too dangerous to enter the grounds, the visit should take place from behind a curtain (*ḥidjāb*) or a wall (*djidār*). In time, however, his shrine, together with that of his grandson, the ninth Imām Muḥammad al-Djawād [*q.v.*], became one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in ᶜIrāḳ [see KĀẒIMAYN].

The number of al-Kāẓim's offspring as given in the sources varies between 33 and 60. Some accounts refer to 18 (or 19) sons and 23 daughters. According to one report, al-Kāẓim (for unexplained reasons) forbade his daughters to marry; none did so except Umm Salama, who was married in Egypt to al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Djaᶜfar b. Muḥammad (al-Yaᶜḳūbī, ii, 415).

Al-Kāẓim was renowned for his piety. The ascetic Shaḳīḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (d. 194/809-10), who saw him in 149/766-7 in al-Ḳādisiyya, believed him to be a holy man (*walī allāh/min al-abdāl*) (al-Ṭabarī, *Dalāʾil al-imāma*, 155; al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiᶜ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, ii, 269-70, and the Ṣūfīs Maᶜrūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-6 [*q.v.*]) and Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/841-2 [*q.v.*]) are likewise associated with him (H. Algar, *Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim and Ṣūfī Tradition*, in *Islamic Culture*, lxiv [1990], 1-14). Al-Kāẓim was also a competent polemicist; as a youth he reduced Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] to silence; and Christians who came to him to discuss religious issues were won over to Islam.

Various miracles are attributed to him. Al-Riḍā reports that he already spoke in his cradle. Indeed, it was from the cradle that he told the Kūfan Shīᶜī Yaᶜḳūb al-Sarrādj to alter the name he had given his newborn daughter, since that name (al-Ḥumayrāʾ, a nickname of ᶜĀʾisha) was hated by God. (It is noteworthy, however, that according to some Shīᶜī sources, including al-Mufīd's *Irshād*, one of al-Kāẓim's daughters was herself called ᶜĀʾisha.) He could speak all languages, and conversed with birds and animals (including a lion). When he touched a truncated tree, it became green and bore fruit.

Al-Kāẓim's death led to the creation of a particular Shīᶜī branch. Those Shīᶜīs who denied that he had died, claiming that he had gone into concealment and would return as Mahdī, were called by their opponents *al-wāḳifa*, "those who stop", because they ended the line of Imāms with him and disputed the transfer of the imāmate to his son. They were also known pejoratively as *al-mamṭūra* (short for *kilāb mamṭūra*, "rain-drenched dogs", referring either to their lowly state or to their smell which, like that of wet dogs, was supposedly more offensive than that of a cadaver). Many Wāḳifīs, mostly Kūfans, defended the occultation (*ghayba*) of the seventh Imām in special works, of which only the titles (and some excerpts) survive; the youngest of these authors, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāᶜa al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī, died in 263/876-7. The Wāḳifiyya, the oldest example of a "Sevener" Shīᶜī group, appear to have fused towards the end of the 3rd/9th century with the Twelvers, who adopted the Wāḳifī model of the occultation of the last Imām (see Halm, *Schia*, 38-9). In contrast, the Twelver doctrine of the "lesser" and "greater" occultations does not appear to be of Wāḳifī origin. Instead, it is adumbrated by traditions such as the one in which Djaᶜfar al-Ṣādiḳ (referring perhaps to the two occasions on which al-Kāẓim was to be taken away from Medina) predicts that his son will disappear twice (*inna li-Abi 'l-Ḥasan ghaybatayn*), so that some men will claim that he has died (al-Ṭūsī, *K. al-Ghayba*, 38; cf. E. Kohlberg, *From Imāmiyya to Ithnāᶜashariyya*, in *BSOAS*, xxxix [1976], 531-2).

The Wāḳifī split may have been occasioned by financial, and not just religious, considerations. Al-Kāẓim had agents (*ḳuwwām* or *wukalāʾ*) in various places, and after his death some of them are said to have refused to hand over to al-Riḍā the monies entrusted to them, arguing that Mūsā was the last Imām. One of them was the Kūfan Manṣūr b. Yūnus Buzurg; others were ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭāʾinī, who is said to have been entrusted with 30,000 *dīnārs*, Ziyād b. Marwān al-Ḳandī, who kept 70,000 *dīnārs*, and al-Kāẓim's agent in Egypt, ᶜUthmān b. ᶜĪsā al-ᶜĀmirī al-Ruʾāsī (Ruwāsī), who in addition to a great deal of money also had five (or six) female slaves (*djawārī*), bought with the Imām's money. According to some reports, ᶜUthmān later repented, freed the slaves and returned the money; other accounts indicate that he refused to hand back the money, but freed the slaves and married them off (al-Kishshī, *Ridjāl*, 499-500; Ibn Bābawayh, *ᶜUyūn*, i, 92; al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Ḳumm 1407, 300, no. 817).

Al-Kāẓim played a significant role among some Shīᶜī *ghulāt*. The Khaṭṭābī al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar al-Djuᶜfī is said to have visited him in his Baghdād prison and to have looked after him; al-Kāẓim referred to him as his "second father". The Kūfan gnostic Muḥammad b. Bashīr (or Bushayr), the eponymous founder of the Bashariyya, believed in al-Kāẓim's divinity and claimed that al-Kāẓim had not died but had merely gone into concealment and would

return as Mahdī; Bas̲h̲īr is said to have claimed that he himself was Imām (or prophet) pending al-Kāẓim's return (see Halm, *Gnosis*, 215, 235-9).

Sunnī authors generally regard al-Kāẓim as a trustworthy traditionist who, however, transmitted only a few traditions. A *Musnad Mūsā al-Kāẓim* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-S̲h̲āfiʿī al-Bazzāz (d. 354/965) is extant (*GAS*, i, 191). Among Twelver S̲h̲īʿīs, al-Kāẓim is credited with numerous supplications, with answers to legal queries (including questions addressed to him by his brother ʿAlī b. D̲j̲aʿfar, cf. *GAS*, i, 535, no. 21), and with a *Waṣiyya fi 'l-ʿaḳl*, addressed to His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam. The *Waṣiyya* is preserved in a shorter and a longer version (al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, i, 13-20, Ibn S̲h̲uʿba, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuḳūl*, 283-97 respectively).

Al-Kāẓim's descendants, known as Mūsawīs, are said to account for some 70% of all *sayyids* in present-day Persia (Amīr Ṭāhirī, *The spirit of Allāh*, London 1985, 26-7).

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MŪSĀ S̲H̲AHAWĀTin, Abū Muḥammad, a poet of Medina considerably less known than his brother Ismāʿīl b. Yasār [*q.v.*], with the result that Yāḳūt, who devotes an article to him, calls him Mūsā b. Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār; he gives him the *nisba* of al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī, as the person in question was in fact a *mawlā* of Ḳurays̲h̲, variously associated with the Banū Taym b. Murra, with the Banū Sahm or even with Sulaymān b. Abī K̲h̲ayt̲h̲ama al-ʿAdawī (of the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy). Since the reason for his cognomen has been forgotten, numerous explanations have been suggested: he was a beggar who made a pretence of weeping to influence the owner of an item which he coveted; when ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲j̲aʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] wanted something, he readily purchased the article in question, deducting a small commission for the service; he imported sugar and other appetising confections to Medina; finally, he used the word *S̲h̲ahawāt* in one of his verses; it is probable that none of these explanations is valid.

Although resident in Medina, Mūsā S̲h̲ahāwāt often visited Damascus, being highly esteemed by the Umayyad caliphs; however, from a politico-religious point of view, although he sided with the Zubayrids and praised Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zubayr, he does not seem to have had any particularly decisive opinions. In any case, his surviving epigrans show no evidence that his foreign origin inspired S̲h̲uʿūbī sentiments in him. He took the opportunity to address laudatory verses to Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn, while the fact that he had dealings with Saʿīd b. K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUt̲h̲mānī—of whom he was rather critical—and of Saʿīd b. K̲h̲ālid b. ʿAbd Allāh... b. Asīd—who helped him in purchasing a slave—have produced conflicting opinions among those writers who have discussed his work. It is probable that his output was not particularly abundant; all that remain are a few fragments of compositions written to meet specific circumstances —eulogies and epigrams—and this poet owes his escape from obscurity to the use of his verses by such eminent musicians as Maʿbad [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 366-7 (ed. Shākir, i, 558-60); *Aghānī*, iii, 114-21 (ed. Beirut, iii, 347-63); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 377; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 199-200; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 144 (ed. Cairo, i, 271); Blachère, *HLA*, 619. (CH. PELLAT)

MUṢʿAB B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām AL-ZUBAYRĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, genealogist who owes his fame to two works, the *Kitāb al-Nasab al-kabīr*, considered to be lost, and the *Kitāb Nasab Ḳuraysh*, edited by E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953.

This Ḳurayshite was born in Medina, probably in 156/773, a descendant of the Companion al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*]. He followed the teaching of various masters, including Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], before settling at Baghdād where he died, at the age of 80, on 2 Shawwāl 236/8 April 851 (the *Fihrist*, however, makes him die in 233, at the age of 93). In the capital, he transmitted not only his own information on genealogical matters, but also traditions of a historical character (especially on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and *ḥadīth*s which he had from Mālik and other *muḥaddith*s who were less famous; among his pupils, Abū Khaythama and his son [see IBN ABĪ KHAYTHAMA] are the best known. He was also something of a poet, and the author of the *Aghānī* has preserved (v, 130-1) the funeral eulogy which he composed on Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and some verses written in praise of other personalities (i, 53, ii, 130, viii, 23, 25, xii, 111, xv, 159, 160, xx, 182). Whilst Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Muṣʿab's father ʿAbd Allāh of being the worst of men and reproaches him for being hostile to the ʿAlids, Abu 'l-Faradj does not seem to share this opinion at all, since he says (*Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, 285) that he took part in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā [*q.v.*] and cites verses of his in which he deplores the fate reserved by al-Manṣūr for al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiya ... b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who had also followed the rebel (*op. cit.*, 300 ff.); he relates also his involvement with Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (*op. cit.*, 463 ff.) without open hostility (see also, on this point, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 620-4). One might perhaps be tempted to attribute to ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣʿab's alleged reputation the comparative obscurity into which his son's work fell (though it was however utilised by al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī and other historians, especially those of al-Andalus), but it seems rather that Muṣʿab was to some extent eclipsed by his nephew al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), who nevertheless used extensively for his *Kitāb Nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārihim* the documentation collected together by his uncle. It is furthermore from this latter that subsequent biographers took their flattering judgement of Muṣʿab, stressing his dignity, knowledge, nobility, eloquence, etc. It is nevertheless noteworthy that Ibn al-Kalbī, in his Djamhara (Tab. 19 concerning Ḳuraysh) cites only one son of ʿAbd Allāh, Bakkār, and completely ignores the latter's brother Muṣʿab.

The *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh* is artificially divided into 12 *djuz*ʾs, in each case preceded by the list of transmitters, always the same ones: Ibn Abī Khaythama of Baghdād, Ibn Djamīl and Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiya al-Marwānī of al-Andalus. In Lévi-Provençal's judgement, it is a "document of outstanding importance for the history of the beginnings of Islam, and in particular, for that of the first four caliphs". One might add that it provides items of information of a sociological nature, in particular, on polygamy and on the remarriage of widows and divorced women, and that the writer of the present article based himself exclusively on the *Nasab Ḳuraysh* in his attempt to give an answer to the question, Can one find out the birth rate in the time of the Prophet? and to propose a method which can be utilised for matters concerning historical demography (in *JESHO*, xiv/2 [1971], 107-35).

Bibliography: There is a notice on Muṣʿab, by Lévi-Provençal and in French and Arabic, in the introductions to his edition of the *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*; the biographies of him in the *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, 160) and in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Cairo 1349/1931, xiii, 112-14, no. 7097) are reproduced in the Arabic introduction. See also, in addition to the references given in the article, Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, iv/1, 354; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 325, vii/2, 84; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 173; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 271; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, x, 162-4; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 482; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 86; Brockelmann, S I, 212; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 271-2. (CH. PELLAT)

MUṢʿAB B. **ʿUMAYR**, Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad of the Ḳuraysh clan of ʿAbd al-Dār. The son of rich parents, this handsome young man had already attracted attention by his elegant appearance when Muḥammad's preaching made so deep an impression upon him that he abandoned the advantages of his social position to join the dispersed adherents of the Prophet. Tradition dilates on the contrast between his former luxurious life and later poverty but these, like such stories in general, are somewhat suspicious.

When his parents endeavoured to prevent him taking part in the worship of the believers, he went with several of the faithful to Abyssinia from which he returned, however, before the *Hidjra* of 622. The Prophet thought highly of him and sent him after the first meeting at ʿAḳaba as a missionary to Medina where he won a number of followers for Islam. According to some traditions, he on this occasion, following the practice of the Jews, introduced the corporate Friday *ṣalāt*, which, however, as was noted as early as by Mūsā b. ʿUḳba [*q.v.*], others ascribe to the Medinan Asʿad b. Zurāra, while others in an effort at harmonising say that Asʿad conducted the corporate *ṣalāt* during the absence of Muṣʿab.

At Badr and at Uḥud, he carried the Prophet's banner in memory of the old privilege of the ʿAbd al-Dār; he met his death in the latter battle, i.e. in 3/625. With what ardour he adopted the new teaching is seen from his attitude to his mother, who is depicted as a most lovable character, and particularly from his words at the capture of his brother in the battle of Badr. His wife was Ḥanna bint Djaḥsh of Asad of Ḳuraysh.

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MUṢʿAB B. AL-**ZUBAYR**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH or Abū ʿĪsā, son of the famous Companion of the Prophet al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*] and brother of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Handsome, chivalrous, generous to the utmost

degree of prodigality, he resembled his older brother and the Zubayrid family only in his courage and outbursts of severity in repression.

He began his military career at the outset of the caliphate of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, with an ill-conceived expedition in Palestine. His name has gone down in history chiefly owing to his campaign, in his capacity as governor of ʿIrāḳ, against al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], who was occupying Kūfa and constraining him to exercise his authority only in the region of Baṣra. It was in fact to put an end to the disturbance created by this Shīʿī rebel that his brother ʿAbd Allāh had in 67/686 entrusted him with responsibility for the ʿIrāḳ province. On his arrival in Baṣra, he pronounced a threatening *khuṭba* which led to the expectation of an energetic action; alluding to the surnames given to his predecessors, Babba and Ḳubāʿ, he stated that he claimed for himself that of "butcher" (*djazzār*). Nevertheless, he was soon to display his concern for those under his administration by ordering the construction, in order to limit the spreading of the Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], of a dike to which he gave his name, while he appropriated for himself the lands thus gained from the marshes (ʿAbd al-Malik was later to concede them to his followers).

It was shortly after his arrival in Baṣra that he began his struggle against al-Mukhtār, whose supporters he defeated at al-Madhār [see MAYSĀN] then at Ḥarūrāʾ [*q.v.*] before going to besiege him in Kūfa. at the invitation, moreover, of the town's inhabitants, worn down by the yoke that he was imposing on them. After a siege of four months, al-Mukhtār was killed in an attempt at a sortie, on 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687, and Muṣʿab executed a considerable number of his supporters, which earned him as many enemies as his victims had relatives.

However, it was not long before these successes upset his brother, who recalled him, but had to give way to pressure from the ʿIrāḳī population who demanded his return. The revolt of al-Mukhtār being suppressed, he was forced to concern himself with the threat presented to ʿIrāḳ by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. With difficulty he blocked the way of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥurr, sent to provoke a counter-revolution, but an analogous attempt on Baṣra by the Umayyad Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd (see the Arabic index of the *Murūdj al-dhahab*, ed. Pellat) failed. By dealing severely with the Baṣrans favourable to the latter, Muṣʿab alienated the most influential personalities in the town who entered into negotiations with the Marwānids, before declaring themselves openly in their favour. In 70/689-90 the Zubayrid governor had, in addition, to put an end to the depredations carried out by the Zandj [*q.v.*] in the region of Baṣra. The following year, a Syrian army commanded by the same Khālid came to camp at Djufrat Nāfiʿ/Djufrat Khālid, hence the name Djufriyya given to these troops; Muṣʿab raised an army with difficulty and gained only a semi-victory over his adversary. Furthermore, he could not for long resist the population, who were showing themselves more and more hostile, while the Umayyad pressure increased. Nevertheless, the troops massed at Badjumayra avoided engaging in hostilities, and it was only when Muṣʿab moved towards Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ [*q.v.*] that events came to a head. Besides, his position was critical, the Baṣrans having refused to follow him. The best troops of the province were far away with al-Muhallab, engaged in an interminable campaign against the Khāridjīs. The troops around the Zubayrid displayed only moderate enthusiasm. His officers, tired of his iron hand, were prepared to betray him and entered into negotiations with ʿAbd al-Malik. The Marwānid was not stingy in his promises. He also tried to negotiate with Muṣʿab, who, learning of the perfidy of his followers, rejected all offers and decided to die like a brave man. Among his followers Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar [*q.v.*] alone fought vigorously in the battle; the others folded their arms during the fighting or went over to the Syrian ranks. ʿAbd al-Malik offered Muṣʿab his life for the last time with the government of ʿIrāḳ, but in vain. Thrown from his horse, the Zubayrid received the coup-de-grâce from an avenging Bakrī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ẓabyān. This took place about the middle of Djumādā I 72/October 691. ʿAbd al-Malik mourned him and ordered his poets to commemorate his heroic end. Muṣʿab's great generosity earned him numerous eulogies from poets. He is also famous in particular for the fact that he had in his harem the two most independent and haughtiest women of the time, belonging to the most undoubted aristocracy of Islam, ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*], and Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*].

This privilege did not prevent his brother ʿAbd Allāh from receiving the news of his death with the utmost indifference and even of his reproaching him for being too fond of women, by way of a funerary oration. He was also able to reproach him for rudeness and being inclined to insults which he uttered against his adversaries, whose weak points and more or less falsified genealogies he made efforts to acquaint himself with in order the better to combat them.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 318, ii, 95; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 365, v, 195; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivB, v, index, xi, 3-4, 8, 10, 16-19, 23-4; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 123-4, 137, 139; H.D. van Gelder, *Moḫtār de valsche profeet*, Leiden 1888, 125 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, index; see also the *Bibl.* of the art. AL-MUKHTĀR B. ABĪ ʿUBAYD.

(H. LAMMENS-[CH. PELLAT])

MUSĀBAḲA [see MAYDĀN].

AL-**MUSABBIḤĀT** (A.) "those which give praise", the name given to the group of Ḳurʾānic sūras from the middle Medinan peirod, LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII, LXIV, so-called because they begin with the phrase *sabbaḥa* or *yusabbiḥu li ʾllāh*. The designation seems to be old; cf. Muslim, *Zakāt*, trad. 119. See further, Nöldeke-Schwally, *G des Q*, i, 186, 245, ii, 45; and ḲURʾĀN, 7, towards the end. (ED.)

AL-**MUSABBIḤĪ**, Fāṭimid historian (366-420/977-1030).

Al-Amīr al-Mukhtār ʿIzz al-Mulk Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Azīz al-Ḥarrānī al-Musabbiḥī al-Kātib, of a family originally from Ḥarrān in the Djazīra, was born at Fusṭāṭ Miṣr on Sunday, 10 Radjab 366/4 March 977 and died in the same town in Rabīʿ II 420/April-May 1030. Contrary to the conventions of the Fāṭimid period, a time when professional soldiers were Berbers, Turks, negroes, Slavs, Sicilians, Persians, Daylamīs, or Arabs descended from a great tribal family, al-Musabbiḥī, although a Sunnī citizen of Fusṭāṭ, entered military service, *wa-kāna ʿalā ziyy al-adjnād*. The post of governor of Ḳays and of Bahnasā which he held at the outset and the military title of *amīr* given to him by his biographers seem to confirm the fact. Later, he was appointed head of the *dīwān al-tartīb* (or *al-ratīb*, which should not be confused with the *dīwān al-rātib* which was concerned with military pay),

equivalent to the post of general secretary of the central administration. However, he lived until his death in Fusṭāṭ Miṣr, a short distance from the Nile and the Mosque of ʿAmr. Returning from his daily work in the city of Cairo, every evening he encountered in this venerable mosque the friends of his father (who died at Miṣr Fusṭāṭ in 400/1009-10), and his own friends, men of traditional Islamic culture, often of Syrian origin. A devout Sunnī, he nevertheless loyally served the Fāṭimid régime and was particularly attached to the personality and subsequently to the memory of the Imām al-Ḥākim, who had been the only member of this dynasty to mingle on familiar terms, at the outset of his reign, with the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ.

Al-Musabbiḥī is known as a prolific and versatile writer who addressed, in the tradition of al-Djāḥiẓ, the most diverse of subjects: practical psychology, sexology, cookery, grammar and law. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī provide a detailed list of his works and specify the number of pages, exceeding a thousand in some cases, thirteen thousand for the history of Egypt, approximately forty thousand in total. Almost all of these works disappeared at a very early stage, and the authors who mention them know only their titles and length. Apart from a few brief quotations from his history dispersed among later compilations, the only specimen of his writing which has survived into the present is a single manuscript preserved in the Escorial in Spain, an ancient but not autographical manuscript, the fortieth chapter of his history of Egypt, recording events of a few months of the year 414/1023-4 and the greater part of the year 415/1024-5. This manuscript also contains poems and letters by various authors with whom al-Musabbiḥī was acquainted. This section provides an insight into the contemporary literary composition, in elegant prose and poetry, of Egypt and ʿIrāḳ at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. The dedications and commentaries on authors also contain details of interest to the historian, particularly with regard to the conversion to Islam of the Jacobite bishop of Takrīt, Abū Musallam Musharraf b. ʿUbayd Allāh, in 407/1016-17, a bishop who conducted a correspondence with al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [*q.v.*]. This Musharraf may be compared with Marḳūs in Mārī Sulaymān, *Akhbār faṭārika kursī al-mashriḳ*, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1899, 115-6. Elsewhere, in ʿIrāḳī Christian circles, it was claimed that the Shīʿī al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ, 4.] was for his part converted to Christianity. Finally, to correct Milward, 158-63, who has omitted to point out a major error in the manuscript, al-Maʿarri for al-Maghribī, see Naṣṣār, 106-7.

The first page of this manuscript contains a note written by al-Maḳrīzī declaring that he has read it and has found it useful. It may be noted that the two aforementioned years are dealt with in greater detail in the latter's *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ* than the earlier years, which appear in skeletal fashion. Although a number of the pages consulted by al-Maḳrīzī have disappeared since the 9th/15th century, it is possible to follow the latter's method of working by comparing the text which he utilised with the history that he wrote.

The complete version of al-Musabbiḥī's chronicle of Egypt seems to have disappeared at a very early stage, since the passages quoted by later historians are concentrated within relatively short periods of time. Egyptian sources regarding the last years of the imāmate of al-Ḥākim, the regency exercised by his sister, and the first years of the imāmate of al-Ẓāhir are particularly sparse. In view of the general atmosphere of suspicion and the re-assertion of authority over the Sunnī population of Fusṭāṭ Miṣr by the apparatus of the Fāṭimid state, after a period in which al-Ḥākim had seemed willing to listen to public opinion, it is possible that ideological control was imposed on official historiography and that a certain number of texts, including the writings of al-Musabbiḥī, were spontaneously destroyed. For traces of al-Musabbiḥī (the years 345/956-7 and 368-415/978-1025) in later Egyptian historiography, see Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937). According to Ayman Fuad Sayyid, *Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xiii (1977), al-Maḳrīzī possessed the 34th chapter which is said to have dealt with the year 395/1004-5. See also Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 393-4.

The complete title which he gave to the history of Egypt, *Akhbār Miṣr wa-faḍāʾiluhā wa-ʿadjāʾibuhā wa-ṭawāʾifuha wa-gharāʾibuhā wa-mā bihā min al-biḳāʿ wa 'l-āthār wa-siyar man ḥallahā wa-ḥalla ghayrahā min al-wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt wa 'l-aʾimma wa 'l-khulafāʾ*, shows that he was passionately attached to this land, a passion shared by an earlier historian, Ibn Zūlāḳ, author of the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, and later to be demonstrated by al-Maḳrīzī with his *Khiṭaṭ*.

Al-Musabbiḥī writes the history of the present. He records events day-by-day and then, at the end of the year, puts together the obituaries of people whom he considers important and who have died during the preceding twelve months. The same death is thus sometimes reported twice; in the second version, time having alleviated the shock caused by the news of the death, judgment of the deceased person may have been modified. He records the various aspects of life in Fusṭāṭ: road accidents, thefts, misdemeanours and crimes, public punishments, hippopotami wallowing in the Nile. He is regularly obliged to consult record of the low-level police authorities in Fusṭāṭ and those of the higher police authorities based at al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ.

He is also aware of proceedings in the administrative centre of Cairo, where he is present every morning. He records all the political gossip of an age in which the struggle for power is extremely violent. Military commanders and civil administrators resort to all sorts of weapons, including the use of informers and the dissemination of forged documents, in order to discredit their opponents in the eyes of the Imām al-Ẓāhir, a credulous youth mainly preoccupied with recreation. Al-Musabbiḥī describes in detail the spectacular ceremonies of homage to the Imām which took place at the Palace. Curiously, he describes with equal attention to detail both those at which he is present and those which he misses on account of illness. Al-Musabbiḥī regards with considerable suspicion the entourage of Sitt al-Mulk and, after the death of the latter, the cabal of courtiers which gathered around the young al-Ẓāhir. He seems to regret the passing of the time of the caliph al-Ḥākim.

He is particularly interested in news brought back from Syria by the postal service. This province, prosperous at the beginning of 414, was in 415 subjected to a very violent Bedouin invasion, and al-Musabbiḥī suggests that the mistrust of the central authorities towards the commander-in-chief, al-Duzbarī, was partially to blame for this. Al-Maḳrizī did not properly understand the text which he had before him, and he invented out of nothing a continuation of preceding events, a continuation which he introduced under the year 415 in the *Ittiʿāẓ* and which contains errors and contradictions.

A consummate historian, al-Musabbiḥī gives precise accounts of economic affairs. With the aid of his chronicle, it has been possible to sketch an analysis of the differential evolution of wholesale and retail prices at the time of a famine suffered at Fusṭāṭ (Th. Bianquis, *Une crise frumentaire dans l'Égypte fatimide*, in *JESHO* xxiii [1978], 67-101). Similarly, the precision of his description of state financial institutions facilitates a better understanding of the budget, expenses and receipts, of the Fāṭimid state (idem, *Le fonctionnement financier des diwans centraux dans l'Égypte fatimide*, contribution to the Symposium marking the year 1400 of the hijra, Damascus 1980).

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For a very thorough but repetitive Arabic bibliography relating to the author, see Brockelmann, I², 408, S I, 572; introductions and bibliographies of the editions mentioned above; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-maghrib*, ed. Zakī Muḥammad Hasan, Cairo 1953, i, 264-7; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 377-80, notes; al-Dhahabī, *Tarikh al-Islām*, photogr. ms. at Dār al-Kutub, ii, 205, obituary of year 420 A.H.; F.A. Sayyid, *Lumières....* in *AI*, xiii, notes, pp. 9-11; Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie...*, index; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Madjid Ḥarīdī, *Index des Ḫiṭaṭ*, IFAO, 1983, i, 260, under ʿAbd al-Malik (*sic*) b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Musabbiḥī al-Amīr al-Mukhtār; some fifty quotations refer to him as a source under the *nisba* al-Masīḥī in the Būlāḳ edition of the *Khiṭaṭ*, and a single quotation in Ibn Duḳmāk.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

AL-**MUṢʿABĪ**, ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB MUḤAMMAD B. ḤĀTIM, official and poet in both Arabic and Persian in Bukhārā under the Sāmānids, *flor.* early 4th/10th century. Better-known in his time as a statesman than as a poet, he was a boon-companion, then chief-secretary (*ʿamīd-i dīwān-i risālat*) and finally vizier in the reign of Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43); but he fell from power, and opposing the appointment of the new vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Djayhānī [see AL-DJAYHĀNĪ in Suppl.] in *ca.* 326/938, was executed (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 107; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, 32; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 245).

Al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*, iv, 15-16, ed. Cairo, iv, 97-8, tr. Barbier de Meynard, in *JA*, ser. 5, vol. i [1853], 196-7) gives specimens of his Arabic verses, whilst G. Lazard gives what survives of his Persian ones (*Les premiers poètes persans (IXᵉ-Xᵉ siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964, i, 23, 74-5, ii, 48-9); according to Lazard, the fact that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (read thus for Lazard's "al-Sidjistānī") [*q.v.*] appears to have dedicated to him a work on the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] may indicate that al-Muṣʿabī had Ismāʿīlī sympathies, such trends of thought being known to have existed in Transoxania during Naṣr b. Aḥmad's reign (cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 242-4).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but for further references, see Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 23.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUṢĀDARA (A.).

1. In mathematics, *muṣādarāt* are premisses or postulates (Grk. αἰτήματα). See al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 203; E. Wiedemann, *Beitrag XIV*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xl (1908), 4 and n. 2 = *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 403.

2. In the administrative terminology of the mediaeval Islamic caliphate, *muṣādara* is firstly "an agreement with someone over the payment of taxation due", according to al-Khʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, 62 (the synonym of *mufāraḳa*); cf. C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 138.

The most-frequently found meaning for this term is, however, "the mulcting of an official of his (usually) ill-gotten gains or spoils of office". The meaning here seems to stem from that above, via the idea of compelling an official to account for his financial gains, and then to forcible confiscation, often with violence and torture; or it may be, as Fleischer suggested (*Kleinere Schriften*, ii, 593), that we have here a denominative verb from *ṣadr* "breast", sc. "to place one's breast directly up against someone, to confront someone". See the discussion by A. Fischer in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 481-4.

Whatever the etymology, the usage is clear in texts which deal with administrative affairs from the 3rd/9th century onwards (al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Tanūkhī, Miskawayh, Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, etc.), in which we find not only *muṣādara* but also the terms *muṭālaba* and *munāẓara* with the same connotation of "seeking out, requiring an accounting, exacting, extorting money". The practice of requiring officials to disgorge at least part of the spoils from their official duties dates back to Umayyad times, and was practised e.g. by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (Løkkegaard, 162). The origins of a special organ of the administration for this purpose, given in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries the name of *dīwān al-muṣādarāt* or *dīwān al-muṣādarīn* [see DĪWĀN. i] are ʿAbbāsid, and may lie in the special treasury the *bayt māl al-maẓālim*, which al-Manṣūr set up for keeping the illegally-obtained monies recovered from dismissed financial agents, monies which were eventually restored to their original owners by al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 415-16, Eng. tr. H. Kennedy, Albany 1990, 119; Levy, *Social structure*, 307). From the end of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, the *dīwān al-muṣādara* takes definite shape, and the process of extracting money from dismissed officials becomes general under al-Wāthiḳ; Sourdel has suggested that the caliphate's financial position worsened at this time through the expenses of the move to Sāmarrā and increased interference in the running of the administration by the Turkish military (*Vizirat*, i, 264). Al-Wāthiḳ's vizier Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Zayyāt distinguished himself by his relentless harrying of secretaries and officials, but was hoist with his own petard when the new caliph al-Mutawakkil subjected him to torture and death in Ibn al-Zayyāt's own *tannūr*, an iron cylinder with spikes inside it (cf. the Iron Maiden of Nuremburg) which he had used for the *muṣādara* of his victims (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 194-5 = § 2878; Sourdel, i, 261-4, 268-9; art. IBN AL-ZAYYĀT). Under al-

Mutawakkil also, we hear of Nadjāḥ b. Salama, the secretary in charge of the *dīwān al-tawḳīʿ* but also charged with the inspecting and hunting down of tax officials suspected of misappropriation (*al-tatabbuʿ ʿalā 'l-ʿummāl*; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1440, Eng. tr. J.L. Kraemer, Albany, 1989, 157, and Sourdel, i, 280-1). Enormous sums were extracted by these means; thus Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Djardjarāʾī, formerly secretary to the Turkish general Ashnās and later vizier to al-Muntaṣir, was made to disgorge a million *dīnārs* by Ibn al-Zayyāt towards the end of al-Wāthiḳ's reign (Sourdel, i, 261-4).

As the finances of the caliphate became in the 4th/10th century under al-Muḳtadir and his successors more and more parlous, the process of *muṣādara*, almost always accompanied by torture and beatings, became the norm to which financial officials relinquishing their posts were subjected. In the time of al-Muḳtadir's vizier Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Khāḳānī, the director of the *dīwān al-muṣādarīn* Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Baghl and then Ibn Thawāba were given the task of extracting money from the previous vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and his partisans and of dealing with their confiscated lands and property (Sourdel, ii, 395-6). At the end of Ibn al-Furāt's third and last vizierate 311-12/923-4), 2 million *dīnārs* were extracted from Ibn al-Furāt and 3 million from his son al-Muḥassin (Sourdel, ii, 432-4, cf. 416-18, 646-7); it will be noted that, since the process of *muṣādara* was now largely automatic, having been thus mulcted was not an obstacle to an official being taken back into service again.

The practice was taken over by some at least of the succession states to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, e.g. by the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] in the East. At the fall in 416/1025 of Mahmūd of Ghazna's vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*], one of the latter's enemies was brought specially from Khurāsān to act as *mustakhridj* [*q.v.*] "extractor of information, ferreter out of hidden wealth", and other high officials were roughly handled after dismissal. That suffered by Maḥmūd's former treasurer Aḥmad Inaltigin is said to have been a contributory cause of his later rebellion as governor in India in 424/1033 (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 71-2, 77).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. In the Ottoman empire. This term alluded to the confiscation to the Ottoman treasury of the property of deceased and/or dismissed officials and other persons. It is for the seizure of an official's property in his lifetime that the term *muṣādara* is strictly appropriate; yet such a practice occurred only when the officials acquired the riches in question by improper means or were otherwise deserving of punishment. Often, the confiscation differentiated between the types of property left; the Ottoman treasury seized any coin, valuables, and military equipment such as weapons, animals and tents, leaving to the heirs land and houses or, if there were no such effects, providing them with pensions from the state. For example, in the 1792 confiscation case of the late ʿAbbās Agha, the tax-collector of Kütahya (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Cevdet Maliye collection, document no. 2034), his cash and valuables were sent to the Ottoman treasury and his livestock, cereals, farms and property were auctioned locally, and the cash amount accruing from it was then relayed to the treasury as well.

The Ottoman practice of confiscation derived initially from the Islamic law that the master of a slave is his sole heir [see ʿABD]; by analogy, the Ottoman sultan was considered the exclusive inheritor of his slaves. The emergence of this practice can be traced to the 9th/15th century, when the Ottoman treasury started regularly to seize certain types of property left behind, upon death, by eminent officials [see MUKHALLEFĀT]. The scope of the practice expanded as the state started to consider all those who died while serving the state to be the sultan's slaves; it nevertheless often excluded the *ʿulemāʾ*. Later, in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, any person who had prospered through a financial transaction with the Ottoman state came under the threat of confiscation. Confiscations and their release in cash increased especially during campaigns when a revenue crisis developed around the payment of soldier's salaries. The confiscation of the inheritances of the merchants or officials who were known to have cash stocks particularly escalated during these periods; to escape such confiscations, many invested their vast properties in *awḳāf*, religious endowments. As confiscations disrupted Ottoman economic transactions, imperial decrees at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries frequently assured that "the inheritance of those who did not have any accounts with the state would not be confiscated" (*Buyruldu* 1-2/12 in 1808). The practice of *muṣādara* was abolished in the early 19th century by sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Gibb-Bowen, i/2, 28-30; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* Istanbul 1953, 624-6; Seyyid Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj ül-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1909, i, 148, ii, 102, iv, 99; Aḥmed Lütfī, *Tārīkh-i Lütfī*, Istanbul 1873, i, 144; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* Paris 1788-1824, vii; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1984 edition, 78; *TOEM*, Istanbul 1911, xix, 70.

(F. MÜGE GÖÇEK)

MUSADDAS [see MUSAMMAṬ].

MUṢADDIK, MUḤAMMAD (MOSADDECH), Persian nationalist politician and Prime Minister in the period 1951 to 1953. Born in Tehran during 1882 (the precise date is uncertain), he died there on 5 March 1967. His father came from a prominent land-owning family, the Āshtiyānīs, and held various senior posts in the financial administration of the country. Muṣaddiḳ's mother was a great-granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, and one of her sisters was a wife of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh. On his father's death in (?) 1894 the boy received the title Muṣaddiḳ al-Salṭana, from which he later derived his family name when these became mandatory. After a traditional private education, he received his first administrative post at the age of 16 in the province of Khurāsān. Four years afterwards he married a granddaughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, by whom he later had two sons and three daughters.

Muṣaddiḳ's first entry into national politics was controversial. After the creation of the National Assembly in 1906, he stood for election to it as one of the candidates from Iṣfahān and was successful. When he attempted to take his seat, however, another representative noted that Muṣaddiḳ was less than 30, the minimum legal age for election as a Deputy, and he was therefore disbarred. In 1909-10 he visited

Paris, where he studied for a short while before his already poor health forced him to return home. In 1911 he enrolled at the University of Neuchâtel and in 1914 he was awarded a doctorate for a thesis on Islamic law. On returning to Tehran that year, he taught at the School of Political Sciences, and wrote on several economic and legal issues including the sensitive one of foreign Capitulations. In 1916 he became a deputy Minister of Finance. By the end of the following year, he was again living in Switzerland, largely because of his poor health and the chaotic state of Persia at that time.

Like many of his fellow countrymen, both at home and abroad, Muṣaddiḳ was strongly opposed to the terms of Britain's proposed new treaty with Persia in 1919; and he shared the view that it was an ill-disguised attempt to strengthen and perpetuate British influence in Tehran. In 1920 he accepted the offer of the post of Minister of Justice and returned by sea from Europe. It is an indication of the disorganisation then prevalent throughout Persia that, on reaching Shīrāz from Būshahr, some of the city's notables prevailed upon him to accept the vacant post of Governor of Fārs, which he then held from the late autumn of 1920 to the early spring of 1921. When Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn became Prime Minister in March 1921 he ordered the detention of Muṣaddiḳ, who for some weeks took refuge among the Bakhtiyārī.

Shortly after the fall of Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ, Muṣaddiḳ became Minister of Finance, but his tenure of office was brief and in February 1922 he was appointed Governor of Ādharbāydjān. That post he held for less than five months. In June 1923 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs, but his relations with Riḍā Khān were now far from harmonious and he resigned from the government in the following October. In February 1924 Muṣaddiḳ entered Parliament for the first time, as a member for Tehran; and he appears to have preferred the relative freedom of debate which then prevailed to the restrictions and burdens of administrative office. Given his family background, it is perhaps not surprising that he opposed Riḍā Khān's rise to power and on several later occasions he compared the rule of the new Shāh unfavourably with that of the Ḳādjārs. By 1930 the monarch could no longer tolerate Muṣaddiḳ's criticisms and he was banished to his lands at Aḥmadābād some 75 miles west of Tehran. After some years, the restrictions on him were relaxed and he visited Berlin for medical treatment. In 1940 he was again detained and sent into exile at Bīrdjand but was later permitted to return to Aḥmadābād. Following the Anglo-Soviet invasion of August 1941, Riḍā Shāh was forced to abdicate, and his son then declared an amnesty for political prisoners; Muṣaddiḳ was one of its beneficiaries.

Muṣaddiḳ's former opposition to the Pahlawī dynasty now stood him in good stead, and in the elections for the fourteenth Madjlis in 1943 he won the greatest number of votes cast for any of the capital city's 30 Deputies. The allied occupation of Persia caused quite serious economic problems concerning inflation and the distribution of food. These, in turn, fuelled popular resentment against foreign powers. When, in 1943 and 1944, two international oil companies, followed by the Soviet government, made requests for the granting of new oil concessions in Iran there was widespread opposition inside and outside Parliament. Muṣaddiḳ introduced a private member's bill in November 1944 which sought to forbid any negotiations on new occasions until the end of the war, when all foreign troops were supposed to leave Iran. It also sought to prohibit government ministers from discussing matters relating to foreign concessions without explicit parliamentary approval. On 2 December Muṣaddiḳ's bill was passed by the Madjlis.

Muṣaddiḳ was re-elected to the fifteenth Madjlis which opened in July 1947, and the government later sought its approval for a new oil agreement which had been negotiated with the USSR. The opposition to this was overwhelming, and the agreement was rejected. With Soviet participation in the oil industry now excluded, it was likely that attention would turn to British involvement. During the allied occupation, Muṣaddiḳ had begun to formulate the principle of "negative equilibrium". This called for Iran to establish its future independence on the basis of strict neutrality, and all foreign influence and concessions were to be rejected. It was the view of many urban Iranians that, as the British government held the majority of shares in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (A.I.O.C.), the Company was in effect an agent of British influence in Iran. Relations between the Iranian government and A.I.O.C. were not therefore just a matter of economics; for Muṣaddiḳ, as for many other Iranians, the political relationship was paramount.

Since 1947 the Company and the Persian government had been negotiating a new arrangement concerning royalty payments, and an agreement was initialled by the two parties in July 1949. It was debated, and rejected, by the Oil Committee of the sixteenth Madjlis in December 1950. Muṣaddiḳ, who was Chairman of that parliamentary committee, had by now begun to establish the National Front (*Djabha-yi Millī*), a very loose association of many diverse political groups. It spoke out against the new agreement, as did the much more disciplined communist *Tūda* party. The most important source of support for the growing call for the nationalisation of A.I.O.C. came, however, from an influential religious figure, Āyatullāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]. As anti-British sentiment rose, the Shāh had appointed a senior officer, General ʿAlī Razmārā, as Prime Minister in June 1950, but he was assassinated by a supporter of Kāshānī on 7 March 1951. During the following month, the Madjlis passed legislation for the nationalisation of the oil industry and 29 April the Shāh appointed Muṣaddiḳ as Prime Minister.

Muṣaddiḳ, who had little personal knowledge of the oil industry, and who seems never to have visited Ābādān, believed that the A.I.O.C. would rapidly capitulate. But the Company was by no means exclusively dependent on petroleum supplies from Persia. When the government in Tehran tried to put pressure on A.I.O.C., e.g. by revoking residence permits for its staff, the Company evacuated them in October 1951; but oil production was already at a virtual standstill. The Company's offer to submit the dispute to arbitration under the terms of the existing 1933 agreement was rejected by Muṣaddiḳ. Repeated efforts by various British and American officials to reach a negotiated settlement also failed, as did an attempt by representatives of the International Bank, and in October 1952 the Iranian government severed diplomatic relations with Britain.

Muṣaddiḳ's hopes that the United States government would put pressure on Britain to settle the dispute also proved ill-founded. In January 1952 US military aid for Persia was suspended for three months and in June 1953, after the failure of another joint US-British diplomatic approach, President Eisenhower announced that no further US aid of any kind would be provided for Persia unless the oil dispute with London was settled by negotiation or submitted to an international neutral body.

Meanwhile, domestic political and economic condi-

tions had begun to deteriorate. During 1952 Muṣaddiḳ started to take extraordinary measures to preserve his weakening political position. In February 1952, the term of the sixteenth Madjlis came to its appointed end, and elections were held. When it was clear that support for Muṣaddiḳ was waning, voting in many constituencies was halted and a truncated parliament convened with Muṣaddiḳ remaining as Prime Minister. On 17 July, when the Shāh refused his request to take over the Ministry of War too, Muṣaddiḳ resigned and was replaced by Aḥmad Ḳawām. Supporters of the National Front and the *Tūda* then fomented riots in several towns and cities, and on 22 July Muṣaddiḳ was re-appointed as Prime Minister. A cowed and manipulated Madjlis voted on 3 August 1952 to give Muṣaddiḳ full powers over economic, judicial, administrative and military matters for six months. (Those powers were renewed by the Madjlis in January 1953.) Army officers and legal officials known to be opposed to Muṣaddiḳ were dismissed and sent into internal exile. In October 1952, the Senate was dissolved as it too was proving to be a source of political opposition. Muṣaddiḳ, with the support of the *Tūda* party, then tried to restrict the political powers of the Shāh, and many of the Prime Minister's former political allies—including influential figures such as Kāshānī, Ḥusayn Makkī and Muẓaffar Baḳāʾī—expressed public doubts about Muṣaddiḳ's avowed commitment to the principle of constitutional rule.

This pattern of events had been watched with growing alarm in Washington, where the United States government feared that Muṣaddiḳ was now bent on establishing a dictatorship which might then seek closer relations with the USSR. By the summer of 1953, Muṣaddiḳ knew that his domestic political base was much weaker and in July a highly dubious referendum was organised. It was then claimed that this showed massive popular support for Muṣaddiḳ and for his dissolution of what remained of the seventeenth Madjlis.

Events came to a head on 16 August when the Shāh attempted to replace Muṣaddiḳ as Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ refused to yield and the Shāh, in a panic, fled abroad. Widespread rioting occurred between pro- and anti-royalist groups; the former were by now receiving active American support. On 20 August, the army, under General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī, succeeded in arresting Muṣaddiḳ and the Shāh returned to Tehran. Muṣaddiḳ was then placed on trial before a military court and charged with high treason. On 21 December he was found guilty and sentenced to three years' solitary confinement. After that sentence had been served, he spent the rest of his life quietly at Aḥmadābād.

Bibliography: The book by Farhad Diba cited below includes, in appendix IV, a list of books and articles by Muṣaddiḳ, including his doctoral dissertation. Much of the literature about him, in European languages as well as in Persian, remains partisan and some is hagiographical. An objective biography has still to be written. Farhad Diba's *Mossadegh: a political biography*, London 1986, is an admiring, but not always accurate portrayal. A volume of conference papers, *Musaddiq, Iranian nationalism and oil*, edited by J.A. Bill and W.R. Louis, London 1988, contains a wide range of material and views. Its bibliography of works in Persian and English is comprehensive, and rather than repeat the list of major works here, the reader is referred to pp. 341-8 of that book. While it was in the press, a few additional details of the 1953 coup appeared in a work by one of those associated with planning it, D.N. Wilber, *Adventures in the Middle East: excursions and incursions*, Princeton 1986. R.W. Ferrier's *History of the British Petroleum Company*, vol. ii, Cambridge, forthcoming, will contain much detailed information on the negotiations between the A.I.O.C. and successive Iranian governments. E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982, provides a detailed survey of the modern political history of Iran.

(R.M. Burrell)

MUSĀFIRIDS (Kangarids or Sallārids), a dynasty of Daylamī origin which came from Ṭārum [*q.v.*] and reigned in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries of the Hidjra in Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia.

Its coming to power was one of the manifestations of the great movement of Iranian liberation which formed a kind of interlude between the end of Arab domination and the first Turkish invasions. While in Khurāsān and Transoxania this movement culminated in the rule of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], in western Persia and Mesopotamia its standard-bearers were the Daylamīs and to a smaller extent the Kurds (cf. V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932).

The Musāfirids and the Djustānids. According to a genuine document quoted in Yāḳūt (iii, 148-50), the Kangarī family only comes into history after seizing the famous stronghold of Shamīrān in the district of Ṭārum which was under Ḳazwīn. The Kangarīs have therefore to be distinguished from the ruling family of Daylam, i.e. the Djustānids of Rūdbār, of whom seven are known from between 189 and 316/805-928, while members of the family can be traced till 434/1042. We know that Muḥammad, son of Musāfir, the eponym of the dynasty (whose real Iranian name must have been Aswār; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 16 = § 3587), had married Kharāsūya, daughter of the Djustānid Djustān III (from 250 until after 300). From such alliances, the names peculiar to the ruling family of Daylam (Djustān, Wahsūdān, Marzubān) became popular among the Musāfirids. In 307/919 Muḥammad killed his wife's uncle ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān to avenge the death of his father-in-law Djustān b. Wahsūdān. Henceforth there was a breach between the two families. The last Djustānid took refuge with the Daylamī chief Asfār (lord of Rayy and Ḳazwīn), who sent the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj against Muḥammad; but instead of fighting they joined forces, and Mardāwīdj slew Asfār. Muḥammad was an important ruler and Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil speaks with praise of his buildings at Shamīrān (1,850 houses) on which 5,000 workmen were employed (the ruins of Shamīrān have been described in Brugsch, *Reise d. preuss. Gesandtschaft*, 1862, ii, 471-2), but he was a difficult character and did not agree even with the members of his own family.

The two branches of Musāfirids. In 330/941 his sons Marzubān and Wahsūdān, by arrangement with Kharāsūya, seized Shamīrān and shut their father up in a fortress, after which the dynasty broke up into two branches: Wahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Ṭārum, while Marzubān extended his power over Ādharbāydjān, eastern Transcaucasia and some districts of Armenia.

The fourth generation of the Musāfirids consisted of the sons of Marzubān: Djustān, Ibrāhīm, Nāṣir and Kay Khusraw, and of the sons of Wahsūdān (330-55/942-66): Ismāʿīl, Nūḥ and Ḥaydar (?)

Marzubān. This ruler (330-46/941-57) is the most important figure in the dynasty. After the death in

314/926 of the Sādjid [*q.v.*] Yūsuf, Ādharbāydjān became the scene of the struggle between the Khāridjī Kurd Daysam b. Ibrāhīm and Lashkarī b. Mardī, a native of Gīlān, whom the Ziyārid Wushmagīr supported alternately. Lashkarī died in Armenia, and Daysam was betrayed by his vizier Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar who had come to an arrangement with Marzubān, for both were Bāṭinīs, i.e. Ismāʿīlīs (Miskawayh, ii, 32). Marzubān occupied Ardabīl and Tabrīz, and finally Daysam surrendered to Marzubān and received from him a castle in Ṭārum. Marzubān extended his territory northwards as far as Darband. In 332/943-4 the Scandinavian adventurers (Rūs [*q.v.*]) came by the Caspian and the river Kur and took the capital of Arrān [*q.v.*]. Bardaʿa [*q.v.*], in spite of the resistance of the subjects of Marzubān. At the same time, the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil had conceived designs on Ādharbāydjān, and Marzubān had to deal with a force under Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān and the Hadhbānī Kurd Djaʿfar b. Shakūya, which had reached Salmās [*q.v.*] but was soon recalled to Mawṣil by Nāṣir al-Dawla. On the other hand, the Rūs, decimated by disease and harassed by the Muslims, beat a retreat (cf. the sources on the Rūs invasion, including the Armenian historian of the 10th century, Moses Kałankatvatzi, in Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1876; the text of Miskawayh, ii, 62-7, was translated with commentary by Yakubovski in the *Vizant. Vremennik*, xxiv [Leningrad 1926], 63-92, and utilised by D.S. Margoliouth in *The Russian seizure of Bardhaʿah in 943 A.D.*, in *BSOS*, i [1918], 82-95).

A new danger arose in the south-east of the lands of Marzubān when in 335/946 the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla occupied Rayy (disputed by the Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Marzubān, filled with wrath at the Būyids, decided to attack them in 336/947-8. But Rukn al-Dawla had time to get reinforcements from his brothers. In 338/949 Marzubān, defeated near Ḳazwīn, was besieged in the castle of Sumīrum (in Fārs).

The fugitives from his army gathered round his father Muḥammad and occupied Ardabīl, while Wahsūdān remained in Ṭārum. Muḥammad soon gave dissatisfaction to his captains and was shut up by Wahsūdān in his castle at Shīsagān (?). Rukn al-Dawla sent to Ādharbāydjān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the former governor of Ṭūs [*q.v.*], who had deserted the Sāmānids. Wahsūdān released Daysam in the hope that he would be able to organise resistance. Daysam, who had time to take Ardabīl, was defeated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, but the latter, disgusted by the intrigues around him, returned to Rayy in 338/949. Daysam reoccupied Ardabīl, but the advance of ʿAlī b. Mīshkī, a supporter of Marzubān, forced him to seek shelter with the Artsrunids of Waspurakan [see WĀN].

In the meanwhile, by an ingeniously planned coup, Marzubān escaped from Sumīrum and recovered all his strongholds and treasures (342/953). After a long series of adventures which brought him to Mawṣil, Baghdād and Aleppo, Daysam in 344/955 collected a force and read the *khuṭba* at Salmās in the name of the Ḥamdānid of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla. Marzubān quickly put down a rising in Darband and later drove Daysam back, who once again sought refuge with the Artsrunids, who handed him over to Marzubān under threats from the latter.

In an important passage, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 354-5, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 347-8, gives the list of the tributaries of Marzubān compiled by his minister Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (in 344/955). The names include those of the lords of Shīrwān, Abkhāz (? uncertain name of a district north of Shīrwān; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 174: *Abkhān), of Shakkī [*q.v.*], of زو, of Djurzān wa-Saghiyān (Gurziwān and Saghiyān to the west of Shīrwān), of Vayots-dzor (district of Siunie), of Ahar and Warzaḳan (north-east of Tabrīz), of Khīzān (north of Bākū?), as well as the Artsrunids, Bagratids and the princes of Khačen (west of Bardaʿa).

Wahsūdān and his nephews. Marzubān died in Ramaḍān 346/Dec. 957, and while bequeathing the power to his brother Wahsūdān, forgot to cancel his first will by which his sons Djustān, Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir were to succeed him in succession.

The commanders of the fortresses would not surrender them to Wahsūdān, who returned to Ṭārum in disgust. Djustān b. Marzubān was recognised by his brothers, but was only interested in his harem. Marzubān's old general Djustān b. Sharmazan set up in Urmiya [*q.v.*] and won to his side Ibrāhīm, with whom he occupied Marāgha.

In 349/960 the grandson of the caliph al-Muktafī, Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā, rebelled in Gīlān and took the name of al-Mustadjīr bi 'llāh. Djustān and Ibrāhīm became reconciled and defeated the rebels at Mūḳān [*q.v.*].

Wahsūdān began intriguing among his nephews and detached Nāṣir from Djustān, but the quarrel was of short duration. Under assurances from Wahsūdān, Djustān with his mother and Nāṣir came to Ṭārum, but were thrown into prison. Wahsūdān sent his son Ismāʿīl to Ādharbāydjān. Ibrāhīm, who was ruling Armenia (Dwin), made a move in 349/960 or 350/961 which gave Wahsūdān an excuse to massacre his prisoners. Ismāʿīl soon afterwards died at Ardabīl, after which Ibrāhīm reoccupied Ādharbāydjān and laid Ṭārum waste while Wahsūdān sought refuge in Daylam. Meanwhile, Wahsūdān's general Sharmazan b. Mīshkī, however, succeeded in defeating Ibrāhīm and the latter, abandoned by all his soldiers, sought refuge with his brother-in-law Rukn al-Dawla, who had married a daughter of Marzubān (355/966).

Rukn al-Dawla with his usual chivalry heaped favours on Ibrāhīm, and sent to Ādharbāydjān his famous minister Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] who reinstated Ibrāhīm and subjected the Kurds and Djustān b. Sharmazan to him. Ibn al-ʿAmīd, who was much impressed by the wealth of Ādharbāydjān, proposed to Rukn al-Dawla to annex this province, but his master recalled him to Rayy, saying that he did not wish to be accused of coveting the inheritance of one who had sought his protection. After the return of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, matters went badly and from the allusions in Miskawayh we know only that Ibrāhīm was deposed and imprisoned (probably about 369/979, the year in which the *Tadjārib al-umam* stops).

The end of the Musāfirids. In the Muslim sources, the situation in Ādharbāydjān till 420/1029 is obscure, but the statements of the Armenian historian Stephen Asołik, *Hist. universelle*, part ii, book iii, tr. Macler, Paris 1917, chs. 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 38 and 41, enable us to fill the gaps. According to Kasrawī, in 369/979, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was dispossessed of his lands in Ādharbāydjān by the Rawwādī family (on which see the articles MARĀGHA, MARAND, TABRĪZ, and Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān*, ii). The son of Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Haydjā (the "Ablhadj Delmastani" of Asołik) retained Dwin [*q.v.*], and on the invitation of king Mushel of Ḳars in 982-3 made an expedition into Armenia, where he desecrated the churches. This Ablhadj later lost all his lands to his neighbour Abutlupʿ of Gołtʿn (i.e. Abū Dulaf Shaybānī, lord of Ordūbād [*q.v.*]). He later wandered in Georgia and

Armenia, and even visited the Byzantine emperor Basil II; he was killed by his servants at Uk͟htʿikʿ (Olti). Finally, another Ablhad͟j, son of Rovd, *amīr* of Atrapakan (Abu 'l-Hayd͟jā b. Rawwād of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān), took from Abū Dulaf "the towns of Salar and after sacking Gołtʿn marched on Dwin, seized this town and demanded from the Armenians the arrears of tribute" (Asołik, ch. xviii). King Smbat II hastened to accede to the demand. The Rawwādids thus gained possession of the remainder of the possessions of the Musāfirids, of whom they claimed to be the successors. There is no reason to connect the Arab-Kurd Rawwādids with the Musāfirids, who were of Daylamī origin, although there may have been intermarriage between the two families.

The Ṭārum branch. After the disappearance of the descendants of Marzubān, Ṭārum, the original fief of the dynasty, alone remained in their hands. Wahsūdān had extended his power over the adjacent districts of Zand͟jān, Abhar and Suhraward (the latter name is usually mutilated in the sources). A *ḳaṣīda* of al-Mutanabbī (Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, i, 45) dated probably to 354/965 suggests that Rukn al-Dawla drove Wahsūdān from Ṭārum for a time, but his family had remained there, for from Yāḳūt, iii, 148-50, we learn that in 379/989, the Būyid Fak͟hr al-Dawla took S͟hamīrān from the young son of Nūḥ b. Wahsūdān, whose mother he married (the child's name was probably D͟justān; cf. Yāḳūt, *Irs͟had*, ii, 308).

In 387/997, after the death of Fak͟hr al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Ismāʿīl b. Wahsūdān seized the fortress of Sard͟jihān and Ṭārum. In 411/1020 even Ḳazwīn was in his hands (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 58). When Maḥmūd of G͟hazna had taken Rayy, he sent against him the Daylamī K͟harāmil. After the return of Maḥmūd to K͟hurāsān (420/1029), his son Masʿūd attacked Ibrāhīm but only captured him by a strategem. Sard͟jihān, however, remained in the hands of Ibrāhīm's son. In 427/1037, we find the "*salār* of Ṭārum" in his fief again.

Nāṣir-i K͟husraw, who was in this region in 437/1045, speaks in high terms of the lord of S͟hamīrān D͟justān (b.) Ibrāhīm whose title was "Marzubān al-Daylam D͟jīl-i D͟jīlān Abū Ṣāliḥ, Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn".

Under 454/1062, Ibn al-At͟hīr records the visit of the Sald͟jūḳ Tog͟hrïl Beg to Ṭārum, where he imposed a tribute of 100,000 *dīnārs* on Musāfir, who is the last Musāfirid known. From Yāḳūt's words, we may conclude that the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt put an end to the rule of the family when they dismantled S͟hamīrān.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles DAYLAM, MARĀG͟HA, MARAND, ṬĀRUM, TABRĪZ, URMIYA. The principal source is Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth (abridged in Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii-ix). The *Taʾrīk͟h Ād͟harbāyd͟jān* of Ibn Abi 'l-Hayd͟jā al-Rawwādī (cf. Ṣafadī, in *JA* [1912], xix, 249, and Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa, ii, 107) has not yet been found. Cf. also Müned͟jd͟jim Bas͟hī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-ak͟hbar*, i, 505.

Studies. H. Sauvaire, *Sur quelques monnaies... de M. de l'Ecluse*, in *JRAS* (1881), 380-98 (résumé of Ibn al-At͟hīr; description of a *dirham* struck at Ardabīl in 343/954-5 in the names of "Sālār Abū Manṣūr [? perhaps Wahsūdān] and "Malik al-Muʾayyad Marzubān b. Muḥammad Abū Naṣr", and of a *dīnār* struck at Marāg͟ha in 347/958-9 in the names of Ibrāhīm and D͟justān, son of Marzubān); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 441; H.F. Amedroz, *Notes on... Mayyafāriqīn*, in *JRAS* (1909), 170-6; Sir E.D. Ross, *On three Muhammaddan dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 212-15 (cf. also idem, in *JRAS* [1924], 617-19); Cl. Huart, *Les Mosâfirides de l'Âd͟harbaïd͟jân*, in *A volume... presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 229-56; R. Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie der Gastaniden und Sallāriden*, in *Islamica*, iii/2 (1927), 168-86; Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie*, Hanover 1927, 180; Sayyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *S͟hahriyārān-i gumnām*, Tehran, 1929-30, i-iii (a very good book, analysing all the Muslim and even some Armenian sources); J. Markwart, *Die Entstehung d. armenischen Bistümer*, in *OC*, xxvii/2 (Rome 1932), no. 80, 150-1 (recognises the identity of the Rawwādīs of Tabrīz and Marāg͟ha); V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 158-69 (translates Müned͟jd͟jim Bas͟hī's information on the Musāfirids and Rawwādids); Cl. Cahen, *L'Iran du Nord-Ouest face à l'expansion Seljukide*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 65-7; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 12, 30-2; W. Madelung, in *ibid.*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 223-6. (V. MINORSKY)

MUSĀHAMA [see MUK͟HĀRAD͟JA].

MUṢĀḤIB (A.), in Swahili *musahibu*, a term of East African Muslim court life.

In Swahili morphology, the *mu-/m*-prefix can be placed before all words denoting persons and also trees, e.g. *mtini* "fig tree" (A. *tīn*) or *mzeituni* "olive tree" (A. *zaytūn*). It is therefore possible that the literary word *musahibu* is simply *ṣāḥib* with the *mu*-prefix. Now in some of the Swahili chronicles and the older epics, *musahibu* occurs in a special meaning, that of the close companion of the sultan, e.g. the sultan of Pate [*q.v.*]. He is usually a half-brother or cousin. He has to accompany the ruler wherever he goes, especially when hunting, and to protect the royal person against treason, by "always looking behind him". When the ruler is invited to visit a foreign ruler, the *musahibu* is sometimes sent in his place when the possibility of foul play is to be suspected; and if the visit should result in the *musahibu*'s imprisonment, the ruler remains free whilst the *musahibu* suffers for his ruler and his country.

Bibliography: J. Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979. (J. KNAPPERT)

MUṢĀḤIB-ZĀDE D͟JELĀL (MUSAHIP-ZADE CELAL), Turkish classical playwright (1868-1959). He was born in Istanbul on 19 August 1868. His grandfather Bestekār Muṣāḥib S͟hākir Ag͟ha was a composer. After high school, D͟jelāl attended the law school while he started work in the Translation Bureaux of the Sublime Porte. After that, he worked as a civil servant in different government offices. During his childhood, Muṣāḥib-zāde showed a deep interest in Karagöz [*q.v.*], the Turkish shadow play and the old Turkish open-air theatrical representations called Orta oyunu [*q.v.*]. He was also influenced by Aḥmad Wefiḳ Pas͟ha's Molière translations. During the second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire (1908-20), at a stage when the Turkish national theatre had newly been founded, and adaptations and translations of the European plays were serving as models, Muṣāḥib-zāde's musical plays, which reflected the colour of the local culture and also contained modern elements, soon became popular and attracted a great audience. His first play, called *Köprülüler*, a historical drama, was staged in 1912 in the Manukyan Theatre. In 1923 Muṣāḥib-zāde D͟jelāl retired from office and took a post at the library of the Istanbul City Theatre. In 1952 his fortieth jubilee year was celebrated. He died in 1959.

Although Muṣāḥib-zāde D͟jelāl wrote most of his musical plays after the Declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the themes of these plays were mainly taken from the daily lives of the Ottoman

people in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their tunes contain motives of the Turkish classical music. In these plays the weak sides of the population and the ruling institution, which led to the decay of the Ottoman Empire, were shown and the comic element, usually consisting of overstatements and irony, was always in the foregound. Turkish traditions and conventions, life in the *ḥarem* and *selāmlīk*, superstition, fanaticism, bribery, indulgence in sex, ignorance, inefficiency and laziness of the ruling body of the time, unequal treatment of women, oppression, inadequacy of the educators, and a blind admiration shown for western culture, were the popular themes of his plays, which he skilfully handled with a sense of humour. He avoided direct judgements, but gave his message through implication. He was in favour of a simple life, based on fairness, love, tolerance and honesty, and showed a great sympathy towards the humble characters of moderate social standing, in whom he found a purity, as opposed in the ruling figures in the Palace, religious leaders and scholars, whom he found remote from the realities and the people of the country. He believed that those people had lost their sense of judgement and had thus become degenerate. This social touch is common to almost all Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl's plays. His characters speak different dialects indicating their origin and social status, and the way in which he makes them speak reflects his close observation. He also made great use of folkloric elements. Typical Ottoman settings, like coffee-houses, gardens, house-interiors, streets, market-places and a great variety of local types with their original costumes, musical instruments and a lot of other accessories make his plays colourful and full of details but at the same time quite difficult for staging.

Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl wrote eighteen comedies, most of them with music composed by different composers, like Ismail Hakkı Beg and Doktor Subhi Beg. Among these musical plays, *Istanbul Efendisi*, *Aynaroz kadısı* and *Mum söndü* seem to be the most popular ones. They were collected and published in 1936. The names of his plays are listed below along with their performance dates: *Istanbul Efendisi*, 1913; *Yedekči*, 1919; *Kashīkčīlar* 1920; *Atlī ases*, 1921; *Lāle devri*, *Madjūn ḥokkasī*, *Demirbash Sharl*, all first staged before 1923. The following ones increased Muṣāḥib-zāde's popularity: *Fermanlı deli hazretleri*, 1928; *Aynaroz kadısı*, 1929; *Kafes arkasında*, 1929; *Bir kavuk devrildi*, 1930; *Mum söndü*, 1931; *Pazartesi-perşembe*, 1932; *Balabanağa*, 1932; *Gülsüm*, 1932; *Gül ve gönül*, 1933; *Selma*, 1961; *Genç Osman* (with Mehmet Şükrü Erden), 1955; *Karacaoğlan* (with Kemal Samancı), 1955.

Some literary historians and critics, among them Mustafa Nihat Özön (1896-1980), found Muṣāḥib-zāde Djelāl's plays mediocre from the literary point of view and inadequate in terms of stage techniques, whereas modern theatre critics and scholars, like Sevda Şener, Metin And and Özdemir Nutku, praise his mastery of using visual and verbal elements on the stage. They also claim that his plays, with their historical elements and social criticism, reflecting the value judgements of a special era in Turkish literary history, have gained a special significance today and thus should be restudied from that perspective.

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(NEDRET PINAR)

MUSĀḲĀT, a legal term denoting a lease of a plantation for one crop period, with profit-sharing. The contract for such a lease is between the owner of the plantation and a husbandman (*ʿāmil*), who undertakes to tend the trees or vines of the plantation for one season, at the end of which the proceeds of the crop are divided in agreed portions between the two contracting parties. The landowner's portion constitutes his rent (*udjra*). The contract of *musāḳāt* is similar in its general features to that of *muzāraʿa* [*q.v.*], but differs from the latter in four respects: (1) it is binding on both sides by the mere conclusion of the contract (whereas a contract of *muzāraʿa* may be cancelled by the provider of the seeds for the crop up to the time they are actually sown); (2) if the term of the *musāḳāt* falls before the fruit has ripened, the husbandman has to cultivate the trees or vines without wage until the fruit ripens; (3) if ownership of the plantation is successfully claimed by a third party, and the trees are in fruit, the husbandman may claim a wage for the time he has been working from the other party to the contract; and (4) declaration of the period of the contract is not a necessary condition for the validity of *musāḳāt* (since the ripening period of any particular fruit is known in advance, and there is little variation between any two crops).

In contracts of *musāḳāt* the term "trees" (*shadjar*) includes anything planted with the intention of leaving it in the ground for a year or more, i.e. any plant which has no definite term for being cut down, whether flowering or non-flowering. "Non-flowering" refers to plants which produce palm-branches, firewood, etc.

As in other contracts of *idjāra*, cancellation (*faskh*) may occur through either (1) the death of one of the parties (but if the trees already have immature fruit, the husbandman or his heirs are obliged to continue to tend the trees until the fruit is mature without consideration); or (2) by legitimate excuse (*ʿudhr*).

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(M.J.L. YOUNG)

MUṢALLĀ (A.), the noun of place from *ṣallā* "to perform the Muslim worship, *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]", hence the place where the *ṣalāt* is performed on certain occasions.

1. Historical and legal aspects.

When Muḥammad had fixed his abode in Medina, he performed the ordinary *ṣalāts* in his *dār*, which was also his *masdjid* (not in the sense of temple). The extraordinary *ṣalāts*, however, were performed on a place situated southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima, outside the wall, northeast of the bridge on the *wādī*, where at present the street from the suburb of al-ʿAnbariyya reaches the market-place Barr al-Munākha (cf. Burton, *Personal narrative*, plan opp. i, 256; picture of the *muṣallā* as well as of the mosque of ʿUmar situated on the place, opp. i, 329; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 2nd ed., plan of Medina opp. 252; part of the Barr al-Munākha, *ibid.*, opp. 264; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, opp. 72).

On this spot, the *ṣalāt* was performed on 1 Shawwāl and on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1281, 1362). On the latter day, the *ṣalāt* was combined with the slaughtering of two spotted rams (al-Bukhārī, *Aḍāḥī*, *bāb* 6). On the two days of festival, Muḥammad and his followers on their way to the *muṣallā* were preceded by Bilāl who bore the spear (*ʿanaza* [*q.v.*]).

It is also said that the *ṣalāt* for rain was held on the *muṣallā* (copious data in Tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Rain; and idem, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 141). Further, it is related that the service for the dead was performed on this spot (al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb* 4, 61; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, 140). Finally, the *muṣallā* is mentioned as the place where executions took place (al-Bukhārī, *Ṭalāḳ*, *bāb* 11; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1903). The sacred character of the place appears in the fact that menstruating women were taught to avoid it (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥayḍ*, *bāb* 23). According to Caetani (A.H. 1, § 55, n. 3; cf. A.H. 2, § 24, n. 1), the *muṣallā* was used more frequently.

It was not only in Medina but in a large number of other places that the rites mentioned, or some of them, were performed on a *muṣallā*. According to al-Nawawī (commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 296), this was the practice of most of the capitals. The custom prevails up to the present day. According to Doutté, the North-African *muṣallā* is used for the rites of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. It is a large threshing-floor, with a wall provided with a *miḥrāb*; there is also an elevated place for the *khaṭīb*. This is the form of the *muṣallā* in many towns of Morocco.

To the legal scholars, it was questionable whether the festival ceremonies should be performed on the *muṣallā* or in the mosque. There was divergency of opinion on this point, even within the *madhhabs* (Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 41, where "the field" (*al-ṣaḥrāʾ*) is mentioned side-by-side with the mosque; al-Zurḳānī, comm. on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, i, 328; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, Paris 1318, 33-4; al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, ii, 296).

Wensinck has conjectured that, even in pre-Islamic times, rites of several kinds were performed on an open area, threshing-floor, *muṣallā* or the like. The connection between all those rites and the special place is sought by him therein, that they had a special connection with the fertile earth, of which the threshing-floor and the like were symbols.

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(A.J. Wensinck)

2. Architectural aspects in the central Islamic lands.

Although *muṣallā* (like *mughaṭṭā*) can denote the sanctuary or covered area in a mosque, its principal meaning is the open space—usually outside a settlement—used during the two *ʿīds* (*ʿīd al-kabīr* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr*) by the entire Muslim community (see 1. above). The *muṣallā* of Mashhad provides epigraphic confirmation of this classless quality, for its chronogram states *īn bināʾ madjmūʿ-i khāṣṣ u ʿāmm*. The *muṣallā* is thus an extraordinary monument built for two extraordinary occasions, though exceptionally it was used for other purposes (see 1. above). An anecdote recounted by Saʿdī (*Gulistān*, no. xxviii) indicates that the *muṣallā* of Shīrāz was used for recreation—in this case, archery practice. Merchants also plied their trade in *muṣallās* on occasion. In the Iranian and Indian worlds the *muṣallā* is known as *namāzgāh* and/or *ʿīdgāh* (see 3. below). A location conveniently close to a city gate was standard practice (*e.g.*, at Mashhad and at Iṣfahān, where some pillars, vaults and ornament of the old *muṣallā* were still visible in 1913). A security risk was perceived in the entire community foregathering in an undefended place at one time, and it was therefore permitted for worshippers to bring their weapons, and if necessary to disperse in scattered groups using different routes. The periodic occurrence of massacres in *muṣallās* justified these precautions.

Since *muṣallā* denotes simply "a place for prayer", it is not surprising that in many parts of the Islamic world the term does not imply a building at all; indeed, some *muṣallās* are temporary and fall into the category of mobile architecture. This extreme simplicity helps to explain why so very few of the *muṣallās* mentioned in literary sources have survived. Nevertheless, there are occasional reports of royal patronage in the erection of these buildings, which suggests that these were not flimsy constructions. Hilāl al-Ṣābī recounts how the caliph, his *wazīrs* and other officials celebrated the beginning of the *ʿīd* by assembling at dawn and then forming a splendidly attired and colourful procession *en route* to the *muṣallā* (*apud* M.M. Ahsan, *Social life under the ʿAbbasids, 170-289 A.H./786-902 A.D.*, London, New York and Beirut 1979, 277). Al-Māfarrūkhī, *Maḥāsin Iṣfahān* (Persian tr., ed. Iḳbāl, 75), tells a similar tale. Such processions had the sanction of the Prophet's own example. Al-Maḳrīzī notes (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 451) that in 380/990 the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz renovated the *muṣallā* outside the Bāb al-Naṣr constructed by Djawhar in 358/968-9. Nor was he the first; al-Muʿizz had built one at al-Manṣūriyya in 441/1049-50, and the same caliph officiated as *imām* when the great *ʿīds* were celebrated at the *muṣallā* of Raḳḳāda. The indirect evidence pointing to the existence of *muṣallās* of some architectural distinction is backed up by several scraps of physical evidence. The Marīnid *muṣallā* at al-Manṣūra was decorated with panels of elaborate geometric brickwork, while that of Mashhad, 1087/1676-7, dated by an inscription, has fine tile mosaic. That of Harāt had an *īwān* erected in 863/1458-9 by Sultan Abū Saʿīd.

In its simplest form the *muṣallā* comprises merely a directional indicator—a *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]—either entirely

isolated in a huge open space, or set in a long wall. The development of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] might involve a projection of the *miḥrāb* beyond the *ḳibla* wall itself. Usually a *minbar* is also provided, which can be a large permanent structure, complete with steps and a dome (as at Aswān). In more developed form (*e.g.*, at Āgra), the *muṣallā* would consist of a gigantic empty square enclosure provided with multiple entrances and with an unbroken *ḳibla* wall (*e.g.*, Nasā, which has one, two and five entrances respectively per side, or the 8th/14th-century example at al-Manṣūra, with two entrances per side). In the eastern Islamic world, a more complex two-tier structure with a central *īwān* (*e.g.*, at Turbat-i Djām and al-Bukhārā, 515/1121-2) would mark the emplacement of the *miḥrāb* and the area immediately adjoining it. This area may be raised above the courtyard on a platform, as at Bukhārā. Such a formula corresponds quite closely to a typical form of Friday Mosque in the Indian subcontinent. It must be seen not as a self-contained unit (though many examples in Transoxiana, such as the 10th/16th-century examples at Ḳarshi and Āstāna Ata, and some in Persia, encourage that perception) but in the context of a huge open space immediately adjoining it. In other parts of the Muslim world the entire *ḳibla* wall was fully articulated with *īwāns*, clusters of domes or vaults of varying sizes; once again, the influence of the standard local congregational mosque can be felt in such cases. Such solutions include an *īwān* preceding a domed chamber (Ṭuruk), and an *īwān* flanked by domed chambers (Mashhad). At al-Manāma [*q.v.*], the capital of al-Baḥrain, Diez recorded *muṣallās* comprising "*līwāns* of several naves built of rows of pillars with pointed arches which run parallel with the *ḳibla* wall. A jutting roof on octagonal brick pillars protects from the sun. The roofs consist of a layer of clay on wood. The *ḳibla* wall has no prayer niche. There are no court or side-*līwāns*." Further articulation could be provided by small square chambers defining the corners of the enclosure (Aswān). Sometimes trees or pools broke up the open surface of the *muṣallā*. These variations show clearly enough that there was no set form for this building type. The vast scale of the typical *muṣallā* (that of Abū Zakāriyyā᾽ in Tunis, of the 7th/13th century, was described as "like a little town") posed special problems of communication. Hence relays of *mukabbirs* raised above the level of the worshippers by multiple *dikkas* are often required to orchestrate the movements of prayer for such huge congregations. This human chain could be extended far beyond the *muṣallā*; in 380/990 in Cairo, al-ʿAzīz set up *maṣṭabas* for muezzins and *fuḳahā᾽* along the route linking his palace with the *muṣallā* "so that the *takbīr* would be simultaneous from the *muṣallā* to the palace" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 451).

The modern expansion of many mediaeval cities has resulted in the loss of their *muṣallās* (*e.g.*, the 8-hectare *muṣallā* of Samarḳand). The Ḳonya muṣallā of 948/1541 is a rare exception. Often the names of city gates or quarters contain a reminder of such vanished *muṣallās*. Although exceptionally *muṣallās* might be sited deliberately within a city (that of Algiers adjoined the Friday Mosque, and that of Bukhārā was on the Rīgistān below the *arg* until 369/971, when a new *muṣallā* was built outside the city), most of the examples thus located have been incorporated into the urban fabric as a result of later expansion. Some of the larger modern cities have acquired more than one *muṣallā*; Karachi, for example, has no less than nine.

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(R. Hillenbrand)

3. In Muslim India [see namāzgāh].

MUSAMMAṬ (a.), [*shiʿr*] *musammaṭ* or [*ḳaṣīda*] *musammaṭa*, also *ḳaṣīda simṭiyya*), name of an originally Arabic (then also Hebrew, Persian, Turkish) stanzaic form of poetry. The name is derived from the Arabic *simṭ* "a thread, or string, having upon it beads or pearls; a thong, or strap. that is suspended from the horse's saddle" (cf. Lane, s.v.); the original meaning of *musammaṭ* is probably "that which is arranged in strings (rows, lines)" (I. ʿAbbās, *Ta᾽rīkh*, 221; cf., however, the etymological remarks of Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 180, and in *TA*, s.v. *simṭ*).

1. In the Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic traditions, in early Persian and in Turkish.

Formal structure, metres, themes. The single stanzas, normally all of the same structure, consist of two elements: first a fixed number of lines that rhyme with each other, the rhyme, however, changing from one stanza to the next (separate rhymes), followed by a stanza-closing line that rhymes with the end lines in all other stanzas of the poem. This rhyme that runs through the whole poem (common rhyme) is called *ʿamūd al-ḳaṣīda* by the Arab authorities. The lines of the *musammaṭ* correspond to the hemistichs in normal *shiʿr*. The rhyme scheme of a simple *musammaṭ* is thus, e.g.: *bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. In the first stanza the end line often rhymes with the preceding lines, thus *aaa a, bbb a, ccc a*, etc. The number of lines with separate rhyme can be two (rare), three, four, five, six, and more. The four-line *musammaṭ* (three lines with separate rhyme + one line with common rhyme) is called *murabbaʿ*, the five-liner *mukhammas*, the six-liner *musaddas*, etc. There are said to exist also *musammaṭs* with stanzas displaying a varying number of lines (cf. Freytag, 405). In a particular variety of the *musammaṭ* the first stanza is preceded by two introductory lines with common rhyme (*aa bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*). The number of stanzas in a *musammaṭ* is not fixed. One encounters the same metres (particularly *ṭawīl, basīṭ, wāfir, ramal*, etc.) and themes (*nasīb*, praise, wine description, etc.) in the *musammaṭ* that are also found in normal *shiʿr*.

The oldest specimens. The indigenous tradition attests to the existence of *musammaṭs* already in the 2nd/8th century: al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (d. *ca.* 187/803) gives an exact definition of a *musammaṭ murabbaʿ* (*apud* al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, xii, 348, s.v. *simṭ*). The oldest *musammaṭ* known to date is ascribed to Abū Nuwās (d. 200/815 [*q.v.*]) (rhyme scheme: *aaa a, bbb a*, etc., metre: *basīṭ*; topic: wine and drinking party; 14 stanzas). Although this ascription is not quite certain —Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, redactor of Abū Nuwās' *dīwān*, considers the poem to be spurious (cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1964, 228)— it must date from the 3rd/9th century, since it is already quoted by Abū Hiffān (d. 255/869) in his *Akhbār Abī Nuwās* (ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 57 f.). The poem in question, instead of being read as a *musammaṭ*, can, however, also be viewed as a *ḳaṣīda* with regularly applied internal rhyme (*...a...a...a...a, ...b...b...b...a*, etc.). The same is true for a poem

(metre: *mutaḳārib*; theme: *nasīb*; three stanzas) that Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) ascribes to Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (d. *ca.* 155/771) (*Aghānī*[1] v, 27 f.). Written out as a *musammaṭ*, it shows the rhyme scheme *aa bbb a, ccc a*, etc., thus being a *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* with introductory lines; written out as a *ḳaṣīda* it looks as follows: ......*a*......*a*, ..*b*..*b*..*b*..*a*, ..*c*..*c*..*c*..*a*, etc. In contradistinction to these examples, the *musammaṭ* wrongly ascribed to Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], quoted by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 463/1070), *al-ᶜUmda*, i, 179; cf. 182, cannot be read as a *ḳaṣīda*, because all lines of the poem have equal length. It shows the rhyme scheme *aa bbbb a* which means that it is a *musammaṭ mukhammas* with introductory lines. The critic Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb al-Kātib (4th/10th century) describes a *musammaṭ musaddas* without introductory lines (*bbbbb a, ccccc a*, etc.) (*al-Burhān fī wudjūh al-bayān*, ed. A. Maṭlūb, Baghdād 1967, 161). A *musammaṭ mukhammas* (rhyme scheme: *bbbb a, cccc a*; metre: *wāfir*, theme: *nasīb* + eulogy; 31 stanzas) is included in the *Dīwān* of the Egyptian poet Tamīm (d. *ca.* 375/985) (ed. M.Ḥ al-Aᶜẓamī *et alii*, Cairo 1957, 368-74). Two *mukhammas* poems (both in the metre *ṭawīl*; theme: *ghazal* (*ḥanīn*), considerably mixed with nature description; 10 and 20 stanzas respectively) were composed by the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070 [*q.v.*]) (*Dīwān*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm, Cairo 1957, 128-38). Al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) uses the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* (*aaa a, bbb a*) in his 11th, 12th, and 50th *maḳāma* (ed. Beirut 1958, 89 ff., 101 ff., 420 ff.).

Diffusion. The *musammaṭ*, and particularly its *murabbaᶜ* type, must have been used much more frequently than is suggested by the not exactly numerous pieces encountered in the *dīwāns* of the poets (cf. the remarks by Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ᶜUmda*, i, 182, 2). It seems to have been particularly widespread in the 4th/10th century. Evidence for this is *inter alia* the fact that the Hebrew poets who, in that century, adopted the Arabic metres and genres of poetry favoured the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* during their first steps into the new poetic art (cf. M. Hartmann, 113; S.M. Stern, 51). Some specimens can already be found with Eastern Hebrew poets (cf. Fleischer, 840 ff.); but it is especially the Andalusian Hebrew poets who use this stanzaic form, called *merubaᶜ* in Hebrew. A number of *merubaᶜs* (*bbb a, ccc a*) by Dūnash b. Labrāṭ have been preserved. Subsequently, the *merubaᶜ* acquires an important place in the canon of Hebrew poetry, liturgical as well as secular. A wider diffusion of the Arabic *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* in non-courtly, more popular poetry is suggested by the fact that later Bedouin poetry also knows the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* alongside the *ḳaṣīda*. This is attested for the 8th/14th century by Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 361) and for the 13th/19th century by A. Socin's collection *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (ed. H. Stumme, Teil I-III, Leipzig 1900-1, i, nos. 50 and 64; cf. iii, 53). Lastly, one finds *murabbaᶜs* in the folk epic of the Banū Hilāl (cf. S. Pantuček, *Das Epos über den Westzug der Banū Hilāl*, Prague 1970, 123).

Takhmīs. In later times, a special function has devolved upon the *mukhammas* type. It is frequently used to expand, to "gloss", an existing poem (cf. the Spanish poetic form "gloss"). The result is more often called a *takhmīs* rather than a *mukhammas*. Numerous examples can be found in the *Dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]) (ed. K. al-Bustānī, Beirut n.d., 26 f., 36 ff., 63 ff., and elsewhere), who also composed normal *mukhammasāt* (*ibid.*, 110 ff., 228 ff., 245 ff.). In this way, al-Ḥillī has "glossed", e.g., the famous *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn (*ibid.*, 359 ff.). The first verse of the original poem, consisting of two rhyming hemistichs (now becoming lines), is preceded by three newly-composed lines with the same rhyme, length, and metre (+ *a* + *a* + *a aa*); the remaining verses, each consisting of two non-rhyming hemistichs (now lines), are likewise preceded by three newly-composed lines which follow the first hemistich with regard to rhyme etc. (+ *b* + *b* + *b ba*, + *c* + *c* + *c ca*, etc.). Such *takhmīs* poems can be found in the *dīwāns* of numerous later poets.

Relationship with other stanzaic genres of poetry. The Andalusian *zadjal* [*q.v.*] (most frequent rhyme scheme: *aa bbb a, ccc a*) adopts the rhyme scheme of a *musammaṭ* with introductory lines; the Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*], according to the opinion held by many scholars, has evolved from the *musammaṭ*. Not to be confused with the *musammaṭ mukhammas* (*musaddas*, etc.) is another type of *mukhammas* (*musaddas*, etc.), in which blocks of five (six, etc.) lines rhyme: *aaaaa bbbbb* (or *aaaaaa bbbbbb*, etc.) (cf. M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 46 ff.).

Imitations in non-Arabic literatures. The Hebrew imitations of the *musammaṭ murabbaᶜ* (Hebr. *merubaᶜ*) have already been mentioned in another context above. The attempt to assume a genuinely Hebrew development of the *merubaᶜ* in the older liturgical poetry (*piyyūṭīm*) (Fleischer, 837 ff.) is doomed to failure by the fact that none of the Hebrew *merubaᶜs* composed before the contacts of Jewish poets with Arabic poetry shows a true common rhyme; they all have a fixed recurrent word in its stead (*aaa w, bbb w*). It is only after the contact with the Arabs, and doubtlessly under their influence, that the Jews have composed true *musammaṭs*. At the most, one might assume that the existence of a similar type of stanza in the genuine Hebrew tradition facilitated the adoption of the Arabic *musammaṭ*.

In the 5th/11th century, the Persian poet Manūčihrī (d. *ca.* 432/1041 [*q.v.*]) introduced the *musammaṭ* into the canon of Persian poetry. His *Dīwān* (ed. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, Paris 1886, 151 ff.) contains 10 (not 11!) specimens, all belonging to the *musaddas* type (*bbbbb a, ccccc a*) (most common theme: description of nature as a prologue + eulogy of the ruler). In the *Dīwān* of Sanāʾī (d. 526/1131 or later [*q.v.*]) there are two *musammaṭs* of the *murabbaᶜ* type (ed. M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1354 sh., 785 ff.). Various types of *musammaṭ* occur also in other Persian *dīwāns* (cf. Rückert-Pertsch, 85 f.; Browne, ii, 41 f.). The Turks (Ottoman as well as Čaghatay) adopted the *musammaṭ* from the Persians (cf. Gibb, *HOP*, i, 91 ff.).

Around 1100 A.D. an exact equivalent of the Arabic *musammaṭ* appears also in Provençal poetry (specimens in the collections of the oldest Troubadours, William of Aquitaine (d. 1127), Marcabrun and Cercamon). This fact, combined with the lack of a Latin, or other Romance, model for this form of Provençal stanzaic poetry, is one of the strongest arguments of the proponents of the so-called "Arabic theory" who want to explain the genesis of Provençal poetry, at least in part, through influence from the Arabic.

The revival of *musammaṭs* and other mediaeval Arabic stanzaic forms played an important role at the beginning of modern Arabic literature in the 19th century. The old stanzaic forms were used not only in own poetic efforts but also in the translation of Western poetry (cf. S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 11 ff.).

Bibliography: See also *LA* and *TA*, s.v. *s-m-ṭ*; Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-ᶜUmda*, i-ii, ed. M.M. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut [4]1972, i, 178-82; G.W.

Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 404 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht. I. Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1897, 111 ff.; J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 55; S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974; I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-Andalusī: ʿaṣr al-ṭawāʾif wa ʾl-murābiṭīn*, Beirut, ⁵1978, 216-51; Sayyid Ghāzī, *Fī uṣūl al-tawshīḥ*, Alexandria 1976; G. Schoeler, *Die hispano-arabische Strophendichtung: Entstehung und Beziehung zur Troubadourlyrik*, in *La signification du bas Moyen Age...*, Actes du 8ᵐᵉ Congrès de l'UEAI, Aix-en-Provence 1976, 243-66; idem, *Muwaššaḥ und Zağal*, in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, ed. W. Heinrichs, Wiesbaden 1990, 440-64; A. Jones, *Eppur si muove*, in *La Corónica*, xii (1983-4), 45-70, cf. 55 f.; E. Fleischer, *Contributions hébraïques à une meilleure compréhension de quelques aspects de la poésie européenne du haut moyen-âge*, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medievo*, 26 (1980), 815-66, cf. 834 ff.; F. Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1874, 85-6. (G. SCHOELER)

2. In later Persian and Indo-Muslim literature.

After the Ghaznawid and Ghūrid periods, sporadic examples of the *musammaṭ* are also present in the works of subsequent poets, such as Khwādjū of Kirmān (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and Djāmī (d. 898/1492). The *musammaṭ* found special impetus from certain poets of the 18th and 19th centuries, notably from Ḳāʾānī (d. 1270/1854), who used the medium for some of his finest poems. In all of Ḳāʾānī's *musammaṭs* the lines of the first stanza rhyme together, and this rhyme continues in the last lines of the other stanzas. In the literary output following the establishment of the Constitution in 1906, the *musammaṭ* gained increasing visibility, and was exploited effectively by Amīrī (1860-1917), Bahār (1886-1950) and, more particularly, by ʿIshḳī (1894-1924), whose long poem in this form, entitled *Īdiʾāl* ("Ideal"), constitutes a valuable contribution to the poetical literature of modern Persia.

The type of *musaddas* in which the first four lines rhyme with one another, whilst the remaining two lines rhyme amongst themselves (*aaaa bb, cccc dd, eeee ff*, etc.), often called a *tarkīb-band* because of its broad affinity with the latter, has also been popular. It has been employed widely in Urdu poetry, one of the best-known examples being Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī's (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]) long poem, *Madd u djazr-i Islām*, also popularly known as *Musaddas-i Ḥālī* (*Kulliyyāt-i naẓm-i Ḥālī*, ii, ed. Iftikhār Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī, Lahore 1970).

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

MUṢANNAF (A., pl. *muṣannafāt*), an early technical term in Arabic literature applied to a collection of religious learning organised upon an abstract, structured subdivision in chapters, hence the opposite of *musnad* [*q.v.*], i.e. a collection arranged according to the first/oldest transmitter. *Muṣannaf* is the past participle of a denominative verb meaning originally "to assort", "to distinguish", sc. the one *ṣinf* (= "sort" or "species") from another. Allegedly the first in the Islamic world to compose a structured collection of ancient traditions, which, however, may not have come down to us, was the Meccan *ḥadīth* expert ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 150/767), mostly called after his grandfather Ibn Djuraydj (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vi, 403 ult., for an *awāʾil* report ascribed to Ibn Ḥanbal). But he is also credited with the saying *mā dawwana al-ʿilma tadwīnī aḥadun*, i.e. nobody collected/registered (religious) learning in the same fashion as I have done (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *ibid.*, 404 (3); the verbs *dawwana* and *ṣannafa* are not synonymous, the latter connoting a more sophisticated stage in tradition-collecting, cf. *GAS*, i, 55). Other authors of early, allegedly structured, collections, which as such have not come down to us, are Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]), the Kūfan jurist, to whom a *djāmiʿ* is attributed (cf. Rāmahurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī*, ed. M. ʿAdjdjādj al-Khaṭīb, Beirut 1971, 612; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Hady al-sārī, muḳaddimat Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo n.d., 10(25)), and Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783), the Baṣran *muftī*, who is credited with *aṣnāf*, a term glossed as *muṣannafāt*, but perhaps rendered best as "legal categories" or "chapters" (*ibid.*, also Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 12 (17), 15 (12), iv, 65, in margin). Others mentioned in this respect (cf. Rāmahurmuzī, 611 f.) are al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ (d. 160/777) from Baṣra, Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba (d. 156/773) from Baṣra, Khālid al-ʿAbd from Baṣra, who is said to have stolen traditions from others (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 393), Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) from Yemen, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/814) from Mecca, al-Walīd b. Muslim (d. 194/810) from Damascus, Djarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188/804) from Rayy, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) from Marw and Hushaym b. Bashīr (d. 183/799) from Wāsiṭ. The oldest *muṣannaf*-type works extant are the *Sīra* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (d. 151/768 [*q.v.*]), the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]), and works by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 182/798 [*q.v.*]), chief *ḳāḍī* of Baghdad, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805 [*q.v.*]), cf. *GAS*, i, s.n.

In Shīʿī literature, allegedly the oldest structured collection of legal traditions is the *Madjmūʿ al-fiḳh* ascribed to Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 122/740); its authorship, however, remains to be established definitively, cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, 54-7, and the literature referred to there.

The pre-canonical collections of Prophetic and/or

other *ḥadīth* extant today, not all called *muṣannafāt* but arranged as such, are that of the Ibāḍī al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (d. *ca.* 175/791), whose *musnad* [*q.v.*] may in actual fact have been initially organised as such and only later received a *muṣannaf*-type arrangement at the hand of a later scholar, (cf. the incomplete edition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *Ḥāshiyat al-djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ musnad ... al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb*, Cairo 1326; cf. also J.C. Wilkinson, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll, Carbondale-Edwardsville 1982, 135 ff., 245); the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), edited in 11 volumes by Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1970-2; a work entitled *Sunan* by Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842), edition al-Dār al-Salafiyya, Bombay 1982; the *Muṣannaf*, also called *Musnad* although it is arranged according to subject-matter, of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), edited by Mukhtār Aḥmad al-Nadwī *et alii*, Bombay 1386-1403, in 15 volumes; and a collection called *Sunan* or *Musnad* by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), edited by Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī and Khālid al-Sabʿ al-ʿAlamī, Beirut-Cairo 1987.

(For methods simplifying the tracing of traditions in early *muṣannafs*, see MUSNAD.)

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(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUṢANNIFAK, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. MADJD AL-DĪN Muḥammad al-Bisṭāmī (or al-Harawī), Persian scholar and theologian, was born in 803/1400-1 at Shāhrūd near Bisṭām as a descendant of the famous theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]. The nickname *muṣannifak* ("the little writer") was probably given to him "in allusion to his youthful productivity as a writer" (Storey). He studied at Harāt and continued to live in Eastern Persia until 848/1444 when he travelled to Anatolia. While he was teaching at Ḳonya, his hearing deteriorated so much that he had to give up this occupation. He went to live in Istanbul on a pension granted by Sultan Meḥemmed II. In 867/1463 he accompanied the sultan during the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia. A *fatwā* drawn up by Muṣannifak authorised the killing of Stjepan Tomašević, the last Bosnian king. Among the dates given for his death the most likely is 875/1470-1.

Most of Muṣannifak's works are commentaries and supercommentaries on Arabic texts. His interests included rhetoric and logic as well as the theological disciplines. Among the works to which he appended Arabic glosses are al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda* [*q.v.*], al-Taftazānī's [*q.v.*] *al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal* and the *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]. In 863/1459 he wrote a Persian commentary on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*, a famous textbook on logic by Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Kātibī [*q.v.*]. Other works in Persian are *al-Muḥammadiyya* or *Tafsīr-i Muṣannifak*, an unfinished commentary on the Ḳurʾān begun in 863/1459 at the request of Sultan Meḥemmed II, and *at-Tuḥfat al-Maḥmūdiyya*, dedicated to the *wazīr* Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*].

Bibliography; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 479; Brockelmann, II, 234, S II, 329; Storey, i/1, 10, Storey-Bregelʾ, i, 123-4, iii, 1337; H. Ritter, in *OLZ*, 1928/12, 1124; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts*, Leiden 1957, 157; Ghulām-Riḍā Māyil Harawī, in *Āryānā*, xx/12 (1341 sh./1962-3), 13-17; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī*, ii/2, Tehran 1349 sh./1970, 1501.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

MUSĀWĀT (A.) "equality", the *maṣdar* of form III of the verb *sawiya* "to be equal to, be worth", with the same sense as form I; in modern times, it has been used for the political concept of human equality (Ottoman Turkish *müsāwāt*, modern Turkish *müsavat*, Persian *musāwāt*, *barābarī*).

The root is found frequently in the Ḳurʾān, though only once in form III (XVIII, 95/96), in the sense "to make level, even up". In the literary and cultural controversies of the ʿAbbāsid period, those of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], the non-Arabs seeking social equality with the ruling class of Arabs were sometimes known as the *ahl al-taswiya* "proponents of equalisation" (using here form II) (see Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 165, Eng. tr. i, 153).

In recent Middle Eastern political vocabularies, the concept of human equality made its first tentative appearance when the ideas of the French Revolution reached the region. Thus in a memorandum of 1798 on French Revolutionary activities, the Ottoman Chief Secretary ʿĀṭif Efendi translated "equality and liberty" as *müsāwāt we serbestiyyet* [see ḤURRIYYA. ii, at III, 590], and Bonaparte's proclamation at the time of the French landing in Egypt during this same year announced that all men were equal in the sight of God (*mutasāwiyīn* [sic] *ʿind Allāh*), and the new principles are explained by al-Djabartī as *tawsiya* and *ḥurriyya* (*Al-Jabartī's chronicle of the first seven months of the French occupation of Egypt*, ed. and tr. S. Moreh, Leiden 1975, Ar. text 8, 11, tr. 40, 42).

During the course of the 19th century, of the three principles of the French Revolution, it was Freedom and Fraternity (the latter in the form of Pan-Arab and Pan-Turkish feeling; see ḲAWMIYYA. i-ii, iv) which were dominant in the minds of westernising Muslims, insofar as these concepts affected their thinking. The division by Islamic religion of mankind into the saved, the Muslims, and the damned, the non-Muslims, and the division by Islamic law of mankind into a male sex with superior legal and social status over women [see MARʾA], together with the survival until well into the 19th century of personal slavery [see ʿABD] in those Islamic countries not under Western colonial domination, left little scope for developing the concept of the equality of mankind in any sphere, whether theological, legal, social or political. This concept did not appear until the early 20th century, when the ideas of European socialism [see ISHTIRĀKIYYA] and Marxist communism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA] began to have a vogue amongst certain sections of westernised intelligentsia; hence *Musāwāt* was the title of the social democrat workers' party active from 1911 to 1920 in Russian Ādharbaydjān [see ḤIZB. iv]. On the whole, however, Middle Eastern peoples have viewed the idea of human equality as a chimera, to which lip service is paid by political leaders in political manifestos but which is rarely taken into account in practice.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUSĀWĪ [see MAKKA. 2. ii].

MUSĀWIR B. SAWWĀR AL-**WARRĀḲ**, a minor poet and minor *muḥaddith* from Kūfa, who lived in the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He belonged to Ḳays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar. He is also called a *mawlā* of ʿAdwān, a tribe of Djadīlat Ḳays; but his name and that of his father seem to indicate his Arab origin. Short notices and fragments of his poetry are found in biographies of *muḥaddithūn* (e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-27, x, 103) and several works of *adab*, notably *al-Aghānī* ed. Dār al-Kutub, xviii, 148-53). Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, Leipzig 1871-2, 162) mentions his verse as filling fifty folios; some eighty lines are preserved, some of which are of dubious attribution. All his extant poetry is epigrammatic. One of his epigrams angered Abū Ḥanīfa and

his followers, another placated them, notwithstanding its ironic tone (*Aghānī*, xviii, 151-2 and several other sources). His longest (33 lines) and most remarkable poem offers the earliest known example of a sub-genre of descriptive poetry which may be called "banquet poetry"; it combines static description of various dishes with more dynamic elements picturing the progress of the meal (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1948-53, vi, 295-7).

Bibliography: G.J. van Gelder, *Musāwir al-Warrāq and the beginnings of Arabic gastronomic poetry*, in *JSS*, xxxvi/2 (1991), gives all the known references to Musāwir and his poetry, with a translation and a study of his banquet poem. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 469. (G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

MUSAWWIDA (A.), literally "the wearers, or bearers, of black", the name given to the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids at the time of the *daʿwas* of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī and Abū Salama al-Khallāl [*q.vv.*], apparently from the black banners which these rebels against the Umayyads bore, so that they are described in some sources as the *aṣḥāb al-rāyāt al-sawdāʾ*.

The origins of this use of black are obscure and have been much discussed. In the first place, the use of black may have been simply a mark of rebellion, for the anti-Umayyad rebel in Khurāsān and Transoxania, al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], active from 116/734 onwards, also had black banners. But the ʿAbbāsids now gave the use of black a messianic significance; the Prophet Muḥammad himself, according to pro-ʿAbbāsid traditions, had a black banner during his campaigns (see M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. ii. Revolt, the social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1992, 78-85). This may have been in accord with popular eschatological beliefs, in which the coming of the Mahdī [*q.v.*] was associated with the colour black [see ʿABBĀSIDS], perhaps because of the idea of veiling from sight, concealment and the awaiting of a new birth or the launching of a new movement with millennarian overtones.

Black became the official colour of the ʿAbbāsids once they were in power, as opposed to the white colour of their enemies the Spanish Umayyads, and was accordingly used for garments worn at their court (*ziyy al-khilāfa*) (except for the brief period when al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] adopted the ʿAlid colour of green) and for the *khilaʿ* or robes of honour [see KHILʿA] presented by the ruler, with the caliph himself normally wearing a black high cap or *ḳalansuwa* and jacket (*ḳabāʾ*) (see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 130-1, Eng. tr. 132; E. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman. i. Le califat*, Paris 1954, 501-12; D. Sourdel, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside*, in *REI*, xxviii [1960], 132-3; and LIBĀS. i).

The symbolism of colours in Islam (for which see, in general, LAWN) was powerfully felt. White became the colour par excellence of the ʿAlids as well as of the Umayyads (see above), but various heterodox religio-social protest groups, especially in the eastern Iranian world, adopted different colours as their symbols, e.g. the green of Bihāfarīd [*q.v.*]; the red of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], who were thus also known as *muḥammira* or *surkh-djāmagān* "wearers of red"; and the white of the followers of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], hence alternatively known as *mubayyiḍa* or *sapīd-djāmagān*. In some sources describing these episodes, Islam is characterised as the "black religion", in contrast to the "white religion", *al-dīn al-abyaḍ*, apparently the ancient religion of Persia which was to be restored (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1311, regarding the trial of al-Afshīn Ḥaydar, accused of pro-Persian, anti-Arab sympathies). See further on colour symbolism in relation to religious movements and ideas, B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 513-14.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUSAYLIMA B. ḤABĪB, ABŪ THUMĀMA, a man of Banū Ḥanīfa who lived in al-Yamāma and led a large section of his tribe in revolt during the wars of the *ridda* [*q.v.*].

The suggestion of some European scholars (as in the article in *EI*[1]) that Musaylima is a contemptuous diminutive of Maslama appears to be mistaken. Because he claimed to be a prophet he is often called al-Kadhdhāb, the liar or false prophet. He is also said to have been called al-Raḥmān (al-Balādhurī, 105; al-Wāḳidī, 82); but this seems unlikely since al-Raḥmān was a name of God. Musaylima believed that he received messages from al-Raḥmān, and so might have called himself ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; and there could then have been some confusion over this name because of the allegation (Ibn Hishām, 200) that sūra XIII, 30, was revealed when some Meccan pagans said that Muḥammad was being taught by a man in al-Yamāma called al-Raḥmān. This allegation about a human teacher is not convincing as the occasion for the revelation of XIII, 30, and is not mentioned in the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī and al-Bayḍāwī. If there is some truth in it, the most likely explanation is that the name al-Raḥmān, which was frequently used in the sūras of the middle Meccan period, was understood by the pagans as the name of a human being, otherwise unknown. It is virtually impossible that Musaylima could have claimed prophethood at this date. He does not seem to have become a person of importance until after the death in 630 of Hawdha b. ʿAlī, the king or ruler of the Banū Ḥanīfa, to whom Muḥammad is said to have sent letters summoning him to Islam (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1560; cf. Ibn Hishām, 971). Hawdha was possibly the strongest man in Central Arabia at this time, since he was in alliance with the Persian empire and guaranteed the security of its caravans for a large part of the route from the Yemen to ʿIrāḳ. This implies that he controlled at least the nomadic part of Banū Ḥanīfa; there was also a large settled agricultural section of the tribe. He is said to have responded favourably to Muḥammad's envoy, but to have demanded a share in the political control of Arabia. He did not become a Muslim. He probably realised that the Persian empire was disintegrating and that he could not expect further support from it. After his death, the nomadic section of the tribe probably recognised Thumāma b. Uthāl as leader, and for this reason Muḥammad sent a messenger to him (Ibn Hishām, 998, but not Ibn Isḥāḳ according to al-Ṭabarī). While Muḥammad was negotiating with these two kings, a deputation went to Medina from the tribe, probably representing the agricultural section, and this deputation accepted Islam. Musaylima is said to have gone with the deputation, but to have remained with the baggage while the others spoke to Muḥammad. This account may be no more than an attempt to claim that something Muḥammad said about him was an acknowledgement of his prophethood.

It was presumably after the death of Hawdha that Musaylima made a bid for leadership in the tribe, possibly in rivalry to Thumāma, and basing it on his claim to prophethood. He had strong support from al-Raḥḥāl (or Nahār al-Radjdjāl) b. ʿUnfuwa, who had been one of the deputation and may have encouraged him to establish a political system centred on a prophet on the model of Medina. Previous to this, Musaylima may have been proclaiming a religious message, but it is clear that he had attracted no extensive following. Now, however, his aim seems to have been to set up a strong principality in the Yamāma

independent of Persia, Byzantium and Medina, especially in view of the decline of Persia and the likelihood that trade between the Yemen and ʿIrāḳ would decrease.

While the movement led by Musaylima thus dealt with political and economic realities, it had a genuine religious basis, which is not entirely concealed by hostile Muslim propaganda. Many of the Banū Ḥanīfa were Christians, and Musaylima had clearly been influenced by Christian ideas. He spoke of the kingdom of heaven, and taught belief in resurrection and the Judgement of the Last Day when people were judged according to their deeds. For his followers he prescribed formal prayers three times a day, fasting, and abstinence from wine; the contrary statement about wine (Ibn Hishām, 946) is to be rejected as Muslim propaganda. He also made use of *sadjʿ*, rhythmic assonanced prose, as in the early sūras of the Ḳurʾān, and some examples of this have ostensibly been preserved.

About the end of the year 10 (beginning of 632) Musaylima is said to have written a letter to Muḥammad suggesting some division of spheres of authority, but the suggestion was rebuffed by Muḥammad. His following among Banū Ḥanīfa increased greatly after Muḥammad's death, and he was felt to be a serious threat to the nascent Islamic state. Abū Bakr therefore sent a large army against him under Khālid b. al-Walīd. A fierce battle took place at al-ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*] with its centre in a walled garden or orchard (*ḥadīḳa*), which came to be known as "the garden of death" because of the numbers on both sides killed there. The Muslims were victorious, but lost many *ḳurrāʾ* or Ḳurʾān-reciters. Responsibility for the death of Musaylima was claimed by various men, including Waḥshī, the Abyssinian slave who had killed Ḥamza. Shortly before this battle Musaylima is said to have married Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], the prophetess of the tribe of Tamīm. W.G. Palgrave, travelling in Nadjd in 1862, found Musaylima regarded as a prophet, and people quoted what Palgrave calls "burlesque imitations" of the Ḳurʾān, though he does not reproduce any.

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MÜSELLEM (a.), an Ottoman military term alluding to provincial landed cavalrymen who later became transformed into auxiliary forces no longer employed in actual fighting but in discharging duties such as dragging guns, levelling roads, digging trenches, carrying provisions and casting cannon balls. Then, as the Ottoman state required them to pay taxes rather than serve in the army, they lost their privileged status and dissolved into the tax-paying populace.

The *müsellems* were established in the 8th/14th century during the time of Orkhan Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. They were each initially granted, in return for their service, a small parcel of land [see čiftlik], on which they were excused from any dues or taxes, hence the name *müsellem* "exempt." What differentiated them from other Ottoman cavalrymen, the *sipahīs* [*q.v.*], was that the *müsellems* worked their own land and did not receive funds from the collection of taxes as the *sipahīs* did. This special condition necessitated that they support one another when called up for military service; the *müsellems* were therefore organised into groups of thirty men each called a "hearth" [see odjaḳ]. They took turns in serving in the army; when five served, the other twenty-five in the hearth became "auxiliaries" [see yamaḳ], providing a sum of money for the expenses and sustenance of the five during the campaign. The amount they gave ranged from 50 to 60 *aḳčes* for the rich auxiliaries to 10 to 20 *aḳčes* for the poor ones. The *müsellems* were under the command of troop leaders called *čeribashīs* who were under the authority of the provincial governors. There were *müsellem* holdings in both Rumelia and Anatolia, and these were recorded in registers called *müsellem defteri*.

After the Janissary corps expanded in the 9th/15th century and started their own units, the *müsellems* were relegated from fighting to accompanying the armies on campaigns as auxiliary labour teams. They discharged such duties as trench-digging and the hauling of cannon, often moving ahead of the main body of the Ottoman army with their spades and axes. Groups such as the gypsies of Rumelia were also organised into *müsellem* hearths during this century, their status being reduced to paying taxes as they ceased to perform military duties. Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, some *müsellems* were employed in Ottoman naval service but proved to be unsatisfactory, since their interests lay not in the sea but in their parcels of land. Because of this inadequacy, rather than serving in person, each *müsellem* hearth was then asked to make a yearly contribution to the navy; this relegated them from being in the service of the state to giving taxes to the state as ordinary peasants. A factor which contributed to this transformation was the *müsellems*' practice of farming lands adjacent to their parcels which they then gave taxes on, or of leasing out their parcels to others to be farmed. Even though the *müsellems* thus disintegrated as a provincial organisation in the early 11th/17th century, their name kept being used at a much later date for certain infantry charged with the upkeep of roads and military works, mostly in the garrisons of frontier fortresses.

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(F. Müge Göçek)

MŪSH, modern Turkish Muş, a town and a province of eastern Anatolia lying to the west of Lake Van and Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*] or Khilāṭ (modern Ahlat). The town lies in lat. 38° 44′N. and long. 41° 30′E. at an altitude of 1290 m/4,200 feet in the foothills of the valley which carries the Murad Su river—a fertile plain on which wheat, tobacco and vines have long been grown—and which in recent years has borne the railway branch from Elâzığ [see maʿmūrat al-ʿazīz] eastwards to Tatvan on the shores of Lake Van.

In the pre-Islamic period, it was the principal town of the Armenian district of Taraun (Hübschmann,

Idg. Forsch., xvi, 326; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, i, Paris 1818, 102). In Islamic times the name Ṭarūn (as spelled by Yāḳūt, iv, 534) is sometimes used for the town itself, as in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1408 (cf. J. Markwart, *Süd-Armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 354). The tradition of the Armenian historians connects the foundation of Mūsh with Mushel Mamikonean, the ancestor of the powerful, originally non-Armenian family of the Mamikoneans, who lived in the 4th century A.D. To him is ascribed the construction of a castle, the ruins of which are still visible on one of the hills that dominate Mūsh. This town itself is situated at the mouth of a mountain gorge, and before it extends, as far as the river, a large fertile plain, the "plain of Mūsh". During the first centuries after the Islamic conquest [see ARMĪNIYA, II, 2], Mūsh remained a centre of Armenian national life; from 825-51 it was the residence of the Bagratid Bagrat. After the abduction of this prince to Baghdād in 851, the inhabitants revolted and killed the Muslim governor Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd al-Marwanī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1408-9). Later on, it was part of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids. Occasionally, it was occupied by Muslim adventurers, as in the days of Sayf al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 408) in 353/964. About this time, the name Mūsh appears for the first time in Islamic geographical literature (al-Muḳaddasī, 150). In Saldjūḳ times, the influence of Islam became stronger; the atabegs of the Armanshāh dynasty disputed the territory of Khilāṭ and Mūsh with the Artuḳids and even the Ayyūbid Nadjm al-Dīn laid siege to Mūsh in 604/1207 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 169, 180), and in 625/1228 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh was master of the country; in that year, a battle was fought by him and lost on the plain of Mūsh against the Saldjūḳ ruler of Erzurūm (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 314; Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, ii, 181). This accounts for the ruined state of the town in the middle of the 8th/14th century (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī). After the Mongol period, Mūsh was raided by Tīmūr in 788/1386, when he invaded the possessions of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Sharaf al-Dīn, ii, 419). In 878/1473 the power of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan was definitely broken in Armenia, and from that time on Mūsh belonged to the Ottoman Empire. At that time, the population of its surroundings was already strongly mixed with Kurds and Turcomans. The direct authority was exercised by Kurdish local chieftains, who, in the ruling system of the Empire, were subordinated, as *sandjaḳ begs*, either to the *pasha* of Bitlīs or to that of Van. At the beginning of the 19th century, there ruled the Kurdish *mīrmīrān* Emīn Pasha, who was deposed in 1828-9 (Ritter, x, 676, and Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 426).

In the administrative changes introduced in the Ottoman empire after the Treaty of Berlin (1878), Mūsh town became the centre of a *sandjaḳ* of that name in the new *wilāyet* of Bitlīs carved out of the formerly very extensive *wilāyet* of Erzurum. At this time, Mūsh, with some 5,000 inhabitants, was half-Armenian Christian and half-Kurdish Muslim. There were bishops of the Armenian Gregorian and Catholic Churches and a Protestant community with schools directed by the American Mission. According to its inscription, one of the Armenian churches had been converted into a mosque in 979/1571 (Ritter). The surrounding countryside also had a mixed Muslim-Christian population, in which ancient Christian sanctuaries had long continued to exist, such as the monastery of Surb Karapet, called by the Turks Čanlî Kilise and described by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Towards the end of the century, revolutionary activity in the Mūsh region was begun by the Armenian nationalist Dashnak guerillas, starting *ca.* 1894. In the subsequent years, till 1904, bands under the Armenian leader Andranik were active, bringing savage reprisals from the Turkish authorities, culminating in the 1915 massacres in the Mūsh, Bitlīs and Sasun districts by Turkish troops and Kurdish irregulars. In the summer of 1916, the Imperial Russian Army overran northeastern Anatolia, including Mūsh, but this last was recaptured in 1917 by Muṣṭafā Kemāl's [see ATATÜRK] Turkish Second Army, and Russian troops withdrew from the whole area in accordance with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918). With the establishment of the ephemeral Armenian Republic in Transcaucasia 1918-20, Mūsh and Bitlīs came theoretically within the boundaries as laid down, when the infant state was in fact already succumbing to Turkish and Bolshevik pressure, by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920).

Under the Turkish republic, Muş has become a largely Kurdish town, the chef-lieu of the *il* or province of Muş, with a population of 44,000 in the town and 234,000 in the province (1970 census).

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(J.H. KRAMERS-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUSHĀʿ (A.) is a technical term denoting common and repartitional ownership by the entire village community of all agricultural lands of the village.

1. In the Near East. In villages in the Middle East where *mushāʿ* prevailed, the peasant community would convene once every year or two to divide the available land by lot to individual peasants. The history of the institution is extremely obscure. In the technical sense mentioned above, the word *mushāʿ* does not appear in classical Arabic dictionaries, which may suggest that the institution did not exist in classical Islam, despite the fact that it looks ancient. It is often associated with Bedouin concepts of landownership, but this association is far from certain. Thus Bedouin customary law of the Beer Sheba region in Mandatory Palestine was specifically said to lack any trace of *mushāʿ* (see ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Kitāb al-Ḳaḍāʾ bayn al-badw*, Jerusalem 1933, 236). Nor is the *mushāʿ* so much as mentioned in the 10th/16th century Ottoman agrarian *ḳānūns* and land surveys, where pieces of land are registered individually (all references to *mushāʿ* in Barkan's collection of 16th-century *ḳānūns* are to the literal sense of the word). Did the registration officials record the situation in a given moment, or was the *mushāʿ* as yet non-existent? This question must for the present go unanswered. Another important and difficult question is exactly where, geographically, did the *mushāʿ* institution exist? In the past it was usually held that practically the entire Middle East was governed by it. As research increases, the area of *mushāʿ* tends to diminish. Thus documents from the Judaean mountains in the early 20th century indicate that *mushāʿ* did

not exist there for a long time, if ever at all. In fact, the technicalities of the system raises some doubts whether *mus͟hāʿ* had ever been very widespread in mountainous areas (periodical division necessitated blocks of flat land, while hilly agriculture in the traditional Middle East was mainly terrace-based). We are better informed on the disappearance of the *mus͟hāʿ* system. This took place in association with the 19th-century Ottoman reform, starting mainly with the 1858 Ottoman land law. This law made it obligatory to register land in a registration bureau, while making it impossible to register *mus͟hāʿ* property. Despite bureaucratic inefficiency, the *mus͟hāʿ* was doomed through this law and by the mid-20th century it was clearly on the wane, though still vigorous in some areas (e.g. Tell Toqaan in northern Syria).

Bibliography: G. Baer, *Introduction to the history of agrarian relations in the Middle East*, Tel Aviv 1972; Ö.L. Barkan, *XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; S. Bergheim, *Land tenure in Palestine*, in *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1894), 191-9; H. Gerber, *Social origins of the modern Middle East*, Boulder, Col. and London 1987, index; idem, *Ottoman rule in Jerusalem, 1890-1914*, Berlin 1985; W.D. Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzten vierhundert Jahren*, Göttingen 1968, 109 ff.; P. Klat, *Musha holdings and land fragmentation in Syria*, in *Middle East Economic Papers*, 1957; L.E. Sweet, *Tell Toqaan. A Syrian village*, Ann Arbor 1960; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1946.

(H. Gerber)

2. In the Mag͟hrib.

The collective ownership of lands, which was originally the normal system in the regions where nomadism prevailed, has been preserved in the Mag͟hrib, where stretches of uncultivated lands and those used for pastoralism still belong to nomadic or sedentarised tribes, though not without being the subject of legal suits caused by the rather rudimentary delimination of lands. A right of grazing, belonging to all members of the tribe, is even recognised, in certain conditions, to passing strangers [see marʿā]. However, as a state of security has become established and as more and more numerous groups have been sedentarised, the area of collective lands has been reduced in favour of a development proceeding at the same time as private property, at first in the family, then in the individual, has increased. In the Berber areas, this property remains substantially undivided, as tradition recommends, at least for landed property.

In effect, although the principle by which "no-one is compelled to remain within the undivided property" is respected, current usage is that, under the authority and administration of the oldest member of the menfolk, family communities comprising the descendants of this person, to which are added, at least among certain tribes in Morocco, the *amazzal* [see ʿār in Suppl.] and freedmen, are set up. All the members bring to their community the goods which they possess or which come to them by gift or inheritance during the period of the familial society. Among the Zemmour, the usufruct of these goods is personal, whilst in Kabylia, they remain the property of the person concerned, and the enjoyment of them is acquired by the family. Each person has to dedicate his work for the community and to hand over to his chief his earnings and gains. The chief must show perfect impartiality and, if he is unable to justify himself when his honesty is doubted, his authority can be revoked and can be replaced.

The women, who are not part of the familial society, only own the clothes and jewelry which they received at marriage or which they have subsequently acquired; more luxurious garments and the jewelry worn on feast days belong to the community. However, the mother of the family may take over the succession to her deceased husband. The society has an obligation to feed the daughters and granddaughters of a deceased member. When meals are not partaken of in common, the dry goods and oil necessary for each hearth are impartially distributed. A strict equality is also respected in the division by lot of the meat of an animal slaughtered in special circumstances.

The fertile lands are the indivisible property of the familial group. In Kabylia, they are divided out every two years among the chiefs of each of the hearths possessing a pair of oxen. In Morocco, the sovereign who, in his role of manager of the lands, has a right over those lands which are within the authority of the *mak͟hzan* [*q.v.*], may recognise to a family a right of ownership over a stretch of useful land; this last, measured by a rope, corresponds to the area which can be worked in one season by a pair of oxen.

The death of a member of the familial community does not entail its dissolution; the social components are in effect handed down to the heirs who, if they do not wish to remain within the indivisible unit, receive the share due to them. Thus the community may last through several generations. When, at the request of one of the heirs, it is broken up, both the movable and immovable property brought into it by the members are given back to them and those acquired during the period of its existence are shared out pro rata with the hereditary rights of each person. The landed property is defined by surface measurement (by a rope), and goods left outside all the division are allotted, with rights balanced out, to those members who offer the highest bid for them.

Bibliography: See in particular, J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 342-66; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris [2]1948, 238; Michaux-Bellaire, *Les terres collectives du Maroc et la tradition*, in *Hesperis*, iv (1924), 50 ff.; archives of the Service des collectivités at Rabat; G. Surdon, *Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain*, Rabat 1928, 164-5; idem, *La justice civile indigène et le régime de la propriété immobilière au Maroc*, Rabat 1931; A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, ii, 294-6, 468-73; G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier zemmour*, *PIHEM*, xl, Algiers-Paris 1949, 175-206; M. Lesne, *Les Zemmour*, Rabat 1959, 42-53; J. Servier, *Les portes de l'année*, Paris 1962, 95-103.

(Ch. Pellat)

MUS͟HĀʿARA (a.), "poetical contest", in Urdu usually pronounced *mus͟hāʿira*, has come to be applied in its wider aspect to denote an assembly where Urdu poets come together to recite their compositions.

Its origin in the Indo-Muslim cultural tradition can only be guessed. According to a statement by S͟hiblī Nuʿmānī, one may assume that the institution of the *mus͟hāʿara* must have appeared on the Persian literary scene in India by the beginning of the 10th/16th century. S͟hiblī points out that from the time of the poet Fig͟hānī [*q.v.*], who died in 925/1519, there grew up the custom of holding *mus͟hāʿaras* in which poets competed with one another, thus promoting the cause of poetry by their activities (*S͟hiʿr al-ʿAd͟jam*, iii, repr. Aʿẓamgaṙh 1945, 17). It is likely that a similar situation might have existed since an early period in Urdu poetry, which shared with Persian a common cultural

environment. Whatever the case may be, it is certain that by the early 12th/18th century, when Urdu was adopted as a medium of literary expression by the poets and writers of Dihlī, the *mushāʿara* was a familiar event in the capital, providing not only a venue for poetry recitation but also a forum of discussion for some leading poets of the day who were concerned with the improvement of the language.

The *mushāʿara* was the product of a princely age, reflecting the sophisticated taste of its time. The etiquette connected with it was well-mannered, and involved fixed ceremonies. One of these was the use of a lighted candle which, placed before a poet, signalled that it was his turn to recite. Much importance was attached to the correct order in which the poets were introduced. The first to recite were lesser poets; then came the masters in the ascending order, until the poet considered most important recited at the end. Both singing and declamation were employed for the rendering of the poems.

In the social milieu of the period, the *mushāʿara* enjoyed a popular appeal, and played an important functional role in the oral propagation of Urdu poetry. Persons interested in literature were drawn to the *mushāʿara* because it was the most common form of intellectual entertainment available in the prevalent urban setting. Further, the *mushāʿaras* compensated for the lack of magazines, and supplied the poet with a suitable literary platform to disseminate his work.

The tradition of the *mushāʿara* was linked with the *ghazal* [*q.v.*] and the two contributed to each other's appeal. The *ghazals* recited in the *mushāʿara* were based upon a *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ*, or half-line, providing a specimen of the metre and rhyme in which each poet had to compose his poem. This practice was intended to satisfy the competitive requirement of the *mushāʿara*, as it allowed the audience to compare the individual performance of each participant who had to work within the same technical limitations. Indeed, competition dominated the spirit of the *mushāʿara*, and not infrequently did it manifest itself in ugly scenes when poets would overstep the limits of decency in demonstrating their feelings towards each other. An extreme example of this behaviour is provided by the rivalry between Ghulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]) and his one-time pupil Inshāʾ Allāh Khān Inshāʾ (1766-1818 [*q.v.*]), whose jealous encounters were responsible for vitiating the literary atmosphere of Lucknow while these poets were alive.

With the desire for reform in Urdu poetry during the later part of the 19th century, an attempt was made to initiate a different kind of *mushāʿara*. The stimulus for this came from Colonel W.R.M. Holroyd, an Englishman who was then Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. He, in cooperation with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1829-1910) and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]), laid the foundation of a *mushāʿara* which was devoted to poems written upon a specific theme instead of *ghazals* based upon a *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ*. This *mushāʿara*, which had its first meeting in May 1874, lasted only for a few months. Though it was short-lived, and had little effect in influencing the current trend of the *mushāʿaras*, it will nevertheless be remembered as the first poetical gathering of its kind which was to herald the modern period of Urdu poetry.

The meetings in Urdu held today for poetry recitation are known as *mushāʿaras*, despite differences in their form and content which separate them from their earlier counterparts. A radical departure is the discarding of the *miṣrāʿ-i ṭaraḥ* as a pre-condition for the poems, and the freedom in the *mushāʿara* to recite any kind of poem, including *ghazals*. The practice of passing around the candle from poet to poet has disappeared together with the entire ceremonial character of the *mushāʿara*. The appeal of the latter, however, remains undiminished, and has been even furthered by the introduction of radio and television.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, repr. Lahore 1967; Farḥat Allāh Beg, *1261 Hidjrī meṅ Dihlī kā ek mushāʿira*, in *Maḍāmīn-i Farḥat*, ii, Lucknow n.d., tr. Akhtar Qamber, *The last mushaʿirah of Dehli*, New Delhi 1979; D.D. Anderson, *The mushaira*, in *Literature East and West*, xii/2-4, Austin (Texas) December 1968; Munibur Rahman, *The mushāʿirah*, in *Annual of Urdu studies*, iii, Chicago 1983; M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

MUSHABBIHA [see TASHBĪH].

MUṢḤAF (A.), the name given to a complete text of the Ḳurʾān considered as a physical object. That the word is a borrowing is suggested both by the Muslim claim that it is in fact one and by the uncertainty as to how to vowel the prefix. The commonest of the pronunciations, *muṣḥaf*, is said by Abū ʿUbayd to be the usage of Ḳays, while Tamīm, from an alleged reluctance to combine *u* with *m* are said to prefer *miṣḥaf*. Only two pronunciations are mentioned by Abū ʿUbayd, although *maṣḥaf*, reported as from al-Kisāʾī, seems not to have been attributed to any particular tribal usage. The form *muṣḥaf*, regarded by al-Farrāʾ as original (*al-aṣl*), is treated as the passive participle of Form IV of the stem and defined, for example, by al-Azharī as that "which has been caused to contain written sheets between two end-covers". Ibn Manṣūr, however, cites this in a manner which perhaps exposes his view that, in thus linking the term to a verbal root, the definition is hypothetical. Probably the term is best viewed as either a noun of place or a primitive noun.

Despite the tendency in the reports on the collection of the Ḳurʾān texts to distinguish the first collection, said to have been undertaken in the time of Abū Bakr, from that said to have been completed in the time of ʿUthmān, by applying to the product of the earlier initiative the term *ṣuḥuf*, while reserving the term *muṣḥaf* for the result of the later, the usage of the authors is by no means consistent, since for many of them, the reports were in actual competition. Abū Bakr is frequently credited with having "collected between two endboards (*lawḥānⁱ*, *daffatānⁱ*)", whilst the word *muṣḥaf* is applied to the Abū Bakr, or the ʿUmar, or the ʿAlī collection, although the commentators prefer to excise the phrase from the last of these reports. One likewise finds reports to the effect that, on the completion of the collection commissioned by Abū Bakr, the Muslims discussed the name which they should give it, finally deciding in favour of the suggestion by ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] who claimed to have seen in Ethiopia a similar compilation known as *muṣḥaf*. Characteristically, an alternative report attributes these words to another emigrant. This does not accord with Nöldeke's remark that the proper name of the first collection, *ṣuḥuf*, indicates that it consisted of loose sections, not yet arranged in the strict order of the later *muṣḥaf*, as is, indeed, the general distinction the Muslims sought to make between the various initiatives of which they spoke.

Nöldeke also reports the root *ṣ-ḥ-f* as occurring only in Arabic and Ethiopic where it has the meanings "dig", "bury", "engrave", hence, "write" with, in the latter language, *maṣḥaf* meaning "book". Ibn

Durayd spoke of the verb as Yemenite and cited the word *maṣḥafa* meaning "spade". Nöldeke therefore concluded that the Arabs had borrowed these words from the Ḥimyarites or (as above) from the Ethiopians. Similarly, Schwally regarded the sing. of *ṣuḥuf*, sc. *ṣaḥīfa*, as an Arabic coining derived from the above Ethiopic or South Arabian root. Both scholars cite sources suggesting that the borrowing pre-dates Islam, although, since the form here discussed, *muṣḥaf*, does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, its use to refer to the Ḳurʾān text is equally an Islamic neologism.

Probably by extension of widespread references to the variant readings attributed to certain prominent Companions, there developed references to "the *muṣḥaf*" of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, of Ubayy b. Kaʿb, of ʿĀʾisha, etc., in which the readings were conceived to have been recorded. All of these Companion codices, are next thought to have been suppressed when ʿUthmān provided a single text of the revelations to serve all the Muslims and ordered all other existing documents, whether fragments or complete codices, to be destroyed. That, however, did not prevent continued citation of these readings in the exegetical works of the 2nd/8th century, to which they furnished glosses, synonyms and brief extensions of the texts of the *muṣḥaf* useful for the clarification of the syntax or the elucidation of the meanings of rare words. Similar appeal was made to the Companions in legal discussions where, however, the readings attributed to the codices exhibit either differences in vowelling or additions relative to the text in general use in the ritual prayer and universally regarded as the *muṣḥaf* or *imām* provided by ʿUthmān. As both these latter types of reading are critical to issues debated among the scholars, they are probably best viewed in association with the relevant *ḥadīth* reports adduced to the same end and from the same individuals in the same discussions and like which, indeed, they share an occasional dual, or even multiple attribution. For example, one encounters expressions such as "in one of the two *muṣḥafs*—that of ʿAbd Allāh or that of Ubayy".

Of a qualitatively different kind are differences listed by 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century writers of works on the *maṣāḥif* as instances of disagreement between the *muṣḥafs* of the ʿIrāḳīs and those of the Ḥidjāzī-Syrian tradition or between those of the Kūfan and the Baṣran communities. Such lists are brief and concern only very minor matters, such as the occasional presence or absence of a conjunctive *wāw* or preference for the conjunctive *fāʾ* as opposed to the conjunctive *wāw* and the like. These insubstantial differences visibly stem merely from ancient differences in the resolution of primitive written versions of one and the same text, and study of the lists confirms the underlying presence of a single Ḳurʾān text universally shared by the Muslims of all regions since a remote date and symbolised in the common belief that copies of the Ḳurʾān text had been disseminated throughout the newly-conquered territories from a single centre.

Bibliography: Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1955-80; Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *K. al-Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery, Cairo 1355/1936; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*, ms. Tübingen Ma. VI 96; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, Cairo 1378/1959; Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, s.v. *ṣ - ḥ - f*; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1354/1935; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Leipzig 1909-19; G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, ²Leipzig 1938; J. Burton, *The collection of the Qurʾān*, Cambridge 1977.

(J. BURTON)

MUṢḤAFĪ, SHAYKH GHULĀM HAMDĀNĪ (1164-1240/1750-1824), a leading Urdu poet, was born at Amrōha *ca.* 60 miles east of Dihlī, the son of a highly respected man of modest means.

He grew up proud, independent and honest, and quickly acquired a fluent command of Urdu and Persian, both poetry and prose. His ambition to become an Urdu poet took him to Dihlī in order to complete his studies: but he failed to find a patron and was driven by poverty, it is said, to eke out a living in commerce. After trying his fortunes elsewhere, he returned to Dihlī (1190/1776), remaining there for about twelve years. His expertise was soon recognised; poets flocked to the *mushāʿaras* [*q.v.*] (poetical assemblies) which he held in his house, and he became a much sought-after teacher. Like most Dihlī poets at the time, he concentrated on the *ghazal*; but he was prolific, and attempted other forms, such as the *ḳaṣīda* (*madīḥ*), *mathnawī* and quatrains. He became highly esteemed for technical mastery, but not for originality, and could not compete with Sawdāʾ and Mīr Taḳī Mir [*q.vv.*], especially in the *ghazal*. His move to Lucknow (Lakhnaw), however (1202/1787), was probably due less to personal disappointment than to the general state of instability in Dihlī, and he was merely part of the general exodus of poets which had already included Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*], Sawdā and Mīr.

In Lucknow, he found a suitable patron in Mirzā Sulaymān Shikōh, a son of the Emperor Shāh ʿĀlam. With a regular salary, Muṣḥafī's career seemed to enter a happier phase, and his copious output included *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of Shikōh and the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla. Unfortunately one of his pupils Inshāʾ [*q.v.* and see MADĪḤ. 4. In Urdu], who had followed him from Dihlī, became his rival, and supplanted him in Shikōh's favour, Muṣḥafī's salary being drastically reduced. A war of words ensued, the two poets vying in the virulence of their satires of each other. Each had his supporters, and the two parties almost came to blows. In the end, Inshāʾ overreached himself, and Āṣaf al-Dawla expelled him from Lucknow. But the affair left its mark on Muṣḥafī, and helped—together with an unhappy third marriage and poverty—to cloud his later years. Poverty, it is said, led him to sell poems to others which they might pass off as their own. At the time of his death, he was still regarded only as a great teacher and technician and as lacking in originality.

This less than enthusiastic assessment of his stature as a poet is clear from the *tadhkira* writers, and is echoed by modern literary critics, beginning with Āzād (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 309-38). Among the reasons adduced for his failure to achieve a personal note is his vast output, which includes, in Urdu, eight *dīwāns* containing thousands of *ghazals*, ten *mathnawīs* and three volumes containing 84 ḳaṣīdas. In Persian, he wrote four *dīwāns* of poetry and three prose *tadhkiras*, one of Persian and two of Urdu poets. But prolificness is not, of itself, a guarantee of mediocrity, and few of his detractors can have read much of his output. Only selections had been published until 1968, when the first volume of a projected complete edition appeared in Dihlī (*Kulliyyāt Muṣḥafī*, ed. Nithār Aḥmad Fārūḳī). In the *ghazal*, he did not fit into the Dihlī "subjective" or the Lucknow "objective" schools, we are told, lacking the passion of the former and the brilliance of the latter. When he left Dihlī, unlike Mīr, he had not established himself in the first rank of *ghazal-gū*; then, on reaching Lucknow, he tried to rival the younger poets there, and ended by being a "fish out of water". This facile assessment has plausibility. His anxiety to

gain fame in Lucknow is obvious, and the quarrel with Inshā᾿ was a by-product of this. But it is arguable that his "middle road" between Dihlī and Lucknow was a matter of taste and temperament, and not mere opportunism. Moderation in thought and expression and a feeling of malaise are, one feels, part of the man and the poet. As for his desire to show his superiority as a poet, it was a common failing, found also in Mīr. Incidentally, when Mīr wrote a *mathnawī* called *Daryā-i-ʿishḳ*, Muṣḥafī responded by writing a similar one with the same title translated into Arabic as *Baḥr al-maḥabbat*. Nor was this the only instance.

A re-assessment of this poet, then, is overdue. The process has already begun, though it cannot be completed till more of his poetry is available in print. Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī's *Muṣḥafī awr un kā kalām* (Lahore 1950) was the first major study of the poet. A 100-page summary of it will be found in the same author's *Lakhnāō kā dabistān-i-shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 191-295. While making no drastic amendment of the traditional view of Muṣḥafī, Ṣiddīḳī places him third after Sawdā᾿ and Mīr, and he claims that both the number and quality of his *ḳaṣīdas* place him among the leading Urdu ode-writers (*Dabistān*, 270). A few years later, Firāḳ Gōrakhpūrī wrote a long essay to prove that Muṣḥafī was not only a major influence in Urdu poetry but an outstanding poet (*Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*: *intikhāb*, ed. Ḥasrat Mōhanī, Lahore 1965, Introd. 7-66. This essay is repeated verbatim, but in clearer print, in vol. i of the *Kulliyyāt Muṣḥafī* mentioned above, 11-53). Gōrakhpūrī believes that the main difference between the Dihlī and Lucknow Schools is that the former stressed meaning and the latter language: Muṣḥafī represents a transitional stage, without whose influence it would be difficult to envisage later Lucknow poets like Anīs [*q.v.*]; and Muṣḥafī's poetry—including his *ghazal*—with its amalgam of simple yet colourful language, naturalness, realism and restrained passion, is *sui generis*, and the work of a genius. It remains to be seen whether these claims will gain ground.

Bibliography: Editions of Muṣḥafī's poetry include *Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*, ed. Ḥasrat Mōhānī, ʿAlīgaṛh 1905, which is almost entirely confined to short *ghazals* or extracts, which do scant justice to the poet. *Dīwān-i-Muṣḥafī*: *intikhāb* (1965), seemingly a reprint of the above, and vol. i of the *Kulliyāt Muṣḥafī* (1968), both containing Gōrakhpūrī's valuable essay, are mentioned above in the article. For an example of his *mathnawīs*, with a critical comparison of Muṣḥafī with Mīr, see Farmān Fataḥpūrī, *Daryā-i-ʿishḳ awr Baḥr al-maḥabbat kā taḳābulī muṭālaʿa*, Lahore 1972. Muṣḥafī's *tadhkira* of Persian poets was published as *ʿIḳd-i thurayyā*, ed. with intro. by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Dihlī 1934. One of his two *tadhkiras* of Urdu poets was published as *Riyazul Fusaha*, Dihlī 1934, with the same editor and identical introduction. For detailed accounts of the poet, see the two works by Ṣiddīḳī mentioned in the text. Brief accounts include: Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 90 ff.; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London, Karachi, etc. 1964, 124 f.; L.C. Randhir, *Ghazal—the beauty eternal*, New Delhi, 61 ff., writes more favourably of the poet, and the whole book forms a useful general account of the Urdu *ghazal*. In Urdu, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i-ḥayāt*[9], Lahore 1917, 309 ff., provides a well-written statement of the traditional lukewarm assessment. To some extent, Āzād relied on the old *tadhkiras* for his anecdotes and criticism. A good example is *Madjmūʿa-yi-maghz* by Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳudratullāh Ḳāsim, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmud Shayrānī, 2 vols., Lahore 1933: for Muṣḥafī, see ii, 188-95). This work has more biographical and critical material than most other *tadhkiras*, which might best be described as chrestomathies. Finally, Sayyid ʿAbdullāh, *Shuʿarā᾿-i-Urdū kē tadhkirē awr tadhkirē kā fann*, Lahore 1952, 46 f., gives a very short account of Muṣḥafī's two Urdu *tadhkiras*; but as a general critical history of the *tadhkira* form in the context of Urdu poetry, it is an essential reference.

(J.A. Haywood)

MUSHĀḲA, Mīkhā᾿īl b. Djirdjīs al-Lubnānī, Lebanese historian and polemicist who is at the same time the most important of modern Arabic writers on the theory of music; the present article is devoted to his activity in this latter sphere, in order to complete the brief entry already given s.v. Mashāḳa.

Born in 1800 at Rashmayyā, he followed his family (after 1807) to Dayr al-Ḳamar, the residence of the famous Amīr Bashīr Shihāb II [*q.v.*] who was favourably disposed towards the elder Mushāḳa. In 1819, the Amīr, having given offence to the Sublime Porte, was compelled to take refuge in Egypt, and the following year Mīkhā᾿īl Mushāḳa also found it necessary, on account of the "subsequent disturbances" to leave for Damascus. In this town Mīkhā᾿īl lived for the rest of his life, following the profession of a physician and man of letters, save for a short period (1845-6) spent in Cairo, where he studied at the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn school of medicine.

Mushāḳa's particular studies had been directed to mathematics, the physical sciences and medicine, but about 1830 he began to take an interest in music (Parisot, *Mus. orient.*, 15). Piqued by the arrogance of Egyptian musicians, who were great favourites in Syria and boasted their superiority over the Syrians, Mushāḳa decided to study the theory of music (Collangettes, 380) and took lessons from the best masters, including the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-ʿAṭṭār, "a master of several sciences and much learning", as Mushaḳa himself tells us. The *Shaykh* had written a book on the theory of music, but Mushāḳa was dissatisfied with it on the scientific side, and having "a good knowledge of mathematics as well as much practical skill in music" (Smith, 174), he decided to write a treatise himself. The work was entitled *al-Risāla al-Shihābiyya fi 'l-ṣināʿa al-mūsīḳiyya*, its name being due to the Amīr Muḥammad Fāris Shihāb, to whom Mushāḳa attributed the germ of the work. We do not know the precise date of its composition, but as the oldest ms. is dated 1840, it must have been written at least as early as this year (cf. Ronzevalle, 2, 116). In 1847, (cf. Ronzevalle, 2; Brockelmann, II[2], 648) the work was presented in a free English translation by Eli Smith in *JAOS*, i (1847), 173 ff. Among the Arabs, the book circulated in ms. until 1899, when the Arabic text was given by L. Ronzevalle in *Machriq*, ii (1899), 149 ff., and in an octavo volume (1900), which soon ran out of print. In 1913, other mss. having become available for collation, Ronzevalle issued a fresh text, together with a French translation, in *MFOB*, vi (1913), 1-120. Mushāḳa's work became the standard one on the theory of music in Syria and contiguous lands, and still holds that position. In the West, his theories have been much commented on by Land, Ellis, Parisot and Collangettes.

In the early 1840s, Mushāḳa came in touch with Eli Smith (his translator) and C.V.A. Van Dyck, two American missionaries in Damascus. He renounced the Melkite Greek Church in favour of Protestantism, and was appointed the American consul there.

Mus͟hāḳa was "a born controversialist" says Ronzevalle, and his gifts in this direction are displayed in his several books and pamphlets against the Catholics, including: *Ad͟jwibat al-Ind͟jīliyyīn* (1852); *al-Dalīl ilā ṭāʿat al-Ind͟jīl* (2nd ed. 1860); *Kas͟hf al-niḳāb ʿan wad͟jh al-Masīḥ al-kad͟hd͟hāb* (1860); *al-Barāhīn al-ind͟jīliyya* (1864); *al-Radd al-ḳawīm* (1869); al-*S͟huhub al-t͟hawāḳib* (1870); and others. He also wrote a treatise against the ideas of Voltaire entitled *al-Burhān ʿalā ḍuʿf al-insān* (2nd ed. 1867). He also composed *al-D͟jawāb ʿalā iḳtirāḥ al-aḥbāb*, which is a history of his family and his time up to the Druze massacres of 1860, in which he was wounded but escaped through the protection of the exiled Algerian Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], who was then in Damascus. The second edition of this is entitled *Mas͟hhad al-ʿiyān bi-ḥawādit͟h Sūriyā wa-Lubnān* (cf. *Taʾrīk͟h Ḥawādit͟h al-S͟hām wa-Lubnān* by Mīk͟hāʾīl al-Dimas͟hḳī, edited by P. Louis Malouf, 1912). For another work on the religious and educational buildings of Damascus, see H.L. Fleischer, *Michael Meschâka's Cultur-Statistik von Damaskus*, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 346-74, improved version in his *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 307-40. Mus͟hāḳa died in Damascus in June 1888.

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(H.G. FARMER*)

AL-**MUS͟HAḲḲAR**, a settlement and port on the eastern coast of Arabia in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, situated in the region of Had͟jar or Baḥrayn; its exact location is however unknown and would appear to be only discoverable by future archaeological investigations.

Varying traditions attribute the foundation of al-Mus͟haḳḳar to one of the kings of Kinda [*q.v.*], Mūsā b. al-Ḥārit͟h, or to a commander of the Sāsānid heavy cavalry (*asāwira*; see on these, C.E. Bosworth, *EIr* art. *Asāwera*) B.s.k.b. Māhbūd͟h in the time of the Kisrās (al-Ṭabarī, i, 985-6, tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 260-1; al-Bakrī, *Muʿd͟jam*, i, 311, iii, 1060, iv, 1232-3). Subsequently, the place is especially associated with the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], where, according to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, was situated their tribal idol D͟hu 'l-Labā and where was held an important fair (*sūḳ*) *in* D͟jumādā II to which Persian traders came from across the Gulf (*al-Muḥabbar*, 265, 317; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 134-5). At the time of the first Muslim expansion into eastern Arabia, it seems to have been held for the Sāsānids by a chief of Tamīm (*al-Muḥabbar*, 265; cf. M.J. Kister, *Mecca and Tamīm (aspects of their relations)*, in *JESHO*, viii [1985]). It was still flourishing in the first century or so of Islam. During the *Ridda* [*q.v.*] wars, the defeated leader of the Baḥrayn rebels, al-Mund͟hir b. al-Nuʿmān, retreated into al-Mus͟haḳḳar before going to join Musaylima (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 84), and in 73/692-3, Baṣran and Kūfan troops of ʿAbd al-Malik's general ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar pursued the K͟hārid͟jite leader Abū Fudayk and besieged him in al-Mus͟haḳḳar till he surrendered (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 853).

Thereafter, it seems to have declined, and although Ibn al-Faḳīh (wrote *ca.* 290/903), 30, cf. 255, tr. Massé, 35, cf. 308, located the Friday mosque of Baḥrayn there, describing the place (its mosque or fortress?) as one of the wonders of the Islamic world, the other geographers of this period do not mention it.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUS͟HĀRAKA (A.), a commercio-legal term that has come into increasing prominence as efforts have been made in the Muslim world to organise or re-organise their financial systems according to what are held to be the requirements of the *S͟harīʿa*. In English, "participation financing" is the translation commonly adopted by modern Islamic financial institutions committed to commercial operations traditionally known to Islamic jurisprudence.

In general terms, the *mus͟hāraka* is a contractual partnership (*s͟harikat al-ʿaḳd*) as opposed to a proprietary partnership (*s͟harikat al-milk*). In the case of the latter, joint ownership of property (e.g. a house passing to legal heirs on the death of the owner) is a prerequisite, and there is no joint exploitation of the property involved. The essence of the former, however, is joint exploitation of capital (or, in full or in part, of the work and skills of the partners or of the credit for partnership investment) with joint participation in profits and losses, joint ownership being an effect—not a prerequisite—of the partnership's formation.

Unlike the *mufāwaḍa* [*q.v.*], the *mus͟hāraka* is a limited investment partnership in which the core of the investment is money. The *modus operandi* of the parties to a *mus͟hāraka* as handled within the modern Islamic system may be explained somewhat as follows. A client with a specific plan for a business venture submits his proposal to an Islamic financial institution, usually a bank, together with an application for equity capital (i.e. venture, or risk, capital) to support it. If agreement is reached, the institution will supply the necessary capital as well as any cash flow that may be required on the basis that (a) the profits will be shared by the two contracting parties in the proportion on which they have agreed at the time of the contract, and (b) such losses as may be incurred will be proportionate to the parties' shares in the partnership capital, as generally taught.

In order that its client may be left with a viable share of the profits, the financial institution that is party to the *mus͟hāraka* will, in many cases, not reserve to itself the right to a return on all its shares from the venture's profits, but will divide its participation into (a) a share in the partnership capital, and (b) working capital supplied by means of an interest-free loan (*ḳarḍ ḥasan*).

Obviously, as in all business ventures, an element of risk attaches to "participation financing" partnerships. Notwithstanding, the straightforward business risk is something that cannot be secured by the participating institution since Islamic law permits no security to be taken from the partner *qua* partner. What it does permit, on the other hand, is the taking of securities against the risk of the partner's breach of contract of partnership, his negligence and his wilful

misconduct. Such securities are in fact demanded by certain Islamic banks and other financial institutions as a precondition of the partnership.

To trace the history of the mus͟hāraka through a study of the ʿinān (limited investment partnership) in the various schools of Islamic law—in which a single term or expression can, at times, be found to be used in different or ambiguous senses—is clearly beyond the scope of the present article.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. See for these the *Bibl.* to MUFĀWAḌA. 2. Studies. N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, Cambridge 1986, of which the bibliography is a good guide to both primary and secondary sources (123-6); idem, *The general principles of Saudi Arabian and Omani company laws*, Namara, U.K. 1981, notably 62-5 on the details of the distribution of profits and losses. A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton 1970, provides material that is essential to the understanding of the early development of the concept of partnership in Islamic law. On the use of the term *mus͟hāraka* to translate the technical term "participation" in the (non-Islamic) context of health and accident insurance, see N. Ghattas, *A dictionary of economics, business & finance: English-Arabic with an Arabic glossary*, Beirut 1982, 404. (J.D. LATHAM)

MUS͟HAʿS͟HAʿ, a S͟hīʿī Arab dynasty of the town of Ḥawīza [*q.v.*] or Ḥuwayza in K͟hūzistān (ʿArabistān).

The founder of the dynasty, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, claimed to be a descendant of the Seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*]. He was born at Wāsiṭ and studied with S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad b. Fahd at Ḥilla. The 9th/15th century was an important phase in the history of S͟hīʿī *g͟hulāt* extremism. But it was also characterised by a rising tendency towards folk Islam, propelled by regional forces in an increasingly fragmented power structure. In his environment Sayyid Muḥammad developed strong views about his messianic mission; S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad excommunicated him (*takfīr*) but failed to have him executed by the *Amīr* of ʿUbadā, as he pretended to be a Sunnī Ṣūfī.

One year before the death of S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad in 840/1436 (Kasrawī, *Tārīk͟h-i panṣad sāla-yi K͟hūzistān*, 9; not 828/1424 as in S͟hūs͟htarī, *Mad̲j̲ālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 395), he announced his mission (*ẓuhūr*) among the Arab tribes of the Banū Sulāma, Ṭayyiʾ and Sudān in the marshy neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ. Although defeated in 844/1440, he devastated S͟hawḳa and converted the Nays, a clan of the Maʿādī tribe, in the Dūb area, forcing them to exchange their cattle for arms. Sayyid Muḥammad continued to fight against the local lords of D̲j̲azāʾir. Finally, after a heavy defeat by the governor of Wāsiṭ he turned towards Ḥuwayza which was in the hands of S͟hayk͟h D̲j̲alāl b. Abi 'l K͟hayr D̲j̲azāʾirī, a representative of the Tīmūrid prince-governor of Fārs, ʿAbd Allāh. Sayyid Muḥammad and his son Mawlā ʿAlī conquered this strategically important place (except for the citadel) on 4 Ramaḍān 845/16 January 1442. The lord of Bag͟hdād, Ispand b. Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, exploiting the weakened position of the Tīmūrid rule in the eastern part of Persia, defeated Sayyid Muḥammad, but the latter overpowered the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu garrison after Ispand b. Ḳara Yūsuf had left for Baṣra. Although Ispand, who had converted to S͟hīʿism in 840/1436-7, was not in a position to prevent the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ continuing their missionary activities among the ʿArab tribes in K͟hūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ, it was only after his death in 848/1444, and that of S͟hāhruk͟h three years later, that the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ began to challenge the weakened authority of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in middle ʿIrāḳ. Sayyid Mawlā ʿAlī attacked Wāsiṭ in 858/1454 after D̲j̲ahān S͟hāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had appointed his son Pīr Budāḳ governor of Fārs but had not provided him with sufficient military forces for the defence of Bag͟hdād. The Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ sacked Nad̲j̲af and desecrated the shrine of the Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The devastation of the adjacent areas of Bag͟hdād only came to an end when an army of D̲j̲ahān-S͟hāh Ḳara Ḳoyunlu forced him to retreat. Finally, he was killed in the river Rūd-i Kurdistān (Tāb) when campaigning in Kūh Gilūya against Pīr Budāḳ in 861/1456-7 (Kasrawī, *Tārīk͟h*, 17-19). In the same year, Sayyid Muḥammad was forced to take the field against Amīr Nāṣir b. Farād̲j̲ Allāh who had moved from Bag͟hdād to destroy the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ. With his defeat near Wāsiṭ, their supremacy was finally established in K͟hūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ. In the last years of his life, Sayyid Muḥammad was mainly occupied with writing his Ḳurʾān commentaries and prayers. He died in 870/1465-6 (less likely 866/1461-2, according to Sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh in the history of his family).

The doctrines of Sayyid Muḥammad. The etymology of the word *mus͟haʿs͟haʿ* is not clear. It may be connected with the notion of light, radiation, less possibly intoxication, although it could refer to mystical exaltation. According to the *Mad̲j̲ālis al-muʾminīn*, the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ practised a *d̲h̲ikr* which enabled them to perform extraordinary acts.

The *Kalām al-Mahdī* by Sayyid Muḥammad, the major source for examining the doctrine of the early Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ, expounds ideas about Mahdism. The terminology used clearly comprises that of an esoteric sect. According to it, ʿAlī and the Prophet Muḥammad are the revolving mystery (*al-sirr al-dāʾir*) in heaven and on earth. Muḥammad as the messenger was the embodiment (*ḥid̲j̲āb*) of the truth (*ḥaḳīḳa*), which unlike the embodiment does not change its place. The body can become personalised but the truth remains in its unvaried state.

After initially showing some caution, Sayyid Muḥammad clearly expounded his mission as the *Mahdī*, declaring that he functioned like Muḥammad and any other prophet. The ideas of Sayyid ʿAlī appear to have been more extreme. According to S͟hūs͟htarī (*Mad̲j̲ālis al-muʾminīn*, ii, 399-400), he claimed to be the incarnation of Imām ʿAlī, *amīr al-muʾminīn*, a claim which raised considerable criticism among the leading *ʿulamāʾ* in Bag͟hdād, as an ensuing correspondence between them and Sayyid Muḥammad indicates (Kasrawī, *Tārīk͟h*, 31).

Subsequent history. Sayyid Muḥammad's son and successor Sulṭān Muḥammad strengthened the power of the Mus͟haʿs͟haʿ further. His rule extended into the area of Luristān, the land of the Bak͟htiyārī and Faylī Lurs, and a larger part of al-D̲j̲azāʾir; even the area around Bag͟hdād seems to have temporarily fallen under his control. He also attracted the attention of scholars like Mawlānā S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad Astarābādī. The S͟hīʿī doctrine, now less extreme, was successfully spread throughout the area. A major role was played by the Marʿas͟hī *sayyids* [*q.v.*], of whom a branch had come from their homeland Māzandarān and settled in S͟hūs͟htar, led by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūr Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Marʿas͟hī al-S͟hūs͟htarī, whose grandson was Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh, the author of the *Mad̲j̲ālis al-muʾminīn* (Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, *Kitāb-i Tad̲h̲kira-yi S͟hūs͟htar*, 35).

The end of the reign of Sayyid Muḥsin coincided with the rise of Ṣafawid power under S͟hāh Ismāʿīl

who laid claim to be recognised as the sole legitimate Shīʿī ruler. He was, however, only able to move against Ḥuwayza after the capture of Baghdād in 914/1508. Sayyid Muḥsin's death, either in 905/1499-1500 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 40) or about 914/1508-9 (Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jhs.*, 93; see also Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iv, 497) further weakened the defence of the Mushaʿshaʿ. Two of his sons, ʿAlī and Ayyūb, tried to open negotiations with Shāh Ismāʿīl but were executed. The independence of the Mushaʿshaʿ was finally destroyed after Sayyid Fayyāḍ, probably another son of Sulṭān Muḥsin, had been killed with many of his supporters in Ḥuwayza (so Khʷāndamīr, *op. cit.*, iv, 497. But according to Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 42, Fayyāḍ was just another title for Sayyid ʿAlī b. Muḥsin).

Although Sayyid Falāḥ b. Muḥsin reconquered Ḥuwayza and established himself as a semi-independent ruler, he remained mainly confined to Ḥuwayza and the western parts of Khūzistān. Shāh Ismāʿīl was recognised by him as the overlord. Dizfūl remained in the hands of the Raʿnāshī *shaykhs*; Shūshtar came under the control of a local ruler. During the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl or under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the province was divided into ʿArabistān, the western part, which remained under the control of the Mushaʿshaʿ, and Khūzistān, which was placed under the military command of the governors of Kūh Gilūya, or sometimes also under that of Fārs.

When Sayyid Falāḥ died in 920/1514, his successor Sayyid Badrān b. Falāḥ maintained some autonomy under the changing political fortunes of the two major powers, Ṣafawid Persia and the Ottoman empire. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed his rule in 948/1541 (Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 389; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 95). Whereas Sayyid Badrān clearly indicated his loyalty to the Ṣafawids, under his successor Sadjdjād, the Mushaʿshaʿ seemed to have moved closer towards the Ottomans, probably under the pressure of ʿAlī Pasha, the governor of Baghdād, who dispatched a military force against Ḥuwayza in 992/1584 (Nīyāzī, *Hüner-nāme*, f. 38b ff.; Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 81; see also Ferīdūn Beg, *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*, ii, 315-16). With the appointment of Ḥaydar Ḳulī Sulṭān as governor of Dizfūl, the Afshārs emerged as a major political force in northern Khūzistān and the adjacent area. The Mushaʿshaʿ remained more or less confined to Ḥuwayza. Sayyid ʿAlī was followed in 992/1584 by his son Zanbūr ʿAlī, who governed till 998/1590 (not 996, as in Minorsky, *EI*[1] Suppl., art. *Mushaʿshaʿ*).

During the troubled years of Shāh ʿAbbās I's accession to the throne, the south-west of Persia, then mainly under the control of the Afshār *amīrs*, had been in turmoil. Sayyid Mubārak b. Muṭṭalib b. Badrān, who had spent his youth as a brigand in the region of Dawraḳ and Rām Hurmuz, drove his uncle Zanbūr ʿAlī out of Ḥuwayza at the end of 995-beginning of 996/November-December 1587. Mubārak tried to strengthen his position in Khūzistān by occupying Dizfūl and gaining control over Shūshtar. But in 1003-4/1594-5 Shāh ʿAbbās I pacified the whole area: Luristān, Kūh Gilūya, Khūzistān and the border area, ʿArabistān. Khūzistān was given to a Shāmlū governor. Sayyid Mubārak managed to escape major punishment for his misdemeanour (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, i, 501-2). As the Shāh did not want to be engaged in major military operations against the Mushaʿshaʿ any further, and as it was feared that the Ottomans might interfere directly in the affairs of south-western Persia, Sayyid Mubārak was reinstated as governor (*ḥākim*) for ʿArabistān, a decision confirmed in 1005/1596-7, when another revolt of the Afshār supported by him was crushed. The Mushaʿshaʿ seemed to be the only force on which the Ṣafawids could rely for controlling the various tribal forces in ʿArabistān, particularly the Arabs in the Djazīra region.

The integration of ʿArabistān into the Ṣafawid realm became easier after Mawlā Muṭṭalib had turned against extreme forms of Shīʿī dogmas as expounded by earlier rulers. Sayyid Mubārak continued to bring Shīʿī beliefs even further into line with mainstream Twelver Shīʿī teaching, supported by leading *ʿulamāʾ* of his time. The recognition of the special position of the Mushaʿshaʿ ruler in the Ṣafawid realm was underlined by his rank as one of the four viceroys (*wālī*): *wālī-yi ʿArabistān-i Ḥuwayza*. The *wālī* had only a loose connection with the Ṣafawid state, e.g., he sent presents instead of paying taxes. After the death of Sayyid Mubārak in 1025/1616, his son Nāṣir, who had been brought up at the court and was married to a sister of Shāh ʿAbbās I, succeeded him for a short period (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 65-6). But at the end of the same year, Sayyid Rashīd b. Salīm b. Muṭṭalib became the new ruler following the wishes of the elders of the Arab tribes (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 915). Shortly afterwards, he was killed by a dissident group of the Banū Lām [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, ii, 951-2). After his death, dissension broke out between the various tribal groups which ended in 1030/1620 when the exiled Sayyid Manṣūr b. Muṭṭalib was installed as the new *wālī*. He was supported by both the governors of Luristān and Shūshtar. However, in 1033/1623-4 he was replaced by his nephew Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mubārak, since he showed reluctance to assist the *shāh* in his campaign against Baghdād in 1032/1623 (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 959, 1013). His close relationship with the governor of Fārs, Imām Ḳulī Khān, who was dismissed and killed in 1042/1632, was probably the main cause for his replacement by Mawlā Manṣūr (Rettelbach, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, 130-1; Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, 152-3).

Shūshtar was governed in those years by a Georgian *ghulām*, Wakhushtū Sulṭān (since 1042/1632-3, see Rettelbach, *op. cit.*, 126; Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Djazāʾirī, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 46-7). Mawlā Manṣūr tried unsuccessfully to wrestle Aḥwāz from Sayyid Farhād, who was in coalition with ʿAlī Pasha, the ruler of Baṣra. In 1053/1643-4, by the demands of the Arab *shaykhs*, Mawlā Manṣūr was replaced by Sayyid Baraka and exiled to Mashhad. The *wālīs* were considered to be a stabilising element in the volatile situation of the region. Since the rule of Sayyid Mubārak, the *wālī* carried the rank of a *khān*. Intermarriages with the ruling house and also with other major families of the Ṣafawid élite are an indication of this policy. The rulership of Ḥuwayza remained hereditary in their family. There seem to be no instances when they were appointed to posts outside their region. Senior members of the family, however, stayed more permanently at the Ṣafawid court. Often they were exiled to Mashhad, from where they could easily be recalled and reinstated as ruling *khāns*.

Sayyid Baraka was such a case. Although lauded by the court poet Ibn Maʿtūḳ as the prototype of the chivalresque warrior, he had to be replaced by Sayyid ʿAlī Khān b. Khalaf b. Muṭṭalib in 1060/1650 as he was unable to exert proper control over the Arab tribes. With the latter the third branch of the Muṭṭalib family came to power. Soon, however, he was embroiled in major controversies over his lenient

attitude towards members of his family. The ensuing revolt was suppressed by the governor of Luristān, Manūčihr Khān, who occupied Ḥuwayza and sent ᶜAlī Khān, together with his children, to the court in Iṣfahān. According to the author of the *Riyāḍ al-firdaws*, ᶜAlī Khān was driven out of Ḥuwayza by Arab tribesmen after he had killed a son of the *shaykh al-mashāʾikh* Shaykh Khalaf Ḥammūd b. Marwān (Muḥammad Mīrak b. Masᶜūd al-Husaynī, *Riyāḍ al-firdaws*, 231-2). Zamān Khān, governor of Kūh Gilūya, however, arranged ᶜAlī Khān's return to Ḥuwayza which was considered to be an important link in the defence system against the Ottomans after 1048/1638-9.

Increasingly, the family of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ fell into internecine fighting. After Sayyid ᶜAlī Khān's death in 1092/1681, heavy conflicts broke out among his sons in which the Arab tribes of Āl Fuḍūl and Kaᶜb became involved. His brother Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh ruled only eight months in 1097/1685-6. Under Faradj Allāh b. ᶜAlī Khān, the Mushaᶜshaᶜ renewed their expansionist activities at the western border. Both Baṣra and Ḳūrna were taken from Shaykh Mānīᶜ b. Mughāmis and his Muntafiḳ tribe [*q.v.*] in 1109/1697-8. But the former was recaptured by Ottoman troops in 1112/1700-1. Faradj Allāh's success in 1109/1697-8 was only shortlived, as the new military governor in Ḥuwayza, Ibrāhīm Khān, did not support him. He had him replaced by his nephew Sayyid ᶜAlī in 1112/1700-1 and imprisoned until 1120/1708-9 (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 94-5).

The frequent changes of the *wālī*s reflected not only the widening gulf between them and their mainly Arab tribal following but is also a strong indicator of the increased disorganisation at the Ṣafawid court. The members of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ family affiliated themselves to different parties there but also tried to win support among the Arab tribes. The lack of law and order, and the continuous fighting outside Ḥuwayza, considerably damaged the rich agriculture of the region. With the fall of Wakhushtū's family in Shūshtar, Khūzistān and ᶜArabistān were deprived of one of their stabilising factors. In 1114/1702-3 Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh Faradj Allāh was appointed as the new *wālī*, but he faced strong opposition from his father. When strife and discord in Ḥuwayza had become uncontrollable, the Ṣafawid court was forced to reappoint Sayyid ᶜAlī in 1127/1715. By now Ṣafawid power was a shadow of its former self. Threatened by Arab tribes, the *wālī* turned for help to the Ottoman governor of Baghdād. Nevertheless, the Ṣafawid administration seemed to have intervened again in 1132/1719-20, when Sayyid Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh became *wālī* of ᶜArabistān, supported by Ṣafawid troops.

Still, the *wālī* remained a major factor in Ṣafawid politics. When in 1135/1722 the Afghāns attacked Iṣfahān he was one of the remaining military forces on which the court relied for the defence of the capital. However, the *wālī* seems to have played a rather ambiguous role in the battle of Gulnābād against Maḥmūd Afghān. The sources are not clear whether the *khān* of Ḥuwayza actually was ᶜAbd Allāh, as some of the European sources and a later Persian source claim, or a certain Muḥammad Khān b. Faradj Allāh Khān who has been mentioned as governor of Ḥuwayza after ᶜAbd Allāh had been in collusion with the *pasha* of Baghdād in 1132/1719-20 (Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh, *Tadhkira-yi Shūshtar*, 69; Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavid dynasty*, 132-43. However, Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 102-4 "Muḥammad Khān", and Caskel, *Die Wālī's von Ḥuwēzeh*, 429, assume that ᶜAbd Allāh had returned from Baghdād where he had moved in 1719, and was leading an Arab contingent in the battle, but was at that time no longer governor of Ḥuwayza).

In the short-lived peace agreement between the Ottoman government and Ashraf Khān in 1140/1727, Ḥuwayza was allocated together with the other western provinces to Turkey, but this did not change the situation in the south-west of Persia as the main Ottoman thrust was directed against Kurdistān and ᶜIrāḳ-i ᶜAdjam. During the 1730s and 1740s, Ḥuwayza was restored as a Persian border province. Nādir Ḳulī Khān (Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]) had repossessed it in Ramaḍān 1142/March-April 1730. The peace treaties of 1733 and 1736, confirmed in 1746, re-established the boundary between the two powers as agreed at Zuhāb in 1638 (Olson, *The siege of Mosul and the Ottoman-Persian relations, 1718-1743*, 90-1, 99-104; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 255). Nādir Shāh reorganised the administration of the south-west in 1150/1737-8 and appointed a Persian governor for Khūzistān with his seat in Ḥuwayza. The Mushaᶜshaᶜ ruler Sayyid Faradj Allāh was moved to Dawraḳ, which became his new residence for the following ten years (Caskel, *Wālī's*, 430-1). During Nādir Shāh's last years of rule, Sayyid Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad b. Faradj Allāh Khān overthrew Nādir's governor for Khūzistān, Muḥammad Khān Balūč, and returned to Ḥuwayza in 1060/1747.

Nādir's successor ᶜĀdil Shāh confirmed Sayyid Muṭṭalib, but in the ensuing power struggle over the control of Shūshtar and Dizfūl, the Āl-i Kathīr under Shaykh Saᶜd strengthened their commanding position in Khūzistān, operating from their camp between the Karkha and Diz. Internal strife among the Āl-i Kathīr, however, allowed Sayyid Muṭṭalib to restore some of the previous authority of the *wālī* in 1167/1754. But he was unable to establish his control over the various Arab tribes who in the past had served the Mushaᶜshaᶜ so well. The long drawn-out fight between the two rival groups in which the powerful Afshār *amīrs* were also eliminated adversely affected the fertile agriculture in the vicinity of Shūshtar and Dizfūl. Increasingly, the Āl-i Kathīr gained the upper hand. Sayyid Muṭṭalib was killed by the sons of Shaykh Saᶜd in revenge for the murder of their father. The Zand ruler Karīm Khān [*q.v.*] himself was forced to move to Khūzistān [*q.v.*] to restore order. The Mushaᶜshaᶜ were from now on mainly confined to their old capital (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 126-7).

After the death of Nādir Shāh, the well-organised and mainly sea-borne power of the Banū Kaᶜb [*q.v.*] emerged as the major force in the coastal region, having previously managed to stand on the sidelines in the constant wars between the Āl-i Kathīr and the Mushaᶜshaᶜ, In southern ᶜArabistān their position had been checked by Karīm Khān Zand between 1763 and 1768 as the Zand ruler was able to enforce some control over them. In Ḥuwayza, Sayyid Muṭṭalib was succeeded by his cousin Mawlā Djūd Allāh, and after him, Mawlā Ismāᶜīl. Following Karīm Khān's death in 1779, ᶜAlī Murād Khān Zand tried to stem the process of disintegration of the Zand rule in that area by taking a stronger interest in the affairs of the Mushaᶜshaᶜ. He appointed Sayyid Mawlā Muḥsin, under whose rule a certain Hāshim built a canal further up the Karkha, diverting the irregational water for the agriculture and garden culture of Ḥuwayza and so destroyed the supply of grain for Baṣra. The continuing internal strife for the control of Dizfūl and Shūshtar among the Arab tribes in the area accelerated the economic decline of Ḥuwayza even

further, although a major catastrophe could be averted when another son of Djūd Allāh, Sayyid Mawlā Muḥammad, who had been appointed *wālī* at the demand of the agriculturalists, dammed the new water channel.

At the beginning of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, ʿArabistān/Khūzistān was split into various rival factions: Shūshtar, Dizfūl, the areas of the Āl-i Kathīr, the Mushaʿshaʿ and the powerful Kaʿb. The former three were put under the control of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā Dawlatshāh. Rām Hurmuz, Fallāḥiyya, Hindiyān and the southern part became the responsibility of Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmānfarmā. Dawlatshāh came in 1221/1806-7 to restore order in Shūshtar, but he does not seem to have interfered much in the internal affairs of Ḥuwayza (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 66-77). Little is known about the situation in Ḥuwayza itself, except that in 1810 the *wālī* was taken prisoner and brought to Dizfūl (Kinneir, *Memoirs*, 106). Like most other parts of ʿArabistān and Khūzistān, Ḥuwayza suffered much during the cholera epidemic in 1247/1831-2. The final collapse of the Karkha dam in 1250/1834 was a catastrophe from which it never recovered. By 1840 the town had only about 500 inhabitants. Most of the people had left the area or continued their lives as Bedouins. This major change is also indicated by the taxes paid, which fell to only 6,000 tomans compared with 50,000 paid by Dizfūl and Shūshtar (Caskel, *Wālī's*, 432-3; Kasrawī, *Tārīkh*, 138). The Mushaʿshaʿ family ruled on behalf of the Persian governor of Khūzistān, collecting taxes and paying revenue to him. Compared with previous periods, the province had lost its major status. The Persian governor normally acted as deputy for the governors in Kirmānshāh, Shīrāz or Iṣfahān. Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, governor of Iṣfahān, Luristān and Khūzistān, appointed Mawlā Faradj Allāh as *ḥākim* of the whole province in 1257/1841, after Shaykh Thāmir and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Riḍā, head of the Banū Kaʿb, had fled to the Ottomans. The southern parts of the province ʿArabistān, from Hindidjān to Muḥammara [see KHURRAM-SHAHR], remained the responsibility of Farhād Mīrzā, the deputy governor of Fārs (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, 269-70).

The Treaty of Erzurum in 1843 conveyed full sovereignty of land on the eastern bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, Muḥammara included, to Persia. With it began the rise of the local Kaʿb (Muḥaysīn) ruler Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān, who was supported by the Persian authorities. He was able to extend his active control over most of the Arab tribes like the Banū Ṭuruf, Bāwiyya, Nāṣir and Rābiʿa. The Mushaʿshaʿ leaders were increasingly fighting their own nomadic followers. By acting mostly as his deputies they practically became subordinates of Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān, who in fact had been given a fairly free hand in this part of ʿArabistān (Talib Hamid, *History of ʿArabistān, 1857-1897*, 147). The Persian governor-general of Khūzistān still remained officially in control of affairs. In 1872 Ḥamza Mīrzā Hishmat al-Dawla installed Sayyid Mawlā Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh (?) as the new ruler in Ḥuwayza. Mawlā Muṭṭalib b. Naṣr Allāh was recognised as ruler in 1881 but Niẓām al-Salṭana replaced him with Sayyid Mawlā Naṣr Allāh, probably in 1888 (Lorimer, *Gazetteer, Affairs of Hawizeh district, 1848-1896*, 1680 ff.). This decline in the authority of the Mushaʿshaʿ rule led to the breakaway of the Banū Ṭuruf, who refused to pay tribute any longer. Although the Persian troops were successful in putting down the serious disturbances in Ḥuwayza, after a further rising of their inhabitants against the garrison in 1894, Shaykh Mizʿal b. Djābir Khān was entrusted to deal with the affairs in Ḥuwayza and sent his brother Khazʿal there in 1300/1882. Mawlā Muṭṭalib b. Naṣr Allāh was forced after considerable resistance to move to Dizfūl, where he remained for the rest of his life. Shaykh Khazʿal married a Mushaʿshaʿ woman and appointed his wife's brother in place of Sayyid Mawlā ʿAbd al-ʿAlī in 1910. After the deposition of Shaykh Khazʿal in 1924, Mawlā ʿAbd al-ʿAlī was recognised as head of the Mushaʿshaʿ but did not play a political role any further.

Coins. The Mushaʿshaʿ exercised the right of coinage. Probably the oldest known coins are two silver pieces from Shūshtar, dated 906, which bear the name Falāḥ b. al-Muḥsin (University of Tübingen, Collection of Islamic coins). Several *dirhams* have been found at Sūsā struck at Shūshtar and Dizfūl in the name of *al-Mahdī b. al-Muḥsin*, which may belong to a son of Sayyid Muḥsin, probably Fayyāḍ, dated 914/1508 (Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 93, changes it to *al-Muḥsin b. al-Mahdī*). Kasrawī (*Tārīkh*, 94) mentions a coin of Ḥuwayza dated 1085/1674-5, but although having the Shīʿī legend *ʿAlī walī Allāh* it was probably issued in the name of the *shāh*. Coins called *ḥuwayza* play an important part in the rites of the *Ahl-i ḥakk* [*q.v.*].

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(P. LUFT)

AL-**MUSHATTĀ** OR AL-MSHATTĀ (A., presumably

mushattā "a place where one spends the winter, winter camp"), a palatial, ruined structure almost certainly of early Islamic date, in what is now Jordan, situated 35 km south of ʿAmmān just east of the main north-south road connecting the capital with Maʿān.

It consists of a nearly square stone-walled enclosure measuring *ca.* 144 m. internally on each side and divided into three sections by north-south walls of which the foundations are preserved. The wider central zone has three main elements—blocks of symmetrically arranged rooms adjacent to the northern and southern enclosure walls and a central courtyard 57 m. square which once contained a central pavilion or water-basin. Both groups of rooms consist of a central zone flanked by two lateral ones. The centre of the southern block consists of an entrance hall followed by a courtyard, whereas the northern one has a basilical hall with a triple-arched façade and a tri-apsed inner chamber. These central zones were flanked by a number of smaller chambers. The northern ones are four separate suites of rooms or *bayts* consisting of pairs of small rooms flanking a larger central chamber; each unit faces a courtyard. The residential character of these *bayts* is underscored by the presence of latrines in each of the three adjacent wall-towers. The northern block of rooms had brick walls on stone foundations. The small chambers were covered by brick barrel vaults with a pointed arched profile. Brick semi-domes covered the three niches of the central chamber, but the type of roofing intended for the rest of the basical hall is uncertain. Only the foundations of the southern block were ever laid so that less is known about it. The presence of a semicircular niche in the south wall of a long narrow room east of the central zone identifies it as a mosque, and there is a latrine in the tower adjacent to the equivalent room on the west. The two lateral zones flanking the central area are devoid of structures, but it is probable that some were intended. The perimeter wall has three-quarter-round towers at the corners and a series of half-round towers on each side. There are five equidistant towers on the east, north and west sides and four on the south one, which also contains a monumental entrance flanked by half-octagonal towers. The central portion of the south façade stretching between the middle two half-round towers had a richly decorated zone of upright and inverted triangles in alternation framed by projecting mouldings. Most of these decorated blocks are now exhibited in the Islamisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

From the time of its initial publication by H.B. Tristram in 1873, the building has been the focus of debate. The presence of rich carvings on its southern façade and its half-finished state have fuelled speculation about its purpose and date. A chronology and tabulation of these opinions was published by K.A.C. Creswell. Speculations which attributed it to the Sāsānids, Ghassānids or Lakhmids have been laid to rest and a consensus has emerged that it belongs to the Umayyad period, and probably to the middle decades of the 8th century. H. Lammens and E. Herzfeld were convinced that it should be connected with the short reign of the caliph Walīd II (126/744-5 [*q.v.*]), known for his interest in building and linked with this region by references in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and in the writings of the Coptic Bishop Severus b. Muḳaffaʿ, who reported on the hardships endured by workmen conscripted from Egypt to build structures for al-Walīd in a waterless plain. This attribution of al-Mshattā to the patronage of al-Walīd II was accepted by J. Sauvaget and F. Ṭūḳān.

Al-Mshattā also figured prominently in discussions about the purpose and origin of so called "desert palaces". Both Lammens and Herzfeld identified it with a type of structure which they named the *bādiya* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] or the *ḥīra*, thought to imitate a desert encampment and to exemplify the traditional Arab preference for life in the open air. This explanation of Umayyad monuments was challenged by Sauvaget on historical, linguistic and archaeological grounds, and he proposed that many residential structures of the Umayyad period were connected with agriculture. Recently, Ṭūḳān has stressed the importance of hunting for the Umayyad rulers and identified a number of walled enclosures found near their residences as *ḥāʾir* or game preserves. Thus the sweeping theories of Lammens and Herzfeld are being replaced by detailed topographical and archaeological investigations of specific Umayyad structures with a view to determining their precise function. In the case of al-Mshattā, however, the only evidence currently available is the building itself, although its location appears more suited to hunting than to agriculture.

Efforts by Herzfeld and Creswell to isolate elements of this structure which could be connected with the pre-Islamic traditions of specific regions have had limited success. It is generally agreed that whereas the stone masonry has a Syrian character, its brick vaults are more typical of ʿIrāḳ. Some elements of the carved ornament appear to have precedents in the art of Coptic Egypt and still others are reminiscent of Sāsānid designs from ʿIrāḳ or Persia. Also, more recently the presence of a basilical chamber with a triple apse has been used by I. Lavin to link al-Mshattā with a group of monumental structures from Syria, Egypt, Constantinople and the Roman Mediterranean. These findings, however, serve more to underscore the hybrid artistic culture of Umayyad Syria than to elucidate the particular circumstances which led to the creation and abandonment of the palatial enclave presently known as al-Mshattā.

Bibliography: E. Herzfeld, *Mshatta, Ḥīra und Bādiya: die Mittelländer des Islam und ihre Baukunst*, in *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamlungen* (1921), 104-49; H. Lammens, *La bâdiya et la ḥîra sous les Omayyades: le problème de Mśatta*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 325-50, esp. 345-50; J. Sauvaget, *Observations sur les monuments Omeyyades. 1. Châteaux de Syrie*, in *JA*, ccxxi (1939), 31-5; I. Lavin, *The House of the Lord*, in *Art Bull.*, xliv (1962), 1-27, esp. 10-11; L. Trumpelmann, *Mschatta, ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung des Kunstkreises*, Tübingen 1962; O. Grabar, *Umayyad "Palace" and ʿAbbasid "Revolution"*, in *SI*, xviii (1963), 5-18; E. Kühnel, *Some notes on the façade of Mshatta*, in *Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965; Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*², Oxford 1969, i/2, 578-606, 614-43, pls. 112-36; F. Ṭūḳān, *al-Ḥāʾir, baḥth fi 'l-ḳuṣūr al-Umawiyya fi 'l-bādiya*, ʿAmmān 1979, esp. 71-2, 326. For illustrations of Mshattā, see ARCHITECTURE, Pls. XII-XIII.

(PRISCILLA SOUCEK)

MUSHFIḲĪ, the pen-name of the Persian poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was born *ca.* 945/1538 in Bukhārā. His ancestors came from Marw, which is probably why he sometimes refers to himself as Marwī. According to Saʿīd Nafīsī, he received a religious education during his youth, but went on to choose the poetical vocation, in which he was the disciple of Mawlānā Ḥasan Kawkabī, a well-known poet of Bukhārā (*flor.* end of the 9th- beginning of the 10th/15th-16th centuries). In 972/1564-5 Mushfiḳī went to Samarḳand, where he subsequently worked as

librarian for the Shaybānid ruler Sultan Saʿīd (975-80/1568-72). It is reported in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* that he visited India twice, but the book fails to give any dates of the visits. He did, however, travel to that country in 985/1578 when, according to the *Akbar-nāma*, he was presented before Akbar at Pāk Paṭan. He is included by the *Ṭabaķāt-i Akbarī* among the poets who served under Akbar, enjoying the generosity of the Emperor. Finally, he settled down in his native city, Bukhārā, and was created poet-laureate under the Uzbek ruler ʿAbd Allāh Khān (991-1006/1583-98). He died in 996/1588.

Mushfiķī's output comprises various kinds of poetry. A selection of his poems was published in 1959 in Tādjīkistān, where he has received considerable attention recently from scholars and critics. His *ghazals* express, without the embellishment of style or language, simple feelings of love and frustration. He was also noted for his satires, which form a large part of his poetical works.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥman Mushfiķī, *Muntakhabāt*, ed. Z. Aḥrārī, Stalinabad (now Dushanbe) 1959; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927; idem, *Akbar-nāma*, iii, tr. H. Beveridge, repr. Delhi 1977; ʿAbd al-Ķādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, tr. Wolseley Haig, repr. Karachi 1978; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaķāt-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. B. De, Calcutta 1936; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iķlīm*, ii, ed. Djawād Fāḍil, Tehran n.d.; ʿAlī-Ķulī Khān Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarā*, B.L. Add. ms. 16,729; Ķudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336 sh./1957-8; T.W. Beale, *Oriental biographical dictionary*, London 1894; *Payām-i nuwīn*, ii/9, Tehran 1339 sh./1960; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; idem, *Historia literatury Perskiej i Tadżyskiej*, Warsaw 1960; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm u nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1363 sh/1984. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

MUSHĪR (A.), lit. "one who points out, advises", hence "counsellor, adviser" in administrative usage, in recent times also acquiring in military usage the connotation of "field-marshal" in both the Arab and Turkish worlds.

According to some authorities, *mushīr* was at first (before the ʿAbbāsids) the title of the ministers (later *wazīr* [*q.v.*]) or secretaries of state (*kātib*). So at least we are told by Ibn al-Ṭiķṭaķā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 206, tr. Amar, 244, tr. Whitting, 146. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 106, 114, says that "formerly" an official to whom he gives fourth rank in the hierarchy, which shows he clearly distinguishes him from the *wazīr*, bore the title of *mushīr*. We seem, however, to have very little other information about this dignitary. On the other hand, the word *mushīr* in a non-technical sense is often found along with *wazīr* of which it sometimes seems to be a doublet or synonym (cf. al-Maķrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv/1, 20, 74; Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählungen vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern*, Göttingen 1879, 53: *Mushīr nāṣiḥ, wazīr nāṣiḥ*).

We may note, however, that this older and broader conception did not survive. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *wazīr* is, it is true, an "assistant" to the sovereign, but to his predecessor al-Māwardī, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, tr. Fagnan, 43 ff., the *wazīr* is not the adviser of the *imām* but his delegate.

If Ibn al-Ṭiķṭaķā's statement is correct, we must see a survival of this older state of affairs in the usage of the Mamlūk chancellery, where we find among the honorific *laķab*s of the *wazīr* that of *mushīr al-dawla* (or *al-salṭana* or *al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn*). Cf. al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 70.

The same usage, which perhaps came from the Saldjūķs, is still more clearly established in the Ottoman chancellery. We actually find the word *mushīr* among the *alķāb* of the Turkish *wazīr* (*vezīr*) and almost at the head of the formula, which shows its importance: *düstūr-i mükerrem, müshīr-i mufakhkham, niẓām ül-ʿālem* etc. Whence in the epistolary style, the epithets *müshīrī* and *müshīrāne* are used along with *düsturī* and *düstūrāne* or *khidīwī* and *khidīwāne* to designate all that belongs to an official of the rank of *wezīr*.

Sultan Maḥmūd II, in creating the principal ministries, naturally thought of again giving a real value to this title of *mushīr*, which he gave to the principal ministers, and in the reign of his successor ʿAbd al-Medjīd "the privy council (*medjlis-i khāṣṣ*, a regular council of ministers), consisted of the grand vizier, the *shaykh al-islām*, eleven *müshīrs* and three officials of the first rank" (Bianchi, *Le premier annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1848, 7; Bianchi translates *müshīr* by "councillor or under-secretary of state", and has been followed by Barbier de Meynard in his *Supplément*, the references in which should be taken with this reservation). In 1250/1834-5, the title of *müshīr* was given to the new *nāẓīr* of the Interior (*Mülkiyye nāẓirī* = the former *ketkhüdā*) and of Foreign Affairs (*khāridjiyye nāẓirī* = the former *reʾīs ül-küttāb*; cf. Lutfī, v, 29). The *ḍabṭiyye müshīrliği* was created in 1262/1846 (Luṭfī, viii, 87).

Maḥmūd II also created the post of *beylerbeyi wezīr* or chief of the imperial guard, who bore the title *müshīr-i ʿasākir-i khāṣṣe* (*pasha*), an officer who took rank after the *ser ʿasker* or War Minister (Hammer, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ott.*, xvii, 188-9). This title was soon to be contrasted with that of *müshīr-i ʿasākir-i shāhāne* by the other troops (Luṭfī, v, 28).

The ministers did not long bear the title of *müshīr*, which gave place to *nāẓīr*, but the former of these titles, perhaps under the influence of the word "marshal", which it more or less resembles, became a special military title. It became the highest rank in the army, corresponding to vizier in the civil service and of *ķāḍī ʿasker* in the religious hierarchy. At first, the title *redīf-i manṣūre müshīri* (cf. Luft, v, 68, 74) was given to the *wālī*s of certain provinces, or simply *mushīr* of such-and-such a province (*ibid.*, 165 ff.; vi, 102-3; vii, 70). This corresponded to the demarcation of the army corps.

The number of *müshīr*s or "marshals" soon increased, and in the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II there were 39 in 1890 and 31 in 1895 (see the *Salnāme-yi ʿaskerī* for the years 1306 and 1311). Those who had the right to this title were the *ser ʿasker*, the *topkhāne-yi ʿāmire müshīri* or "grand master of artillery", the *sarāy müshīri* or "grand master of the Palace" (replacing the old *čawush bashi*, according to Aḥmed Rāsim, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 156, 186), the *khāṣṣe müshīri* (as under Maḥmūd II), the commanders of the seven army corps (*kol ordu*), the heads of the army services, the aides-de-camp to the sultan (*yāwer-i ekrem*). The only duty of five of the *müshīrs* was to superintend the ceremony of the Selāmlik (*selāmlik resm-i ʿālīsine meʾmūr*). The officer in charge of the police station (*merkez*) of Beshiktash, near the Yildiz Kiosk, was also a *müshīr* (*MSOS*, vii [1908], part 2, 40). Instead of *sarāy müshīri*, the more usual phrase was *mā-beyn mushīr* (Luṭfī, vii, 62).

The honorific form of address for a *müshīr* was *dewletli* (*dewletlü*) *efendim ḥazretleri*. In the plural, the Persian form *müshīrān* or with epithet *müshīrān-i ʿiẓām*. The name of the office was *müshiriyyet or müshīrlik*, more rarely *müshīrī* (Luṭfī, v. 91).

The title of *müshīr*, which was borne by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atatürk himself, has survived in the Turkish

republic, but in its early years there was only one *mü<u>sh</u>īr* (modern orthography, *müşir*) in office, the Chief and the General Staff, Fewzī Pa<u>sh</u>a.

In <u>Kh</u>edivial Egypt, there was a halt at a stage where the influence of the reforms of Maḥmūd II was still felt. The *rutbet mu<u>sh</u>īr* there was, down to the reign of King Fuʾād I [*q.v.*], exclusively the highest grade of officers, but without distinction between military and civil offices. It was also in theory a civil rank (*rutba mulkiyya*) to which all the princes of the <u>kh</u>edivial house had a claim.

In modern Arabic usage, *mu<u>sh</u>īr* is used in a military context, as in modern Turkish, for "field-marshal", as used e.g. by ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿĀmir, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian armed forces under President <u>Dj</u>amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and by the President of the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen), ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ. In a civil context, however, *mu<u>sh</u>īr* is a general term for "adviser", but has tended to be replaced in formal administrative usage, e.g. for the sense of "adviser to a minister, ruler, etc." by the related term *musta<u>sh</u>ār* [*q.v.*].

In Persian, the title *mu<u>sh</u>īr* has been rarely used. Note, however, the case of the *mu<u>sh</u>īr al-dawla* (cf. the similar title above) borne by an aide-de-camp of Naṣr al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh (L. Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la Cour de Perse*, 135-6), and see also MU<u>SH</u>ĪR AL-DAWLA.

Bibliography: J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, index, s.v. *mouchîr*; Mme. Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha, *30 ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, Paris 1875, 126 (description of a ceremonial presentation of a *mu<u>sh</u>īr*'s *firmān*); on the word *mu<u>sh</u>īriyye* in early 20th century use in Damascus, cf. Saussey, *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *Mél. de l'Inst. fr. de Damas*, i (1929), 117; *İA*, art. *Müşir* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

(J. DENY*)

MU<u>SH</u>ĪR AL-DAWLA (A. "counsellor of the state"), a title bestowed on six separate men of affairs in Ḳā<u>dj</u>ār Persia during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the last of these being Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla Ḥasan Pirniyā (d. 1935), prime minister in 1920 towards the end of Ḳā<u>dj</u>ār rule. All six of them served as diplomatic envoys or ambassadors, and all except the first one became minister for foreign affairs in Tehran.

It is the first Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla, Mīrzā Sayyid <u>Dj</u>aʿfar <u>Kh</u>ān Tabrīzī, Muhandis Ba<u>sh</u>ī (*ca.* 1790-1862), who will concern us here. He had been one of the group of five Persians sent in 1815 by the Crown Prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] to London for four years to train as a military engineer. During 1848-52 he was in charge of a detailed survey of Persia's western boundary with the Ottoman empire, experiences which he set down in his *Risāla-yi taḥḳīḳāt-i sarḥaddiyya* (see *Bibl.*). Already on the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] he had been appointed to the post of official in charge of important matters relating to foreign affairs (*nāẓir-i mahāmm-i duwal-i <u>kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>a*), and then in 1858 he became president of the supreme advisory council to the <u>Sh</u>āh, *raʾīs-i dār al-<u>sh</u>ūrā-yi kubrā*, whose constituting was a first, very tentative step towards the limiting of the monarch's autocratic power; he held this post till his death, and shortly after his presidency also became a member of a second council, the *ma<u>dj</u>lis-i <u>sh</u>ūrā-yi dawlatī*. In 1860 Nāṣir al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh appointed him, by now a distinguished elder statesman who had received the *laḳab* of Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla and had already headed missions to France and Belgium, as envoy to London, with the aim of strengthening Anglo-Persian relations and of securing support against possible threats from Russia, but the Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell proved unreceptive to such Persian requests as an indefinite guarantee by the British government of Persia's territorial integrity, and Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla left London in June 1861. A year after his return to Tehran he was appointed *mutawallī* of the shrine at Ma<u>sh</u>had [*q.v.*], but died two months later in <u>Dj</u>umādā II 1279/November-December 1862.

Among his compositions, in addition to the *risāla* mentioned above, was a popular manual of mathematics (Tehran 1263/1847 and subsequent editions) and three other works still in manuscript.

Bibliography: Mihdī Bāmdād, *<u>Sh</u>arḥ-i ḥāl-i ri<u>dj</u>āl-i Īrān dar ḳurūn-i 12 wa 13 wa 14-i hi<u>dj</u>rī*, Tehran 1347-51/1968-72, i, 341-4; the *muḳaddima* to Muḥammad Mu<u>sh</u>īrī's edition of the *Risāla-yi taḥḳīḳāt-i sarḥaddiyya*, Tehran n.d. [1348/1969] (a Russian tr. of this had been published at St. Petersburg in 1877, together with the account of Mu<u>sh</u>īr al-Dawla's Ottoman Turkish counterpart on the boundary commission, <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>īd Efendi, as *Opisanie pute<u>sh</u>estviya po turetsko-persidskoi granitsi*); Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English, episodes in Anglo-Persian history*, London 1985, 74-81, 119-20.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MU<u>SH</u>ĪR ḤUSAYN ḲIDWĀʾĪ, Indian lawyer and politician (1878-1937), born at Gadia, Bārābankī district, and educated at Lucknow and London (Barrister-at-Law).

He received the Order of ʿO<u>th</u>māniyya from the Sultan of Turkey, and proposed the idea of the *An<u>dj</u>uman-i <u>Kh</u>uddām-i Kaʿba* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (1913-18) for the protection of Mecca and other holy places as a reaction to the Turco-Italian and Balkan wars (Y.B. Mathur, *Muslims and changing India*, Delhi 1972, 145-64). He played a leading part in the <u>Kh</u>ilāfat Movement [*q.v.*] representing the militant trend within the movement, presiding over the Awadh <u>Kh</u>ilāfat Conference in May 1920 at Faizabad (Fayḍābād), and was also active in the All-India Muslim League (AIML) in the 1920s; he took part in its enquiry into the Mapilla uprising (1921) and was a member of the AIML committee to frame a scheme of constitution for India (1924). Elected to the central legislature three times since 1924, he became the leader of the Socialist group there, and a member of the Council of State (1931 till his death). He was furthermore the president of the non-communal All-India Independent League. A keen gardener, his name is immortalised in the "Kidway" rose; he died on 23 December 1937. His published works included *The future of the Moslem empire*, London 1919; *Swaraj and how to obtain it*, Lucknow 1924; *Pan-Islamism and Bolshevism*, London 1937; and *Woman under different social and religious laws*, repr. Delhi 1976. His Urdu poems are collected in *Nāla-i Mu<u>sh</u>īr* and *Nāma-i Mu<u>sh</u>īr*.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited above): *Who's who in India, Burma and Ceylon*, Poona 1938; J.C. Ker, *Political trouble in India*, Calcutta 1973, 356 f., 396 f.; F. Robinson, *Separatism among the Indian Muslims*, Cambridge 1974, 379 f.; Naresh Kumar Jain, *Muslims in India*, Delhi 1983, ii, 22 f.; Riaz-ur-Rahman Kidwai, *Biographical sketch of Kidwais of Avadh*, Aligarh 1987, 122-9.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM <u>KH</u>ĀN)

MU<u>SH</u>RIF (A.), active participle from the form IV verb *a<u>sh</u>rafa*, literally "overseer, supervisor, controller", the title of an official who appears at various times and with various duties in the history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and its successor states, from the Ma<u>gh</u>rib to the eastern Islamic lands.

1. In the Arab and Persian lands.

The office of *ishrāf* seems basically to have been a financial one. The supervision of financial operations was in the first century or so of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate usually entrusted to the *dīwān al-zimām/al-azimma* [see DĪWĀN. i. The caliphate]; in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, the inspector appointed to control the actions of his vizier al-Faḍl b. Marwān was called a *zammām* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1183). By the early 4th/10th century, however, *mushrif* is regularly used for inspectors sent out to the provinces to check financial affairs there, e.g. it is used for the inspector sent out by the vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān in 287/900 to investigate the estates of the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] in the Wāsiṭ region (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farādj, Cairo 1958, 150-1; cf. also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 353, 457, 468, 474, 661).

Under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the *mushrif* was in the 4th/10th century likewise an inspector in the provinces sent out by the central treasury in Cordova (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 40). Then the office seems to have been inherited from the Umayyad administration by the Berber dynasties of North Africa, for there is mentioned one Ibn al-Khayyār al-Djayyānī who was *mushrif* of Fās at the end of the Almoravid rule there. Then *mushrifs* are regularly mentioned in the towns of Morocco and the eastern Maghrib all through the Almohad period and in Ifrīḳiya under the Ḥafṣids (J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary until the sixth century of the Hijra*, London 1958, 51-2; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 67-8). The Ḥafṣid *mushrif*, in particular, was concerned with the levying of customs duties, and this may have been likewise the case latterly in Muslim Spain, for P. de Alcala has the mediaeval Spanish form *almoxarife*, modern Spanish *almojarife* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 750).

Turning to the central and eastern Islamic world, under the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], one aspect of the duties of the *mushrif* continued to be financial. Thus when in 422/1031 Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd's new vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.v.*] made an investigation of the sultan's wealth, he made the treasurers (*khāzinān*) and *mushrifān* bring forward their accounts and documents of financial assignments (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 158). But in the early Ghaznawid sultanate, the *mushrifs* were also spies and internal intelligence agents; the suspicious rulers would, as a matter of course, set *mushrifs* to watch over the activities of their military commanders, provincial governors and even the royal princes. and this intelligence system was organised from a special *dīwān*, that of the *shughl-i ishrāf-i mamlakat*. The two great mediaeval Persian Mirrors for Princes, the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] and the *Adab al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa* or *Ādāb al-mulūk* of Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārak-Shāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.], devote considerable space to the *mushrif* and his duties, and their information must relate to Ghaznawid and then Saldjūḳ and Ghūrid practices. In both of these works, the inspectorial function is emphasised. Niẓām al-Mulk states that the *mushrif* at the court should have deputies in the provinces to oversee the collectors of taxes, whilst Fakhr-i Mudabbir has a lengthy review of the *mushrif*'s responsibilities, including inspection of the state workshops, the stables and supplies of fodder, the kitchens, etc., whilst it is further stressed that he should always be present on the battle field to extract the ruler's fifth of captured plunder (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. ix, ed. Darke[1], 78, tr. idem, 66; *Adab al-ḥarb*, India Office ms. 647, ch. vii, fols. 40b-41b [not in the incomplete printed edition of Aḥmad Khʷānsarī, Tehran 1346/1967]; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 144-5; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 72, 94-5).

Under the Great Saldjūḳs, the *mushrif-i mamālik* had, as with the Ghaznawids, some intelligence duties, but the *dīwān-i ishrāf-i mamālik* in the reign of Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] was mainly concerned with the auditing and supervision of the finances. He had subordinate *mushrifs* in the provinces who supervised the collection and disbursement of the taxes, inspected the growing crops and the harvest, watched over the running of the markets and the coining of money, etc.; these officials received their salaries (*marsūm*) from the provincial revenues (investiture diploma for a *mushrif* in the *inshāʾ* collection of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Mayhanī, see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 11-12, 38-9, 57, 133-4; A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 258-9). Headship of the *dīwān-i ishrāf* was often a stepping-stone to higher office: Kamāl al-Mulk Simīrumī was appointed Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's *mushrif* through the influence of the sultan's wife Gawhar Khātūn, and later in the reign became *mustawfī* [*q.v.*] and then vizier to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad; the caliphal vizier in this same century (the 6th/12th), ʿAwn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], was, early in his career, *mushrif al-makhzan* in al-Muḳtafī's treasury, responsible for the caliphal estates on the west bank of the Tigris (H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam*, The Hague 1972, 16; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vizierate, a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 18, 42, 51, 65).

In the Egypt and Syria of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the title *mushrif* was known, on the evidence of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 454), who says that the *mushrif* in these states was in charge of the royal kitchens, watching over the food cooked there, and responsible to the *ustād-dār al-ṣuḥba*. Subsequent usage of the term seems, however, to have been mainly in the eastern Islamic world. In Īl-Khānid Persia, the *mushrif al-mamālik* was one of two or more financial officals assisting the head of finances, the *mustawfī 'l-mamālik*, this last person being, in B. Fragner's surmise, the prototype of the Ṣafawid *darūghā-yi daftar-khāna* (*Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 554). By Ṣafawid times, in fact, *mushrif* seems to have designated middle-level inspectors and supervisors; Chardin states that the *mushrif* ("mouchref ou écrivain") was one of the overseers of the state or palace household workshops (*buyūtāt*) (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS, London 1943, 30, 158), but the *Tadhkīrat al-mulūk* itself lists several other *mushrifs* besides this one, from that of the royal treasury to those of the falcon-house and the arsenal (*ibid.*, tr. 93-5).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Muslim India.

Before the reign of the Tughluḳid Fīrūz Shāh, the *mushrif-i mamālik* was essentially the accountant-general, ranking immediately below the *wazīr* and the *nāʾib wazīr* in the *dīwān-i wazāra*; the office of auditor-general was filled by the *mustawfī al-mamālik* (Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 419; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 24). A redistribution (or possibly a re-definition of the status quo) in the time of Fīrūz Shāh left the *mushrif* dealing with income and the *mustawfī* with expenditure (ʿAfīf, 409-10). The *mushrif*, assisted by a *nāẓir*, supervised the collection of revenues over the

entire sultanate through local staffs, and was also responsible for the audit of local accounts (ʿAfīf, 420); a *mus͟hrif* also inspected crops in order to determine the government share (Baranī, *op. cit.*, 288 f.), where the word seems to refer to a local government official rather than to an officer of state.

By the time of S͟hēr S͟hāh, the *mus͟hrif* was an official under the *s͟hikḳdār*, the administrator of a *s͟hikḳ* or *pargana*; the word seems to be used loosely as synonymous with *amīn* and *munṣif*, although ʿAbbās Sarwānī (B.L. ms. Or. 164, fol. 73b) says that a *mus͟hrif*'s duty was to assess the produce of the crops, and an *amīn*'s to assess the damage caused to crops through movements of armies.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Burton-Page)

MUS͟HRIK [see s͟hirk].

al-**MUS͟HTARĪ**, the planet Jupiter, Pers. *Hurmizd* < *Aurmazd* (*Ahura-mazdāh*). The name of the planet is in Sumerian *S͟hulpaʾe*, later also *Mulu-babbar* "the white star" (= Μολοβαβαρ in Hesychios; cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1925, ii, 404); in the later Akkadian period it is always identified with the numen supremum Marduk (Biblical Merodach). In Hebrew it is called *Ṣedeḳ*, in Greek — just as among the Babylonians, as the symbol of the highest deity — *ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ*. As a synonym of al-Mus͟htarī we find (e.g. in *Ḥadīt͟h*) the name *Bard͟jīs* (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 323).

The Arab astronomers, like Pythagoras and Ptolemy, put Jupiter in the sixth sphere (*falak*) from within, i.e. the third from without. On the interior it adjoins the outer surface of the sphere of Mars and on the exterior the inner surface of the sphere of Saturn. The following table gives the least, mean and greatest distance of Jupiter from the centre of the earth, expressed in radii of the earth, as given by al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50), al-Farg͟hānī (*Compilatio*, ch. 21), Ibn Rusta (18-20) and Abrāhām bar Ḥīyā (*Sphaera mundi*, ch. 9), as well as the Hindu values given by al-Bīrūnī from the compilation by Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ of the year 161/777-8, and the modern figures for these distances.

	least distance (*perigree*)	
al-Battānī	8,022	rad. of the earth
al-Farg͟hānī	8,876	,,
Ibn Rusta	8,820	,,
Bar Ḥīyā	8,000	,,
Hindu (al-Bīrūnī)	8,019 1/21	,,
Modern	92,500	,,
	mean distance	
	10,473	rad. of the earth
	11,640½	,,
	11,503½	,,
	10,200	,,
	10,866 2/3	,,
	122,250	,,
	greatest distance (*apogee*)	
	12,924	rad. of the earth
	14,405	,,
	14,187	,,
	12,400	,,
	13,714 2/7	,,
	152,000	,,

The radius of the earth is here estimated at 3,250 (al-Battānī, al-Farg͟hānī and Bar Ḥīyā) and 3,818 Arab miles respectively (Ibn Rusta) while, according to al-Bīrūnī, the Hindus give it as 1,050 *farsak͟h*s = 3,150 Arab miles (1 Ar. m. = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). The true geocentric distances of the planet Jupiter are actually about 11½ times greater than given by al-Battānī for example. It should, however, be pointed out that the relation of 37 : 23° 1 11/18 for the greatest and least observed apparent diameter taken by this scholar, with the help of which the distance of the apogee was calculated from the estimated distance of the perigree at 8,022 radii of the earth, agrees remarkably well with the modern estimate. The apparent diameter of Jupiter at the mean distance is given by al-Battānī as 1/12 of the diameter of the sun. From this and the mean distance he calculates the true diameter of Jupiter at 4 1/3 diameters of the earth (= 8 2/3 radii), and its volume at 81 times that of the earth (i.e. $4\frac{1}{3}^3$). The true values are 2.56 (i.e. 170 times larger): diameter of Jupiter = 11.14 diameters of the earth, volume = 1,380 times the volume of the earth.

Following Ptolemy (*Almagest*), al-Battānī gives the greatest observed northern (geocentric) latitude as 2° 4', the greatest southern as 2° 8'. On the other hand, he points out (chs. 31 and 45) that he found the length of the apogee of the eccentric circle from his observations to be about 8° smaller (in 265/879, 164° 28') than was to be expected from the *Almagest*, taking into account the precession.

The movement of Jupiter is, as in the *Almagest*, represented to be through four circles (*aflāk*) (cf. al-Battānī, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value of 5'. Its period of sidereal revolution is given by al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āt͟hār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 26) at 11 years, 10 months, 15 days.

Al-Mus͟htarī in astrology. Al-Mus͟htarī is the ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Rāmī* (Sagittarius, night-house) and *al-Ḥūt* (Pisces, day-house), also night-ruler of the 1. *Mut͟hallat͟ha* (*Triquetrum*), which consist of *al-Ḥamal* (Aries), *al-Asad* (Leo) and *al-Rāmī* (Sagittarius), whose ruler by day is the sun, and finally companion (*rafīḳ*) of the 3 *Mut͟hallat͟ha*s. It has its *s͟haraf* (exaltation) in the 15° of *al-Saraṭān* (Cancer), its *hubūṭ* in the 15° of *al-D͟jady* (Capricorn). According to al-Ḳazwīnī (i, 22), "the astrologers call al-Mus͟htarī the larger star of fortune", *al-Saʿd al-akbar*, because its good influence surpasses that of Venus; they attribute to it numerous happy states and the greatest good fortune. The idea that the planet Jupiter is a star of good fortune is general among other peoples also; we also find it in Babylonia, India and China. For further details of the part played by Jupiter in Arab astrology, see the works of Abū Maʿs͟har.

Bibliography: See those to ʿuṭārid and minṭaḳat al-burūd͟j. (W. Hartner)

MUS͟HTARIK or Mus͟htarak (a.), the active or passive participles of the form VIII verb *is͟htaraka* "to be associated with, common to". Al-D͟jurd͟jānī defines the term as qualifying a noun "which has come into use for its multiple meanings, like the word *ʿayn*, because of its association with several meanings". In Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), the term qualifies a noun associated with a certain number of meanings, i.e., a noun which can have several meanings. As used by modern linguists, it denotes "polysemy".

This is the name which al-Zamak͟hs͟harī gives to the fourth part of his *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, in which he treats of phonetic phenomena which are "common" to the three parts of discourse or to two of them only. These phenomena are nine in number: the inclination of the vowel /a/ towards the vowel /i/; pause; the lightening

of the glottal stop (*hamza*); the coming together of two quiescent letters; and the letters inserted within other letters. In his commentary, Ibn Yaʿīsh takes especial care to justify the vocalisation *mushtarak*, for he observes that, since the verb *ishtaraka* is intransitive, it cannot be used in the passive except when it is followed by a preposition and a pronoun which stands for the subject; one must accordingly understand *fī-hi*, and read *mushtarak fī-hi*.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *K. al-Taʿrīfāt*, Beirut 1969, 229-30; M.A. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne, son épitre des définitions*, Paris 1933, 34; eadem, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 160-1; eadem, *Avicenne, Livre des définitions*, Cairo 1963, 13, 19; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Būlāķ, ix, 53. (G. Troupeau)

MŪSĪĶĪ, later **MŪSĪĶĀ**, music.

1. Theory. *Mūsīķī* denotes, strictly speaking, the theory of music, and contrasts therefore with *ghināʾ*, song (i.e., musical practice). But the distinction is not rigidly maintained —the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ even equate the two— and the term *mūsīķī* is not associated particularly with the works of Greek-inspired theorists, even though its Greek origin is normally acknowledged. It is typically defined as the science of the composition of melodies (*taʾlīf al-alḥān*), but the use of e.g. *mūsīķār/ī* to denote the performer clearly shows the tendency, which has increased through time, for its meaning to encompass music in general (excluding only specifically religious genres such as Ķurʾānic cantillation — for the religious controversy over the legality of music see SAMĀʿ). Normal in modern Arabic is such phraseology as *al-mūsīķā al-shaʿbiyya* "popular music", while in Persian we have e.g. *mūsīķī-yi maḥallī* and in Turkish *halk musıkisi* "folk music" (in Turkish *musiki/musıki* has now also to compete with the French-derived *müzik*). Here, however, discussion will be confined to theory, broadly understood, practice being covered in the articles GHINĀʾ and MAĶĀM.

Beginnings. If the first great achievements in this field are to be found in the 3rd/9th-century treatises of al-Kindī, it should not be thought that the subject begins with him, nor that it is to be identified solely with the elaboration of the Hellenic legacy. Although the works of earlier writers have failed to survive, there is ample evidence of musical speculation, and many of the main concerns of the first two centuries of Islam can be established from the abundant material preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. One theme that emerges clearly, but is only sporadically tackled by later theorists, is that of origins, together with an interest in change viewed in historical perspective. Not surprisingly, there is no general creation myth for music (although a mythical origin is provided for various instruments: the invention of the *ʿūd* (lute), for example, is ascribed to Lamak [*q.v.*], who constructed it, in order to mourn his son, on the analogy of parts of his dead body), but rather conjecture as to the identity of the primitive genres of Arab music. According to a commonly held, if not unanimous, view the *ḥudāʾ* (cameleer's song), the earliest genre, contrasts with *ghināʾ*, under which three types are subsumed, *naṣb*, *sinād* and *hazadj*, the last two being related antithetically, the former characterised as "heavy", the latter as "light". Behind such speculative (but not unreasonable) reconstructions may be detected an awareness of functional differentiation, of the contrast, say, between work-songs and entertainment music. Further, a realisation of the separate status of ceremonial music may be discerned in the fact that the *nawḥ* (lament) fails to be integrated into such schemes.

Given this presumed pre-Islamic background, fleshed out by legendary accounts of musicians, mainly *ķiyān* (singing slave-girls) [see ĶAYNA], the transition to the evidently different discriminations between 3rd/9th-century genres could not be ignored, and accounts of the development of music in the first century of Islam are inevitably dominated by the themes of change and innovation. The latter received special attention, particular individuals being singled out as the first to introduce a certain technique, instrument, style or genre in a given area or social context.

If we can speak here of a latent historiography, more specifically theoretical concerns are to be detected in the growing precision of vocabulary and nuance of definition encountered in such fields as modal and rhythmic categorisation and discussions of performance technique. At one end of the scale the Umayyad singer Ibn Suraydj's concise catalogue of the qualities sought in a good singer (*Aghānī*, i, 315; Farmer, *History*, 73) shows a keen awareness of a wide range of subtleties, while at the other, the great variety of materials presented in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* can be seen to illustrate, and demonstrate an interest in, many aspects of music-making that have become the particular concern of ethnomusicology in the 20th century: musical training, for example, transmission of repertoire, the economics of the profession, the organisation and nature of the performance context, and the relationship between musician and audience (on these aspects see Sawa, *Music performance practice*). Justly recognised as a document of incomparable value in the fields of social and literary history, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* contains in addition a fund of ideas about music, however anecdotal their presentation, that place it alongside more technical treatises as a primary source, and especially for any study of what Farmer has felicitously called "practical theory", i.e., that which directly engages with, and emerges out of, contemporary practice.

Early theorising approaches most closely what will be the dominant concerns of the major scholars from al-Kindī on in the more formal domain of modal and rhythmic categorisation. As a matter of routine, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* will identify in relation to a given song text both the poet and the composer and also the melodic mode and the rhythmic cycle. For earlier pieces, however, the definition of the mode, although not that of the rhythmic cycle, may be omitted, suggesting that during the Umayyad period the modal system may have been less clearly articulated; certainly the most precise formulation of this kind of information is associated with pieces transmitted on the authority of Isḥāķ al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850 [*q.v.*]), and it may well be to him that should be attributed the final explicit codification of the system of eight melodic modes and eight rhythmic cycles. He is credited with having worked out definitions of a lute-fretting independently of the Greek theoretical sources that were beginning to be translated, and he is certainly one of the main authorities used by Yaḥyā b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 300/912 [see MUNADJDJIM, BANU 'L-]) in his short and somewhat enigmatic *risāla*, the source on which all attempts to reconstruct the early modal system must be based (the various interpretations are reviewed in Shawķī, *Risālat Ibn al-Munadjdjim*). But if controversy still surrounds the structure of the modes, the nature of the lute fretting is clear, and is essentially the same as that propounded by the first of the Greek-inspired theorists, al-Kindī [*q.v.*], in the mid 3rd/9th century. (Despite the evidently imported nature of some of his concepts, al-Kindī articulates scale structures in terms of frettings,

whether real or ideal, on the fingerboard of the Arab lute, an approach followed by all major theorists down to the 9th/15th century.)

The philosophers. For both Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī and al-Kindī, the basic scale is Pythagorean diatonic. In this system the subtraction of a perfect fourth (4/3) from a perfect fifth (3/2) yields a (major) whole tone (9/8). Two whole tones make a (slightly sharp) major third of 408 cents (81/64) which, when subtracted from the fourth, yields a semitone of 90 cents, termed limma, while the subtraction of the limma from the whole tone yields a slightly larger semitone of 114 cents termed apotome [see also MAḲĀM]. For Isḥāḳ the fretting on any one of the four strings of the *ʿūd* will yield the sequence whole tone, limma, apotome, limma, e.g., *c d e♭ e♮ f*. Al-Kindī adds a fifth string, but this is a notional entity designed to encompass the two octaves of the Greek greater perfect system, the tuning of the strings being in fourths throughout, e.g., *G-c-f-b♭(-e♭')*. (It is in this area of analysis, in particular, that theory will justify the placing of music among the mathematical sciences, the medieval *quadrivium*, in such classificatory works as the 4th/10th-century *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* of al-Fārābī and the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-K͟hʷārazmī [*q.vv.*].) But al-Kindī is also aware of practical considerations: he lists variant tunings in which the pitch of the lowest string is changed to reinforce a modally significant note, and gives a detailed account of an elementary lute exercise.

The several short treatises attributed to al-Kindī are quite eclectic. They not only encompass material of a descriptive, scientific nature (the Aristotelian end of the spectrum), but also deal with the doctrine of ethos, cosmological affiliations and numerology (the Neo-Platonic end). On the former side we may note, further, schematic outlines of melodic movement which interestingly imply visual metaphors (through such terms as *lawlabī* "spiral", *ḍafīr* "braid" and *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* "girdled"); and a descriptive account of the rhythmic cycles used in his day which is in some respects puzzling and imprecise, possibly because it is a pioneer attempt not relying on previous analytical models. (Later treatments of rhythm will be more obviously indebted for their concepts and terminology to prosody — not for nothing is al-K͟halīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] sometimes invoked as a founding father.)

Al-Kindī also gives the earliest account of the dimensions and construction of the *ʿūd* [*q.v.*, and also MALĀHĪ]. For the most part, however, he uses instruments as props for sets of associations, normally related to the number of strings: the basic four strings of the *ʿūd*, for example, allow connections to be made with the elements, humours, seasons, and points of the compass, while in the *Kitāb al-Muṣawwitāt al-watariyya* various instruments are ordered according to the number of strings, from one to eight, each with particular associations: to that with two strings, for example, is related a sequence of pairs beginning day/night, sun/moon, and essence/accident, while its seven frets match the days of the week and the seven heavenly bodies. Such apparently gratuitous assemblages form part of a wider theory of correspondences involving also, according to al-Kindī, the right choice of rhythmic cycle to fit the time of day and the mood of the poem being set. Aspects of the same psychology of music that will be further developed by later writers concern the effects of music on the soul and the emotions, and the belief in its therapeutic value, while cosmological affiliations will in later centuries crystallise around particular sets of melodic modes (see Neubauer, *Arabische Anleitungen zur Musiktherapie*).

Cosmology and numerology are, however, largely ignored by the next two great theorists, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]: indeed, by the latter they are brusquely dismissed. Their works represent the first great peak of scientific enquiry, utilising and building upon Greek sources, especially in such areas as the physics of sound and the technical analysis of intervals and scales with particular reference to the various tetrachord species. (The full history of the transmission of Greek musical ideas into Arabic has still to be written (for a general survey see d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, ii, 257-306), but it is clear that the main sources, directly or indirectly, are Aristotle, Aristoxenos, Euclid, Nicomachos and, above all, Ptolemy, through whom others are filtered.)

The *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) has been justly praised as an outstanding intellectual achievement. Despite the range of interests exhibited by al-Kindī, little in the preceding literature anticipates its scope and analytical profundity. Its qualities are demonstrated at the outset in an extensive methodological introduction beginning with basic concepts (of music itself and its production; and of the discriminating and creative faculties) and marked by rigorously logical argumentation. The Aristotelian tone is reinforced by repeated reference to the *Posterior Analytics* as the introduction proceeds with such topics as types of melody (viewed as evolving towards a present state of perfection) and classes of instruments (the highest status accorded those that most closely approximate to the human voice). Consideration of theory —to which practice is deemed temporally and logically prior— begins with a distinction within *laḥn*, melody, of essentials (*uṣūl*) and non-essentials (*tazyīdāt*) that echoes the conceptualisations of practising musicians, and proceeds to a discussion of questions of scale. The means of demonstration is again the fingerboard of the *ʿūd*, with the addition of al-Kindī's hypothetical fifth string to complete the second octave. Insistence on being able to produce all the notes of one octave in the other leads to an increase in the number of frets postulated, and al-Fārābī also goes beyond the Pythagorean confines of al-Kindī's (and Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī's) fretting by introducing a neutral third (*wusṭā zalzal*). Here al-Fārābī is reflecting current practice, as also in maintaining the mutual exclusivity of the notes produced by the second (*wusṭā*) and third (*binṣir*) fingers. The remainder of the introduction and, after an initial discussion of the physics of sound, the beginning of the second part, are devoted to intervallic analysis (definitions, addition, subtraction), and to the combination of intervals within a fourth, that is, to the exposition of various tetrachord species. Here the link with contemporary practice is broken: many of the species listed (particularly among the chromatic and enharmonic sets) can have had no place in the Arab music of the day, and this part of the work is quite clearly indebted to, and a synthesis of, Greek theory. The emphasis becomes even clearer in the ensuing treatment of the greater perfect system and the dispositions of the tetrachord species within it — a topic that will also recur in later sections.

Just as theoretical, but independently constructed, is al-Fārābī's treatment of rhythm. This can be viewed as a daring attempt, not to analyse just the rhythmic cycles in use, but to construct a global classification able, through the use of variables, to account for virtually any possible cycle, flexibility being provided by the disjunct (*mufaṣṣal*) cycles, made up of feet of differing lengths. Al-Fārābī also introduces the concept, used by later theorists, of a

disjunction (*fāṣila*) between cycles: a cycle is deemed to terminate not with the last time unit preceding the onset of the next but with the last time unit marked in the basic percussion pattern. Other works by al-Fārābī devoted solely to rhythm (Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom Īkāʿ*) give a rather different picture, concentrating more on existing cycles and on the many techniques of differentiation applied to them (Sawa, *Music performance practice*).

Further important topics covered in the *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr* are instruments and melodic structure. Treatment of the former is revelatory, but at the same time restricted, dwelling almost entirely upon the scale-systems associated with each instrument: there is virtually nothing, despite the model of al-Kindī's account of the lute, on construction, dimensions, materials or context of use. Not surprisingly, given the emphasis on pitch discriminations, there is no mention of percussion, and the initial classification simply separates strings from wind, dividing the former in two ways: plucked or bowed, stopped or open. Extraordinary in the material on scale is its sheer variety. If we ignore the extended treatment of theoretically possible frettings and the schematic presentation of variant tunings, we are left with radically different scales associated with the *ʿūd*, the *ṭunbūr bag̲h̲dādī* (which had, originally, a most curious quartertone fretting yielding a total range of less than a fourth), the *ṭunbūr k̲h̲urāsānī* (the scale of which is analysed in terms foreshadowing the later Systematist scale), and the *rabāb* [*q.v.*] (the earliest attested bowed instrument). We are evidently faced here with material taken from different analytical traditions, but in contrast to the composite fretting of the lute, which in some areas superimposes alternative definitions, there is no real attempt at integration, and it may be that the various instruments were associated with particular regional and still markedly different idioms.

Melodic structure is considered in two ways: in relation to the text, and to pitch organisation. Melismatic and syllabic styles of setting are explored, as are aesthetic aspects of phonology and voice production. As with rhythm, the treatment of melodic shape is largely schematic and is to be seen more as a codification of possible combinational patterns than as an attempt to describe contemporary melodic norms. It was, nevertheless, to be influential, being reproduced by several later theorists.

Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) major contribution to the theory of music is contained in a chapter of the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*. There are, in addition, two slighter (and nearly identical) texts, one Persian (in the *Dānis̲h̲nāma-yi ʿalāʾī*), the other Arabic (in the *Kitāb al-Nad̲j̲āt*), but these add nothing new. The treatment of music in the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* is considerably briefer than that provided by al-Fārābī, is necessarily narrower in scope, and fails to break much new ground; but it is in some ways more logical in its organisation. Of particular interest in the introduction are the ideas about the nature of sound, seen ultimately as a signalling device designed to help preserve the species, but also as a means of expression that can be used to aesthetic effect. Although by no means identical, the following treatment of intervals (involving definitions, consonance ranking, addition and subtraction) and scalar analysis is clearly dependent on the model provided by al-Fārābī, while the examination of tetrachord species is carried even further to include one or two species not derived from Greek sources — a clear indication of the ways in which areas of theory could develop as autonomous fields of speculation increasingly divorced from practice.

There follows an extensive treatment of rhythm, again indebted to al-Fārābī, and employing the same technique of including variables to construct generic structures comprising cycles with differing totals of time units as well as differing patterns of percussions. Instruments are then briefly considered, of particular interest being the organological classification. For chordophones Ibn Sīnā adds to al-Fārābī's criteria a distinction regarding the mounting of the strings, and differentiates between aerophones according to whether the air stream passes through a hole, across a reed, or is produced from a reservoir. Pitchless percussion instruments are again ignored, and the chapter concludes with a lute fretting to which is appended a definition of the intervallic structure of some of the best known melodic modes of his day.

Modal analysis was to become one of the major concerns of the Systematist school, but some two hundred years separate the *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifāʾ* from the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, the earlier of the two treatises by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, its first and most influential theorist. The intervening period is one from which there are very few works of theoretical interest, the only one of real note being the *al-Kāfī fī 'l-mūsīḳī* by Ibn Zaylā (d. 440/1048 [*q.v.*]), a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, and it may well be that the apparent decline in theoretical writing, particularly of the more scientifically and mathematically oriented kind, is to be causally linked with the eclipse of philosophy as a major intellectual concern. It is true that many works of these, as of earlier centuries, have failed to survive, but unlikely that there were any subsequent to the lost treatise of Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]) that might have rivalled those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. At the same time, it should be emphasised that the Aristotelian tradition they represent was not the only one to produce significant writings about music, and the Neo-Platonic tradition that they rejected was to prove, with its emphasis on numerology and cosmological affiliations, extremely durable, reaching its first important expression, after the initial exploratory forays of al-Kindī, in the *risāla* on music of the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ (4th/10th century [*q.v.*]). This relates the rhythms and the strings of the *ʿūd* to a more elaborate series of associations, headed by the seasons, which includes also colours and perfumes, integrating such material under the general notion of a cosmic harmony governed by ideal numerical relationships which yield the music of the spheres. Related concepts of equilibrium inform discussion of the moral and medical effects of music. But practice is not wholly ignored: definitions, however opaque, are given for the rhythmic cycles, and details on proportions and construction are given for the lute. On the more strictly scientific side the *risāla* is noteworthy above all for a clear expression of the theory of the spherical propagation of sound. Nevertheless, the *risāla* is perhaps less remarkable for its handling of any one issue that for the way in which all contribute towards a broad educational and ethical design: it is not without significance that the *risāla* concludes with aphorisms on music culled from the philosophers and anecdotes about religious ecstasy.

A further work from the same period that deserves mention is the *Kamāl Adab al-g̲h̲ināʾ* of al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (late 4th/10th or early 5th/11th century). This presents a unique combination of materials derived from earlier theorists (it preserves, interestingly, fragments from a lost work by al-Sarak̲h̲sī (d. 286/899), a pupil of al-Kindī) combined with extensive discussions of areas of interest to practising musicians. The former are less interesting than the latter,

which include examination of such issues as aesthetics, etiquette and deportment in performance, and investigation of an unexpectedly rich vocabulary of technical terms relating to instrumental performance and, in particular, voice production and quality. A similar range of topics is also dealt with in a slightly later work of the same genre, the *Ḥāwī al-funūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān (5th/11th century).

The Systematists. Such a prolongation of the concerns of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* will recur only fitfully in later writings. The most influential of all later treatises, the *Kitāb al-Adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294), which ushered in the Systematist school in the first half of the 7th/13th century and was to be commented on, copied many times, and translated, reverts to the theoretical high ground previously covered by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. A compressed but precise work, it proceeds by alternating innovatory and traditional material, making its principal contributions in the fields of scale; the use of a consonance grading to generate the tetrachord types found in practice; modal analysis; the description of the rhythmic cycles in current use; and notation. The scale system, derived from that of al-Fārābī's *ṭunbūr khurāsānī*, has the cardinal virtues of coherence and symmetry; the octave is divided into two tetrachords plus whole tone, each tetrachord into two whole tones plus limma, and each whole tone into two limmas plus comma (the comma being the difference between limma and apotome). For purposes of presentation and analysis the neutral seconds and thirds of practice were thus adjusted upwards to (minor) whole tone and (virtually just intonation) major third respectively, but these and other distortions were insufficient to prevent the enthusiastic adoption of this system by all the major theorists of the next two centuries, most of whom explicitly recognise their indebtedness to Ṣafī al-Dīn. They also take over his modal analysis, which over-emphasises the octave as a structural framework, and probably disguises one important tetrachord type, but otherwise allows fairly realistic representations of scale structure.

Where the speculative theorist takes over is in the systematic utilisation of all 17 degrees of the octave for transposition games, and in the importation of essentially redundant material from al-Fārābī, on tetrachord species and melodic movement, into his second and more extensive (but less original) treatise, the *Risāla al-sharafiyya.* A more significant contribution is his analysis of rhythm, again characterised by clarity of presentation and general economy of means. After an initial exposition of technique, using a straightforward equivalent of the prosodic foot to indicate combinations of time units (a short syllable representing one time unit, a long two), attention is concentrated on representing the basic set of common rhythmic cycles, the appropriate syllable sequence being qualified by a verbal statement of the number and position of those time units marked by a percussion. Thus *thaḳīl awwal*, for example, is given as *tanan tanan tananan tan tananan*, i.e., 16 time units, with the first time unit of each foot marked by a percussion, giving an internal 3 + 3 + 4 + 2 + 4 pattern. This information is then represented in the form of a circle, the syllabic outline, coupled with symbols for the presence or absence of percussions, being inscribed around the perimeter. (Such circles, which give the *K. al-Adwār* its name, are also used to indicate the number of consonant relationships in some of the modes, shown as lines across the circle joining the notes in question inscribed around the perimeter.) The only drawback to Ṣafī al-Dīn's description of the rhythmic cycles is the insufficient detail it gives about variability: the extent to which percussions could be added (or suppressed), and the extent to which contrasts of timbre were an integral aspect of structure. But to voice this as a criticism might imply that the business of theory is to describe practice, and the relationship between the two is often by no means straightforward. Thus the fact that Ṣafī al-Dīn is the first theorist to supply examples of notation in some way relatable to music that was performed (Ibn Sīnā had promised to supply an example, but apparently failed to deliver) should not make us think that his purpose was to provide an accurate record of part of the repertoire: in a purely aurally transmitted tradition this would serve no useful purpose. Rather, his aim is as much to demonstrate a technique of notation as it is to manifest the melodic structure of particular forms. One of the instrumental examples may have been, quite deliberately, an archaic and technically elementary exercise having a solely pedagogic function; and it is significant that in his second and otherwise fuller treatise the total number of examples is reduced, as it also is in later works that draw from Ṣafī al-Dīn.

The one theorist who does, exceptionally, include a fully notated piece —a song by Ṣafī al-Dīn— is his first great successor, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311 [*q.v.*]). His technical innovation consists of expanding Ṣafī al-Dīn's alphabetic and numerical representation of pitch and duration into a grid, the divisions along the horizontal axis representing time units, while the various superimposed layers provide for pitch, the text, a percussion part, indications of expression and dynamics, and specifications of changes of mode respectively (see Radjabov, *Maḳomlar*, 79-83). This unique example concludes a large-scale chapter in an encyclopaedia, the *Durrat al-tādj*, probably written a few years after Ṣafī al-Dīn's death, which breaks no new theoretical ground, but provides considerably more material on modal and rhythmic structures, showing in particular that the modal system allowed for a large number of looser concatenations of basic elements in addition to the fixed combinations making up the great majority of the modes recorded by Ṣafī al-Dīn. Most of the ensuing theoretical works of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are also to a greater or less extent derivative of Ṣafī al-Dīn, either directly, or through the intermediary of the treatises of his most influential successor, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī (d. 839/1435) who, like Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, wrote in Persian. Of the various commentaries on the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, by far the most significant is the so-called *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh bar adwār* (777/1375), a work that in its intellectual rigour and willingness to scrutinise and question basic concepts can be ranked alongside those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Equally important are the works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, but less for their purely theoretical contributions than for the ways in which they reflect developments in musical practice. By reputation the greatest composer-performer of his day, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir sheds light on the major changes that had affected the systems of modes and rhythmic cycles (having himself made a significant contribution to the development of the latter by the invention of several new cycles including one, *ḍarb al-fatḥ*, that has survived, albeit much altered, into the modern period). But he also discusses areas that had received scant attention from earlier writers, notably form and instruments. In his major treatise, the *Djāmiʿ al-alḥān*, the catalogue of forms gives a succinct description of the major structural features of each, noting any

associations with particular rhythmic cycles and, more characteristically, with verse in a particular language or form. It is also juxtaposed with an extended analysis, including skeletal notation, of one piece, in which the various sections are clearly segmented and aspects of verse setting are illustrated, to the extent of exemplifying the possible interjection of passages of nonsense syllables between (and sometimes within) verse sections. His account of musical instruments enlarges on the coverage of the 8th/14th century *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, not in descriptive detail, lacking, for example, the outline drawings found in the earlier work, but in the number of examples considered. It presents information, arranged according to a broad string/wind/ (pitched) percussion classification, on some 40 instruments drawn from various cultures (including Indian and Chinese) that were presumably to be encountered, even if only as curiosities, in Tīmūrid Central Asia. Little detail is given on structure, unfortunately, attention being concentrated on, say, the number of strings and their tuning.

The scientifically and mathematically dominated heritage of al-Fārābī and Ṣafī al-Dīn finds its last significant expression in the works of four mid- to late-9th/15th-century authors: the *Madjalla fi 'l-mūsīḳī* of Fatḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī (d. *ca.* 857/1453); the *Risāla al-fatḥiyya* and the *Zayn al-alḥān* of al-Lādhiḳī (of which a Turkish version also exists); the *Risāla dar mūsīḳī* (888/1483) of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Bannāʾī; and the *Muḳaddima-yi uṣūl* of ʿAlīshāh b. Būka Awbahī. The *Madjalla* exists in two versions, the second relying heavily on ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who is quoted extensively, but despite its indebtedness to previous theorists it does concern itself critically with definitions and the mathematical analysis of scale. The main value of al-Lādhiḳī's treatises is to be located in the material they contain on musical practice: the explicit contrast they draw between the usage of ancients and moderns as far as modal and rhythmic structures are concerned allows certain developments to be traced quite clearly.

Later literature. Of the many other surviving Arabic and Persian treatises of the 8th/14th to 12th/18th centuries few have been studied in any detail, and hardly any published. With the decline of Systematist theory the dominant tradition becomes yet again the cosmological, virtually always articulated with reference to the two canonic sets of melodic modes, the 12 *shudūd* and the 6 *āwāzāt* first recorded by Ṣafī al-Dīn. These are, inevitably, organised first in relation to the signs of the Zodiac, and then to an open-ended series of phenomena normally beginning with those that had already been referred to by al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, such as the elements and humours, and going on to encompass times of day, say, months, colour, sex, minerals and countries, as in, for example, the *Kitāb al-Luʾluʾ al-manẓūm* of Ibn Ṭūlūn. In Arabic, the form of expression is frequently the *urdjūza*, another reason for neglect, since in verse any descriptive content becomes allusive, elliptical and difficult to interpret without reference to other, more explicit, works which can render the consultation of such texts superfluous. Further, many works of the period are anonymous and hard to date with any precision, thus reducing their value as historical sources. But there are, inevitably, exceptions, and some would repay further study, including the 8th/14th century *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb* of Ibn Kurr, which initiates a tradition of modal description not through notational symbols relating to a pre-described fretting, but by specifying finger positions in relation to a fretting which the reader is assumed to know. This tradition is continued in a number of later anonymous works (the relationship between some of these has been studied by Shiloah, *Sources*, 394-8), among which may be mentioned the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām*. Although this still contains faint echoes of Greek theory in its definitions, it proceeds to discuss scale in wholly non-mathematical terms, distinguishing merely a set of principal notes, termed *muṭlaḳ* (those of the *rāst* scale), from others intermediate between them (termed *muḳayyad*). The discrimination is presumably one made by practising musicians. The modes are then articulated in terms of these individually named notes, being defined in a way akin to that employed for contemporary usage by al-Lādhiḳī, and appearing in consequence as melodic matrices rather than, as generally with previous theorists, abstract scales. (A further, incidental, interest of this work is that it was the principal source for Villoteau's section on music in the *Description de l'Égypte*.) One other significant Arabic text of the period is the verse treatise of al-Ṣaydāwī, often copied and noteworthy for its attempt at a graphic representation of modal structure.

Apart from the major works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and ʿAlīshāh, the Persian texts of the period tend to be too derivative to be of great interest. The contributions of Āmulī and Djāmī, for example, largely repeat material from, respectively, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, and the latter's works are also relied upon quite heavily in the treatises of his son and grandson, composed, tactfully, after his death. Turkish writings are fewer in number, but by no means without significance. They include translations of key texts by Ṣafī al-Dīn and al-Lādhiḳī and, beginning with the mid-9th/15th-century treatise of Khiḍir b. ʿAbd Allāh, works that differ somewhat in style and analytical approach from their Arabic and Persian equivalents. Among the more substantial of these is the *Maṭlaʿ fī bayān al-adwār* (910/1504), which contains a mixture of cosmological and descriptive materials presented in alternating verse and prose. But for factual content the most important work in Turkish, recording in sober prose an expository account, purged of virtually all cosmological accretions, of the main structural features of what is now a specifically Ottoman musical idiom, is the treatise by Cantemir (d. 1727), who also left a comprehensive record, in notation, of the instrumental repertoire of the day. His approach to scale is akin to that of the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām*, but he provides a much fuller account of the modal system incorporating a parallel distinction between primary (*maḳām*) and secondary (*terkīb*) modes. He adopts, further, the circular presentation of Ṣafī al-Dīn for the rhythmic cycles, but indicates also contrasts of timbre through the use of the now standard *düm tek* mnemonics, giving therefore definitions of a type still current today. He also provides a full account of the vocal and instrument forms in vogue, including a description of the *faṣīl*, the suite-like sequence in which they were normally performed. Aspects of musical practice at the end of the 12th/18th century are recorded in the *Tedḳīḳ we taḥḳīḳ* of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (d. 1821), noteworthy for its inclusion of examples of notation, while indebtedness to Cantemir's analysis is exhibited in a number of other treatises, the last of which is the *Edwār* of Hāshim Bey (1864) [see also MEHTER].

A number of Persian texts were written in Central Asia, others, particularly late works of the 11th/17th to early 13th/19th centuries, in India. The degree to which the former might reflect regional usages is not easy to determine, but they certainly fail to provide evidence to help date the emergence of the now dominant *shashmaḳom* tradition (see Jung, *Quellen*, 1989).

The latter, in contrast, betray their origin readily enough. Although comparative material is sometimes present (lists of *maḳām/rāg* equivalences, for example), there is little hint of cultural symbiosis, and it is clear that the majority of this group (the corpus as a whole still awaits critical evaluation) reflect specifically Indian practices and concepts, being heavily influenced by (when not actually translations of) the Sanskrit literature on music [see HIND. viii. Music].

The modern period. Assuming the continuing existence of the neutral intervals first noted in association with Zalzal at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the descriptive accounts of Cantemir and the *Shadjara dhāt al-akmām* imply the existence of an approximate quartertone, and it is in relation to this (and a theoretical octave of twenty-four intervals derived from it) that modern Arab ideas of scale will develop, finding their first mathematically-based formulation in the early 19th-century work of Mushāḳa [*q.v.*]. Theorising in relation to Persian and Turkish music (the intonational norms of the latter being by the 19th century, if not before, markedly different) will follow other paths, but all three traditions have, in varying degrees (the Persian being the least affected), reverted to the mathematical expression of what may sometimes be seen as a veritable obsession with intonation. This development is to be understood largely in terms of a more general reaction to a dominant Western culture, encountered in its expansionist imperial phase. The reaction is expressed either as adoption/adaptation (as seen, for example, in the widespread utilisation by theorists of Western notation) or, more interestingly, self-justification, as in the evident desire to demonstrate —the posture is clearly defensive— the possession of intonational and modal subtleties absent from Western music.

A particularly clear example of this trend is shown in the large-scale chapter on Turkish music written for the Lavignac encyclopaedia by Rauf Yekta Bey, and it is in the Turkish tradition that this form of theorising has received its richest expression. Modern theory has been dominated by the Ezgi-Arel school which, carrying on from the work of Rauf Yekta Bey, has essentially gone back to Ṣafī al-Dīn's limma-limma-comma formulation of the whole tone, but has added to it further comma subdivisions, with the result that the comma has now been extrapolated as the basic unit of measurement, the whole tone, for example, being described as a nine-comma interval. The urge to be systematic results, as usual, in certain distortions in relation to practice, and an alternative theory has been elaborated by Karadeniz, less rigorously symmetrical but more realistic. Developments in Arab theory have, in general, been not so much concerned with intellectual models as with attempts to generalise from observation, that is, from actual measurements. Debate has been inconclusive, as witness the report of the 1932 Cairo Conference (see Shawḳī, *Ḳiyās al-sullam*). Similarly in Persia, although there intonation has been a less significant issue. What work has been done has again tended to be empirical, recognising diversity rather than trying to impose a priori norms, and theory has centred more around the codification of the *dastgāh* system and the consequent notation of the *radīf*, while in the Arab and Turkish traditions we see rather the reintroduction (another reversal to systematist methods) of modal analysis in terms of trichord, tetrachord and pentachord units [see MAḲĀM].

Theorists most concerned with intonation have normally devoted some attention to the physics of sound, but the matter is now wholly derivative. With regard to rhythmic analysis, another major area of enquiry for earlier writers, there is again little that is new, the most important contributions being the extensive catalogues of the repertoire of existing cycles to be found in Arabic and Turkish sources. In short, the general trend, both here and in the analysis of mode, has been towards codification and systematisation, original thinking being largely eschewed in favour of the production of implicitly or explicitly prescriptive compendia with regulatory and didactic aims that find their natural outlet as conservatoire teaching manuals.

But the danger of ossification should not be exaggerated. Many scholars have now had a Western training, and are writing more within the general discipline of ethnomusicology (and are increasingly doing so in Western languages). Despite the dangers this may present of creating on the one hand a further cultural gap and, on the other, a possibly unhealthy uniformity, conformity even, the development is not unwelcome. For all its great achievements, the indigenous theoretical tradition has tended to concern itself with an increasingly narrow range of issues, thereby neglecting large areas of the phenomenon of music conceived of as social interaction. Such new approaches, provided they become readily accessible, could act as a valuable intellectual stimulus within the culture at the same time as they help to make available fresh insights to those outside it.

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(O. Wright)

2. Musical instruments. See BŪĶ; DARABUKKA; DUFF; GHAYṬA; ĶITHĀRA; MALĀHĪ; MEHTER; MIʿZAF; MIZMĀR; NAĶĶĀRA-KHĀNA; NAWBA; RABĀB; ṬABL; ṬUNBŪR; ʿŪD; URGHAN.

3. The social history of music in Islam. See GHINĀʾ; ĶAYNA; MEHTER; NAĶĶĀRA-KHĀNA, and also the arts. on individual singers and musicians, including ʿABD AL-ĶĀDIR B. GHAYBĪ; AL-GHARĪḌ; IBN BĀNA; IBN DJĀMIʿ; IBN SURAYDJ; IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ; ISḤĀĶ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ; MAʿBAD B. WAHB; MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SARḤ; MUNADJDJIM, BANU 'L-; ZIRYĀB.

MUSLIM (A.), the active participle of the IVth form of the root *s-l-m*, designates the person who professes Islam [*q.v.*], *islāmī* being exclusively used today for what is relative to Islam and having, as a corresponding term, the forms in western languages *islamic, islamique, islamisch*, etc. However, in the 4th/10th century the theologian al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] called his heresiographical work *Maķālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* in order not to prejudice the question which of the various sects could or could not be called *muslim*.

Whilst forms like *mohammedan, mahométan, maomettano*, etc., whose use is justly deprecated by Muslims, have tended to disappear, *muslim* has been adopted, as a noun or adjective or both together, in an unchanged form or in the variants *moslim, moslem*, above all in English, in which *musulman* has fallen out of use. The origin of *musulman* is probably *muslim*, with the suffix *-ān* of the adjective in Persian. In some countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, popular etymology has mixed up the element *-man* with the local term *man/mann*, whence the plural forms *Muselmänner, muzelmannen*, etc.; these forms have however fallen into disuse.

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(A.J. Wensinck*)

MUSLIM b. ʿAĶĪL b. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, a leading supporter of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (d. 60/680).

There are unusually large discrepancies in the sources as regards his date of birth: the difference between the extreme figures is more than 30 years. According to one report, he fought in Ṣafar 37/July 657 in the right wing (*maymana*) of ʿAlī's army at the battle of Ṣiffīn, together with his cousins al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar (Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *K. al-Futūḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1388-95/1968-75, iii, 32; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāķib*, ii, 352). This report may have been disseminated to show that ʿAlī enjoyed

the support of all branches of his family, including in particular that of his brother ʿAķīl [*q.v.*], with whom he was on strained terms. The report implies that Muslim was born no later than the early 20s/640s. An even earlier date is suggested by an account that during ʿUmar's reign Muslim took part in the conquest of al-Bahnasā [*q.v.*] (Ps.-Wāķidī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, Cairo 1354, ii, 136, 146, 153, 159, 160, 169, 181, 184, 185, 190), in the course of which two of his brothers, Djaʿfar and ʿAlī, were killed (*ibid.*, ii, 177). He is said to have been appointed as the first Muslim governor of the town, and to have retained this position until ʿUthmān's caliphate, when he returned to Medina, leaving his brothers and sons behind (*ibid.*, ii, 193). Other accounts, in contrast, point to a date of birth in the late 30s/650s: according to these accounts, Muslim's mother, an *umm walad* of Nabataean origin (cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaķ*, 505) whose name is variously given as ʿUlayya, Khalīla and Ḥilya, was bought by ʿAķīl in Syria, with the help of Muʿāwiya. This purchase probably took place after ʿAlī's assumption of the caliphate (in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 35/June 656), which is the time usually given as the beginning of ʿAķīl's friendship with the Umayyad ruler. Further corroboration of this date appears in the story of an encounter between Muslim and Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680) which is said to have taken place when Muslim was 18 years old, some time after ʿAķīl's death (in 50/670). In this encounter, Muslim told Muʿāwiya that he owned a plot of land in Medina worth 100,000 *dirhams*, and persuaded Muʿāwiya to buy it from him at this price. When the caliph later heard that the land in fact belonged to al-Ḥusayn he had it returned, while letting Muslim keep the money; al-Ḥusayn praised him for this act of generosity (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378-83/1959-64, xi, 251-2).

Muslim came into prominence when he was sent to Kūfa as al-Ḥusayn's personal representative. His task was to measure the extent of Kūfan support for the Prophet's grandson. He set off from Mecca on 15 Ramaḍān 60/19 June 680 in the company of a number of Kūfans who had come to al-Ḥusayn with messages of support. His first destination was Medina, where he took leave of his family and hired the services of two Ķaysīs to guide him on his way. The guides lost their way in the desert and were too weakened by thirst to be able to proceed; they just managed to show Muslim the right direction before they both (or one of them) died. Muslim saw in this a bad omen, and wrote al-Ḥusayn from al-Maḍīķ asking to be relieved of his mission. Al-Ḥusayn sent back a curt note accusing Muslim of cowardice and ordering him to continue.

On 5 Shawwāl 60/9 July 680 Muslim reached Kūfa. According to most sources, he went first to the house of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaķafī [*q.v.*], later known as Dār Sālim (or Salm or Muslim) b. al-Musayyab (cf. Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xxxiii, Beirut 1369/1950, 402). Other accounts (e.g. Muḥammad al-Bāķir, as reported in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 228) maintain that Muslim proceeded first to the house of Muslim b. ʿAwsadja al-Asadī. In his place of hiding he received the oath of allegiance on behalf of al-Ḥusayn; the number of men who gave the oath is put at between 12,000 and over 30,000. Muslim, encouraged by this response, sent a letter to al-Ḥusayn urging him to come. The governor of Kūfa, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], was told of Muslim's arrival but refused to attack him. Some supporters (or spies) of Yazīd, regarding this as a dangerous sign of weakness, wrote to the caliph urging him to send a strong man to deal with the situation. Yazīd thereupon had al-Nuʿmān replaced by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], then already governor of Baṣra, and ordered him to have Muslim killed or banished.

When Muslim heard of ʿUbayd Allāh's arrival, he left the house in which he was staying and, under cover of darkness, went to the home of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa al-Murādī [*q.v.*]. Hāniʾ, aware that Muslim was a wanted man, was at first reluctant to admit him yet subsequently treated him with all due hospitality. During his stay there, Muslim missed an opportunity to kill ʿUbayd Allāh. According to one version, Hāniʾ was behind the plot; he feigned sickness, knowing that ʿUbayd Allāh would come to visit him, thus providing Muslim with a chance to strike. But at the crucial moment Muslim's nerves failed him, and ʿUbayd Allāh left unscathed (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIķd*, iv, 378; al-Bayhaķī, *Maḥāsin*, 60). A second version, more complimentary to Muslim, attributes the plot to Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī, an ardent supporter of ʿAlī who none the less enjoyed ʿUbayd Allāh's confidence and had arrived with him from Baṣra. Sharīk, who had been taken ill, also stayed at Hāniʾ's home, and his plan similarly called for Muslim to kill ʿUbayd Allāh when the governor came to pay him a sick call. ʿUbayd Allāh came, but Muslim remained in the closet in which he was hiding. The reasons given by Muslim for his inaction are said to have been opposition by Hāniʾ (or by one of his wives), as well as a Prophetic tradition forbidding the slaying without prior warning of someone who has been given an assurance of safety (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *f-t-k*). Sharīk, who had hoped to deliver Baṣra to Muslim, died of his illness three days later.

Meanwhile, ʿUbayd Allāh was making strenuous efforts to discover Muslim's hideout. He dispatched a *mawlā* of his (called Maʿķil in some sources) with orders to ingratiate himself with al-Ḥusayn's followers by swearing allegiance to al-Ḥusayn and by donating 3,000 *dirhams* for the cause. The *mawlā* succeeded in infiltrating the inner circle of followers, finally gaining access to Muslim himself. When he found out where Muslim was staying, ʿUbayd Allāh summoned Hāniʾ, forced him to admit that he was harbouring Muslim, and beat him on the face with an iron-tipped cane. One version has it that Hāniʾ died on the spot from these blows. According to more widespread reports, he was badly wounded and then incarcerated in ʿUbayd Allāh's fortress; Hāniʾ's clansmen thought that he had been killed, and the *ķāḍī* Shurayḥ was sent to allay their fears.

When news of Hāniʾ's arrest reached Muslim, he decided to tarry no longer and to revolt openly. The uprising is dated to 2, 7, 8 or 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/3, 8, 9 or 10 Sept. 680. Muslim is said to have initially disposed of 4,000 men (other numbers are also given); he arranged them in military formation and, placing himself at their head, marched on the governor's fortress, where ʿUbayd Allāh had locked himself with a small band of sympathisers. Although ʿUbayd Allāh's situation seemed desperate, he managed, by a combination of threats and blandishments, to induce many tribal leaders to abandon Muslim. By nightfall Muslim was left with only 30 men, and these too soon disappeared. He wandered despondently in the alleys of Kūfa, until he finally found refuge with a woman from Kinda called Ṭawʿa, whose son Bilāl was a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. When Bilāl discovered the identity of his mother's guest, he waited until morning and then notified Ibn al-

As͟hʿat͟h, who in turn informed ʿUbayd Allāh. Another version has it that the person whom Bilāl informed (and who passed on the information) was Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. (This is one of several deeds for which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān earned the title of "the most perfidious of the Arabs"; see Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 244-6.)

ʿUbayd Allāh sent Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h (or his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) at the head of 60 (or 70) men to Ṭawʿa's house. Muslim, realising that he was surrounded, came out with his sword in hand and, true to his reputation as a fierce warrior, chased off his attackers, inflicting serious losses on them. (One fanciful report has him kill 41 of them; cf. Ibn S͟hahrās͟hūb, *Manāḳib*, iii, 244.) His attackers responded by pelting him from the roof-top of Ṭawʿa's house with stones and burning missiles. At this point Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h gave him a guarantee of safety (*amān*) and Muslim, wounded and exhausted, gave himself up. Another version has it that Muslim did not trust Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h's *amān* and continued fighting until he was finally overcome. According to some accounts, Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h was sincere in his offer but was overruled by ʿUbayd Allāh. Other reports maintain that Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h acted in concert with the governor, and never meant to honour his pledge.

Muslim was brought before ʿUbayd Allāh, and the two had a heated exchange. Muslim then received permission to give his final instructions (*waṣiyya*). In most accounts he is said to have chosen for this purpose ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ as the only member of his tribe (Ḳurays͟h) present. Muslim asked him to send a messenger to al-Ḥusayn to inform him of the treachery of the Kūfans and to urge him not to come; he also asked him to pay a debt of his and take his corpse for burial to prevent its being mutilated. In other reports, Muslim is depicted as receiving a promise from Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h (rather than ʿUmar) to inform al-Ḥusayn. ʿUbayd Allāh entrusted Muslim's execution to Bakr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī, whom Muslim had wounded before being taken prisoner. Bakr led Muslim to the top of the fortress, decapitated him in sight of the populace, and threw down first the head and then the rest of the body. Hāniʾ was also executed, and the two bodies were dragged through the market-streets of Kūfa. Muslim is said to have been posthumously crucified, and his head was sent to Yazīd in Damascus and hoisted on a pole; he was the first Hās͟himite to be treated in this fashion (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, § 1899). An elegy on the fate of Muslim and Hāniʾ which is cited in the sources is variously attributed to al-Farazdaḳ, to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī and to Sulaymān (or Sulaym) b. Salām al-Ḥanafī.

Muslim's death, which followed his uprising by one day, is said to have coincided with al-Ḥusayn's departure for ʿIrāḳ. Al-Ḥusayn was at Zubāla (or T͟haʿlabiyya, or Zarūd, or S͟harāf) when he received news of the tragedy. According to some Sunnī authors, he thereupon decided to abandon his original plan, and either to return to Mecca, or to go to Yazīd and swear allegiance to him, or to join the Muslim armies at the frontier (*t͟hag͟hr*) (Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhād͟j al-sunna al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1322, ii, 248); he continued the journey only after Muslim's brothers insisted on going forth into battle to avenge Muslim's death or to share his fate. In contrast, many S͟hīʿī authors (though not all; cf. al-S͟harīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, Nad͟jaf 1379/1960, 222-3) argue that al-Ḥusayn needed no prodding as he was determined to reach ʿIrāḳ. These authors maintain further that al-Ḥusayn gave his entourage the option of withdrawing, and that members of Muslim's family were among those who chose to stay with him to the end. The lists of those killed at Karbalāʾ do indeed include Muslim's brothers ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and D͟jaʿfar; some say that in all five brothers died on the battlefield (Ibn Maʿṣūm al-S͟hīrāzī, *al-Darad͟jāt al-rafīʿa*, Nad͟jaf 1382/1962, 165). ʿAbd Allāh, a son of Muslim from his marriage to ʿAlī's daughter Ruḳayya, was also reportedly killed in the battle; some sources refer to two sons who perished there (e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xii, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Wiesbaden 1399/1979, 426). Two other sons (sometimes identified as Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm) are said to have escaped from ʿUbayd Allāh's camp a year after Karbalāʾ only to be brutally murdered by a Kūfan who expected to be rewarded by ʿUbayd Allāh (but who was beheaded instead) (Ibn Bābawayh, *Amālī*, Nad͟jaf 1389/1970, 73-9). Their story, like that of their father, is re-enacted in the annual *taʿziya* plays (Pelly, *The Miracle play*, i, 190-206). In some versions of these plays, the two sons are said to have been decapitated at the same time as their father (e.g. Metin And, *The Muḥarram observances in Anatolian Turkey*, in P.J. Chelkowski (ed.), *Taʿziyeh: ritual and drama in Iran*, New York 1979, 251); and the text accompanying several pictorial renderings of this event identifies their executioner as al-Ḥārit͟h b. Badr (R. Milstein, *Miniature painting*, 101, 102, 104).

Although Muslim did not die at Karbalāʾ, he is counted among its martyrs (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 387), and is even referred to as the first *s͟hahīd* (al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, c, 428). The S͟hīʿīs recommend visiting his grave in Kūfa, and the text is preserved of a number of prayers to be recited there (*ibid.*, 426-9).

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Madīnat Dimashk, facs. ed. Cairo n.d. [1989], v, 68; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāḳib āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1956, iii, 241-5, 259; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, Beirut 1385/1965, 21-2, 25-36, 42-3; Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī, *Muthīr al-aḥzān*, Nadjaf 1369/1950, 16, 20-26, 32, 50; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, ms. Marʿashī, 69-72; idem, *al-Luhūf ʿalā ḳatlā 'l-Ṭufūf*, Tehran 1348 Sh, 26, 36-8, 45-60, 73-5, 91; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*, Beirut n.d. [1978-9], 110; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, 159-60; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xx, Cairo 1395/1975, 387-8, 391-405, 413-5, 462, xxi, Cairo 1396/1976, 7; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ii, Cairo 1368, 316; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, iii, Cairo 1962, 206-8, 217; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, viii, 152-9; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, Beirut 1390, 29; Ṭurayḥī, *al-Muntakhab*, Beirut n.d., 37, 372, 380-5, 421-9, 434, 437-8; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-74, xlii, 116-7, xliv, 334-7, 341-63, 369-70, 373-4, xlv, 32-3, 68, 96-8, 100-5; Shablandjī, *Nūr al-abṣār fī manāḳib āl al-nabī al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1399/1979, 142-4; Djaʿfar al-Tustarī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ḥusayniyya*, Nadjaf 1375/1956, 124-5; L. Pelly, *The Miracle play of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn*, i, London 1879, 171-206; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Ḥusein ben ʿAlī*, Göttingen 1883, 24-6, 30-46; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, Beirut 1921, 136-45, 150-1; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 80-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, iv/1, Beirut 1367/1948, 191-4, 199-210, 216, 221-3; idem, *Miftāḥ al-djannāt*, Beirut n.d., ii, 90-3; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Tehran 1369, 359-60; idem, *Nafas al-mahmūm*, Ḳumm 1405, 82-7, 92-162; Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿĀbidīn, *Mabʿūth al-Ḥusayn*, Ḳumm n.d.; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Mūsawī al-Muḳarram, *al-Shahīd Muslim b. ʿAḳīl*, Nadjaf 1369/1950; Parviz Mamnoun, *Taʿzija: Schiʿitisch-Persisches Passionsspiel*, Vienna 1967, 7, 30, 72-3, 127, 130; J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-political factions in early Islam*, tr. Ostle and Walzer, Amsterdam and New York 1975, 105-9; Mahmoud Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering in Islām*, The Hague 1978, 99-102 and index; S.H.M. Jafri, *The origins and early development of Shiʿa Islam*, London and New York 1979, index; Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawī al-Zandjānī, *Djawla fī 'l-amākin al-muḳaddasa*, Beirut 1405/1985, 203-7; R. Milstein, *Miniature painting in Ottoman Baghdad*, Costa Mesa 1990, 25-7, 101-6.

(E. Kohlberg)

MUSLIM B. AL-**ḤADJDJĀDJ**, one of Islam's outstanding early collectors of Prophetic traditions.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Muslim al-Ḳushayrī al-Naysābūrī was born in Naysābūr (Nīshāpūr) in 202/817, but according to another report in 206/821, the latter date tallying better with his alleged age at death in 261/875 given as fifty-five (lunar) years. (Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, v, 195, who weighs both dates against each other.) From an early age on, he is reported to have travelled to ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥidjāz, Syria and Egypt in search of *ḥadīth*, on so-called *ṭalab al-ʿilm* journeys. He is alleged to have heard traditions with a number of masters, among whom the most influential are the following: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Naysābūrī (d. 224-6/839-41), ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama al-Ḳaʿnabī (d. 220-1/835-6), Ḳutayba b. Saʿīd (d. 240/854), all three major pupils of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*]; furthermore, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Ḳawārīrī (d. 235/849), Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 248/862), ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba (d. 239/853), Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d. 252/866) and Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ (d. 245/859). Those mentioned so far are not listed in *GAS*, i, but of the following masters, works have come down and are (partially) available in printed editions (cf. *GAS*, i): ʿAlī b. Ḥudjr (d. 244/858), ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd (d. 249/863), Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb (d. 234/848). Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]); Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm ibn Rāhawayh (d. 237-8/851-2 [*q.v.*]); Muḥammad b. Bashshār Bundār (d. 252/866) and Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (d. 227/842). Another master is Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā (d. 244/858), whose own works are lost but who is the main pupil of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) [*q.v.*]), the Egyptian tradition collector whose partially-preserved works are among the oldest extant; another important master of this Ḥarmala is al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]). Finally, among Muslim's *shaykhs* there are Ismāʿīl b. Abī Uways (d. 226-7/841-2), a controversial transmitter who once admitted that he settled disputes among Medinan scholars by means of some fabricated traditions (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 312) and Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (d. 235-6/849-50), who was suspected of having proliferated forgeries.

Muslim is associated in the first place with his collection of Prophetic *ḥadīth*, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, usually called *Ṣaḥīḥ* for short. According to the consensus of Sunnī Muslim tradition experts, it forms together with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] the most reliable collection of Prophetic traditions of all times. This resulted for these two books, to which in the course of time four more were added making up the Six Books (*al-kutub al-sitta*), in a prestige commensurate with canonisation. There has been some controversy on whether Muslim's work should be given preference even to that of al-Bukhārī. In the Maghrib, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* seems at times to have been preferred to al-Bukhārī's. It is especially Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] who is mentioned in this context: he is alleged to have censured al-Bukhārī for having added numerous *taʿlīḳāt* (i.e. additional substantiating traditions with interrupted (*munkaṭiʿ*) *isnād* strands) to his traditions, a practice Muslim very rarely resorted to. (For a list of Muslim's fourteen *taʿlīḳāt*, see al-Nawawī's commentary, i, 16 f.; Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278 [*q.v.*]) is, with Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]), Muslim's most important commentator.) Surveys of how the one collector compares with the other are given in e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 101-3, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima* [sc. *fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 90 f., al-Nawawī's commentary, i, 14 ff., al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, i, 88-95. In the long run it was al-Bukhārī's work which took pride of place and became Islam's holiest book of religious learning after the Ḳurʾān, albeit immediately followed by Muslim's collection. Muslim is alleged to have stated that he amassed 300,000 traditions out of which he made his selection for his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The total number of traditions which he incorporated in it is 4,000 according to mediaeval scholars, not counting repetitions. However, according to the modern editor of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, who took stock of even more repetitions, the total number of individual, different traditions is a little over 3,000.

Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* may be the second most prestigious tradition collection in Islam; for modern historians it is surely the most useful of the Six Books. It owes this usefulness to the special organisation of its chapters. Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, also praised for its organisation, had been rated more highly in the beginning than Muslim's for the most part because of the former's more sophisticated *tardjamas*, the introductory

statements in his chapter headings, in comparison with which Muslim's chapter headings were felt to fall short (although they were later considerably improved upon by al-Nawawī). But whereas, at first glance, Muslim's and al-Bukhārī's chapter headings may show up a broad resemblance, the respective contents of the chapters do not. The chapters in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are presumed to be organised strictly according to their juridical content, but closer scrutiny reveals this organisation to be somewhat loose, with, in the majority of chapters, several traditions added from vaguely related, and, frequently, even unrelated, juridical foci. All along it had been al-Bukhārī's design to contribute as many angles of approach to juridical or ritual-related issues as he could muster; this eventually resulted in dozens or more reiterations of one particular problem or issue, many of which with their own *isnād* strands, turning up in a wide variety of chapters, which have no discernible juridical base in common.

On the other hand, the mainstay of practically each chapter in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, is one, sometimes more than one, *matn* cluster (for the definition of this expression, see below), which, once listed, is hardly ever reiterated in another chapter. So, while in al-Bukhārī's collection reiterations of one *matn* in its numerous different versions, most of which having their own individual *isnād* strands, are scattered all over his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, reconstruction of *matn* clusters solely from that collection, even with the help of the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], is laborious. In Muslim's collection, all reiterations of traditions, which are even more numerous than in al-Bukhārī's, are virtually always all crammed into one and the same chapter, allowing a quick overall view of how many times *in toto* that *matn*, sc. in its different versions plus accompanying *isnād* strands, occurs. All this is aptly summarised in a remark of ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulḳīnī (d. 805/1403): *ikhtaṣṣa Muslimun bi-djamʿi ṭuruḳi 'l-ḥadīthi fī makānin* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 91, in margin; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, i, 95).

The expression *matn* cluster has been newly coined to indicate that the contents (= *matn*) of a particular Islamic tradition, rather than as an individual entity, should in the majority of cases be viewed as one out of two to sometimes even ten or more facets of one basic idea, which may pertain to a particular legal or ethical concept, or which reflects the ongoing controversies regarding some point of Islamic ritual. In an obvious attempt to create some sort of schematisation of Muslim's seemingly untwinable, multi-strand *isnāds*, Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ introduced for the basic concepts which he had learned to distinguish in Muslim's collection the term *aṣl*, pl. *uṣūl*. (From a remark of Ibn Ḥadjar in his preface to his commentary on al-Bukhārī, *Hady al-sārī muḳaddimat Fatḥ al-bārī*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo n.d., 11 (15), the *uṣūl* are perhaps to be interpreted as *uṣūl al-aḥkām*, the "roots of legal judgements".) But, as that term suggests, each *aṣl* exists within a framework of less basic, less pertinent, but at least (partly) illustrative, additional material, for which he used two more terms, the *mutābiʿāt* and the *shawāhid*. (It seems that these terms were first introduced by the tradition scholar Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]), cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 182.) Although he does not say this in so many words, Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ must have detected that in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* the first *isnād*-cum-*matn* mentioned in a chapter always has the appearance of something basic, upon which the following *isnāds*-cum-*matns* form some sort of commentary. (The quest for these secondary *isnāds*-cum-*matns* is conveyed in Arabic with the verb *iʿtabara* = "to consider", "to ponder", cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, i, 241 (18)-242(9); Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ's words are quoted in Nawawī, i, 23 f.)

With the said technical terms defined, the expression *matn* cluster as technical term comes in handy, especially in connection with Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in which these clusters are so much more easily distinguishable than in the collections of his peers: a *matn* cluster is in modern *ḥadīth* parlance the equivalent of Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ's *aṣl*-cum-*mutābiʿāt*-cum-*shawāhid* which he had learned to distinguish in Muslim's organisation of his *isnād* strands. But one consideration has to be borne in mind: close scrutiny of the *isnād* strands of the *uṣūl* yields the information that, contrary to what one might expect, they are more often than not of relatively late origin, whereas various accompanying *mutābiʿāt* strands usually show up much older common links. In short, because of Muslim's particular arrangement of his traditions, with *uṣūl* being illustrated by *mutābiʿāt*, both of which rubrics allowing with the help of al-Mizzī the quick identification of the respective common links, both then followed by *shawāhid*, which testify to the extent of *isnād* proliferation and sometimes even contain clues as to authorship, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in contrast to the other canonical collections, is indispensable for tradition analysis and dating.

One important, unique feature of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* is its introduction. For an annotated translation and appraisal, see *Bibl.* Its final section deals with a controversial point, the (un)acceptability of *muʿanʿan isnāds* [*q.v.*], in which Muslim is reported to have taken a somewhat more flexible stance than his fellow-traditionists.

Muslim is credited with a number of other works. Of those mentioned in *GAS*, i, 143, the *K. al-Kunā* and the *K. al-munfaridāt wa 'l-wuḥdān* are quoted from in Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tahdhīb*, cf. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 239.

Bibliography: The best, and because of its multiple *ḥadīth* numberings the most useful, edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is the one by Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1955-6, 5 vols, for which the editor eclectically excerpted Nawawī's *sharḥ*, otherwise available in the reliable Cairo 1349 edition in 18 parts; a complete English translation (however without the introduction) was published by A.H. Siddiqui in 4 vols, Lahore 1976; for the introduction, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim's introduction to his Ṣaḥīḥ, translated and annotated* etc., in *JSAI*, v (1984), 263-302; for the transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to following generations, see J. Robson, *The transmission of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ*, in *JRAS* (1949), 46-60; for the *isnād*-analytical technical terms mentioned in the article, cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.v.; idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992); idem, *On the origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature*, forthcoming in the *Ewald Wagner Festschrift*; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīth *and* akhbār *literature*, in L.I. Conrad (ed.), *History and historiography in early Islamic times: studies and perspectives*, Princeton 1992.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

MUSLIM B. ḲURAYSH, SHARAF AL-DAWLA ABŪ 'L-MAKĀRIM, of the Arab family of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*] was the most important ruler of this

significant Bedouin Arab dynasty; during his reign the struggle between Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids for supremacy in Syria and al-Djazīra was decided in favour of the latter.

In the year 433/1042 the 20 year-old Muslim was chosen chief of the tribe after the death of his father Ḳuraysh b. Badrān and succeeded him as ruler of al-Mawṣil. Like most Arab rulers of the lands of the Euphrates, he recognised the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo as his suzerain, partly because he was himself a Shīʿī. Quite early in his reign he began to cherish the ambitious plan of gradually extending the rule of his tribe over al-Djazīra. Every means of extending his power was taken by him. The first opportunity occurred when in 458/1066 the Saldjūḳ Sultan Alp Arslān [*q.v.*], after conquering the Khʷārazmians, was proceeding to establish his supremacy in Syria. For this he had to entice the Arab chiefs from the sphere of influence of the Fāṭimid caliph and win them over to an alliance with him and to a recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. He therefore concluded an alliance with Muslim and granted him several towns in al-Djazīra. As a partner in this alliance, Muslim defeated the Banū Kilāb who were vassals of the Fāṭimids. In 463/1070 Alp Arslān died. The alliance was renewed with his son Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. With his help, Muslim was able a few years later to extend his power into Syria and take Aleppo. In 472/1079 this town had no strong owner; the town was ruled by the Ḳāḍī al-Khutaʾītī, and the citadel by one of the last Mirdāsids [see ḤALAB and MIRDĀSIDS]. There was a lack of provisions, as the town was continually threatened by enemies and the roads to it were cut off.

Damascus was in possession of the Saldjūḳ *amīr* Tutush [*q.v.*], to whom his brother Malik Shāh had granted Syria, which was still to be conquered. It was natural for Tutush to wish to bring Aleppo also into his power, but the people did not care for him because of his cruelty and greed, shut their gates against him and appealed for help to Muslim. After Tutush had withdrawn, Muslim approached the town with large supplies of provisions and, after lengthy negotiations, both town and citadel were handed over to him [see ḤALAB] and the Mirdāsid chiefs received some smaller towns in compensation. He received a grant of confirmation from Malik Shāh, who did not want his brother to become too powerful, on paying a considerable annual tribute. Muslim extended his territory by adding to it al-Ruhā (Edessa), Ḥarrān and a number of smaller fortresses, out of which he drove the leaders of Turkish bands so that his power stretched from northern Syria to the Euphrates. Instead of being content with this, his unbounded ambition made him overestimate his strength. Like Tutush, he had dreams of conquering all Syria, especially Damascus. He could not obtain the town from Malik Shāh, who had granted central Syria to Tutush. He therefore again joined forces with the enemy of the Saldjūḳs, the Fāṭimid caliph, who promised to send troops to assist him to take Damascus. Muslim took advantage of the absence of Tutush, who was engaged in a campaign against the Byzantines in Antioch, to advance on Damascus. He occupied several towns in central Syria, including Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. But the Fāṭimid help did not materialise, and Tutush was called back by his vassals, who hated Muslim. These circumstances and a rising in Ḥarrān forced him to retire.

To replace Muslim, who had deserted him, Malik Shāh bestowed his favour on the sons of a former vizier of the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ], and sent him against a supporter of the Fāṭimids, the Marwānid Manṣūr, to deprive him of his chief possession Āmid. The latter found support from Muslim. They joined forces, were attacked at Āmid and withdrew into the fortified town leaving their other possessions undefended. Malik Shāh seized the opportunity to send ʿAmīd al-Dawla, another son of Djahīr, to al-Mawṣil in order to take this city from Muslim, who had in the meanwhile escaped from Āmid. When Muslim saw that he had lost his possessions, he made overtures to the Sultan through the son of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk and humbly begged for mercy. The Sultan, who thought Muslim no longer dangerous, pardoned him and restored his lands to him; but Muslim could not be at peace. Perhaps in secret agreement with Malik Shāh, he turned in 477/1084 against a Saldjūḳ prince of Asia Minor, Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush, who had taken Antioch from the Byzantines, and demanded from him the same tribute as the Byzantines had paid. When Sulaymān refused to pay, he advanced against him with a force of Arabs and Turkomans. In the neighbourhood of Antioch in Ṣafar 478/May 1085 the forces met, unexpectedly for Sharaf al-Dawla; his troops, who hated Muslim, went over to Sulaymān. Muslim was defeated and slain, along with 400 of his Arabs (cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, fol. 68b). With his death, the power of the ʿUḳaylids was at an end. They lost Aleppo on Muslim's death and only survived a few years longer (till 489/1090) as governors of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*].

Muslim is described as an able and just man, and his tolerance of Christians was remarkable for its time. His rule is said to have been able and orderly, and indeed, he did bring the finances of Aleppo into order in a very short time after taking it. In any case, he had wide vision and successfully endeavoured to maintain the power of the Arab tribes in Syria and al-Djazīra. It ceased with him; henceforth Turkish generals of the Saldjūḳs became the rulers of Syria and al-Djazīra.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, index; E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, index, s.v.; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 40-4, 86 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 55-6; idem, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 98.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

MUSLIM B. ʿUḲBA of the Banū Murra [*q.v.*], famous commander of the Sufyānid caliphs. We know very little about the early stages of his career. We find him early established in Syria, to which he probably came with the first conquerors. Completely devoted to the Umayyads and of great personal valour, he led a division of Syrian infantry at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but he failed in an attempt to take the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] from ʿAlī. The caliph Muʿāwiya appointed him to take charge of the *kharādj*, the finances, of Palestine, a lucrative office in which he refused to enrich himself. Muslim was prominent at the death-bed of Muʿāwiya. The caliph had charged him and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] with the regency until the return of Yazīd, who was in Anatolia at the head of his troops. The confidence which the great Sufyānid had in his loyalty is seen in his advice to his heir: "If you ever have trouble with the Ḥidjāz, just send the one-eyed man of the tribe of Murra there" (Muslim had only one eye). This time had now come.

Muslim had been a member of the embassy sent to Medina to bring the Anṣār back to obedience. All other efforts at conciliation having failed, Yazīd I decided to resort to force. In spite of Muslim's age and infirmities, Yazīd felt he was the man to command the expedition. He was obliged to travel in a lit-

ter on account of his infirmity. At Wādī 'l-Kurā, Muslim met some Umayyads who had been driven out of Medina; these exiles informed him of the military situation of the town. When he reached the oasis of Medina, Muslim encamped on the *harra* [*q.v.*] of Wākim and for three days awaited the result of the negotiations begun with the rebels, Anṣār and descendants of the *muhādjirūn* of Kuraysh. On the fourth day, all overtures having been rejected, he made his plans for battle. It was a Wednesday, 26-7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/26-7 Aug. 683). After a slight initial advantage for the Anṣār, the battle ended at midday in the complete rout of the rebels. The Syrians followed them into Medina and began to plunder the city. Anti-Umayyad legend has much exaggerated the horrors and the duration of this pillaging which it extends to three days. On the day after the battle, Muslim's intervention restored order and he used the next few days in drawing up the case against and trying the principal leaders of the rebellion who had fallen into his power.

Having established order in the town, which he left in charge of Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ [*q.v.*], in spite of the aggravation of his malady, he resumed his march on Mecca to deal with ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. Arriving at Mushallal he became so ill that he had to stop. In obedience to the caliph Yazīd's instructions, he appointed to succeed him in command of the army Ḥusayn b. al-Numayr [*q.v.*], his second-in-command. He died at Mushallal, where his tomb long continued to be stoned by the passers-by (cf. *Ziyārāt*, 51). Writers with Shīʿī sympathies are fond of twisting the name Muslim into *Musrif* (spendthrift, one who acts irresponsibly: an allusion to Kurʾān, V, 36, VII, 79, XI, 29, 36, and *passim*). One statement which must be a ridiculous exaggeration puts his age at 90. Everything, however, points to his having been born before the Hidjra. He died a poor man. This disinterestedness is not the only feature in his character which makes us take him as one of the most representative of the types of this generation of soldiers and statesmen, whose talents contributed so much to establish the power of the Umayyads. Dozy described him as "un Bédouin mécréant". Muslim, it is true, retained all the proverbial uncouthness (*djafāʾ*) of the Banū Murra. But his whole career reveals the Murrī general as a convinced Muslim of a rectitude rare in this period of unsettlement, which saw so many extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune and wavering loyalties.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3283, ii, 198, 409-25, 427. Other references are given in Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Iᵉʳ*, 223 ff., repr. from *MFOB*, v, 225 ff., and in his *Étude sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwia Iᵉʳ*, in *MFOB*, i ff., 19, 45, 269, 373.

(H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B. **AL-WALĪD** AL-ANṢĀRĪ (called *Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī* "he who is laid low by the fair maidens", as was al-Kuṭāmī [*q.v.*] before him), an Arab poet of the early ʿAbbāsid period, born in Kūfa *ca.* 130-40/747-57, d. 208/823 in Djurdjān.

His father, a *mawlā* of the Anṣār, was a weaver. Nothing is known of the poet's education. He probably got his literary training not from particular teachers or from books but in the busy life of the ʿIrākī cities, the intellectual life of which had risen to a still higher level with the advent of the ʿAbbāsids. Like most of his contemporaries he earned his living as poet by writing panegyrics and was acquainted with many statesmen and *amīrs*. Among the former were the general Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (see *Dīwān*, 1, 6, 10, 16, 49), Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī (20), Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī (31) and many others. He gradually won the favour of the influential Barmakids [see AL-BARĀMIKA] (nos. 17, 40, 45) and of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (nos. 14, 41, 57); according to one story, he received his nickname from the latter on account of a verse of his (no. 3, v. 35; see also no. 23, v. 39). He even mentions the caliph's sister ʿAbbāsa in an ode (no. 57, vv. 7 ff.). The fall of the Barmakids in 187/803, did not affect his career: he dedicated some of his odes to al-Amīn (7, 28, 30) but his principal patron in later times was al-Maʾmūn's vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. Through his intervention he received from al-Maʾmūn an official post (probably *ṣāḥib al-barīd*) in Djurdjān. He remained faithful to al-Faḍl b. Sahl until his death in 202/818, and out of grief for him he wrote no more. There is a story told by his *rāwī* according to which he destroyed a considerable part of his poems before his death.

As regards the matter and style of his poems, he was on quite traditional ground. In addition to his old-fashioned odes and elegies, his satires are particularly interesting in this respect; in his polemics with the (otherwise little known) poet al-Ḥakam al-Kanbar [*q.v.*] on the merits of the Anṣār and Kuraysh, he revived the coarse and bitter tone of the polemics of an al-Farazdak or an al-Ṭirimmāḥ [*q.vv.*] on a similar subject. The two hundred years of development of Arabic poetry were naturally not without influence on him; in his *nasīb*s we frequently find the style of an ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa or al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*], Muslim's contemporaries. His drinking songs deserve special mention. Although Nöldeke only very rarely finds in them "the natural effusion of Bacchantic joy as so frequently in Abū Nuwās", Arab critics are of another opinion. These two poets are to them practically the same in this respect, and we must confess they are right. His drinking-songs are not only of great value for the descriptions of society and social life in the cities, but from the point of view of poetry they are among the best of Muslim's work. If we must, as regards subject matter, number Muslim among the imitators of the old poets, in style he belongs to a more modern period. The historians of Arabic literature frequently mention him as the first to introduce the "new style", *al-badīʿ*, with its tropes and figures. This is, however, not quite such a simple point; the "new style" arose only gradually in Arabic poetry, although Muslim with his contemporaries, Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*], Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], etc., was one of the first who definitely struck out on the new path.

Muslim was on terms of friendship or enmity with many contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās, Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*], al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (who maliciously called him *Ṣarīʿ al-Ghīlān* or *Ṣarīʿ al-Kās*), Abu 'l-Shīṣ [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.v.*], etc. His literary influence was not inconsiderable: Diʿbil [*q.v.*] was his pupil (which did not prevent him exchanging satires with Muslim); Abū Tammām was particularly fond of studying his poems. His *Dīwān* has been transmitted in very unsatisfactory fashion; it was collected in alphabetical order by al-Ṣūlī [*q.v.*], but this recension has not come down to us (there are few traces of it in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*); another story speaks of the collection made by al-Mubarrad.

The manuscript long considered as unique, that of Leiden University Library (Or. 888), is very incomplete, since it contains only vols. ii and iii of the recension and commentary of the Andalusian scholar (d. Shawwāl 352/October-November 963) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Walīd b. ʿĪsā al-Ṭabīkhī (and not al-Ṭandjī as the Maghribī script of the preserved copy might sug-

gest). The 75 surviving pieces of verse are not classified according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. They are succinctly presented but more extensively commentated upon. On the apocryphal elements in them, see Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe*, 17 ff. A further ms. of the *Dīwān*, plus a fragment, are now known, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 529.

Bibliography: The Leiden ms. was the basis of the 1875 Leiden edn. of M.J. De Goeje, *Diwan poetae Abu-'l-Walíd Moslim ibno-'l-Walíd al-Ançárí* cognomine *Çarío-'l-ghawání*. This *dīwān* was reproduced lithographically, without the introd., notes and indices (which were in Latin), by Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Ḥusaynī, at Bombay in 1303/1885; in 1325/1907 there appeared at Cairo, with a reclassification according to the alphabetical order of rhymes, a reproduction of De Goeje's Arabic text, soon followed, again at Cairo, n.d., by a further pirated edition. Finally, one may consider as definitive the work of Sāmī Dahhān, who published at Cairo in 1376/1957 a *Sharḥ Dīwān Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī* of 69 + 524 pp. This remarkable work, based on the Leiden ms., includes a long introd. on the poet, his work and the history of the *Dīwān*, and then, after the 75 pieces, 205 fragments drawn from various sources, the texts of notices devoted to the poet by 45 mediaeval authors and seven indices (including one of rhymes, lacking in De Goeje's edn.). Amongst the classical sources brought together by Dahhān, the most extensive is that of the *K. al-Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, 313-53. There are very few modern studies. Apart from the histories of Arabic literature, see the review of the De Goeje edn. by Nöldeke, in *GGA* for 9 June 1875, 705-15; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe du IIe siècle de l'hégire*, in *Actes du XIe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1899, 1-21; A.F. Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, Cairo 1927, 374-92; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 528-9.

(I. KRATSCHKOWSKY*)

MUSLIMŪN (A.), Muslims.

1. The old-established Muslim communities of Eastern Europe
2. Migrant Muslims in Western Europe
3. Migrant Muslims in the Americas [see DJĀLIYA]
4. The so-called "Black Muslims"

1. The old-established Muslim communities of Eastern Europe.

The Muslim communities of Europe as a whole may be divided into two distinct groups: on the one hand, the old communities, formed in the distant, or very distant past, through the vicissitudes of history, in a certain number of countries (Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and Finland); and on the other hand, the new communities, established much more recently, in the industrialised countries (France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, etc.), as a result of the uninterrupted flow of immigrants arriving from the most diverse of origins (North Africa, Black Africa, East Africa, Near and Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, Indonesia, South-East Asia, etc.). The brief survey which follows deals exclusively with the former group.

The long-established Muslim communities (those of South-Eastern Europe, Poland and Finland, all of them Sunnīs of the Ḥanafī rite) are composed of a relatively large number of ethnic groups, speaking a dozen different languages and living under conditions which vary according to the successive régimes of the countries to which they belong. This account relates to the current situation as its exists "on the ground", first in northern Europe, then in the Balkan peninsula and the adjacent countries.

A. *The Muslim communities of northern Europe.*

(1) Poland. The Muslim community of Poland was constituted by the arrival and settlement, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of two groups of Tatars: one comprising natives of the Khānate of the Golden Horde and the Khānates situated on the Volga (arriving in the 14th and 15th centuries), and the others comprising emigrants from the Crimea [see ḲIRĪM] (arriving especially in the 17th and 18th centuries). Subsequently, these two groups were fused into a single entity, living in harmony with the diverse populations of the region, but conserving their religious and cultural identity. It is generally reckoned that, around 1930, these Muslims numbered approximately 10,000. Decimated and dispersed during the Second World War, this community was to lose a large proportion of its members following the changes to the eastern frontier of the country which favoured the USSR. Currently, no more than some 2,200 Tatars remain in Poland (notably in the villages of Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, also in Warsaw, Gdańsk and Białystok). On the history and recent situation of this community, see LEH; LIPḲA; A. Popovic, *La situation actuelle*, in *L'Islam en Europe a l'époque moderne*, Paris 1985, 99-104; G. Lederer and I. Takacs, *Chez les musulmans de Pologne*, in *La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique* (C.N.R.S./E.H.E.S.S., Paris), *Lettre d'information*, no. 8, January 1988, 39-47, which contains the list of principal publications on the subject.

(2) Finland. The Muslim community of Finland consists of about a thousand "Turko-Tatars", the descendants of emigrants from the Idel Ural and Volga regions, who seem to be perfectly integrated in their new domicile. Some of them arrived in the country during the 19th century, and the majority after the Soviet revolution of 1917. These Muslims live dispersed among a dozen towns and villages, and almost all are engaged in trading in furs, fabrics and carpets. They would include a number of wealthy individuals. Relatively little is known of the current conditions of life of this tiny community, still less of its potential role in the international scene. It was officially recognised in 1925, and its headquarters are located in Helsinki, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 105, where other references are to be found; and, in particular, a valuable article by the best contemporary expert on the subject, Harry Halen, *Islaminuskoisista Suomessa*, in *Eripainos*, no. 5 (Helsinki 1984), 341-53, containing a thorough bibliography.

B. *The Muslim communites of South-Eastern Europe.*

(1) Hungary. Two Muslim communities have existed successively in Hungary. Both have subsequently disappeared in peculiar circumstances. The history of the disappearance of the first Muslim community of the country is well-known. This had been formed between 1526 and 1699 as a result of the Ottoman conquest and occupation of some Hungarian territory, but it had disappeared totally in the aftermath of the reconquest at the end of the 17th century, with the flight of Muslim populations, and the massacre or summary conversion to Christianity of the populations who remained. Subsequently, especially from 1878 onward, the birth was witnessed of a new Muslim community in the country, and this for two reasons: on the one hand there was an influx of a number of Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina (a migration provoked by the military occupation of these two regions by Austria-Hungary in 1878, under the terms of the Congress of Berlin, and later by their annexation in 1908 by the Double Monarchy [see BOSNA]); on the other hand there was an influx (as a result of increasingly close ties with Turkey) of a

number of Ottoman Turkish citizens (artisans, merchants and students) who were soon to form, especially in Budapest, what amounted to a minor Turkish colony. Subsequently, both these groups were to be progressively weakened (particularly during the first half of the 20th century) as a result of the increasing and significant number of mixed marriages (there being a shortage of Muslim women in the country), ultimately becoming assimilated into the local population. Although a few "individual" Muslims are still to be found in Hungary, there no longer exists a Hungarian Muslim community in the sense in which it existed some fifty years ago, and this in spite of recent efforts on the part of various foreign Muslim sects such as the Aḥmadiyya, and also of the Bahāʾīs. See MADJAR, MADJARISTĀN; A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986, 184-95; G. Lederer, *Sur l'Islam à Budapest*, in *La transmission du savoir... Lettre d'Information*, no. 6, November 1986, 23-37; idem, *ʿAbdu 'l-Baha's visit to Budapest*, in *Lettre d'Inf.*, no. 9, February 1989, 13-25.

2. Rumania. The Muslim community of Rumania must currently number some 50,000 persons, Turks and Tatars living, for the most part, in the Dobrudja [*q.v.*] (although a handful also exists in Bucharest and there are a few others dispersed across the country). The Rumanian state had inherited this small religious and ethnic minority at the time of its creation in 1878, a minority which was later to belong sometimes to Rumania, sometimes to Bulgaria, according to the political vicissitudes of the time and the successive phases of unification or partition of the "Greater Dobrudja" (formed from what is correctly called the Dobrudja and the Quadrilateral). Finally, it may be added that the small Danubian Muslim community of Ada Ḳalʿe [*q.v.*] which comprised approximately a thousand persons, was dispersed in 1968, when the island was submerged by hydraulic constructions at the Iron Gates.

The great majority of this population is composed of farmers (there being, apparently, no more semi-nomads in the Dobrudja, just as the steppes, described at length by all geographers and ethnologists at the beginning of this century, have ceased to exist), but there are also some town-dwelling Muslims, in Constantza [see KÖSTENDJE], Medjīdiyya [see MEDJĪDIYYE], Mangalia, Tulcea, Macin, etc. In most cases, this is a population of relatively modest social status.

This community is governed by the *muftī* of Constantza and by a "synodal college" (which exists more in theory than in practice). After the end of the Second World War, it seemed to be living in a precarious condition; the closure of Turkish and Tatar schools in 1957, the closure of the "Muslim seminary" of Medjīdiyya (the only establishment of its kind in the country) in 1967 (or as early as 1962?), the non-existence of Islamic religious publications, the impossibility of participating in the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. Then, in 1972 or thereabouts, the international situation and the economic difficulties of the country obliged the Rumanian authorities of the time to grant to the local Muslim community certain concessions, with the object of visibly improving the image of the régime vis-à-vis a number of Arab and Muslim countries. Among the developments witnessed in the recent period have been the dispatch of Rumanian Muslim delegations to these countries, the publication of a small book of propaganda relating to the local Muslims and of a local Islamic review, as well as a very diffident (but constantly growing) renewal of pilgrimages to Mecca, financed by the Libyan government. At the time of writing (end of 1989), nothing is known of the likely consequences, for the small Muslim community of Rumania, of the collapse of the local Communist régime. See BOGHDĀN; EFLĀḲ; Popovic, *L'Islam Balkanique*, 196-253.

(3) Greece. The Muslims of Greece must currently number between 130,000 and 150,000 persons. It should, however, be born in mind that in the past a large number of Muslims have been obliged to leave the country at various times, between 1821 (the start of the Greek insurrection against the Ottomans) and 1923 (the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey) [see MUHĀDJIR. 1]. They belong to three clearly distinct communities which are not united in a common organisation. The communities in question are the Turks (and gypsies) of eastern Thrace, the Bulgarophone Pomaks [*q.v.*] of the Rhodopes, and the Turks of Rhodes [see RODOS] and of Kos.

(a) The "Muslim community of the Dodecanese" (principally the islands of Rhodes and Kos, see ON IKI ADA) consists of between three and four thousand Turkish-speakers, most of whom have opted in recent decades for Greek nationality. This is a community in an advanced state of decline, containing a high precentage of elderly people and showing practically no sign of organised community life beyond the absolute minimum (Friday prayers, the major religious festivals, weddings and burials). Its schools have been closed since 1972, and its cultural life as such is virtually non-existent; the mosques, cemeteries, public baths and other buildings belonging to the *waḳfs* have been neglected, and the *muftī*, who died in 1974, has not been replaced.

(b) It is very difficult to supply accurate information regarding the Muslim community constituted by the Bulgarophone Pomaks of Greece (some 25,000 persons) living in the mountains of the Rhodopes, along the Bulgarian frontier. This is an exclusively village-based and very introvert community, inhabiting mountainous territory (which is also a military zone) to which access is forbidden to Greeks and to foreigners alike (and which cannot be entered without special authorisation, difficult to obtain). The cultural level of this population seems to be fairly modest (although there exists a *madrasa* at Echinos), and (as in the case of the Pomaks of Bulgaria) no written testimony relating to them is available. Those of them who have come to settle in the towns of eastern Thrace seem to have been gradually assimilated into the Turkish milieu.

(c) We are much better informed regarding the history and the current situation of the Turkish-speaking Muslims of eastern Thrace (between 100,000 and 120,000 persons). These are in the main Turks and a certain number of gypsies but also, perhaps, included among them are a few groups of Roumeliotes from various Balkan regions (and from diverse origins) who turned towards Turkey before 1912 and stopped off on the way. It is a living community, although muzzled by the local authorities and very much dependent on everyday relations between Greece and Turkey, relations in which it is itself a weighty factor. It nevertheless leads a relatively intense religious and cultural life: we may point out the existence of two "major" *muftīs* (those of Xhanti and of Komotini) and one "minor" *muftī* (that of Didimotiho); of an administration of *waḳfs*; of numerous religious, sporting and cultural associations; of primary schools; of two secondary schools; and finally, of numerous journals and reviews in Turkish. They write their Turkish in Arabic script, including elementary school books. No precise infor-

mation is available regarding religious life as such, but worth mentioning is a vigorous participation in the pilgrimage to Mecca (200 persons on average over recent years). See Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 107-83.

(4) Albania. Islamised during the Ottoman domination of the Balkans, this proportion extending to 70% of the population, Albania contained in 1945 (shortly after the seizure of power by the local Communist party, which later became the "Albanian Workers' Party"), 816,677 Muslims. At that time this community exhibited two notable peculiarities: it was on the one hand (unlike the situation in the other countries of the region), a perfectly homogenised community, in view of the fact that all the Muslims of the country were Albanians, by racial stock and by language; on the other hand it was composed in reality of two parallel communities: that of the Sunnīs (very much the majority, comprising 75 to 80% of the Muslims of the country) and that of the Bektās̲h̲īs [see BEKTĀS̲H̲IYYA], accounting for the remaining 20 to 25%.

These phenomena had, however, no bearing on the changing fortunes of local Islam (and of religion in general), a process which reached its climax some twenty years later during the Albanian "cultural revolution" of 1967: the date of the absolute suppression by the authorities of the country of all religious organisations and the closure of all places of worship, without exception.

This act had been preceded by two clearly distinct periods, that of 1945-53 and that of 1954-67.

During the first of these periods, the authorities quite rapidly dismantled all the religious organisations, eliminated their religious and secular rivals and ultimately brought into line the leaders of the four religious persuasions (Sunnī and Bektās̲h̲ī Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians), whose official pronouncements demonstrated their degree of subservience to the régime. There is documentary evidence available for this first period which shows, on the one hand, the process of this step-by-step seizure of control, and, on the other, the first attempts of adaptation and internal reform on the part of the two Muslim communities, adaptation which very soon degenerated into total collaboration with the officially approved "clergy".

Documentation subsequently becomes increasingly rare, and practically nothing is known of an official nature regarding Albanian Islam after 1954, with the exception of a few titles of religious publications (year books for the most part) which are now virtually inaccessible. This period of decline is characterised by the fact that the Albanian government no longer seeks public approval from the Muslim authorities for its major policy decisions, excluding them from celebrations and major popular rallies. The final blow was to be struck in 1967.

Two subsequent dates are to be noted: 28 December 1976, the date of the adoption of the new Constitution, of which articles 37 and 55 stipulate: "The State does not recognise any religion; it supports and promotes atheistic propaganda to inculcate in the people the materialist-scientific concept of the world"; "The creation of organisations of fascist, anti-democratic, religious or anti-socialist nature is forbidden"; the second date, end of 1976- beginning of 1977, marks the publication of a decree ordering the changing of names of Biblical or Ḳurʾānic origin.

Officially then, Albanian Islam no longer exists. But is it really dead? The answer to this is unknown. What is undeniably true however, is that the Albanian press periodically castigates religious survivals and calls for vigilance. See ARNAWUTLUḲ; Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 11-65.

(5) Bulgaria. According to the census of 31 December 1946 (the last official census to take account of the religious affiliation of the population), the Muslim population of Bulgaria numbered 938,418 out of a total of 7,029,349 inhabitants, thus 13.35% of the population of the country. Bearing in mind natural growth on the one hand, and emigrations to Turkey on the other (155,000 in the winter of 1950-51; approximately 300,000 in summer-autumn 1989 [see MUHĀD̲J̲IR. 1]), it would currently amount to some 600,000 persons, or possibly more. It consists of four groups which are, from an ethnic viewpoint, very different from one another:

(a) The islamised Bulgarians (about 150,000) who are known as *Pomaci* (singular *Pomak* [*q.v.*]). They speak Bulgarian, have no knowledge whatsoever of the Turkish language and live in the mountains of the Rhodopes and in the region of Razlog. For the most part illiterate until a relatively recent period, they have virtually never had a local intelligentsia. It would be logical to suppose that their assimilation (imposed with excessive force by the authorities in recent years) is in a process of acceleration from day to day, and that their religiosity has suffered since 1878 (the date of the creation of Bulgaria) and especially since 1945, the corrosive effects of time.

(b) The most important group, by far, is that of the Turks. Their number has varied considerably since 1878, and is evidently susceptible to further variation, in view of the volatile and still unpredictable political situation of the region. It is estimated that there are currently some 500,000 (or possibly more) Turks distributed among various regions of Bulgaria (Deli Orman, Dobrud̲j̲a, along the Danube, the eastern Rhodopes) but we have no knowledge of how many of them are actually believing Muslims.

(c) There are also in Bulgaria a few thousand Tatars, of whom at least a part (impossible to quantify) is of the Muslim religion. They speak Tatar and in the main inhabit the region of the Dobrud̲j̲a, although there are also a few scattered pockets elsewhere.

(d) Finally, it is appropriate to mention the existence of a certain number of Muslim gypsies, whose exact number is unknown and who are generally of very tenuous religious affiliation.

The religious situation of the Bulgarian Muslim community is very unfavourable. The practice of religion is officially free, but the Bulgarian state has since 1945 followed a sustained policy of secularisation and bulgarisation, using every available means to restrict religious liberty (of Muslims and Christians alike) with the result that today religion is undoubtedly in decline throughout the country. As regards the Muslim community in particular, this is expressed by the following: state appointment of senior religious leaders, suppression of religious festivals, the outlawing of a Muslim press, measures to prevent Bulgarian Muslims from participating in the pilgrimage to Mecca or establishing contacts with external Muslim communities, proliferation of societies of "scientific atheism" designed to intensify work on the land, etc. The recent campaign aimed at the bulgarisation of Turkish names provoked the mass emigration in 1989 of some 300,000 Muslims, a number of whom have however returned to Bulgaria since. See BULGARIA; Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 66-106.

(6) Yugoslavia. The exact number of Muslims currently living in Yugoslavia is unknown, in view of

the fact that recent censuses have not taken account of the religious affiliations of the population, but their number must exceed, to a considerable extent, the figure of three million out of a total population of 22,418,331 inhabitants (census of 1981).

The three principal groups are located in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Slavs of "Muslim nationality"—whose existence was officially recognised by the authorities, for political reasons, in 1969—Muslims of Serbian nationality and Muslims of Croatian nationality, a total of approximately 2 million persons); in Serbia, in the region of Kosovo (mostly Albanians, slightly more than a million in number, plus several tens of thousands of Turks); finally, in Macedonia (Macedonians of whom the exact number is unknown—100,000-200,000 (?)—as well as several tens of thousands of Albanians, plus about 100,000 Turks). To these three groups, should be added several tens of thousands of Muslims in Montenegro (Montenegrins and Albanians), as well as a several tens of thousands of Muslim gypsies, and tens of thousands of other Muslims, belonging to all the nationalities aforementioned, dispersed throughout the country. Thus it is evident that the Yugoslav Muslim community exists in the form of numerous regional communities whose official (and non-official) relations with the authorities, and whose actual situation on the ground, show significant differences. For this reason, the researcher seeking to unravel and understand this complex situation should examine the case of each of these communities separately.

(a) There is little of significance to be said regarding the Muslim community of Montenegro [see Ḳaradagh], whose representatives are seldom seen in public and play, in any case, a modest role in the administration of the "Supreme Islamic Authority" of Yugoslavia.

(b) The Muslim community of Serbia is composed of Albanians. Its centre is located at Priština which is the capital of the region of Kosovo. The community possesses a *madrasa* (of inferior status compared to that of Sarajevo) and publishes, in Albanian, its own religious review entitled *Edukata Islame*, which is generally considered to be an edition aimed at the Albanian populations of the country, of the official Yugoslav Muslim review *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* of Sarajevo.

(c) Little has been heard since 1945 of the Muslim community of Macedonia [see Māḳadūnyā] (composed, as stated above, of Macedonians, Albanians and Turks), whose recent and present circumstances have been a subject generally avoided. The riots of Kosovo in April 1981 and the fears of the Macedonian authorities, faced with a massive influx of Albanians from Kosovo into Macedonia (a further manifestation of a process which has been continuing for decades), suddenly set in motion a whole series of actions (it is impossible to be more specific), concerning a part of this community. This has since been balanced by the hasty construction and inauguration of a regional *madrasa* at Skoplje, by the launch of a local Islamic religious review, and most of all by a quite extraordinary insistence on the Macedonian origin of the local Muslim Slavs, whose existence and potential as an object for research are issues to which efforts are now being addressed.

(d) The Muslim community of Bosnia-Herzegovina [see bosna] is the most numerous and the most important Muslim community of Yugoslavia. It possesses a renowned *madrasa* and a Faculty of Islamic theology, maintains direct and solid relations with the majority of Arab and Muslim countries, published a number of journals and reviews, and every year sends scores of scholarship students to study theology in Arab universities, in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Saudi Arabia, Libya, etc. The political decisions taken (since the Bandoeng Conference in 1955) by the Yugoslav authorities regarding Arab and Muslim countries and regarding countries of the Third World in general, had permitted the Muslim community of Yugoslavia (meaning that of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the origin of all the senior leaders) to enjoy a more stable situation than ever before, with considerable freedom of action and not insignificant material advantages. But this privileged position has declined to a great extent over recent years, for a whole series of reasons of which the most important is the intensification of ethnic and religious antagonisms, following the Yugoslav economic disaster and the beginnings of the collapse of the Communist dictatorship which ostensibly favoured the Muslim community to the detriment of the other religious communities of the country.

Since the history of these various groups of Muslims of Yugoslavia is beyond the scope of this article, we shall confine ourselves to describing very briefly, in a global fashion, the current situation.

The Yugoslav Muslim community is composed of four quite distinct strata:

The urban intelligentsia which is non-believing and entirely secularised, to the extent that it considers itself simply as being "of Muslim descent", and has virtually no contact either with the Muslim religious authorities or with the Muslim press of its country (except in the case of a complex political game between the Muslims in power, belonging to the recently recognised "Muslim nationality", and those who govern the Muslim religious affairs of the country).

A popular stratum, composed of the rural population and of the urban middle and lower classes, which professes a traditionalist Islam linked inextricably to certain local customs and traditions. This category lives in a style that belongs intimately to the totality of the Islamic *umma* of yesterday and of today, to which it feels itself bound by the whole of the common mythic past. The characteristic features of this category are universally known: the great importance of the family and of family ties, high birth-rate, primacy of males, relative absence of the woman in social life, primitive level of religious education, importance of magical-religious customs and (sometimes) of Muslim mystical sects, strict observance of religious festivals, a perceived attractiveness of the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.

The Muslim religious intelligentsia, composed most of all (although not exclusively) of the urban middle classes, which generally professes a reformist Islam adapted to a pronounced socialistic tendency. The representatives of this category have often studied in the Arab countries: in Cairo (al-Azhar), in Medina, in Libya or in the Gulf States, having received their initial education in local Muslim theological high schools, and remain much influenced by a certain category of contemporary Arabic religious publications. They are by nature very mistrustful of western scientific Islamology (and of orientalism in general), disciplines which most of the time they are aware of only at second or third hand, but which are supposed to be the most subtle weapons of Western imperialism and of other "maleficent forces" of our time. On the other hand, the representatives of this category admire immensely European apologetic publications of inferior quality, publica-

tions which they distribute on a wide scale alongside their own home-produced articles, on the major figures of the Muslim world of the past (Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Avicenna and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in the first place). However, it is futile to seek, on the part of the current Yugoslav Muslim religious intelligentsia (for tactical reasons?), any statement of position or controversial issues such as the policies of Gaddafi, Khomeini, etc.

Finally, there is a (currently still very small) stratum of young Islamologists and Muslim "orientalists" (who are divided into two groups, that of theologians and religious functionaries, and that of secular persons of Muslim descent), experienced in modern scientific methods and perfectly conversant with the results obtained in these disciplines outside the frontiers of the country, which is making gradual progress but in rather difficult circumstances. In fact, as regards Islam and the Muslim world, it is caught in a vice between the mistrust and suspicion of local traditionalist Muslims on the one hand, and the incomprehension, more or less total, of non-Muslim Yugoslav intellectuals on the other. See Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 254-365.

Bibliography: Given in the article. It should however be stressed here that a large section of the press of the Arab and Muslim countries (either for ideological reasons, or influenced by a naïve tendency towards apologia belonging to another age, or a combination of both) is in the habit of inflating figures to a considerable extent and of presenting a mythical vision of the situation, much removed from what is to be observed "on the ground". For an impression of the damage which this deplorable tendency is liable to produce even in the best work, see for example M. Ali Kettani, *Islam in Post-Ottoman Balkans: a review essay* in *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, ix/2 (July 1988), 381-403. (A. Popovic)

2. Migrant Muslims in Western Europe.

(i) Until 1945

There have been individual Muslim traders, diplomats and travellers visiting and sometimes settling in Europe probably for as long as Islam has existed historically. In eastern Europe, the Tatar successors of the Mongol empires and the Turkish and Islamicised populations of former Ottoman territories continue to form substantial Muslim communities today. However, this article will concentrate exclusively on the immigrant Muslim populations of the countries of western Europe.

Although the Muslim presence in western Europe is in general conceived of as being a phenomenon of the years after 1945, the roots of Muslim immigration can be traced back to the 19th century and earlier. Thus the origins of the Muslim communities in Germany lie in the increasingly close links which the German states developed with the Ottoman empire through periods of war and peace. A substantial number of stragglers and prisoners were left in the southern German states after the second siege of Vienna in 1683. During the 18th century, the Prussian kings regularly had Muslim units. A century later trading treaties between Istanbul and various German states were the impulse for a growing Muslim presence to the extent that the Ottoman sultan patronised a mosque built in a Muslim cemetery in Berlin in 1866. The links with the Ottoman empire leading into the first world war ensured a continuing close economic and diplomatic relationship between Turkey and the unified German state.

The link between the European colonial powers and their colonies as a determinant of migration routes is even clearer in the cases of Britain and France. The British East India Company had from an early date taken on labour for its ships in the ports of India and dismissed them to fend for themselves in London between sailings. Some of these seamen settled to join the already large numbers of Asians and Africans living in London and other ports. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Muslim component of these groups increased, as British ships took on labourers from the Yemen through the coaling station at Aden. Soon Yemenis were settling in port cities and marrying locally. At the end of the 19th century a *shaykh* of the ʿAlawī Ṣūfī order arrived, and by 1914 every Yemeni settlement in Britain had a *zāwiya* of that order. The first mosques were opened for more cosmopolitan Muslim communities in Liverpool (1891) and Woking (1889). The Liverpool mosque did not survive the outbreak of the First World War, but the Woking mosque continued as a lively centre between the two world wars. For some time it was linked with the Lahōrī branch of the Aḥmadiyya movement [*q.v.*], and both the two Ḳurʾān translators Marmaduke Pickthall [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf ʿAlī were associated with it. But as the early sponsors of the mosque died and relations between the Aḥmadīs and the mainstream Sunnīs broke down, especially in British India, the leaders of the Woking mosque declared their adherence to Sunnī Islam in 1935. In 1944, King George VI inaugurated the Islamic Cultural Centre on a site in Regent's Park donated in exchange for a site in Cairo for the new Anglican cathedral.

Muslim immigration into France before 1945 shows, perhaps, much greater continuity of character than elsewhere. Certainly there were businessmen and students, the most well-known of the latter being the Egyptians sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and his successors. But already before the First World War there were labour migrants from Algeria, most of them from Kabyle tribes, and by 1912 there was a significant Algerian labour force in olive oil refining and related industries in the region of Marseilles. Others were to be found in the industrial areas of the east and the north. During the First World War, there was a major immigration of Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians into the civil and defence industries including a majority of requisitioned men. In recognition of this war involvement, the French government sponsored the opening of a mosque in Paris in 1926. North Africans continued to seek work in France between the wars, although the uncertain economic situation, especially after 1929, made for an often erratic pattern of movement back and forth. During the Second World War, the Vichy government in 1942 contracted to supply North African labour to help the Germans build the Atlantic Wall.

(ii) After 1945

Immediately after 1945, the economies of Europe were for a short time busy working towards reconstruction of industry and absorption of military personnel into the civilian labour force. But soon growing economies began to seek labour further and further afield. The first West Indian immigrants had begun to arrive in Britain by 1950, and during the following decade people from the Indian subcontinent joined the movement, although it was not till the end of the decade that significant numbers of Pakistanis migrated. In France the number of Algerians reached over 200,000 in the 1954 census. For a time, much of the rest of Europe, including West Germany, was able to staff its expanding industry from the poorer coun-

tries in southern Europe: Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain and Portugal. But in 1961 Germany entered into a treaty with Turkey for the supply of industrial labour. During this decade Turkey entered into similar agreements with Austria, the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In 1962, in the Evian agreement ending the Algerian war of independence, France granted privileged access to Algerians, and in the following year West Germany signed a labour agreement with Morocco, as did the Netherlands in 1969. Other countries to enter into such treaties were Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland, while Tunisia joined the countries sending migrant workers abroad.

Virtually all the migrants who entered western Europe during this period came to work and had no intention of settling. This perspective began to change when the gates were closed to men seeking work. It was in Britain that this first happened with the introduction of the first Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962. Ten years later, the rest of the countries of western Europe followed suit, as economies went into stagnation or recession with the rise of oil prices. Immigration continued to take place in substantial numbers, but it was now wives and children who arrived. As families were established, so practical issues of everyday life necessitated a much more conscious definition of attitudes towards Islam and its cultural expression than hitherto had been the case. Family relations of a traditional type were open to question, as the extended family was broken up by migration. The role of male and female both inside and outside the family became a critical area, as women had to shoulder much more individual responsibility in running family affairs, while their husbands were working unsocial hours. They had to deal with social and health authorities in surroundings which were alien to their experience. Children had to go to schools which had little or no comprehension of the force of Islam in their lives. Children have been growing up in cultural and political systems which have emphasised tolerance and liberty of thought but which, with an ever stronger experience of prejudice and racism, are perceived to have withheld that tolerance from the Muslim communities.

A direct consequence of family reunion in European cities has been the appearance and growth of institutional expressions of Islam. Soon after the 1962 Immigration Act in Britain, the number of mosques started to rise, until an annual registration rate of about thirty was reached in the late 1970s. A similar growth in the number of mosques can be noted in other European countries after 1972-4. At the same time, the various Muslim movements of the countries of origin joined the immigration and set up branches among their compatriots in Europe. In this process, both the countries of origin and other Muslim countries have sought to take a hand. The influence of some oil-rich states has been exaggerated, despite often substantial amounts of assistance which have been granted.

By the mid-1980s there was evidence of a change of emphasis among young Muslims who had been born in Europe or had arrived at a very young age. On the one hand, they were beginning to question their parents' assumption of complete congruence between Islam and its particular cultural expression. Many young people were beginning to develop conceptions of a Muslim life which was compatible with, though not the same as, the way of life of their surroundings. Others have sought Islamic identification clearly distinct from that of their European surroundings. Others again, though fewer, have moved into political and social commitment in the European surroundings, usually in some form of radical activism against racism.

Individual countries

In the following paragraphs, the specific situation of each country, or group of countries, will be outlined with reference to the numbers and ethnic origins of the Muslim communities, the types of Muslim organisations and mosques and their legal status. Hardly any countries maintain religious statistics, so population figures have to be estimated from nationality figures, with the exception of Britain where the base is data on place of birth. At various times censuses have been held, but most regular statistics (again with the exception of Britain) are those issued annually by the civil registries, which in most countries keep records of all residents by district. This does not, by definition, include those who are "irregular" or "illegal". The data on mosques is equally uncertain because legal definitions of places of worship differ not only among countries but also internally as between national legislation and local authority regulations for different purposes such as taxation or town-planning. In the following, the term "mosque" means any building which is used regularly for prayer and often as a place of at least simple Islamic instruction — hence most mosques, on these terms, are older buildings converted to Muslim use.

France. The overall population of Muslim background is about 3 million. The 1981 census showed about 800,000 Algerians, 430,000 Moroccans, 190,000 Tunisians, and 125,000 Turks. In addition, there are nearly half a million "Harkis", Algerians who had remained loyal to France during the war of independence. There are also a fast-growing number of Muslims from West Africa, especially Senegal and Mali. The largest concentrations of North African Muslims are to be found in and around Paris, Lyon and Marseilles. Turks have particularly settled around Lille and in Alsace, as well as Paris. The vast majority of immigrants have retained their nationality of origin, but their children born in France are entitled to French nationality if they wish. Strict separation between church and state from the beginning of the 20th century has meant that, with the exception of the Paris mosque, Muslims have had to rely on their own resources. In 1976, a new law was passed allowing public support for the cultural activities also of Muslim associations, and in 1981 an old distinction between foreign and French associations was abolished. A 1978 estimate indicated that there were at least 87 mosques and prayer houses, while a 1985 estimate suggests almost one thousand. Many early organisations were linked with Algerian or Moroccan political conflicts, but with time other movements have entered the field. The Ṣūfī orders of the countries of origin maintain a strong presence also in France. West African Muslims were prominent in the creation of immigrant trade unions during the automobile factory strikes in the early 1980s. Since then, a major new development has been the spread of the *Djamāʿat al-Tablīgh*, known in France as *Foi et pratique*.

Great Britain. Serious attempts to estimate the Muslim population of Britain reach about one million, although some Muslim spokesmen claim up to three times as many. About one-third of the total originate in Pakistan and a further 10% each of the total from India and Bangladesh. Smaller significant groups come from the countries of East Africa, mostly of Indian origin, West Africa, Cyprus, Malaysia,

Iran, and a variety of Arab countries. People from all of these ethnic origins are concentrated in London. Outside London, Muslim populations, overwhelmingly of Indian subcontinent origin, are concentrated in the West Midlands around Birmingham, in Yorkshire around Bradford, in Manchester and its suburbs, with smaller but still significant communities in cities like Glasgow, Leicester, Sheffield, Leeds, Cardiff and Southampton. As most of the countries of origin are members of the Commonwealth, British law allowed routine extension of nationality until 1983. All children born in Britain are automatically citizens. So by the end of the 1980s almost half of the Muslim community is British by birth, while the majority of the rest have acquired full British passports. While some of the older churches operate under parliamentary legislation, there is no general legal framework for the recognition of religious communities. Most Muslim organisations and mosques are registered under the law of charitable organisations. The first major growth in the number of mosques took place after 1964 and accelerated from the mid-1970s. By 1985 there were almost 400 mosques at a time when the registration of new mosques was averaging thirty a year. The process of organisation has been dominated by movements migrating from the Indian subcontinent. As most Pakistanis have come from Punjabi and Mirpuri villages, the Barēlwī movement and its various subgroups is prominent. Against them have often been ranged the Deobandi network and its related movement *Djamāʿat al-Tablīgh*. A smaller movement in numbers, but influential and widely visible outside the community, is the *Djamāʿat-i-Islāmī* with its daughter organisations in Britain: the UK Islamic Mission, the Muslim Educational Trust, and the Islamic Foundation. Ṣūfī-related groups have taken on a more public shape during the 1970s, particularly Naḳshabandīs, Ḳādirīs, and Čishīs, in addition to the older ʿAlawī presence.

West Germany. The total of less than two million Muslims in 1988 is made up of an overwhelming majority of around 1.5 million Turks. The rest are small numbers (tens of thousands) of Iranians, Pakistanis, Moroccans, Tunisians, and Arabs of various nationalities. Between a quarter and a third are resident in the federal state of North-Rhine-Westphalia, concentrated in the industrial region from Cologne in the south through Duisburg to Dortmund in the north-east. Other concentrations are to be found in all the major industrial cities across the Federal Republic. Most Muslims remain of foreign nationality, partly because it has become increasingly difficult to acquire West German citizenship but also because government policy has been that the foreign communities are migrants, or "guest workers", not immigrants and settlers. The Federal Republic has a legal status of recognised public body (*Körperschaft öffentlichen Rechts*) by which the main churches and the Jewish communities have an arrangement whereby a voluntary "church tax" is collected by the state on their behalf. Since the early 1970s, a number of different Muslim organisations have sought similar recognition without success. However, under existing legislation Muslim organisations have access to public funding for cultural activities (usually flexibly interpreted by the authorities) and are entitled to Islamic instruction in schools for Muslim children. The latter issue has been complicated by the lack of agreement to cooperate among various Muslim organisations, and in consequence some state governments have taken the initiative to develop such instruction. There are almost one thousand mosques across the country, including several in West Berlin. Until the early 1980s, most Turkish Muslim associations, almost all linked to a mosque, were related to movements banned in Turkey. The largest of these were the Süleymanis with smaller numbers linked to the Milli Görüs and the Nurcülük (*Djāmiʿat al-Nūr*). Then a more active religious policy on the part of the Turkish government, encouraged by the German government, led to a significant growth in the number of mosques and associations linked to a federation sponsored by the Religious Affairs Department of the Prime Minister's Office (*Diyanet*), so that this grouping has become the largest by the end of the 1980s. There is an active association of German-speaking Muslims and a number of organisations grouping together various Muslim ethnic communities.

Netherlands. The Dutch Central Bureau for statistics is one of the few such agencies in Europe which keeps religious data. In 1986 it gave a figure of 337,900 Muslims of foreign origin at a time when the general trend was upwards at an annual rate of about 5,000 a year. The majority of this population was in 1988 made up of 180,000 Turks and 120,000 Moroccans. The largest proportion of the remainder were Surinamese of Indian origin and a few thousand each from Pakistan, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Arabs other than Moroccans. The Muslims are concentrated in the major conurbations of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, with smaller communities in most other significant industrial centres. The vast majority of Muslims remain citizens of their countries of origin. The Netherlands is constitutionally a lay state with strict separation between religion and state. Part of the system is, however, a recognition of the social and institutional function of the religious communities, traditionally the Catholic and the various Protestant churches, in particular their involvement in education. Government structures have, through commissions of inquiry, local support, and the like, attempted to incorporate the new Muslim presence into the traditional system, with mixed results. A Muslim organisation has been allocated regular times on Dutch radio and television. Since 1988, over ten publicly-funded Muslim schools have opened. There are over two hundred mosques. On the Moroccan side, most are autonomous, although there have been attempts to organise them through a federation sponsored by the Moroccan government. On the Turkish side, the pattern of organisation is similar to that in West Germany.

Belgium. The total number of Muslims was in the region of 300,000 in 1986, two-thirds of whom were from North Africa, mainly Moroccans, and the majority of the rest Turks. The main concentration is around Brussels, with other significant communities in the main industrial towns. While most remain citizens of the country of origin, Belgian nationality law was changed in the late 1980s to make acquisition of Belgian nationality significantly easier. In 1974 Belgium added Islam to the list of recognised religious communities with the consequence, in Belgian law, that Muslim children would be entitled to Islamic instruction in schools at public expense. It took almost ten years for the implementation of this under the central direction of the Islamic Cultural Centre in Brussels. The process has not been without problems because the Centre is sponsored by the Muslim diplomatic community with Saudi Arabian leadership, a situation which many Turkish and Moroccan associations have found unsatisfactory. The pattern of Turkish and Moroccan associations is similar to that in West Germany and France respectively.

Austria. The Muslim population of about 100,000 at the end of the 1980s consists mostly of Turks, but there are about 15,000 Yugoslavs and almost 10,000 Austrians. Muslims are concentrated in the region of Vienna and the western province of Vorarlberg. Most Muslims retain their nationality of origin. The majority of Austrian Muslims are descended from Muslim citizens of the old Austro-Hungarian empire who moved to Vienna in the decades before the end of the empire. With the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, the imperial government sponsored Muslim institutions within the government structures, including a *Muftī* in Vienna. In 1912 Islam was given full recognition, but the law fell into disuse after 1918. In 1979 the law was revived, giving the Muslim community access to religious instruction in schools and to religious broadcasting on the government radio and television. There are about thirty mosques in the country, most linked to organisations which are affiliated to the legally recognised federal association.

Switzerland. The 1980 census recorded just over 56,000 Muslim residents. Estimates based on residence registrations by nationality suggests a total of about 100,000 at the end of 1988, a figure which does not include substantial numbers of mainly Yugoslav seasonal workers. Half of the total were Turks, about a quarter Yugoslavs, and most of the rest from North Africa. Muslim communities are to be found in most larger cities, in particular Basel, Zürich and Geneva. Most retain their citizenship of origin, since acquisition of Swiss nationality is difficult. There is no legislation specifically for Muslims, whose associations function under the general law of associations. There are no data on mosques but there are records of about thirty Muslim associations, mostly linked with the various Turkish movements known elsewhere in Europe.

Scandinavia. Sweden since 1945 has, in addition to immigrants, also had a relatively liberal refugee policy. Consequently, it is particularly difficult to estimate the number of Muslims, since many of the large number of Turkish citizens are Syrian Orthodox Christians. Two different government publications gave 37,000 in 1981 and 22,000 in 1984. Another source estimated 70,000 in 1989, whilst others estimate 100,000 in 1991. Whatever the figure, most are of Turkish origin (including a large number of Kurds) with a smaller group of Yugoslavs. The largest concentrations are in greater Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. Many have become Swedish citizens. Next to the Lutheran state church, all religious congregations with a membership above a certain number are entitled to state funding, and many Muslim congregations have achieved this status on a regular basis. There are about fifty mosques, but the influence of Turkish Muslim associations of the kind to be found in West Germany is minimal.

The Muslim population in Denmark approached 50,000 in the late 1980s. Over half originate from Turkey, and there is also a significant Pakistani population. During the 1980s, the number of Iranians increased from a few hundred to almost 10,000. The vast majority live in and around Copenhagen and smaller numbers in provincial cities such as Odense and Aarhus. Most retain their original nationality, although a number of Pakistanis are nationals of the United Kingdom, having immigrated under European Community rules. Mosques and associations operate under the general laws of association, but the liberal "free school" legislation has allowed the creation of about a dozen publicly funded Muslim schools, mostly in and around Copenhagen.

In 1984 there were around 15,000 Muslims in Norway, half of whom were Pakistanis, and the rest mainly from Turkey and Morocco. Well over half were resident in and around Oslo. The Norwegian government gives financial assistance to religious congregations, by the late 1980s to about a dozen.

Southern Europe. Reliable information on the Muslim communities in Italy, Spain and Portugal is almost impossible to find, primarily because the vast majority of foreigners are unregistered. In Portugal, most Muslims, possibly two-thirds of a total of 50,000, are stateless immigrants from former Portuguese colonies in India or southern Africa. Under General Franco, Islam was forbidden in Spain, and it is only slowly that Muslims are coming to public notice. Most are immigrants or temporary residents from Morocco or Algeria. Italy has the largest number of immigrant Muslims, some estimates ranging as high as 200,000, mostly from North Africa including a good proportion of Libyans. To be found in almost all major industrial cities, there are particularly large numbers in Sicily around Palermo.

Bibliography: Regular information on Muslims in Europe can be found in *CIBEDO* (Frankfurt), in *Research Papers: Muslims in Europe*, and its successor *CSIC Papers: Europe* (Birmingham), and in *Hommes et migration* (Paris). Official data on foreign nationals in selected countries are summarised in the annual *SOPEMI Report* (Paris, OECD). Overviews of the history of migrant Muslims in western Europe are to be found in J.S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Europe*, in *Renaissance and modern studies* (Nottingham University), xxxi, 58-73; F. Dasetto and A. Bastenier, *Europa: nuova frontiera dell' Islam*, Rome 1988; Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*, Edinburgh 1992; T. Gerholm and Y.G. Lithman (eds.), *The new Islamic presence in Europe*, London 1988, is a collection of articles covering most of western Europe, with good bibliography for individual countries. For statistics relating to Muslim populations in the world at *ca.* 1960, see ISLĀM, ii. (J.S. NIELSEN)

3. Migrant Muslims in the Americas [see DJĀLIYA].

4. The so-called "Black Muslims" or *Bilāliyyūn*.

(a) *History*. The organisation of the Black Muslims, also known as the Nation of Islam, was founded in Detroit in 1931 by Wallace D. Fard (1877?-1934?), variously referred to as Wallace Fard Muhammad, W.F. Muhammad, Walli Farrad, Prof. Ford, Farrad Muhammad etc., under the name Allah Temple of Islam. He had previously been associated with the Moorish-American movement founded in 1913 by Noble Drew Ali, formerly Timothy Drew from North Carolina. The name refers to the fact that the organisation was composed of Black Muslims, descendants of the "Moors" among the Spanish conquistadores, who first introduced Islam to the New World, and because in the English colonies, the only Muslim presence was among the slaves imported from sub-Saharan Africa. It is alleged that Wallace D. Fard was born in Mecca of mixed Arab and European parentage. It is more likely that he was of Turko-Persian origin. (For divergent opinions regarding Wallace D. Fard's origins and nationality, see C.E. Lincoln, 1973, 14, and E.U. Essien-Udom, 1962, 44 f. He was allegedly born on 26 February, a day which under his immediate successor was celebrated as Saviour's Day, but is today observed as Ethnic Survival Day by the movement.) He established the Fruits of Islam, a paramilitary élite trained in karate and the use of firearms to act as the normal right arm of the Black Muslims. Its members provided security,

searched everyone who entered a mosque or major meeting, acted as ushers, and sometimes as enforcers of discipline. He disappeared under mysterious circumstances in 1934. After some internal conflict among his followers, Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975), formerly E. Poole, the son of a Baptist preacher in Georgia, who had moved to Detroit in 1923 in search of work and had become acquainted with Wallace D. Fard in 1931, led a major faction of the organisation to Chicago, which became the main headquarters of the movement. Under Elijah Muhammad's leadership the movement was consolidated and grew, emerging in the 1950s as the most prominent organisation of Muslims in the United States, holding considerable property. Its prominence was further enhanced at this time by the conversion of Malcolm Little (1925-65), also the son of a Baptist preacher, later to become known as Malcolm X, signifying that he was an ex-smoker, ex-drinker, ex-Christian and ex-slave. Doctrinal disputes with other African-American groups as well as predominantly Arab ones also strengthened the movement. Because of its numerical strength, its popular appeal among African-Americans, who appreciated its outspokenness on socio-economic conditions and its alleged Islamic character, the organisation was seen as a possible ally of the Muslim World, particularly in countries such as Egypt, India and Pakistan, which were showing an interest in international Islam. To strengthen these relations, Elijah Muhammad visited Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Turkey in 1959, where he met Muslim scholars and politicians including the former S͟hayk͟h al-Azhar, Maḥmūd S͟haltūt and Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. His regard for Muslims in the East was diminished by the poor social and economic conditions he encountered among them.

The rise of political radicalism in Africa, the Middle East and the United States, the growth of the immigrant Muslim population and the new organisations founded by them, had a profound impact on the Black Muslims. The emergence of Pakistan in 1947, the Egyptian revolution in 1952, the independence of Sudan and the nationalisation of the Suez canal in 1956, encouraged Elijah Muhammad to demand that the United States allocate land to be controlled exclusively by his followers. Malcolm X played a central role in conveying Elijah Muhammad's message in the United States as well as abroad. He became one of the most articulate critics of racial injustice in the United States during the civil rights period. He rejected the non-violent approach of Martin Luther King, Jr., arguing that separatism and self-determination were necessary if Blacks were to achieve full equality.

After 1964, when Malcolm X had made the pilgrimage and been converted to orthodox Islam, taking the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, a *nisba* derived from the teachings of Wallace D. Fard claiming that the Black African diaspora were all of Muslim heritage, the "lost-found members of the tribe of Shabazz", and as a result of an internal scandal known as the "Elijah affair" which referred to Elijah Muhammad consorting with his secretaries and fathering a number of children, Malcolm X left the organisation and founded his own one, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. in New York. He published *Muhammad Speaks*, now renamed *Bilalian News*. Shortly after he was assassinated,

When Elijah Muhammad died in 1975 his son, variously referred to as Warithuddin Muhammad, Wallace or Warith Deen Muhammad, Chief Imam Wallace D. Muhammad, etc., in spite of three expulsions for disobedience by his father, succeeded him to the leadership of the Nation of Islam. Influenced by his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1967, he started a process of moving the organisation towards embracing orthodox Islam as soon as he took over the leadership, opening up membership to Whites and encouraging his followers to participate in the civic, social and political life of the country. Up to this point the Black Muslims, with their notion of Black supremacy, were not Muslims by any definition of that word, e.g. they had been observing seven daily prayers and fasted in December. Black Muslims observed Ramaḍān for the first time in 1976. The name was changed to World Community of Islam in the West (WCIW) and subsequently to American Muslim Mission (AMM), indicating that he was trying to develop closer links with the worldwide community of Muslims, an attempt also indicated by the use of the name Bilalians. The same emphasis appears in the community's weekly *American Muslim Journal*. Like his father he established cordial relations with leading religious and political figures in the Muslim world, including Anwar Sādāt. Muslim World leaders have always been interested in establishing an indigenous outpost in the United States. By inviting Warith Deen Muhammad to participate in the Annual Islamic Conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and in 1978 naming him the sole consultant and trustee for the recommendation and distribution of funds to all Muslim organisations engaged in *daʿwa* or missionary work in the United States, they have found a way of doing so. He has been given the title *mud͟jaddid* and the rights of certifying the *ḥad͟jd͟j* to Mecca from the United States.

These changes were rejected by some Black Muslims. Under the leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan, also known as Minister Louis X, born Louis Eugene Walcott, they broke away from the American Muslim Mission in 1977 and returned to the original teachings and ideals of Elijah Muhammad. They publish *The Final Call*, originally started by Elijah Muhammad in 1934 and resurrected by Louis Farrakhan in 1979. This group demands social and economic justice for all Black People, equality of employment and education, the freeing of Black prisoners, control of Black institutions and a separate territory. They denigrate integration with whites. In 1984 he pledged a voter registration drive for Jesse Jackson, convinced that a black man could make a credible run for the U.S. Presidency. His fund-raising visit to Libya and his anti-Jewish pronouncements as when he told Jews, "Don't push your 6 million (Holocaust) victims when we (Negroes) lost 100 million (in slavery)". forced Jackson to repudiate the views for which Farrakhan had become notorious. In the 1988 presidential elections he supported Jesse Jackson against Michael S. Dukakis.

Schisms are not a new phenomenon among Black Muslims. In the 1960s, Hamaas Abdul Khaalis led a secession of Ḥanafī Muslims. One Abdul Muhammad, who rejected Wallace D. Fard's teaching that Black Muslims were not Americans and did not owe allegiance to the American flag, led another splinter group, based on loyalty to the American Constitution and the flag. The latter group has not survived.

(b) *Doctrines*. The original Black Muslim movement had basic beliefs that did not conform with Orthodox Islam. Basic to their doctrines was the "hidden truth" regarding the knowledge about the Black Man, God, the devil, the universe, etc. It assigns a cosmic significance to the racial divisions of the human race.

Their creed expresses their Black nationalistic trends. It stated, "In the Name of Allah who came in the person of Master Farad Muhammad, the Beneficient, the Merciful, the One God to whom all things is due, the Lord of the Worlds and his Apostle, the Honourable Elijah Muhammad, the last of the Messengers of Allah". God, in their thinking, was incarnated in a Black person and had as his prophet another Black person. The ascription of divinity to Wallace D. Fard was a gradual process. Initially, he represented himself to his Detroit followers as a brother and an emissary of the Muslim World. He assured them that racially he was one of them, and that all belonged to the first inhabitants of earth, the Original Black Man. He subsequently became known as the *Mahdī*, Prophet and the Son of Man, who had been expected for two thousand years. It is said that he later upgraded his status and announced that he was the Supreme Ruler, Allah in person.

This anthropomorphic concept of God, under Elijah Muhammad, took on a collective dimension. Allah seems to have become identical with the collective entity of the Original People, the Black Nation, the Righteous. Thus the Ḳurʾānic verse "He is the first and the last" (LVII, 3) came to mean that the Black Man was the first and the last, was the maker and owner of the universe. Hence all Blacks were Allah, yet one of them was so in a special sense. Knowledge, wisdom and power were His chief attributes.

Similarly the belief in the Messenger of God has been centred around the person of Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslims believed in the earlier prophets, including Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, conceding that the Ḳurʾān was revealed but otherwise ignoring if not belittling him. He was described as "a sign of the real Muhammad". A corollary of this is the claim that Elijah Muhammad's interpretations of the Scriptures were authoritative and that they, including the Ḳurʾān were time-bound. It has been misinterpreted by most Muslim scholars and will be superseded by another revelation.

They believed in the metaphysical view that identifies whiteness with evil and white people with the devil. Yakub, a Black mad scientist in rebellion against Allah, created the white race, a weak hybrid race devoid of any humanity. The race would rule for 6,000 years through trickery and deviousness, causing chaos and destruction. At the end of their time their rule would end in a cosmic apocalyptic battle with the Black Man, who would emerge victorious, since he belongs to a higher order of humanity. This central teaching about Yakub functions as a theodicy, as an explanation and rationalisation for the pain and suffering inflicted upon Black people in America.

Black Muslim eschatology is earthy. The Day of Judgement will occur late in the 20th century. It will mark the destruction of American international, political and economic hegemony. Heaven, thought to be in Mecca or the Muslim world, was said to be a human state of material welfare and spiritual peace. Hell was supposed to be in America, which would be consumed by fire. The political developments in the Middle East in the 1950s and the throwing off of the colonial yoke were events with an eschatological significance. Prophetically, the "devil" was being thrown out of the Original Man's lands. The Hereafter is the period which will follow the end of the dominance of the White man and the destruction of his "world of sin" inaugurating the never-ending rule of the Original and righteous man. Consistent with their denial of "spirit God", they do not believe in life after death. Heaven is on earth and consists of freedom, justice, equality, money, good houses and friendships in all walks of life, enjoying peace of mind and contentment with the God of the righteous and the Nation of the righteous.

Elijah Muhammad's debates with Muslim scholars during his visit in 1959 influenced him in two directions. On the one hand, he was impressed by their arguments in favour of the transcendence of Allah, the mission of the prophet Muḥammad, and the natural humanity of European-Americans, in spite of the fact that these were in direct contrast to those he propagated as fundamental to his religious and social philosophy. On the other hand, it seems to have confirmed him in his convictions that his was the "true" Islam.

Malcolm X's religious beliefs were influenced by developments in the Middle East and his experiences there in 1960 and 1964, and became interwoven with his activist political ideology. Whereas Elijah Muhammad had used the expression "God helps those who help themselves" (cf. Ḳurʾān, VIII, 55/53, XIII, 12/11), Malcolm X's characteristic phrase was "God aids those who get involved and do their utmost to change their circumstances". Islam, nationalism and socialism were compatible. Reference was made to the ancient states of Ghana, Mali and Songhay which had been ruled by Muslims. Arabic, Hausa and Swahili names were adopted, and an emphasis placed on learning Arabic.

His ideas became the foundation on which Warith Deen Muhammad was to build after 1975. Thus he discarded the belief in the divinity of Wallace D. Fard, the apostleship of his father, describing him as a social reformer, the evil nature of European-Americans and the superiority of one people over another. The former hostile position of the Black Muslims towards the govennment of the United States, Christian and Jewish groups, has given way to a conciliatory attitude. Warithuddin Muhammad has participated in several dialogue encounters between Christians, Jews and Muslims. He is opposed to any representation of God. He denounces the Christian Caucasian image of God because of its undertones of racism. In spite of the rapprochement to Islamic orthodoxy, the community has retained its distinctiveness vis-à-vis immigrant Muslim communities.

Bibliography: Z.I. Ansari, *Aspects of Black Muslim theology*, in *SI*, liii (1981), 137-76; G. Breitman (ed.), *Malcolm X speaks: selected speeches and statements*, New York 1965; B. Cushmeer, *This is the one: Messenger Elijah Muhammad: we need not look for another*, Phoenix, Arizona 1971; E.U. Essien-Udom, *Black nationalism: a search for an identity in America*, Chicago 1962; Y.Y. Haddad (ed.), *The Muslims of America*, Oxford 1991; C.E. Lincoln, *Black Muslims in America*, Boston 1973; L. Lomax, *When the Word is given: a report on Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and the Black Muslim World*, Cleveland 1963; Malcolm X and A. Haley, *The autobiography of Malcolm X*, New York 1966; L.H. Mamiya, *From Black Muslim to Bilalian: the evolution of a movement*, in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1988, 138-58; idem, *Minister Louis Farrakhan and the final call: schism in the Muslim Movement*, in *The Muslim community in North America*, ed. E.H. Waugh *et alii*, Edmonton 1983, 234-55; E. Muhammad, *The Supreme wisdom: solution to the so-called Negroe's problem*, Chicago 1957; idem, *Message to the Blackman in America*, Chicago 1965; idem, *The teachings of Wallace D. Muhammad*, Chicago 1976. (S. v. Sicard)

MUSNAD (a.). 1. As a term applied to the ancient South Arabian script.

In the first couple of centuries AD, Sabaean and

Ḳatabanian inscriptions used the term *ms³nd* for an inscribed bronze plaque affixed (*musnad*) to the wall of a temple; by the 5th-6th centuries AD it came to be applied to inscriptions engraved directly on a rock face. In early Islamic times, *musnad* designated any inscription in the pre-Islamic South Arabian alphabet, the earliest examples of which date back to the first half of the first millenium BC. This has close affinities both with the scripts used by the pre-Islamic North Arabian bedouin and with the Ethiopic alphabet. This South Semitic group of scripts has a common origin, albeit at a very remote date, with the Northwest Semitic group to which the Arabic alphabet belongs, but the two groups have diverged very substantially. The folktale of the "letter of al-Mutalammis" [see AL-MUTALAMMIS] has often been understood as showing that the poet was illiterate; but it could perhaps imply that the poet was able to read only the bedouin (South Semitic) script, while the letter of the king of al-Ḥīra would have been written in early Arabic script.

Old South Arabian script has 29 letters, requiring no diacritics for distinguishing them (as was the case when the Northwest Semitic 22-letter alphabet was adapted for expressing Arabic); it also distinguishes three sibilants, commonly noted as *s*¹, *s*², *s*³ (*s*¹ having etymological cognates with Hebrew *s̲h̲īn*, Mahri *ś*, Arabic *sīn*; *s*² with Hebrew *sīn*, Mahri lateralised *ś*, Arabic *s̲h̲īn*; *s*³ with Hebrew *samek*, Mahri *s*, Arabic *sīn*).

Early Islamic scholars had little or no knowledge of the languages of the *musnad* inscriptions; and what they give as the content of them is imaginary, with no resemblance to their real contents; but the scholars preserved a knowledge of the letter-values of the *musnad* script. In the 8th volume of al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* (ed. N.A. Faris, Princeton 1940, 123) a list of the letters is given, with their Arabic equivalents; in the exant mss. of the work, however, the forms have become considerably distorted by copyists who had never seen the real inscriptions. In the latter, the letter-forms are upright, geometrically angular, and unligatured, having considerable resemblance to fine Greek uncials of the 5th century BC. For the basic forms, see A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic grammar*, Manchester 1984, pp. [vii], 4. There was a conventional alphabetic order, which seems to have been: *h, l, ḥ, m, q, w, s², r, b, t, s¹, k, n, ḫ, ṣ, s³, f, ʿ, ʾ, ḍ, g, d, ġ, ṭ, z, ḏ, y, ṯ, ẓ*. Al-Hamdānī was further aware of some of the orthographic rules of the *musnad* script, such as the fact that long *ā* is not written with *alif*, so that Hamdān, Riyām are written *hmdn, rym*.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A.F.L. BEESTON)

2. As a term in Arabic grammar. Later classical Arabic grammarians define *musnad* as "that which is leant upon [or propped against] (the headword or subject), is supported by (it)". They define *musnad ilayhi* as "that which supports", i.e. the headword or subject. The relationship between them is termed *isnād* "the act of leaning (one thing against another)", "the relationship of attribution or predication". However, the terms have a different, almost reversed, meaning in Sībawayh, as pointed out by Ulrike Mosel, *Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sībawayh*, diss. Munich 1975, unpubl., i, 221-3 and n. on 223, and by A. Levin, *The grammatical terms* al-musnad, al-musnad ʾilayhi *and* al-ʾisnad, in *JAOS*, ci (1981), 145-65.

Bibliography: See also Wright, *Arabic grammar*³, ii, 250; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 1. (ED.)

3. As a term in the science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Here it is applied to an *isnād* that goes back all the way to the Prophet without a link missing. Al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī (*al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 21) mentions that some scholars equate *musnad* with *marfūʿ* ("raised to the level" of a Prophetic tradition), but most Muslim *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholars hold that a *marfūʿ isnād* need not necessarily be uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*), whereas in their definition a *musnad isnād* must be at the same time *muttaṣil*. The debate is expertly summarised in Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲ wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 226-31. (That *marfūʿ isnād*s need not be *muttaṣil* in practice is amply attested in the *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar's lexicon comprising biographies of mostly unreliable transmitters, which contains hundreds of traditions explicitly labeled *marfūʿāt* that are adduced as examples of traditions *not* to be relied upon.)

An early use of the term *musnad* can be discerned in a report of the *awāʾil* genre [*q.v.*] about al-Zuhrī (50-124/670-742 [*q.v.*]) which has it that he was the first *man asnada al-ḥadīt̲h̲* (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taḳdimat al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952, 20), which probably means in this context that he was allegedly the first to make consistent use of *isnād*s (see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 18 f.).

Musnad (plural *masānīd*) as technical term in *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature is, furthermore, used to describe a tradition collection organised on the basis of the first authority in the *isnād* above the Prophet, that is, the Companion. A *musnad* collection may comprise either the *musnad* of one, a few, or all Companions. In this last type of collection, the order in which the different *masānīd* are presented underlies mostly the individual prestige of each Companion, based upon age and alleged date of conversion to Islam, but alphabetically arranged *musnads* are also found (e.g. the *Tuḥfat al-as̲h̲rāf* of al-Mizzī [*q.v.*]). In both, woman Companions are mostly listed only after the men.

Musnads are by no means the oldest tradition collections. There are a few dozen or so collections, often called simply *d̲j̲uzʾ*, *ḥadīt̲h̲* or *aḥādīt̲h̲*, which lack as yet any structured arrangement such as the personal *ṣaḥīfas* listed in *GAS*, i, 84 ff., whose ascription to their alleged authors/compilers is in most cases still to be established. (Perhaps the earliest, not altogether unstructured, collection is one of *ṭalāḳ* traditions associated with ʿĀmir b. S̲h̲arāḥīl al-S̲h̲aʿbī (d. *ca.* 103/721), cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī s̲h̲arḥ Taḳrīb al-Nawāwī*, ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, i, 89.) These compilations either preceded by a few decades or originated at the same time as the first *musnads*. There are also the *muṣannafs* [*q.v.*], collections arranged in chapters on the basis of subject matter, such as the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]) or the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām (d. 211/827), which were compiled a little earlier or at more or less the same time as the first *musnads*. Beside the early *musnads* and *muṣannaf*-type works (some of which we know of but are no longer extant, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 22), there emerged various other types of collections limited to one particular genre of traditions, such as compilations entitled *kitāb al-zuhd*, *kitāb al-d̲j̲ihād* or *tafsīr*, cf. the title index of *GAS*, i.

Various collections, though known by the title *Musnad*, underlie the *muṣannaf* principle, i.e. they are subdivided into chapters on legal issues (e.g. the *Musnad* of Abū ʿAwāna (d. 316/928), cf. *GAS*, i, 174, or Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ masānīd al-imām al-aʿẓam* (meant is Abū Ḥanīfa, d. 150/767), Ḥaydarābād 1332, and many others; cf. also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 227 ff.).

Other collections are known by two appellatives e.g. the *Sunan* or *Musnad* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), cf. *GAS*, i, 114, or the *Muṣannaf*, also called *Musnad*, of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849); both are arranged as *muṣannafs*. This seems to indicate that the identification of tradition collections as belonging to one type or the other was in the early days somewhat loose. This looseness is aptly exemplified in a statement ascribed to the tradition collector Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 261/875 [*q.v.*]), who is once reported to have said (cf. al-Nawawī in his preface to his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Cairo 1349, i, 15): *ṣannaftu hādhā al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ min thalāthimiʾati alfi ḥadīthin masmūʿatin*, i.e. "I composed this sound *musnad* of mine (which is a *muṣannaf*-type work, later called *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, or simply *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*) out of 300,000 traditions I heard"; besides, the term *musnad* in Muslim's statement is surely to be taken as a double entendre, also conveying the idea of a collection supported by *musnad isnāds*, i.e. going back to the Prophet. Another type of *musnad* is the (unfinished) collection entitled *Tahdhīb al-āthār* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]) in which that collector presents *musnads* of the Companions ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, each tradition being accompanied by a host of reports (with *mursal* [*q.v.*], *mawḳūf* (i.e. "stopping" at the Companion), *maḳṭūʿ* (i.e. "cut off" at the level of the Successor) and *munḳaṭiʿ* (i.e. interrupted *isnāds*)) which substantiate it, list its shortcomings (*ʿilal*) and/or illustrate its legal and ethical implications. These accompanying reports may, with J. Schacht (see *JRAS* [1949], 147, and *Origins*, 5; cf. also Juynboll, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica* [1992]) be taken to be of considerably older origin than the traditions going back via uninterrupted *isnāds* all the way to the Prophet on the basis of which al-Ṭabarī's collection is organised. For an appraisal of al-Ṭabarī's *Tahdhīb*, see F. Rosenthal's general introduction (128 ff.) in vol. i of the English translation (SUNY Press 1989, New York) of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*.

The oldest pur sang *musnads* presently available in printed editions are those compiled by Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/819; that the only available edition of Ḥaydarābād 1321 should be considered as far from complete is argued by Juynboll in the *Arabica* [1992] article, n. 27), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*]) (although this collection in the currently available edition is arranged according to the *muṣannaf* principle) and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834). By far the most famous early *musnad* is that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/856 [*q.v.*]). For its *musnad* arrangement, see M. Hartmann, *Die Tradenten erster Schicht im Musnad des Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, in *MSOS*, ii (1906), 148-76, which gives an alphabetical list of the Companions included. Furthermore, each entry of a Companion in the index volume (viii) of *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* indicates where his *musnad* is located in Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. (There is now also a two-volume index based on *ṭarafs*, see below.) For a further evaluation of the work and its two editions (one complete and one left unfinished), see Juynboll, *Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (1892-1958) and his edition of Ibn Ḥanbal's* Musnad, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 221-47. Among the early *musnads* not yet mentioned and (partly) available in printed editions are the following:

Yaʿḳūb b. Shayba (d. 262/875) wrote a *musnad muʿallal* (see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 239) which contains, apart from the traditions centring on one Companion, the *ʿilal* (= "defects") in parallel reports which are mostly supported by single strand *isnāds*. Of this work, only the part containing the *musnad* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is extant today (ed. Sāmī Ḥaddād, Beirut 1940);

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī (d. 292/905, see *GAS*, i, 162) compiled a *musnad* of Abū Bakr traditions, many of which are listed also in the Six Books;

Ibn al-Bāghandī (d. 312/925, see *GAS*, i, 172 f.) compiled a *musnad* of a Successor, the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, arranged according to the Companions between ʿUmar II and the Prophet;

A *musnad* collected by Ibn Rāhawayh (d. 238/853 [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, i, 109 f.) was partly edited by Jamila Shawkat, Ph.D. diss., Cambridge 1984. This edition only contains the traditions attributed to ʿĀʾisha.

Tracing traditions in pre-canonical and other *musnads* and *muṣannafs* is no sinecure. The recently-published indices of a number of collections (e.g. al-Ḥumaydī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilya*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) require that the tradition which is sought is first reduced to its *ṭaraf*, a technical term for the gist, or most salient feature, of a tradition. It is these *ṭarafs* which are alphabetically arranged in those index volumes, but attempts to arrive at the correct *ṭaraf* of a given tradition for tracing purposes often lead nowhere. On the other hand, although Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* is not one of the recognised six canonical collections, it is incorporated in *Concordance* etc. while al-Ṭayālisī's was drawn upon in Wensinck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, albeit not satisfactorily. When that manual is consulted in vain, al-Ṭayālisī's index of Companions—a typical feature of several ancient *musnads* lacking in *muṣannafs*—often comes in handy.

Although tracing traditions to these early *musnads* which pre-date the canonical collections may cause problems, these collections are nonetheless indispensable tools in *isnād* analysis, and this is also true for early *muṣannafs*. *Isnād* analysis seeks to determine when and where a tradition originated and who may be held responsible for its proliferation, all this on the basis of its *isnād*. The earlier the collections, the more often can historically relevant *isnād* data be distilled from them in order to shore up, or, the case so being, undermine, the historicity of the transmission position of some of Islam's most important and prolific "common links", i.e. the originators of the most ancient and authoritative traditions in the entire literature.

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *Tartīb musnad al-Shāfiʿī*, ed. Y. ʿAlī al-Zawāwī and ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār, Cairo 1950-1, 2 vols; Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, Ḥaydarābād 1321; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, repr. Beirut-Cairo 1380-2, 2 vols; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ, Beirut 1390, 1393 etc; Ibn al-Bāghandī, *Musnad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. A.H. Harley in *JASB*, N.S. xx (1924), 391-457 (new edition by Muḥammad ʿAwwāma, Aleppo 1397); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, 6 vols; idem, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 15 vols + vol. 19. For the technical term "common link", cf. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 171 ff., and G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 206-17. New methods of *isnād* analysis are introduced in idem, *Some* isnād-*analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica* (1992); idem, *On the*

origins of the poetry in Muslim tradition literature, forthcoming in the *Ewald Wagner Festschrift*; idem, *Analysing* isnāds *in* ḥadīth *and* akhbār *literature*, in I. Conrad (ed.), *History and historiography in early Islamic times: studies and perspectives*, Princeton 1992.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

al-**MUSTAḌĪʾ** bi-Amr ʼllāh, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, ʿAbbāsid caliph (566-75/1170-80), born on 23 S̲h̲aʿbān 536/23 March 1142, son of al-Mustand̲j̲id [*q.v.*] and an Armenian slave named G̲h̲aḍḍa. After his father's death on 9 Rabīʿ II 566/20 December 1170, al-Mustaḍīʾ succeeded him, and at the beginning of the following year was formally recognised as caliph in Egypt also, which passed into the hands of the Ayyūbids at this time [see fāṭimids]. The assassins of al-Mustand̲j̲id soon quarrelled among themselves. ʿAḍud al-Dīn [*q.v.*], whom al-Mustaḍīʾ had been forced to make vizier, was dismissed by 567/1171-2 at the instigation of the *amīr* Ḳaymaz. In D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 570/May 1175, Ḳaymaz was about to attack the treasurer Ẓāhir al-Dīn b. al-ʿAṭṭār, but the latter fled to the caliph, whereupon Ḳaymaz began to besiege the palace of the latter. Al-Mustaḍīʾ appealed to the people to help him; the house of Ḳaymaz was pillaged, and he himself fled but died soon afterwards, and ʿAḍūd al-Dīn again became vizier. Al-Mustand̲j̲id already had quarrelled with S̲h̲umla, lord of K̲h̲ūzistān. In 569/1173-4 a war broke out between the latter's nephew Ibn S̲h̲ankā and al-Mustaḍīʾ; Ibn S̲h̲ankā was soon taken prisoner and put to death. The insignificant al-Mustaḍīʾ died on 2 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda or, according to another statement, at the end of S̲h̲awwāl 575/end of March 1180 and was succeeded by al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ed. Tornberg, xi, 237 ff.; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg, 428-33; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Cairo, i, 137-8, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 370-2; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 525 ff.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 367-9; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 337-63; Bundārī, in Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii, 304; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 87, 195, 260, 280; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam*, The Hague-Paris 1972.

(K.V. Zetterstéen)

MUSTAD̲J̲ĀB K̲H̲ĀN BAHĀDUR, Nawwāb, thirteenth son of the celebrated Rohilla leader Ḥāfiẓ al-Mulk Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat K̲h̲ān (1707-74) and author of a biography of his father, which he wrote in Persian under the title *Gulistān-i Raḥmat*. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat K̲h̲ān, who was an Afg̲h̲ān of the tribe of Yūsufzāy by descent, had been since 1161/1748 a chief in Rohilk̲h̲and (Kaṭahr) and throughout his life waged a bitter warfare with the Marāṭhās. He fell in 1188/1774 in a fight at Mīrānpūr Katra where he was fighting against the combined forces of the Nawwāb of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]) S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Mulk and the English. Warren Hastings' act in supporting the Nawwāb with English troops became the subject of a judicial investigation in the English Parliament. Mustad̲j̲āb K̲h̲ān's book describes Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat K̲h̲ān as a fine representative of Afg̲h̲ān chivalry and contains much of value for studying the relations between the individual Afg̲h̲ān tribes.

Bibliography: There is an abbreviated English translation of the *Gulistān-i Raḥmat* by Ch. Elliott, *The life of the Hafiz ool-moolk, Hafiz Rehmut Khan, written by his son the Nuwob Moost'ujab Khan Buhadoor and entitled Goolistan-i Rehmut*, London 1831; H. Hamilton, *The East-India gazetteer*[2], London 1828, ii, 468; *Imperial gazetteer of India*, London 1908, xx, 138, xxi, 307-8; Storey, i, 696-7. (E. Berthels)

MUṢṬAFĀ I, the fifteenth Ottoman sultan (1026-7/1617-18 and 1031-2/1622-3), was born in the year 1000/1591 as son of Meḥemmed III [*q.v.*]. He owed his life to the relaxation of the *ḳānūn* authorising the killing of all the brothers of a new sultan, and was called to succeed his brother Aḥmed I [*q.v.*] at the latter's death on 23 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 November 1617. But his weakmindedness —which is said to have him made escape death on account of superstitious fear of Aḥmed— made him absolutely incapable of ruling. Aḥmed's son ʿOt̲h̲mān, who felt himself entitled to the succession, had little difficulty in procuring Muṣṭafā's deposition in a meeting in the Imperial *Dīwān*, by the *ḳizlar ag̲h̲asi*, the *muftī* and the *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, the grandvizier K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] being absent. This happened on 1 Rabīʿ I 1027/26 February 1618.

Unexpectedly, Muṣṭafā I was again called to the throne when, on 8 Rad̲j̲ab 1031/19 May 1622, the rebellion of the Janissaries broke out against ʿOt̲h̲mān II [*q.v.*]. He was taken by force from his seclusion in the ḥarem and the Janissaries forced the *ʿulamāʾ* to acknowledge him as sultan. The next day ʿOt̲h̲mān was killed and until June the grand vizier Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, the man responsible for the murder, remained in power. Then he was deposed by the *wālide*. The real masters were the Janissaries and Sipāhīs; several grand viziers were nominated and deposed again at their pleasure. The Sipāhī party began, after some time, to exact vengeance for ʿOt̲h̲mān and in January 1623, when Gürd̲j̲ü Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was grand vizier, Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a was killed. Soon the Janissary party came again to influence under the grand vizier Mere Ḥuseyn Pas̲h̲a (3 Rabīʿ 1032/3 February 1623). The latter succeeded in maintaining himself until 23 S̲h̲awwāl/20 August; then the general feeling amongst the *ʿulamāʾ* and the people, combined with the steadily growing opposition in the provinces against the tyranny of the military in the capital, as manifested by the action of Sayf al-Dīn-og̲h̲lu in Tripoli and still more by the revolt of Ābāza Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in Erzerūm, brought about Mere Ḥuseyn's deposition. The new grand vizier, Kemānkes̲h̲ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], together with the *muftī*, deposed the sultan on 15 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 1032/10 September 1623 and called Aḥmed's son Murād to the throne as Murād iv [*q.v.*].

During all his reign, Muṣṭafā had continued to give signs of his complete mental aberration; he died in 1638 and was buried in the Aya Sofya. The only important international act that took place during his reign was the peace concluded with Poland in February 1623.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources for this period are the historical works of Naʿīmā, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (*Fed̲h̲leke*), Pečewī, Ḥasan Bey-zāde and Ṭūg̲h̲ī. Contemporary reports in the *Memoirs* of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe. See further the general historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 190-1, 193-4; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (A. Münir Aktepe).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ II, the twenty-second Ottoman sultan (1106-15/1695-1703), was a son of Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Born in 1664, he succeeded to his uncle Aḥmed II on D̲j̲umādā II 1106/6 February 1695, at a time when the empire was at war with Austria, Poland, Russia and Venice. The new sultan in a remarkable *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf* proclaimed a Holy War and carried out, against

the decision of the *Dīwān*, his desire to take part in the campaign against Austria. Before his departure a mutiny of the Janissaries had cost the grand vizier Defterdār ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a his life (24 April 1695), and the campaign was led by the new grand vizier Elmās Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. The Turkish army operated not without success in the region of Temesvár, taking Lippa, Lugos and Sebes. The Venetians had been beaten again in September. In October, Azov was delivered from the Russian siege. Next year, the sultan and his army were again successful in raising the siege of Temesvár, but no part of the lost territory could be recovered from the Austrians. That year, however, the Russians took Azov. The campaign of 1696 is memorable for the heavy defeat inflicted on the Turks near Zenta on the Theiss (13 Ṣafar 1108/11 September 1696) where Elmās Meḥmed lost his life, while the sultan, who had already crossed the river, had to fly to Temesvár. The imperial seal fell into the hands of the Austrians. From Temesvár, Muṣṭafā nominated ʿAmūd̲j̲a-zāde Ḥuseyn [*q.v.*], of the Köprülü family, as his grand vizier. Under this very able statesman, peace was at last concluded. In 1698 the grand vizier went to the frontier, while the sultan stayed at Edirne, but the peace negotiations were pursued more earnestly than the war. In October of that year began the peace negotiations at Carlowitz (Turk. Ḳarlofča [*q.v.*]) on the Danube, where on 25 S̲h̲aʿbān 1110/26 February 1699 peace was concluded with Austria, Poland and Venice. With Russia, only an armistice was concluded, to be followed in 1700 by a definite peace. The English and Dutch ministers took part in the negotiations as intermediaries. The peace treaty meant the loss of Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the district of Temesvár; Poland recovered Kameniecz, while Venice had to cede Lepanto and some other towns in the Morea. With Russia, the Dniestr became the frontier.

The peace enabled the grand vizier to bring order into the affairs of state, which had suffered by the long and disastrous war. The Reʾīs Efendi Rāmī and the *muftī* Fayḍ Allāh, who had great influence with the sultan, were his collaborators. Some interior troubles were easily appeased; only in 1701 a campaign in ʿIrāḳ was needed to take Baṣra from the hands of a local party that had submitted to Persia. Fortresses were put in a better state of defence and a new *Ḳānūn-nāme* was issued for the fleet. Ḥuseyn Pas̲h̲a resigned his offices in September 1702 and died soon afterwards. His deposition was partly the work of the *muftī*, who made the sultan appoint in his place Dalṭaban Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. When the latter showed himself of too warlike a disposition and caused at the same time unrest in the capital by favouring the claims of the Tatar *k̲h̲ān*, the influence of the *muftī* caused his deposition and execution (Ramaḍān 1114/January 1703). Rāmī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] became grand vizier. Rāmī's measures to enforce the authority of the central government were salutary but made him many enemies; moreover, the Janissaries were not contented with a grand vizier who was not a military man. The general unrest was increased by the permanent residence of Muṣṭafā in Edirne. All these circumstances brought about in July 1703 a Janissary revolt in Istanbul, directed at first against Rāmī Pas̲h̲a and against the *muftī*. The latter's deposition was obtained without much difficulty, but the rebellion continued under the leadership and organisation of a certain Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a. A deputation of the rebels to Edirne was imprisoned and treated harshly. Too late, the sultan promised to come himself to give a *fatwā* authorising the sultan's deposition. In August 1703 a rebel army went on its way to Edirne, after having agreed on Muṣṭafā's brother Aḥmed as successor to the throne. When Muṣṭafā saw himself at last abandoned by his own Janissaries, he abdicated on 22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1115/21 August 1703. He died soon afterwards on 8 Rabīʿ II 1115/31 December 1703, and was buried in the Aya Sofia. He is rightly considered as a wise and good ruler, as is proved by his careful choice of able statesmen. He wrote poems under the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* of Meftūnī and Iḳbālī. Under him, the imperial *ṭug̲h̲ra* [*q.v.*] appeared for the first time on the Ottoman coins.

Bibliography: The chief source is the *Taʾrīk̲h̲* of Rās̲h̲id, besides an anonymous historical work, used by von Hammer and only mentioned in a note by Babinger, *GOW*, 247 and 248. Useful information also in the history of the Crimea by Meḥmed Girāy (*GOW*, 235) and Sayyid Meḥmed Riḍā (*GOW*, 281). The *Ins̲h̲āʾ* of the grand-vizier Rāmī Pas̲h̲a (not mentioned in *GOW*) has importance as containing contemporary documents. See further the general histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 223-8; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (Cengiz Orhonlu). (J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ III, the twenty-sixth sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1171-87/1757-74), was one of the younger sons of Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] and was born on 14 Ṣafar 1129/28 January 1717 (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*, i, 80). When he succeeded to the throne, after ʿOt̲h̲mān III's [*q.v.*] death, on 16 Ṣafar 1171/30 October 1757, his much more popular brother and heir to the throne, Meḥemmed, had recently died, in Rabīʿ I 1170/December 1756. Turkey enjoyed at that time, since the peace of Belgrade of 1739, a period of peace with her neighbours. Since December 1756 the very able Rāg̲h̲ib Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] was grand vizier and remained the real administrator of the empire until his death in 1763. Rāg̲h̲ib had removed from the capital all those who might have counteracted his influence, taking at the same time wise financial measures and endeavouring to keep the military forces in good condition. The sultan meanwhile, who was of a lively and active temperament, busied himself, like his predecessor, with regulations concerning the clothes of his non-Muslim subjects and the appearance in public of Muslim women; at this time there was also taken up again the never-realised plan of linking the gulf of Izniḳ with the Black Sea [see ṢABAND̲J̲A]. The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756-63) had not remained without influence on the policy of the Porte; after long hesitation, Turkey agreed at last to conclude a treaty of friendship with Prussia (22 S̲h̲aʿbān 1174/29 March 1761). Rāg̲h̲ib himself was inclined to conclude even an alliance, but the sultan and the influential *ʿulamāʾ* were peacefully minded.

After Rāg̲h̲ib's death, Muṣṭafā began to reign himself and different grand viziers succeeded one another at short intervals. From 1765 to 1768 the grand vizierate was held by Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, under whom the disastrous war with Russia broke out. Difficulties with Russia had already commenced in 1762, when Russia had supported the ruler of Georgia against the Turkish Pas̲h̲a of Ak̲h̲isk̲h̲a (Čaldïr); here, as well as in Montenegro [see ḲARA DAG̲H̲], Russian emissaries worked in secret against the Turkish rule. Moreover, the *k̲h̲ān* of the Crimea repeatedly complained about Russian military measures on his northern frontier, while the party of

the Polish Confederates urgently appealed for the intervention of the Porte against the aggression of Catherine's government on Polish liberty. In these circumstances, the Porte had no more interest in seeking the alliance of Prussia, where, in 1764, Aḥmed Rasmī Efendi had gone as envoy, of which embassy he afterwards wrote his well-known *Sefāret-nāme*. The sultan himself was decidedly anti-Russian, but the diplomacy of the Russian minister Obreskov and the pacifism of the *ʿulamāʾ* delayed the war, until, in August 1768, Muṣṭafā obtained from the then *muftī* Welī al-Dīn a *fatwā* authorising the war with Russia. War was declared only on 6 October, after the dismissal of the grand vizier Muḥsin-zāde, who had advised delay until the spring. Obreskov was imprisoned in Yedi Ḳule.

The war began in January with destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars in southern Russia under their newly appointed *khān* Ḳirīm Girāy; at that time, de Tott was an eye-witness with the Tatar army. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1182/March 1769, the then grand vizier Meḥmed Emīn Pasha left Istanbul with the Holy Banner; on this occasion there was an outburst of Muslim fanaticism against the Austrian internuntio and his party, who had come to witness the procession. While the grand vizier went to the Dobrudja, the Russians made an attack on Chotin (Turk. Khočin), which they were able to take only in August. In the meantime, the grand vizier had been deposed and executed; his place was taken by Moldowandji ʿAlī Pasha, who fought with the Russians on both sides of the Dniestr. Other Russian armies took Jassy and Bucharest and advanced into Transcaucasia. The year 1184/1770 was still more disastrous for Turkey. The Russians reached, through Rumania, the Danube and in the autumn they took Kilia, Bender and Braila, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish general headquarters in Baba Daghi. In the same year, a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean; several towns in the Morea were conquered and evacuated again, but the heaviest blow was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Česhme (Rabīʿ I 1184/July 1770). Moldowandji ʿAlī —already dispossessed of his grand vizierate— was sent to strengthen, with de Tott, the defences of the Dardanelles. But the Russian fleet had ceased to be a danger and the Danube campaign of the following spring also was rather favourable for the Turks. In the beginning of 1771 the military organisation had been improved. That year, however, the Russians forced the isthmus of Perekop and conquered the entire Crimea. This was a definite loss for Turkey, and a great majority of the Tatars declared their allegiance to the Russian empress. The Turks were able, however, to remain in Očakow and Kilburnu. In Istanbul, meanwhile, laborious diplomatic negotiations went on with the envoys of the European powers who offered to mediate, notably Austria and Prussia. With Austria the Porte concluded in July 1771 a secret "treaty of subsidy" for diplomatic services, while the Porte disinterested herself completely in Polish affairs, going so far as to propose a partition of Poland. The result was an armistice, concluded in June 1772 at Giurgewo, followed by the peace congress of Fočani (Djumādā I 1186/August 1772), where Turkey's chief representative was the arrogant *nishāndji* [*q.v.*] ʿOthmān Efendi. After the failure of the negotiations, the armistice was prolonged and a new conference began at Bucharest in November. These negotiations were again broken off in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1186/March 1773, mainly from lack of agreement on the subject of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea; as to the Crimea, Turkey had already agreed to a formula such as was later adopted in the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardji. In Istanbul, it was chiefly the *ʿulamāʾ* who had opposed the Russian peace conditions. The war in 1187/1773 was not very eventful; the general headquarters had been transferred to Shumma after Muḥsin-zāde had become grand vizier a second time (Dec. 1771). The Russians won a victory at Ḳaraṣu in the Dobrudja, but attacked Silistra and Varna in vain. Beirut was bombarded by Russian ships in connection with the rebellion of the Mamlūk ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] in Egypt, who was supported by them. In the summer of 1773, sultan Muṣṭafā made known his desire to accompany the army against the Russians, but he was prevented from doing so by his entourage and by his illness, to which he succumbed on 9 Shawwāl 1187/24 December 1773, to be succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I [*q.v.*]. Muṣṭafā was buried in his own *türbe*, connected with the Lāleli Djāmiʿi, which he had begun to build in 1759 (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 23).

Muṣṭafā III is praised in the Turkish sources as a good ruler. He had a special liking for religious disputations held in his presence and was particularly interested in astrological calculations. He took an interest in the least important affairs, and this prevented him from such a real statesmanlike insight as was much wanted in the later years of his reign. In his way, he was an "enlightened despot". But even a more able ruler would probably have failed to save Turkey from her military inferiority against the Russian armies; measures of military organisation were taken with the aid of de Tott, but this could not prevent the desertion of the troops from assuming disastrous proportions during certain episodes of the war. Besides the Lāleli Djāmiʿ, Muṣṭafā built the Ayazma Djāmiʿi at Scutari for his mother; and he caused a new suburb of Istanbul to be built outside the Yeñi Ḳapu. His reign is further marked by the extremely severe earthquake that laid large parts of the capital in ruins in 1766.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh* of Wāṣif [*q.v.*] is the chief historical source for Muṣṭafā's reign; Wāṣif himself played a prominent part as secretary during the long-drawn-out peace negotiations with Russia. It is completed by the *Taʾrīkh* of Enwerī. The *Waḳāʾiʿ-nāme* of Ḍiyāʾī, son of Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī Pasha, seems not to be preserved (*GOW*, 300). The well-known Aḥmed Rasmī Efendi wrote a history of the war with Russia under the title *Khulāṣat al-iʿtibār* (*GOW*, 310). The *Talkhīṣāt* of the learned grand vizier Rāghib Pasha (*GOW*, 288) give documents from the beginning of Muṣṭafā's reign. A contemporary western source is the *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* of Baron Fr. de Tott, Maestricht 1785. See further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 246-50; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index s.v.; *İA*, art. s.v. (Bekir Sıtkı Baykal).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ IV, the twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1222-3/1807-8), was a son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I and was born on 26 Shaʿbān 1193/19 September 1778 (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 81). When the anti-reform party, headed by the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Mūsā Pasha and the *muftī*, and supported by the Janissaries and the auxiliary troops of the Yamaḳs, had dethroned Selīm III [*q.v.*] on 21 Rabīʿ I 1222/29 May 1807, Muṣṭafā was proclaimed sultan. Immediately afterwards, the *niẓām-i djedīd*

[*q.v.*] corps was dissolved and Ḳabaḳdji-oghlu, the leader of the Yamaḳs, was made commander of the Bosphorus fortresses. Turkey was at that time at war with Russia and England, but peace negotiations had already begun and, moreover, the foreign affairs of the empire were really governed by general European politics. A secret article annexed to the peace treaty of Tilsit (7 July 1807) had in view —already at that time— a conditional partition of Turkey. Turkey's ally, France, tried to urge a peace with Russia and obtained a Russo-Turkish armistice at Slobosia (near Ginrgewo), by the terms of which the Danube principalities were to be evacuated. When, in the end, Russia was unwilling to put into effect the terms of the armistice, relations with France became strained (departure of Sebastiani in April 1808) and new preparations for war followed, while overtures were made to England; the English admiral Codrington had already entered into negotiations with ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Yanina.

Meanwhile, the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* and the *muftī* were the real rulers in Istanbul; the grand vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha remained with the army in Edirne and had no influence. The Janissaries and Yamaḳs, however, continued to be rebellious; measures had to be taken against them and the sultan himself went so far as to favour secret plans for restoring the *niẓām-i djedīd* under another name. In December 1807 Mūsā Pasha was dismissed from the office of *ḳāʾim-maḳām* —on account of dissension with the *muftī*— and was succeeded by Ṭayyār Pasha. The latter, dismissed in his turn, fled to Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], an acknowledged friend of the reform party, in Rusčuḳ. From here began the action against the régime in the capital. Bayraḳdār went first to Edirne and joined forces with the grand vizier in June 1808. They arrived in July before the gates of Istanbul at Dāwūd Pasha. Sultan Muṣṭafā came there on July 23 to accept their terms, which for the moment were only the destruction of the ruling party and of the Yamaḳs. On 28 July, Bayraḳdār, after having seized the sultan's seal from the grand vizier, began to act on his own account. He went with his troops to the palace, where the sultan, —who had left shortly before for an excursion— returned in haste. He had only the time to order the execution of Selīm III, but was deposed immediately afterwards by the intruders, who put his younger brother Maḥmūd on the throne. After having passed some months in confinement, he was killed by order of the new sultan on 16 November in the days of the general revolt against Bayraḳdār's régime, when the existence of the former sultan had become a real danger for Maḥmūd's position. Muṣṭafā was buried in the *türbe* of his father ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, near the Yeñi Djāmiʿ.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 2nd ed., viii, Istanbul 1303, 145 ff.; ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, ii (where extensive use has been made of Saʿīd Efendi's *Taʾrīkhče*; cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 338); A. de Juchereau de St. Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople de 1807 et 1808*, new ed., Paris 1823; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index s.v.; S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 274-7; R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, index; *İA*, art. s.v. (M. Cavid Baysun).

(J.H. Kramers)

MUṢṬAFĀ, the name of several princes belonging to the Ottoman dynasty.

1. Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Düzme, eldest son of Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], counter-sultan or pretender (?-804/1402, 825/1422, or *ca.* 1430).

The date of birth of Muṣṭafā, a son of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], is unknown. Shükr Allāh (ed. Atsız, 58), lists Muṣṭafā as the last of his six [male] children, all of whom were born of slave-women (*ḳïrnaḳ*). It is probable that Bāyezīd had appointed Muṣṭafā governor of Ḥamīd and Tekke [*q.vv.*]; indubitably it was at the head of troops from these provinces that he fought alongside his father at the battle of Ankara (16 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 804/28 July 1402). Thereafter the fog of uncertainty descends on the career of Muṣṭafā—or of the resourceful and plausible pretender who later took his name.

Shükr Allāh (*loc. cit.*) states simply that Muṣṭafā was taken prisoner with his father and was never seen again. The general view is that he was taken by Tīmūr into captivity in Central Asia, but a reading of Ibn ʿArabshāh (Cairo, 1310, 133; tr. Sanders, 187) would seem to suggest that Tīmūrid agents, having failed to locate him after the battle, contented themselves with putting to death a large number ("nearly thirty") of his namesakes. Some Ottoman sources, however, indicate clearly that Muṣṭafā was taken captive by Tīmūr, returning home after "some years" (Enwerī, *Düstūrnāme*, ed. Yınanč, 91; cf. *Medhal*, 97); he may have been liberated, together with other princely hostages, after the death of Tīmūr (Feb. 1405).

Thus at least three major historical problems must be faced in any treatment of Muṣṭafā's career; the authenticity of his claim to be a son of Bāyezīd I; his whereabouts during the years following 1402, if, as seems almost certain, he was a son of Bāyezīd, or, alternatively, the origins of the pretender ("*düzme*"); and, finally, the serious discrepancies which exist between the Byzantine, Ottoman and Latin sources concerning the real or pretended Muṣṭafā's activities. None of these problems has yet been provided with a totally watertight solution.

The Ottoman view, that the post-1415 Muṣṭafā was an impostor, may be traced back to the remark—possibly apocryphal—attributed to Meḥemmed I in the context of the events of 1415-16, that the real Muṣṭafā had died in childhood (Chalcocondyles, tr. B. de Vigenère, Paris 1662, 97). The earliest Ottoman literary reference to Muṣṭafā, in the *taḳwīm* for 835/1431-2 (C.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 70) also describes him as an impostor (*djaʿlī*), as do both ʿĀshïḳpashazāde and the Anonymous chronicles, which employ what came to be the generally adopted sobriquet of *düzme*. Conversely, in the later *taḳwīms* published by Turan, in Enwerī and, (probably as a consequence) in the conflation of ʿĀshïḳpashazāde and the Anonymous made by Neshrī, the authenticity of Muṣṭafā is recognised (cf. M.H. Yınanç, *Medhal*, 96; V.L. Ménage, *Beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, 175-6).

The reappearance of Muṣṭafā in 1415 is also historically problematical. On the one hand, Venetian sources report the arrival there in January 1415 of a galley from Trebizond, bearing a "Turkish" agent charged with negotiations "with the basileus" on behalf of Muṣṭafā. This may also be connected with a report (Chalcocondyles, *loc. cit.*) that he had taken refuge at Sinop in the territory of the Isfendiyār-oghullarï [*q.v.*], and with further Venetian reports that Muṣṭafā was "in Asia", looking for a galley to transport him to Europe, where he claimed to have many partisans. Equally, Ragusan sources reported that in mid-June 1415 Muṣṭafā was [still] in Trebizond, gathering support (but from whom?) against Meḥemmed. By August 1415 he was in Wallachia under the protection of the *voivod* Mircea, attracting support from the *beg*s of Rūmeli, and raiding into the Ottoman-held lands south of the Danube (F. Thiriet,

Régestes du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie, *ii*, (*1400-1439*), Paris-The Hague, 1959, nos. 1563-4; S. Stanojević, *Die Biographie Stefan Lazarevic's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii [1896], 456-7). On the other hand, there is conflicting evidence furnished by a late copy of a *nis̲h̲ān* tentatively attributed by Wittek to Muṣṭafā (*Zur einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (*III*), in *WZKM*, lv, 135-41; cf., for Wittek's brilliant if questionable reconstruction of Muṣṭafā's *tug̲h̲rā*, *ibid.*, 136-7). This document is ostensibly dated 808/1405, but later (*Urkunden*, (*IV*), 271, n. 20), Wittek reassigned it "aus historischen Gründen" (unspecified) to 818/1415, thus placing Muṣṭafā, in March of that year, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in Ḳod̲j̲a Eli, "playing at ruler" under Byzantine protection. Accordingly, neither 1405 nor 1415 may be regarded as entirely tenable dates and the authenticity of this supposed *nis̲h̲ān* of "Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd" must in some degree be called into question. On historical grounds there may be some reason to reattribute it to Muṣṭafā's nephew and namesake, "Küčük" Muṣṭafā b. Meḥemmed [*q.v.*].

The activities of Muṣṭafā in 819/1416 are inextricably bound up with the simultaneous revolt against Meḥemmed I led by *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Bedr el-Dīn (cf. the study by M. Balivet, in *Turcica*, xviii [1986], 137-46). His own attempt to seize power, in cooperation with Mircea of Wallachia and the *beglerbegi* of Nigbolu, the former Aydîn-og̲h̲lu Ḳara D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*], failed, Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd were defeated by Meḥemmed outside Byzantine-held Thessaloniki, and forced to seek refuge with its governor, Demetrios Leontarios. By an agreement concluded between Meḥemmed and the Byzantine emperor Manuel, the sultan agreed to raise his siege of the city in exchange for the detention of Muṣṭafā in Byzantine custody for Meḥemmed's lifetime (Ducas, §XXII). Muṣṭafā was exiled to Limnos. Chalcocondyles, i, 98 states that Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd were held intitially at Monemvasia, later on Imbros and Limnos; Enwerī, 92, that they were detained on Aghrîboz (Negroponte).

The sequence of events concerning Muṣṭafā's counter-sultanate in Rūmeli in 824-5/1421-2 has been fairly satisfactorily established by recent research (cf., for a clear account, C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990, 91-4). Meḥemmed I died at Edirne in the spring of 824/1421 (for the exact date—May 21, Ind. 14, A.M. 6729—see S. Kugéas, *Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike aus dem Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts*, in *BZ*, xxiii [1914], 143-63, no. 80, pp. 151-2; cf. Schreiner, *CBB*, ii, 412, no. 67). Meḥemmed's death was said to have been concealed for 41 days (? = until 1 July) until his son Murād could reach Bursa and ascend the throne (Inalçık, in *İA*, s.v. *Murād II*: on 25 June). ʿĀs̲h̲îkpas̲h̲azāde also states that once Meḥemmed's death was known, there was an outbreak of *fitne*, all of which may conceal a more complex situation, alluded to by Ducas and Chalcocondyles. This involved the rejection by Murād and his chief adviser, the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a, of Meḥemmed's testamentary disposition, bequeathing Rūmeli to Murād and Anatolia to his second son "Küčük" Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], while leaving his other two sons, Yūsuf and Maḥmūd, to the protection of the Byzantine emperor.

The Byzantines, in retaliation for Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a's refusal to surrender Yūsuf and Maḥmūd, brought the elder Muṣṭafā once more into play, seeing him as a suitable figurehead for a Byzantine client régime in Rumeli, from which, in exchange for support, valuable territorial concessions could be extorted. A Byzantine flotilla under the command of Demetrios Leontarios transported Muṣṭafā from Limnos and landed him, together with D̲j̲unayd, at Gallipoli on 15 August 1421 (Kugéas; Inalcık, *loc. cit.*; "September"). From there—or, as most of the Ottoman sources state, from Thessaloniki (but cf. pseudo-Rūḥī, Bodl. ms. Marsh 313, 106a-b: Gallipoli)—Muṣṭafā marched on Edirne, taking possession of Yeniče Vardar and Serez. There he struck what is probably his first, pre-Edirne coinage. At Gallipoli or en route he received the homage of the *töviče*s and *sipāhī*s of Rūmeli and of the foremost Rūmelian *ud̲j̲-begi*s, including Turḥan Beg, the Evronos-zādes [*q.v.*] and the Gümlü-og̲h̲lu; according to the pseudo-Rūḥī, he "went to the Rūmeli forces and showed his scars [sc. of the wounds received at Ankara]; all Rūmeli followed him". At Sazlî-dere, near Edirne, Muṣṭafā and D̲j̲unayd encountered Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a, sent from Bursa via "the upper straits" with an army to hold Edirne, Bāyezīd Pas̲h̲a's troops defected to Muṣṭafā after he had again demonstrated his battle-scars; Bāyezīd himself was seized and executed. Muṣṭafā entered Edirne; later, in defiance of his agreement with Byzantium, he took possession of Gallipoli, refusing to surrender it to Leontarios.

Late in 1421 Muṣṭafā crossed the Dardanelles at Gallipoli and marched on Bursa. At Ulubād he found the bridge across the Nilüfer Çayı destroyed and the army of Murād waiting on the other side. After a series of stratagems and ruses, ably executed by Murād and his advisors and graphically described by ʿĀs̲h̲îkpas̲h̲azāde, who was an eyewitness, Muṣṭafā was deserted by D̲j̲unayd and by his followers. He fled to Gallipoli, followed by Murād, who was able to draw on the assistance of Giovanni Adorno, the Genoese *podestà* of New Phokaia, in transporting his troops across the Straits (15 January 1422). Muṣṭafā retreated to Edirne, where he found his authority was no longer recognised. According to most accounts, while attempting, most probably, to gain sanctuary in Wallachia, he was seized at Yenid̲j̲e Ḳîzîl Ag̲h̲ač by Murād's agents, brought back to Edirne, and hanged. It is possible, however, that he may have succeeded in escaping to Wallachia and from thence to Caffa (Kefe [*q.v.*]), from where he came to Thessaloniki (cf. *Takwimler*, ed. Turan, 60). From there he maintained his struggle until the town fell into Ottoman hands in 1430 (cf. the important and otherwise inexplicable Venetian notices, Thiriet, *Régestes*, ii, nos. 2132, 2134).

What can be said concerning the régime of "Düzme" Muṣṭafā? In his granting privileges to the *ʿazeb*s and the *yaya*, he seems to have continued the policies of Mūsā. On the other hand, he followed a pacific policy towards Byzantium, and did not imitate Mūsā by a widespread reintroduction of *aḳîn*; in this aspect of his policies, insofar as we may speak of them with certainty, he resembles Süleymān. Were the *ud̲j̲ begi*s who supported him, then, no more than opportunists, as was the case with D̲j̲unayd and Mircea of Wallachia, for whom Muṣṭafā, like Mūsā and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bedr el-Dīn, served merely as a tool for their anti-Ottoman policies?

Muṣṭafā's actions during his short-lived régime seem to be a combination of the astute and the opportunistic. He went back on his promise to restore Gallipoli to Byzantium, an act which can be regarded either as folly, alienating an important ally, or as a politically necessary move to satisfy his followers and establish his credentials as an Ottoman ruler. His generous accession donative to the lower paid troops in the end failed to ensure their loyalty at Ulubād.

The Rumelian *udj begis*, likewise, abandoned him in the face of clever propaganda for the cause of Murād. Certainly Muṣṭafā showed himself to be an incompetent military leader, when faced with Murād at Ulubād—he was a bad strategist and a bad psychologist.

Muṣṭafā's ostensible end—hanging, the fate of a common criminal (cf. Cantemir, *History of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire*, tr. N. Tindal, London, 1734, 44, n. 28)—was ignominious, Murād had to be seen to disassociate him from the Ottoman house; the final piece of evidence, perhaps, that "Düzme" Muṣṭafā was indeed no impostor. It is not known what happened to the body, except that it was not accorded a royal burial. The present scarcity of Muṣṭafā's coinage almost certainly indicates that it was suppressed immediately after the violent end of his counter-sultanate. All indications thus point to the need to consider to what extent there existed in early 9th/15th-century Ottoman society an element which wished to establish an "independent" beylik in Rūmeli. In that sense, the failure of Muṣṭafā, as of his brothers Süleymān and Mūsā, to establish a durable régime in Rūmeli underlines the fact that in the first half of the 9th/15th century the preponderance of Ottoman political power still resided on the Anatolian side of the Straits.

The coinage of Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd is of great interest and, hitherto, of considerable rarity. Muṣṭafā, like Süleymān and Mūsā—and like Meḥemmed I—before him, made an issue of silver *akčes* at Edirne. He also struck *akčes*—in very limited numbers—at Serez (Serres). A so far unique copper *mangïr* is also known to exist. The riddling nature of the date on some of the Edirne coins has long perplexed historians. Some bear the expected *hidjrī* date 824; others carry the legend "8224" (cf. C. Ölçer, *Yıldırım Bayezid'in oğullarına ait akçe ve mangırlar*, [Istanbul, *ca.* 1970?], 97, ff.). The theory has been advanced that this should be read as "A.H. 822, 4[th year of Muṣṭafā]", and that the "8224" coins represent evidence for a hypothetical "second revolt" by Muṣṭafā. If 819/1416, the year which witnessed the outbreak and failure of Muṣṭafā's first attempt to gain the sultanate, is taken as year 1, year "4" falls indeed in 822 (28.1.1419-16.1.1420). But at this time Muṣṭafā was still in Byzantine hands, while Meḥemmed I himself struck an extensive coinage, the last issue of his reign, at Edirne (and elsewhere) in 822. Clearly, there was no "second revolt". The legend itself, while defying explanation, can now be accounted for. A study of the coinage of Muṣṭafā, based on a hoard of more then one hundred coins, has demonstrated conclusively that multiple die-linkages connect in parallel the various sub-types of the 824 and "8224" coins and that the whole Edirne issue of Muṣṭafā—together with (on stylistic grounds) the much smaller emission from Serez—must have been struck in the last quarter of 824 or very early in 825 (sc. Aug./Sept. 1421-Jan. 1422).

Bibliography (expanding that in the text): Osman Turan (ed.), *Istanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954; Shükr Allāh, *Bahdjat al-tawārīkh*, tr. and ed. Ç.N. Atsız, *Osmanlı tarihleri*, i, Istanbul n.d., 58, 60; Enwerī, *Düstūrnāme*, ed. Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç], Istanbul 1929, 91-2 (cf. *Medhal* (sep. pagination and title page, 97); ʿĀshïḳpashazāde, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Fr. Giese, Leipzig 1929, 70 ff.; [Anonymous], *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, *Die altosmanischen Chroniken*, i, Breslau 1922, 56 ff.; Meḥmed Neshrī, *Djihān-nümā*, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 125 ff.; Orudj, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Fr. Babinger, Hannover 1925, 46, 112-3; cf. the concordance in V.L. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans: the sources and development of the text*, London 1964, 65-6; J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425)*, New Brunswick 1969, 34-4, 355-9, with references to the Byzantine sources; further, *İA*, sv, *Muṣṭafā*. I. (M.C. Şehâbettin Tekindağ), with references to Ottoman manuscript sources. The above article is a résumé of two forthcoming studies by C.J. Heywood, dealing respectively with Muṣṭafā's regime and his coinage, where more extensive general and numismatic bibliographies will be supplied.

(C.J. Heywood)

2. Muṣṭafā Čelebi, Küčük Muṣṭafā), son of Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*] and counter-sultan (*ca.* 810-11/1408-9—825/1423). Meḥemmed I had five sons: Murād (i.e. Murād II [*q.v.*]); Muṣṭafā, who received the nickname *Küčük* ("Young") to distinguish him from his uncle, *Düzme* Muṣṭafā b. Bāyezīd (see 1 above); Aḥmed, who had died in the lifetime of his father; Yūsuf and Maḥmūd. There is evidence from Byzantine sources (Ducas; Chalcocondyles) that Meḥemmed's testamentary disposition may have envisaged a partition of the Ottoman state on his death, with Muṣṭafā receiving its Anatolian possessions (Murād was to rule over Rūmeli; the two younger sons would be kept in protective custody at the Byzantine court). Thus the twin evils of civil war and fratricide would be obviated. In the event, on his father's death (25 June 1421) Murād, whom the Ottoman chronicle sources (ʿĀshïḳpashazāde; the Anonymous chronicles, Orudj) clearly regard as Meḥemmed's designated *walī-ʿahd*, was aided by the late sultan's chief advisors to ascend the throne (at Bursa, 25 June 1421—cf. *İA*, s.v. *Murad II* (H. İnalcık); Meḥemmed's two youngest sons were put to death there (Shükr Allāh, 62)).

Muṣṭafā, who was twelve years of age on the death of his father, had been appointed by him *sandjaḳ-begi* of Ḥamīd [*q.v.*]. He was taken under the protection of Yaʿḳūb Beg of Germiyān, who "adopted him as a son" (ʿĀshïḳpashazāde) and refused to recognise Murād. Ḥamīd itself (*i.e.*, Aḳshehir, Begshehri, Oḳluḳ-ḥiṣārï, Saʿīd-ili and Seydī-shehir) was occupied by the Ḳaramānids. Muṣṭafā seems to have played little part in the immediate aftermath of Meḥemmed's death, when Murād was faced with the simultaneous general uprising against Ottoman rule in Anatolia and the attempt by Düzme Muṣṭafā to gain the sultanate, as well as the open hostilty of Byzantium (summer 1421-spring 1422); it is possible that he may have been residing in Ḳaramān (Chalcocondyles), or placed by a certain Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu under the tutelage of one Sharabdār Ilyās in Ḳastamonu (Ducas). Thereafter, with these threats overcome, Murād turned against Byzantium (sieges of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, June 1422). At this point Küčük Muṣṭafā reappeared and, most probably with Byzantine money (channelled via Sharabdār Ilyās, who, together with Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu, appears throughout to have played the role of kingmaker to the young prince), together with military support from Ḳaramān and Germiyān—apparently including Turkomans from the Ṭurghud tribes—was enabled to raise up a strong army which besieged Bursa (late August 1422). Murād, abandoning the siege of Constantinople (final, unsuccessful assault on 24 August; departure of Murād on 6 September), retired to Edirne. From there he sent an army under Mīkhāl-oghlu Mīkhāl Beg against Muṣṭafā, who fled to Constantinople (30 September 1422). Muṣṭafā established

a short-lived base at Selembria (Silivri) on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara, but was attacked by the troops of Rūmeli and forced to cross over "again" and re-establish himself in Ḳodja-eli, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, where he was recognised by the population and troops as sultan (*Takvimler*, ed. Turan, 60; Chalcocondyles, tr. B. de Vigenère, 110). From Ḳodja-eli Muṣṭafā advanced on Iznik, which opened its gates to him. He also gained control over "part of the region of Bursa" (*Takvimler*, 60), and seems at this time to have been recognised as sultan over much of Anatolia. The population of Bursa, however, remained loyal to Murād, requesting Muṣṭafā not to besiege the town, Murād, counselled by his *lālā* Yorguč Pasha, and preceded by Mīkhāl Beg, crossed over to Anatolia (24 January 1422). Murād won over Ilyās Pasha, Muṣṭafā's chief advisor, and advanced on Iznik, which declared itself for him. After violent fighting, in which both Mīkhāl Beg and Ḳara Tādj al-Dīn-oghlu lost their lives, Iznik was taken by Murād. Muṣṭafā was handed over by Ilyās Pasha to Murād, who caused him to be strangled outside Iznik (20 February (?) 1423). His corpse was sent to Bursa, where it was buried beside his father.

Bibliography: See that for 1., above; cf. also *İA*, s.v. *Mustafā Çelebi* (2) (M.C. Şehâbettin Tekindağ).

(C.J. Heywood)

3. Muṣṭafā, son of Süleymān Ḳānūnī [*q.v.*] (921-61/1515-53). A favourite of Süleymān's mother, Ḥafṣa Sulṭān, he was brought to Istanbul with his mother Mahīdewrān (also known in the sources as Gulbahār) in 926/1520 when Süleymān ascended the throne. When Ḥafṣa died in 939/1533, Muṣṭafā was sent with his mother to serve as governor of Ṣarukhān in Maʿnīsa where he had been born. Muṣṭafā exhibited interest in political and military affairs and was a confident of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha until the latter's execution in 942/1536. Opponents of Muṣṭafā (led by Khurrem Sulṭān and Rüstem Pasha [*q.vv.*] spread rumours in 945/1538 and again in 948/1541 that he planned to rebel against his father. In 948/1541 he was re-assigned further away from the capital as governor of Amasya. Here he served until 961/1553, when he was executed on 5 October at the orders of his father Sultan Süleymān. The sources are unclear about the circumstances surrounding this event. Süleymān was convinced that Muṣṭafā intended to stage a coup d'état, and he received reports that Muṣṭafā had aroused the Janissaries by charging that his father was too ill and old to lead the army and the state. The Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, who had pressed for Muṣṭafā's execution, was himself dismissed to appease the Janissaries.

Muṣṭafā's death was mourned by poets and scholars, a number of whom wrote elegies for the dead *shehzāde*; best known is the *merthiye* of Yaḥyā Bey. Muṣṭafā himself wrote poetry under the *takhalluṣ* of Mukhliṣī.

Bibliography: The historical works of ʿĀlī, Ṣolaḳ-zāde, Pečewī, Muṣṭafā Bustān b. Meḥmed (Bustān Efendi/Bostān-zāde), and Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā. Busbecq's *Letters* provide a European view of Muṣṭafā and his execution. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii; ʿAlī Djewād, *Taʾrīkhiñ ḳanlî ṣaḥīfeleri: Shehzāde Sulṭān Muṣṭafā*, Istanbul n.d.; Mehmed Zeki, *Maḳtūl Shehzādeler*, Istanbul 1336; Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 26. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976; Çagatay Uluçay, *İA*, art. *Mustafa Sultan*; idem, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman ve ailesi, in Kanunî armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 227-57.

(A. Fisher)

MUṢṬAFĀ ʿABD AL-RĀZIḲ, Egyptian journalist who became Rector of al-Azhar [*q.v.*].

Born in Egypt in 1882 (according to Y.A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir*) or in 1885 (al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*) and dying in 1946 or 1947, he belonged to a rich and aristocratic family. He was the son of Ḥasan Pasha ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ and the brother of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, his junior by several years and famed for the "scandal" raised by his book *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* in 1925, a little before the one which Ṭāhā Ḥusayn provoked with his *al-Shiʿr al-djāhilī*. Despite being on a very different social level, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ followed an education which recalls that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, five or seven years younger than him. After having studied the Ḳurʾān in the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of his village, he pursued his studies at al-Azhar where, contrary to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, he obtained his diploma. He was unable to enter Cairo University, which was only to open its doors after his departure for Paris, in 1909. He followed Durckheim's courses at the Sorbonne, and specialised in Islamic philosophy. Having become Docteur-ès-Lettres, he returned to Egypt in 1915 to fill several posts and to follow a less dramatic career than those of his father and brother: as secretary-general of the Council of al-Azhar, inspector of the religious courts, professor of Islamic philosophy, in 1927, at the secular University of Cairo, minister of *awḳāf* in 1938, and supreme *Shaykh* of al-Azhar from 1945 till his death.

He was a disciple of Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose courses he had followed at al-Azhar; he became his friend and one of the main sources for his biography. He first of all collaborated on the daily *al-Djarīda* (founded in 1908 at Cairo, and edited by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid), where he became friendly with the leading lights of modern Arab thought, including ʿAḳḳād, M.Ḥ. Haykal, Salāma Mūsā, Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. Then he worked on *al-Siyāsa*, founded in 1922, with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal as editor-in-chief. This daily newspaper was at the time the mouthpiece of the dissident party from the Wafd, *al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn*, whose founder ʿAlī Yakan had become the rival of Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*]. The masses, fervent worshippers of the latter, stoned the premises of the newspaper, and two of whose members were even murdered, one of these being Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ's father Ḥasan Pasha. *Al-Siyāsa* defended freedom of expression for the intellectuals persecuted by the malevolence of al-Azhar, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn for his *al-Shiʿr al-djāhilī* (in 1926) and ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ for the book mentioned above, which preached the separation of religion and the state.

At Lyons, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ presented his thesis on the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, published at Cairo in 1944. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn said of him in his obituary notice: "he was a man of letters, a scholar who produced little (*adīb ʿālim mukill*), but this 'little' was of greater value than much else" (cited by al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 131-2). Towards the end of his life, he published *al-Ṣūfiyya wa 'l-firaḳ al-islāmiyya* (Cairo 1938), an introduction to Islamic philosophy (Cairo 1944), and studies on al-Kindī and al-Fārābī, *Faylasūf al-ʿarab wa 'l-muʿallim al-thānī* (Cairo 1945). Above all, he wrote authoritatively on ʿAbduh (Cairo 1946) and published his "memoirs" (*Mudhakkirāt*) in the press. At his death, numerous articles were written about him, including by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (*al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, 1947, no. 5), by ʿAḳḳād (*al-Risāla*, 1947, no. xv) and many others (*al-Thaḳāfa*, 1947, nos. 429, 431, 481).

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cheikh Moṣṭafâ ʿAbd el-Râzeq, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 81-131; T. Khemiri and G. Kampfmeyer, *Leaders in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *WI*, iv (1930).

(N. Tomiche)

MUṢṬAFĀ BARZĀNĪ, Mullā, probably the best-known Kurdish leader of his generation (1902-79), was born in Barzān [*q.v.*], (now in the province of Duhuk), northern ʿIrāk, into a family of Naḳshbandī [see NAḲSHBANDIYYA] *shaykhs*. His father, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām, sent a petition to the Young Turk government in 1908 asking for Kurdish officials to be employed in the Kurdish areas, and for Kurdish to be an official language of the region; he was subsequently hanged in Mawṣil in 1915 for his defiance of the Ottoman state. ʿAbd al-Salām was succeeded as head of the order and leader of the tribe by his son Shaykh Aḥmad, Mullā Muṣṭafā's elder brother; in the late 1920s, Aḥmad briefly declared himself Jesus Christ, enjoining his followers to eat pork and drink wine, which caused some concern to the authorities in Baghdād. In 1930-2 police posts were established in the Barzān area and the ʿIrākī Army was sent in to incorporate the area fully into the state administration. Aḥmad put up considerable resistance, but was eventually defeated with the help of the British R.A.F.; he was subsequently exiled to Turkey and imprisoned there, while Mullā Muṣṭafā took over the effective leadership of the Barzān tribe and, in time, of the Kurdish movement as a whole.

By 1936 Aḥmad had returned from Turkey, and both the Barzānī brothers were living in Sulaymāniyya under house arrest. Mullā Muṣṭafā escaped in 1943 and returned to Barzān, where he raised a revolt and attempted, unsuccesfully, to persuade the British authorities to convince the ʿIrāḳī government to support Kurdish autonomy. In mid-1945, some 14,000 ʿIrāḳī troops were sent to Barzān, and succeeded in expelling Mullā Muṣṭafā and some 1,200 Barzānī tribesmen from ʿIrāḳ into Persia, that October. Their arrival in Persia coincided with one of the principal events in contemporary Kurdish history, the foundation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Māhābād [*q.v.*] and subsequently the proclamation of the Republic of Māhābād in January 1946. The Barzānīs came to form the core of the Republic's army, and remained there until the overthrow of Māhābād in the spring of 1947; at this point they were chased back into ʿIrāḳ, and in May 1947 Mullā Muṣṭafā and 600 followers escaped to the Soviet Union, where they stayed until 1958. In Mullā Muṣṭafā's absence the KDP (ʿIrāḳ) was led by Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, under whom it gradually developed into a political as distinct from a nationalist party; the uneasy coexistence of these two tendencies, and Barzānī's autocratic style as a traditional tribal leader, was to be the cause of major rifts in the Kurdish movement in later years.

After the Revolution of 1958, ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] and the Free Officers invited Mullā Muṣṭafā to return to ʿIrāḳ, and it seemed that a new era in Kurdish-ʿIrāḳī government relations had begun. Unfortunately, however, although Ḳāsim himself seems to have supported the idea of some form of autonomy for the Kurds, other Free Officers, especially those who were keen supporters of Arab unity, were less enthusiastic about making concessions in that direction. As a result, the position of Mullā Muṣṭafā and the KDP was generally close to that of the ʿIrāḳī Communist Party, which was also profoundly suspicious of the likely implications of the nationalists' professed goal of merging ʿIrāḳ with the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria. By 1961 relations between the government and Mullā Muṣṭafā had greatly deteriorated; Barzānī forces occupied Zakhō in September and the government retaliated by bombing Barzān village, causing considerable loss of life.

The fighting which began in 1961 continued intermittently until Mullā Muṣṭafā and the Kurdish movement generally were defeated in March 1975. Broadly speaking, the ʿIrāḳī Kurds wanted a form of meaningful autonomy within ʿIrāḳ, which most ʿIrāḳī governments of the period were unwilling to consider, since they considered that such autonomy would amount to a derogation of national sovereignty. In addition, many government ministers were either serving or former military officers, who had seen active service against the Kurds in northern ʿIrāḳ. In the course of the 1960s, a split, partly a clash of personalities and partly a difference of principle, occurred between Mullā Muṣṭafā and the KDP (in the persons of Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and his son-in-law Djalāl Ṭalabānī), to the point where KDP units were fighting alongside government troops against the Barzānīs. In addition, Mullā Muṣṭafā maintained cordial contacts with the Shāh of Persia for most of the period, an association which was much criticised both by his Kurdish opponents and by successive ʿIrāḳī governments.

When the Baʿth government came to power in 1968, it began by making overtures to Mullā Muṣṭafā's Kurdish opponents, but soon realised that although they might be more congenial ideologically, the Aḥmad-Ṭalabānī group had little support on the ground in Kurdistān. Accordingly, negotiations between Mullā Muṣṭafā and the Baʿth began at the end of 1969, and in March 1970 a programme for Kurdish autonomy was announced which was to be put in place by March 1974. If implemented, the Manifesto would have been a major step forward, but in fact its main function was to enable the Baʿth to gain time and to establish itself sufficiently to be able to recast its Kurdish policy more to its own advantage at a later date, a purpose which it succeeded in serving for at least two years. Cracks soon began to appear in the façade, especially over the Baʿth's concern to avoid taking a census of the area, since this would have shown that the majority of the population around the Kirkūk oilfields, over which the Baʿth wanted to retain its control, was Kurdish, and over the expulsion of many thousands of Shīʿī Kurds to Persia in 1971 and 1972. There were also several attempts to assassinate Mullā Muṣṭafā and his sons in the early 1970s.

By 1973, Mullā Muṣṭafā had come to the conclusion that the Baʿth did not have any serious intention of implementing the Manifesto. He had already resumed his relations with Persia, and, for the first time, began a serious dialogue with the United States. In an interview in the *Washington Post* in June 1973 he declared that the Kirkūk oilfields were the inalienable property of the Kurds, and offered the United States participation in "Kurdish oil" if it would only send its forces to assist him in his struggle against the "wolves" in Baghdād, Thus when fighting between the government and Kurds finally broke out in 1974, it was easy for the Baʿth and its Communist supporters to criticise the Kurds for their alliance with the forces of "reaction and imperialism." Māhābād became the headquarters of the ʿIrāḳī Kurdish forces, and there were some 30-40,000 Kurdish refugees in or near the city. By January 1975 the conflict had escalated to such a point that an all-out war between Persia and ʿIrāḳ looked likely.

Mullā Muṣṭafā's miscalculation was to rely too heavily on Persia and the United States, especially as the Shāh had no intention of allowing the Kurds to defeat the ʿIrāḳī Army. More pragmatic considerations prevailed, and in March 1975 Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] signed the Algiers Agreement, which effectively ended Persian support to the Kurds in return for various border and other rectifications in Persia's favour. For the time being, the Kurdish resistance was at an end, and 100,000 Kurdish refugees fled to Persia.

Mullā Muṣṭafā went into exile in Tehran, and eventually died in the United States in 1979. The leadership of the KDP passed to his son Masʿūd, and Djalāl Ṭalabānī left the Party to form his own movement, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistān, in 1975. In general, Mullā Muṣṭafā was a charismatic leader but far less competent as a politician; he was unable to adjust to the new socio-political realities experienced by many of his people, and too prepared to take undertakings on trust from Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh. In his lifetime, however, no other Kurdish leader wielded anything approaching his influence.

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AL-**MUṢṬAFĀ** LI-**DĪN ALLĀH** [see NIZĀR B. AL-MUSTANṢIR].

MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI [see Suppl.].

MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL PASHA, leader of the second nationalist movement in Egypt (on the first, see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA and MIṢR. D.7).

The son of an Egyptian army engineer, he was born in Cairo on 1 Radjab 1291/14 August 1874, studied at the Khedivial school of law there and after taking his examination went to study in Toulouse, where in 1894 he took his *licence en droit*. When still a student of 18 he began his political activity and entered into personal relations with the Khedive ʿAbbās II [*q.v.*]. On his return from France, he founded in 1894 the second Egyptian national party (*al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*) with the object of inducing Britain by appeals to justice to abandon the occupation and restore the complete independence of Egypt. Later, he also aimed at getting the Sūdān [*q.v.*] handed back to Egypt and tried to prepare the Egyptians by modern education for parliamentary government. As the representative of his party, he spent each year a considerable time in Europe, especially France where he consorted with politicians and journalists and conducted a vigorous propaganda for his object. All his life he was very friendly with the journalist Juliette Adam; he had dealings with Rochefort, Drumont, Col. Marchand, Pierre Loti, and in 1896 had some correspondence with Gladstone. Later, he visited Berlin, London, Vienna, Budapest, Geneva and Istanbul, where he was highly thought of because he insisted on the sultan's suzerainty over Egypt; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] gave him in 1904 the title of Pasha. In Cairo, he founded in 1898 a school for training the youth in nationalist ideas, and in 1899 started the newspaper *al-Liwāʾ* ("The Banner"), which appeared early in 1900, had a great success, and from 1907 appeared also in English and French editions. From 1902 onwards, he published the nationalist quarterly *Madjallat al-Liwāʾ*. In his speeches and articles, he emphasised his aims with fiery eloquence; at the same time, he expressed his approval of the building of the strategic Ḥidjāz railway by the Ottomans and his sympathy with the Japanese in their war with Russia (1904-5). Muṣṭafā Kāmil also regularly emphasised the privileged position of Muslims as belonging to the state religion, and he recognised the sultan as caliph and head of Islam and thus contribued to the pan-Islamic movement which began early in the 20th century.

The "Entente Cordiale" concluded on 8 April 1904 between Britain and France was a severe blow to him and the nationalist party; by it France, in return for a free hand in Morocco, dropped its objections to the British occupation of Egypt. The Egyptian nationalists thus lost all hope of open or secret support from the French government and were thrown back upon their own resources. This situation caused Muṣṭafā Kāmil to redouble his energy, and in vigorous speeches and writings against France and Britain, in travelling and negotiating with statesmen of different lands, he endeavoured to make Egypt's point of view clear. As a result of the intensity of his agitation, there was a breach between him and the Khedive ʿAbbās II (October 1904); on the other hand, his following in Egypt rapidly increased and began to be troublesome to Lord Cromer, who had so far treated the new nationalism created by Muṣṭafā Kāmil as a "quantité négligeable". The Dinshawāʾī (a village near Ṭanṭā in the Delta) affair gave the nationalists a great stimulus; on 13 June 1906, some British officers out shooting were said to have wounded an Egyptian woman and were attacked by *fellāḥīn* with clubs and one of the officers was killed. At the instigation of the British government and under the presidency of the Egyptian Minister of Justice, the Copt Buṭrus Ghālī, a special court was set up, and this sentenced four *fellāḥīn* to death and 17 to prison or flogging, and the sentence was carried out next day. The indignation in Egypt and Europe rose to great heights, and even in the British House of Commons the authorities were criticised. Muṣṭafā Kāmil hurried to London and discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whom he endeavoured to convince of the necessity of recalling Lord Cromer and giving greater freedom to Egyptians. On this occasion, he mentioned as suitable representatives in a parliamentary system of government all those Egyptians who in the later political movement after the First World War played important parts. On his return to Egypt, through the press and mass meetings in which he urged Egyptians to unite against Britain, he gave a great stimulus to the nationalist movement and soon had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Cromer resign (in April 1907)—although he was by no means the only cause of this—and replaced by Sir Eldon Gorst. The latter adopted a milder tone with the Egyptians, was on good terms with the Khedive and endeavoured to support him with a newly-founded party. Muṣṭafā Kāmil attacked this representative of Britain vigorously also, in October 1907 put his National Party on a broader basis and summoned it to a "National Congress", which met on 7 December of the same year in Cairo; 1,017 delegates from all over Egypt appeared, and

after a speech by Muṣṭafā Kāmil which carried them away, the latter was elected life-President of the party. This was however his swan-song. He had been ill since the summer of 1906; he died on 10 February 1908 (8 Muḥarram 1326) at the age of 34 of a slow internal trouble (intestinal tuberculosis). The rumour inevitably spread that he had been poisoned at British instigation. His funeral was an impressive expression of the national grief. Muṣṭafā's creations did not long survive him and his party, which produced no leader to equal him and was broken up by dissensions, gradually sank into insignificance. Although he obtained no positive results by his agitation, he prepared the way for the third and greatest nationalist movement (under Saʿd Zaghlūl Pasha [*q.v.*] from 13 November 1918).

In retrospect, Muṣṭafā Kāmil appears essentially as a demagogue and opportunist, often unscrupulous and giving his support to e.g. French foreign policy or the Khedive and then abandoning these without compunction. In many ways he was a spiritual descendant of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], whose ideas he knew through ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], the orator and spokesman of the ʿUrābī movement of the 1880s (although he disliked al-Afghānī's chief disciple in Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*]), but nevertheless seems to have viewed Islamic religion primarily as a means for the advancement of Egyptian nationalism, and some observers thought him basically irreligious. His Egyptian patriotism was nevertheless fundamental and genuine, and the interests of what he called both the *umma miṣriyya* and the *shaʿb miṣrī* were always the mainsprings of his polemics, amply warranting the veneration of him by the Egyptian masses. He stressed the solidarity of Muslims and Copts, as being each components of the Egyptian nation, although in practice, this solidarity was largely a myth; and the more strident of his nationalist supporters after his death, such as his successor as leader of the Nationalist Party Muḥammad Farīd Bey [*q.v.*] and, above all, his successor as editor of *al-Liwāʾ*, the Tunisian ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Shawīsh or al-Djawīsh, did much to exacerbate Muslim-Copt relations in the years before the First World War. Muṣṭafā Ḳamil regarded the Syrian, Armenian, etc. immigrants into Egypt with suspicion, as intruders (*dukhalāʾ*), seeing in them competitors in the professions and supporters of the British occupation, but he had to be more wary in his public attitude towards the European residents (*al-nuzalāʾ al-Urubiyyūn*), as representatives of powers which needed to be placated if Egypt was to achieve independence.

Of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's numerous writings, only the more important can be mentioned; many of them were only printed after his death, some in the great (never completed) biography by his brother ʿAlī Bey Fahmī Kāmil, *al-Masʾala 'l-sharḳiyya* (1898, 1909); *Miṣr wa 'l-iḥtilāl al-indjlīzī* (collection of speeches and essays, Cairo 1313); *Difāʿ al-miṣrī ʿan bilādihi*, Cairo 1324/1906; *al-Shams al-mushriḳa* (Cairo 1904, on the Russo-Japanese war); *Lettres françaises-égyptiennes* (Cairo 1909; also in Arabic and Eng. tr., his letters to Juliette Adam); *Egyptiens et Anglais*, Paris 1906 (speech of 4 July 1895 in Toulouse); *Le péril anglais*, Paris 1899; *What the National Party wants* (Cairo 1907, speech of 22 Oct. 1907). See further on his writings, Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, cols. 1754-5.

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(M. MEYERHOF*)

MUṢṬAFĀ KEMĀL [see ATATÜRK].

MUṢṬAFĀ KEMĀL PASHA [see KIRMĀSTĪ].

MUṢṬAFĀ KHAYRĪ EFENDI, ÜRGÜPLÜ (1283-1339/1867-1921), *Sheykh ül-Islām* of the Ottoman Empire. A member of an old established local *ʿulamāʾ* family, he was born at Ürgüp as a son of ʿAbd Allāh ʿAwnī Efendi. Members of the family were the administrator of the *waḳf* of the town's principal mosque complex, the *ulu djāmiʿ* founded by Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm Bey [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÏ]. Khayrī received his early education locally *inter alia* in Arabic, Persian and Turkish classical literature and calligraphy. His elder brother, an Inspector of Justice in the *wilāyet* of Sivas [*q.v.*], supervised his continued schooling. In 1882 Khayrī came to Instanbul to study there for two years at the Bashkurshunlu Medrese of the Ṣaḥn-i Theman Medreses. He returned to Ürgüp with his father and studied for another two years at the Yaghmuroghlu Medrese in Kayseri, after which he returned to Istanbul at some time. In 1895 he took his *idjāzet* and at the same time completed his studies at the Law School.

His career in the ranks of the *ʿİlmiyye* [*q.v.*] went very smoothly. In 1896 he ranked as *ibtidāʾ-i khāridj*, and in 1897 *ibtidāʾ-i dākhil*. In 1898 he was appointed deputy public prosecutor at the Court of First Instance (*Bidāyet Maḥkemesi*) of the *sandjaḳ* of Marʿash [*q.v.*]; in 1899 he was transferred as such to Ṭarābulus-i Shām [*q.v.*]. In 1901 he became presiding judge of the Criminal Division of the Court of First Instance of the *sandjaḳ* Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*], then public prosecutor at the Central Court of First Instance of the province of Syria (SŪRIYĀ). From 1904 to 1906 he held the same function at Monastir [see MANĀSTÏR] (now Bitola). He was promoted to *ḥareket-i dākhil* rank and transferred to Salonica [see SELĀNIK] to be presiding judge of the Criminal Division of the *Bidāyet Maḥkemesi*. Here he joined the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI], and was a member of the central committee in 1908.

After the restoration of constitutional government (July 1908) brought about by the Young Turk revolution, Khayrī Efendi was elected member of the Ottoman parliament for the *sandjaḳ* of Niğde [*q.v.*], the district of his home town. He also became professor of Medjelle [*q.v.*] law at Istanbul University. It thus becomes clear that his ambition was not to remain within the restricted scope of an *ʿIlmiyye* career but to join the ranks of the civil servants [see MÜLKIYE] and politicians. In fact, Khayri qualified himself more frequently as "Bey" than as "Efendi" by this time.

At the reshuffle of the cabinet after the failure of the counter revolution of April 1909 (the so-called "31st March Incident", Turkish: *31 Mart Waḳʿasī/Olayī*), he entered the government as Minister of Justice for a short time. While remaining a member of parliament

[see MADJLIS. 4. A. (i)] he took up a professorship in the *Medreset ül-Ḳuḍāt* ("Cadis' Training College"), one of the modern teaching establishments of the *ʿIlmiyye*. In 1910 Khayrī Bey became Minister of *Ewḳāf* [see WAḲF]. In the absence of his colleague, he also acted as Minister of the Interior. During the next cabinet of the government led by Küčük Saʿīd Pasha [*q.v.*], he was President of the Council of State and acting Minister of Education. In 1913 he was re-elected for the third time as member of parliament for Niğde. He became again Minister of *Ewḳāf*. During this time he actively occupied himself with the reorganisation along modern lines of the educational institutions of the *ʿIlmiyye* and the administration of the *Ewḳāf* Ministry.

On 16 March 1914 (Rabīʿ II 1332), Khayri Bey/Efendi also became *sheykh ül-Islām* in the cabinet of the Grand Vizier Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha (1913-17). Thus it fell to him to issue the ill-famed *fatwā* sanctioning the *djihād-i ekber* (the "Great Holy War"—made in Germany according to the Dutch Islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje) against Russia, Great Britain, France and their allies (14 November 1914/25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1332) (photograph in *Mufassal Osmanlı tarihi*, vi, 3522, Istanbul 1963; text in transcript in Altunsu, 245 f.). On 25 April 1916/20 Djumādā II 1334, he resigned, according to some because of the lavish style of living of the leading Unionists, which he found morally unacceptable at the time when the majority of the Sultan's subjects were suffering the hardships of war. Khayrī Efendi now became a member of the Ottoman Senate.

At the end of the war, he became Minister of Justice in the government formed by Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha [see ʿIZZET PASHA (Furgaç)]. Together with other leading Unionists, such as Djāwīd [*q.v.*] Bey and Fetḥī Bey [see OKYAR, ʿALĪ FETḤI], he had to resign on 19 November 1918. On 4 March 1919, together with many politicians of the Unionist régime, he was arrested. Before a court-martial was held, he and other members of parliament were deported by the British authorities to Malta. Because of ill health he was released early and transported to Rome for treatment. From there, together with Hüseyin Rāghib [Baydur], he went on to Antalya whence Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sanūsī was to bring him to Ürgüp. However, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk [*q.v.*]) invited him to Ankara to take a seat in the Grand National Assembly. Khayrī Efendi excused himself with the argument that his links with the former Unionist leaders would be an embarassment for the Ankara government. However, he expressed his loyalty to the nationalists' cause and promised to support Muṣṭafā Kemal's struggle. Thereupon Khayrī Efendi retired from public life and settled down in the town of his ancestors. He died at Ürgüp on 1 Dhu'l-Ḳada 1339/7 July 1921. He lies buried there next to the Great Mosque (Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm Djāmiʿi). His son Suat Hayri Ürgüplü (b. Damascus, 1903, d. Istanbul, 1981), a prominent lawyer and politician, was a member of parliament, government minister, ambassador and Prime Minister of Turkey 1965-6 and again in 1972.

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MUṢṬAFĀ KHAZNADĀR (1817-78), Tunisian official. A *mamlūk* of Greek origin originally called George Kalkias Stravelakis, he became a convert to Islam. He was born at Kardamila in the island of Chios, where his father Stephanis had been killed in the massacres of 1821, taken as a slave at an unknown date and brought to Izmir, sold at Istanbul and then re-sold at Tunis, where he was brought to the court during the reign of Ḥusayn Bey (1824-35). Ḥusayn brought up the young *mamlūk* in the circle of his own nephew Aḥmad (b. 1806), and links which were almost brotherly grew up between the two. The prince appointed for him two tutors, the *shaykhs* Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kāmil, a Mālikī, and Muṣṭafā Bū Ghāzlī, a Ḥanafī, who taught him Arabic and inculcated the bases of Islamic culture (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, vi, 179). Although he retained memories of his Greek origin, Muṣṭafā had completely forgotten his native language; but he understood Italian, which was currently spoken at the Ḥusaynid court of Bardo.

Muṣṭafā was an intelligent, open-minded person and remarkably adaptable to circumstances, hence by the age of 20 succeeded in raising himself to the highest rank in the state; he was to retain power for 36 years. He would probably have kept this till his death at Tunis in 1878 if the French agents' intervention had not brought about his fall on 21 October 1873.

The characteristic feature of his career is that he was successively prime minister to three Beys, Aḥmad (1837-55), M'ḥammad (1855-9) and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-73), and one can speak about a progressively-increasing share of the power held by him, whilst at the same time he managed to leave the ruler under the impression that he was the real master. With certain qualifications, this seems to hold good for all three of the Beys whom he served.

From the outset, Aḥmad Bey selected him to be his personal secretary and adviser, and promoted him to be treasurer of the state finances (*khaznadār*)—this last position not being a surprising one, since he was already in charge of the prince's personal finances before his investiture. He took up office on 10 Radjab 1253/10 October 1837, and speedily assumed the title of prime minister, holding this till the Bey's death on 14 Ramaḍān 1271/30 May 1855.

For these 18 years, he strove to raise his office in importance, without however making any apparent change in the governmental system. At the time of the first regulation of the currency in 1847, his signature appears on the notes issued then at the side of the Bey's, as if they were co-rulers. Also, he had enough influence over the Bey to dissuade him from condemning a provincial deputy-governor to death. It is true that his marriage to the Bey's sister Kulthūm brought with it family connections which favoured his interventions.

The case of M'ḥammad Bey brings with it differing modes of action. To begin with, Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's position suffered an eclipse, but the buying over with gold of the Bey's old retainers and his skill in apparently adapting himself to the new sovereign's ways allowed him to remain in power. Nevertheless, the tone of their mutual relations was very different from the one prevailing during the previous reign. It is true that when he threw himself at the Bey's feet to seek pardon for an old soldier condemned to death without a trial for immorality, M'ḥmmad Bey brusquely repelled him: "A man of this low breed should

not have pardon sought for him by someone of your rank" (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, vii, 197). It seems that he was conscious of suffering to a certain extent from his lack of real lineage (*nasab*), and the episode of the decoration (*ibid.*, vii, 219-20) throws a vivid light on this aspect of his psychology.

Moreover, when M'ḥammad Bey issued a new gold coinage, the name of his Khaznadār was no longer associated with his own (*ibid.*, vii, 201); hence it is not surprising that shortly before his death on 24 Ṣafar 1276/22 September 1859, M'ḥammad had ceased to repose trust in him.

The case of Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey is much clearer. Confidence may be placed in pieces of evidence which assert that Muṣṭafā Khaznadār secured a kind of magical ascendancy over the Bey. His tactics are defined as follows: he flattered the ruler and encouraged him in his vices in order to divert him from the reality of power and to leave him the mere shadow of his title, and he organised a network of acts of collusion among his entourage. Duchesne de Bellecourt, the French Consul-General at Tunis, saw in Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, in September 1865, the real absolute ruler of the land. How could one doubt this, when it was averred that he had been able to organise a minor palace revolution in order to place his partisans and confidants in positions of power—the Ministries of the Interior, of War and of the Navy? He held personally, in addition to his post as prime minister, two ministries, sc. Foreign Affairs and Finance (cf. J. Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat*, 280).

In regard to foreign policy, it may be noted that in general, he followed a seesaw policy balanced between the consuls of France and Britain, justifiable for the maintenance of his country's independence, and his eulogist Ed. Desfossés defends him warmly on this point. He states that "He resisted the intrigues and threats of the Porte, England, France and Italy, and knew how to prevent his country's occupation by foreign troops and to preserve his sovereign's integrity and independence" (*Affaires d'Orient, la disgrâce de Sidi Moustapha...*, 16). Desfossés observes also that as a Greek, he had no natural leaning towards Turkey, and under Aḥmad Bey, he seems to have been in agreement with his master to resist the Porte's pretentions in treating the Bey as a vassal and demanding an annual tribute. Fear of seeing France, henceforth established in Algeria, invade Tunisia, led him to seek support in the French side in order to prevent this danger. In practice, from 1856 onwards, he felt the influence of Britain through his cordial relations with the British Consul Richard Wood, whilst after December 1864, the date of the ending of the rebellion led by ʿAlī b. Ghadāhum [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM in Suppl.], he was led to favour a restoration of the French influence, if only in order to keep his own position. It was nevertheless Wood who advised him to resume relations with the Porte and to ask Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for the *fermān* regulating relations with the Bey promised in 1864 and which he had abandoned in the face of firm French opposition (cf. Ganiage, *op. cit.*, 415-19). It seems that one may assume foreign policy, with its many fluctuations, to have been directed by Muṣṭafā Khaznadār, more or less affected, according to the circumstances, by the interventions of the French and British Consuls. The Beys themselves seem to have made few decisive initiatives of their own in this respect.

Concerning internal policy, three facts are of note. The first one, of juridical significance, involves the granting of the first Tunisian constitution. A coalition of the French and British consuls led Muṣṭafā Khaznadār to impress on the Bey the need for this reform, aimed largely at establishing for him a liberal reputation in the European nations' eyes. M'ḥammad Bey on 9 September 1857, before an assembly of all the dignitaries of the nations, announced his intention of granting to his people a constitution and enumerated the main principles of a Basic Agreement, *ʿAhd al-amān*, which was to link the ruler with his subjects and act as the basis of the constitution [see DUSTŪR. Tunisia]. This constitution was proclaimed in January 1861 and put into effect on the following 23 April, and it was intended to legalise and confirm Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's supreme power. It led to the formation of a Supreme Council of 60 members, in which all power, influence and riches were concentrated. The constitution was only a smoke-screen to mask the accumulation of all power by the *mamlūks* to the detriment of the mass of Tunisian countrymen. All these considerations led to the revolt en masse of Tunisia in 1864.

The second fact is of a social nature and concerns this rebellion. It was in fact in regard to this rising of the tribes under ʿAlī b. Ghadāhum in April 1864 that Muṣṭafā Khaznadār plunged in affairs up to his neck, almost single-handed, since the Bey gave the impression of being absent. He put into practice an ingenious policy of dissociation which helped to make the tribal movement crumble and caused a multitude of rivalries. At the time of pacification, he promised an amnesty, cut the tithe (*ʿushur*) on cereals by a half and proceeded to nominate native Tunisian *ḳāḍīs* instead of *mamlūks*; but in reality, he was defending his own position as prime minister, directly threatened.

The third fact, of a financial nature, can be summed up as a falling into debt followed by two loans. The state of debt was characterised by payments only intermittently to officials, the army, and the contractors to and creditors of the government, who were paid with *tadhkiras* which were not honoured. In order to save the country's finances, Muṣṭafā Khaznadār had recourse to a double loan, one in 1863 and one in 1865, which both had catastrophic consequences. The reply to bankruptcy was the setting-up of an international financial commission (France, Britain and Italy) with Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] as President and the Inspector-General of the French finances, François Villet, as Vice-President (from 1869 to 1874). The latter, in two notes addressed to the Quai d'Orsay, drew up an indictment severely accusing Muṣṭafā Khaznadār of a vast operation aimed at pillaging the funds of the Tunisian state.

The difficulty of making an impartial judgment here, given the extensive camouflage over the numerous financial speculations, remains great, but it seems impossible to exculpate the prime minister. Desfossés' arguments seem highly inconsistent. Nevertheless, it would be hazardous to place the entire blame on Muṣṭafā Khaznadār and to exempt from censure the three Beys and all the high officials in the government, those involved in or associated with the abuses in some degree or other. On 21 October 1873 Muṣṭafā Khaznadār suffered a complete disgracing; he was deprived of all his offices and dignities and was arrested and confined in his palace at Tunis on the accusation of malversation of 80 million francs of state funds.

The ultimate appreciation of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's career must be this: that he used his subtle intelligence to secure such an ascendancy over three Beys of Tunisia in the 19th century and that his suppleness in

adapting himself to the shifting realities of the period allowed him to keep himself in power, whilst at the same time concealing from superficial observers the real mainspring of his behaviour, sc. his avid love of gold, which presented a target for the criticisms of contemporaries.

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MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, BAYRAḲDĀR or ʿAlemdār, Ottoman Turkish grand vizier in 1808, was the son of a wealthy Janissary at Rusčuḳ, born about 1750.

He distinguished himself in the war with Russia under Muṣṭafā III, and acquired in these years the surname of *bayraḳdār* "standard-bearer". After the war he lived on his estates near Rusčuḳ, and acquired the semi-official position of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Hezārgrād and later of Rusčuḳ. With other *aʿyans* he took part in an action against the government at Edirne, but became finally a reliable supporter of the government. Having already received the honorary offices of *ḳapīdjī bashī* and of *mīr ākhur*, he was, in 1806, promoted to the rank of Pasha of Silistria and at the same time was appointed *ser-ʿasker* on the Danube frontier against the advancing Russian army. This made him one of the most influential men in Rūm-ili. He had become a zealous supporter of Selīm III's reform policy and, after that sultan's deposition, it was to him that the enemies of the new reactionary government turned. In June 1808 he was joined by the dismissed *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the grand vizierate in Istanbul, Ṭayyār Pasha; from Rusčuḳ they went to Edirne, where they joined forces with the grand vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha. So the entire Rumelian army marched against the capital, where they dictated their will to the sultan Muṣṭafā IV (23 July). On 26 July Bayraḳdār was appointed commander in chief and on 28 July, after having taken by force the sultan's seal from the weak grand vizier, he marched with his troops to the palace of the sultan, under the pretext of bringing back the holy standard of the prophet. At first he was allowed only to enter the first court of the serāy, while Muṣṭafā IV —who had been absent— returned in haste from the seaside. As Bayraḳdār had made known his intention of restoring Selīm III to the throne, Muṣṭafā had just time to have his predecessor killed. But immediately afterwards he was himself deposed and Bayraḳdār now recognised Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] as sultan.

After this began the short personal régime of Bayraḳdār Muṣṭafā Pasha as grand vizier. He had a number of the supporters of the former sultan executed, arranged a magnificent funeral for Selīm III and began to form a corps of troops called this time *niẓāmlī ʿasker* [see niẓām-i djedīd]. At the same time he summoned a great imperial conference in the capital, to which all the high-placed officials of the empire were invited. Many of them answered the appeal and subscribed to the extensive programme of reforms which the grand vizier laid before them in a solemn meeting in the first days of October and which was also approved of by a *fatwā* of the *muftī*. But the precipitation with which the new measures were taken in hand and the tactless procedure in the abolition of long-established abuses, made him ever more unpopular. The influential *ʿulamāʾ* were also alienated by the exaggerated reforming zeal. His only support were his Rumelian troops and a small number of friends, such as Begdji Efendi and Rāmiz Pasha, together with Ḳāḍī Pasha of Ḳaramān, who had remained in the capital after the imperial conference. Matters came to a head on 14 November 1808, in the last days of Ramaḍān 1222, by a rebellion of the Janissaries. The night following that day they surrounded the grand vizier's residence and set the quarter on fire. Bayraḳdār, surprised by the fire, saw no way of escape; he hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days afterwards, after the fire was quenched. The rumour had been spread that Bayraḳdār had escaped, which had caused much uncertainty.

The grand vizier was buried in the fortress of Yedi Ḳule, where his bones were dug up in 1911 during railway works; they were transported to the mosque of Zayneb Sulṭān.

Although brief, Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayraḳdār's vizierate was important in that he revived aspects of the modernisation programme envisaged by Selīm III, e.g. by reviving in effect the *Niẓām-ī Djedīd* as the *Segbān-ī Djedīd*, by working towards removal of the abuses connected with the Janissaries and by confirming the rights and privileges of the *aʿyān* and *derebey* [*q.v.*] classes in the provinces of the empire. A period of reaction followed, but over the next eighteen years, Maḥmūd II was cautiously able to bring about the overthrow of the Janissaries in 1826 (the so-called *waḳʿa-yi khayriyye* "auspicious event") and the transformation of the army in the direction of a modern force.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*², viii; Shānī-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, i; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 460; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii, 555 ff.; Afḍal al-Dīn, *ʿAlemdār Muṣṭafā Pasha*, in *TOEM*, ii, iii, iv (with portrait on ii, 528); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961; S.J. and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, i, 272-6, ii, 1-6; *İA*, art. s.v. (Uzunçarşılı); R. Mantran, in idem (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 429-34, 437-8.

(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, BUSHATLÎ (1797-1860), Ottoman statesman of Albanian origin, son of Meḥmed Āṣāf Pasha and nephew of the renowned Ḳara Maḥmūd Pasha Ishḳodralî Bushatlî [*q.v.*]; this last article will provide information on the controversies regarding the origin of this family. For the eminence of the Bushatlî, at Ishḳodra, dating from the first half of the 12th/18th century and achieved through the efforts of Meḥmed Pasha Bushatlî and his successors, see arnawutluḳ, at vol. I, 656a.

Born on 27 Ramaḍān 1211/26 March 1797, Muṣṭafā Pasha made rapid progress in his career: appointed to a post in the *mutaṣarrifliḳ* of Ishḳodra in 1225/1810, he became *wezīr* in 1227/1812. His administrative and military career, and in particular the campaigns conducted on behalf of the Porte against ʿAlī Pasha Tependelenli [*q.v.*] and against the Greek insurrection in 1823, as well as his passive stance in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-9, are surveyed at length by M. Cavid Baysun in his article s.v. *İA*, viii, 727-30, usefully summarising passages

drawn from various Ottoman historians (Luṭfī, in particular).

Opposed to the reforms which sultan Maḥmūd II intended to introduce (which threatened to deprive him of his hereditary privileges), and driven by personal ambitions, which Albanian historians now interpret as manifestations of Albanian nationalism (cf. S.N. Naçi, *Pashallëku i Shkodrës ne vitet e para të shek. xix (1796-1831)*, Tirana 1896), he rebelled against the Ottoman power. He is known to have established "culpable" relations, on the one hand with discontented Bosnian Muslims and the *pas͟ha* of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and on the other hand with the Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović (Drag. M. Pavlović, *Pokret u Bosni i u Albaniji protiv reforama Mahmuda II*, Belgrade 1913, chs. viii and ix; M. Gavrilović, *Miloš Obrenović*, Belgrade 1908-12, iii, 91-6, 102-14, 124-6, 332-50, 361), and the prince-bishop of Montenegro, the distinguished poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš (these latter relations were however to be thwarted by the Russian consul in Dubrovnik, J. Gagić).

After initial successes (the temporary capture of Nis͟h, of Skoplje and of Sofia), the rebel troops of Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha were defeated in April 1831, in the mountainous region of Babuna near Prilep, by Ottoman armies commanded by the grand vizier Muṣṭafā Res͟hīd Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] in person. Surrounded at Is͟hḳodra, Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha remained defiant for a few more months, but was eventually forced to surrender. He was taken to Istanbul, where he lived for a time in the vicinity of the Süleymāniyye mosque, before being allowed to rejoin the Ottoman administration, under the reign of ʿAbd al-Med͟jīd I. He then served, from 1846 onwards, as governor (*wālī*) in various locations (Bolu, Kastamonu, Adana, Marʿas͟h, Konya, etc.) and even returned in 1853 to Rumelia as governor of Herzegovina.

He died in Medina on 7 D͟hū 'l-Ḳaʿda 1276/27 May 1860, having been a member of the brotherhood dervish order of the Mewlewīs (Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*]).

His property, which had been confiscated at the time of his defeat in 1831, was returned to his sons in 1865. One of the latter, a renowned poet and scholar, Ḥasan Ḥaḳḳī, was *wālī* of Aleppo; another, Maḥmūd Pas͟ha (1824-70) served in the Ottoman administration in Rumelia, in particular, at Novi Pazar and in Herzegovina.

It should be emphasised, in conclusion, that there exist at least three different approaches to the career and biography of Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha Bus͟hatlî: that of ancient and modern Turkish historians; that of the Yugoslav historians mentioned above (to which should be added the article MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA BUS͟HATLÎ by F. Bajraktarevic in *EI*[1]), and, finally, that of modern and contemporary Albanian historians. Regarding these last, it is a case of an increasingly "habitual" tendency, to which one should merely draw attention.

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(A. Popovic)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, ḲAPLAN [see ḲAPLAN MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA in Suppl.].

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, ḲARA S͟HĀHĪN, Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Yemen and Egypt in the mid-10th/16th century. A Bosnian recruited through the dews͟hirme [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā was trained in the inner palace (*enderūn* [*q.v.*]) service and thereafter held a number of minor posts. Although he is said to have gained fame during the Persian campaigns, the claim by the author of *Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī* that he was *beylerbeyi* of Erzurum in 951/1544-5 and, four years later, of Diyār Bakr, and that he subsequently was tutor (*lālā*) to Prince Bāyezīd (d. 969/1561), appears uncorroborated and may be owing to that author's having confused him with Lālā Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha (d. 988/1580 [see MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, LALA]).

Muṣṭafā was named to succeed the late Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha al-Nas͟hs͟hār [*q.v.*] as *beylerbeyi* of Yemen in early 963/1556 while serving as *sand͟jaḳ beyi* of G͟hazza. Two of his sons, Riḍwān and Bahrām, later were governors of Yemen too, and the latter accompanied his father on this occasion. Muṣṭafā administered Yemen for four-and-a-half years, yet the sources report little about him there beyond mentioning his popularity. He was observed to have valued the company of religious scholars, and this may account for his having aroused Zaydī susceptibilities when in 964/1557 he attempted to have the S͟hīʿī formula *ḥayya ʿalā k͟hayr al-ʿamal* deleted from the *ad͟hān* [*q.v.*]. The silence of the Arabic chroniclers suggests that Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha avoided all contact with al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], the Zaydī leader.

Ḳara S͟hāhīn Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha was recalled to Istanbul in Rad͟jab 967/April 1560. Documents show that he was considered for governorships of Aleppo and Rūm; but with the death of K͟hādim ʿAlī Pas͟ha the governor of Egypt, Muṣṭafā was appointed his successor on 1 Rabīʿ I 968/20 November 1560. Although he held this office until D͟jumādā II 971/January-February 1564, the Egyptian chroniclers are silent on his activities except for the comment by one (al-K͟hallāḳ) that he was cruel and tyranical. He apparently died shortly after this tenure.

Bibliography: See that for MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA AL-NAS͟HS͟HĀR.

(J.R. Blackburn)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, KÖPRÜLÜ [see KÖPRÜLÜ].

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS͟HA, LALA, famous Ottoman commander of the 10th/16th century, d. 988/1580. The date of his birth is not given.

He was a native of Soḳol, and began his service in the imperial palace. He rose in rank under the grand vizier Aḥmed (960-2/1553-5), but was not in favour with the latter's successor Rüstem Pas͟ha, who made him in 963/1556 *lālā* to prince Selīm with the object of ruining him. The outcome of this nomination was the contrary of what was expected; Muṣṭafā became the chief originator of the intrigues by which Selīm came into conflict with his brother Bāyezīd and which ended with Bāyezīd's execution in Persia [see SELĪM II]. After these events, Rüstem Pas͟ha managed to relegate the intriguer in administrative functions to different parts of the empire; for eight years he was *wālī* in Damascus. Nor was his compatriot from Bosnia, the grand vizier Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pas͟ha, favourably disposed to Muṣṭafā, but in the beginning of 1569 Sultan Selīm II called back his former *lālā* as *ḳubbe wezīri* in the capital. Very soon afterwards, Ṣoḳollu appointed him *ser-ʿasker* in the Yemen; Muṣṭafā went to Cairo to take charge of his command, but here he became involved in serious disputes with the *wālī* Sinān Pas͟ha over the equipment of his army. The end was that Sinān was appointed in Muṣṭafā's stead and the latter had to return to Istanbul. Sultan Selīm's protection saved him from death, and in the beginning of the following year he was appointed again *ser-ʿasker* of the army destined for the conquest of the island of Cyprus. Lala Muṣṭafā Pas͟ha led this memorable campaign with complete success; Nicosia was taken in Ṣafar 978/July 1570, while Famagusta surrendered in Rabīʿ I 979/August 1571. With the surrender of this town is connected the brutal and cruel execution of the Venetian commander

Bragadino. After his return, he became a serious candidate for the grand vizierate, should Ṣoḳollu disappear from the scene. His only rival was Sinān Pas̲h̲a. When in 985/1577 the war with Persia broke out [see MURĀD III], both were appointed *ser-ʿasker*, but, on account of Sinān's arrogant character, the latter's appointment had to be withdrawn. In April, Lala Muṣṭafā began his campaign in Georgia, fought the memorable victory of Čaldîr (D̲j̲umādā II 986/August 1578) and took Tiflis besides a number of other towns. These military glories did not bring him to the ambition of his life. After Ṣoḳollu's assassination, Rüstem's son-in-law Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a had been made grand vizier and, on the latter's death in Rabīʿ I 988/May 15870, it was Ṣinān [*q.v.*] who got the sultan's seal. Lala Muṣṭafā died in Ramaḍān/October of the same year and was buried in the court of the mosque at Eyyūb.

Apart from the unquestionably important events in which he played a prominent part, Lala Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a has a particular importance in Ottoman historiography because the historian ʿĀlī [*q.v.*] had been attached to his person as scribe since the beginning of his career. Therefore his able, but intriguing and reckless, character is known better than that of many other Turkish statesmen or generals. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last Mamlūk sultan Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*], he was a very wealthy man, who, notwithstanding his reputed avarice, founded several mosques (as in Erzerūm) and many buildings of public utility in the different places where he resided as governor.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish source is, as has been said, ʿĀlī, not only in his *Künh al-ak̲h̲bār*, but also in a treatise entitled *Nādirat al-maḥārib*, describing the war between Selīm and Bāyezīd (ms. unknown; cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 132) and in his *Nuṣrat-nāme*, which gives a description of the Georgian campaign. Other sources are the works of Pečewī and Ṣolaḳ-zāde. Western contemporary sources are the *Diary* of Gerlach, the *Letters* of Busbecq and, especially for the conquest of Cyprus, the Italian historical descriptions. See also S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, i, Cambridge 1976, 180-1; *İA*, art. s.v. (Bekir Kütükoğlu); and ḲUBRUṢ. (J.H. KRAMERS)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A AL-NAS̲H̲S̲H̲ĀR, twice Ottoman governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Yemen in the mid-10th/16th century.

A saddler (*sarrād̲j̲*) with the Ottoman army that conquered Egypt in 923/1517, he used the wealth he obtained through plundering the treasury of K̲h̲āʾin Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the rebellious Ottoman governor of Egypt (929-31/1523-5), to win the favour of Dāwūd Pas̲h̲a, a later governor of that province (945-56/1538-49). The latter appointed him commander of the annual Egyptian pilgrimage caravan (*amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*) for 945/1539, a position he held more than once subsequently. It was apparently in discharging this function that Muṣṭafā gained the epithet *al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār* "the sawyer" through his habit of having captured brigands sawn in two. When two months later his viceregal patron secured him the governorship of Yemen, Muṣṭafā arrived at Zabīd in late 947 or early 948/1540-1 and was the first Ottoman incumbent there to have the rank and title of *beylerbeyi* and *pas̲h̲a*. His five-year term embraced the supplying of troops and weapons from Yemen to Somali Muslims in conflict with Portuguese-supported Abyssinians (948-9/1542); the recovery of northern Tihāma from one of the Zaydī *imām*'s sons (950/1543); and a bold but unsuccessful initiative to capture Ṣanʿāʾ, the *imām*'s capital (951/1544).

Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a returned to Egypt in 952-3/1545-6, served briefly as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (acting governor) there during 956/1549, and was back in Yemen in 958/1551 heading a special mission which early next year gained, in uneasy collaboration with Özdemir Pas̲h̲a, the Ottoman governor (956-62/1549-54), recognition of Ottoman suzerainty by al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], the Zaydī leader. His second term as *beylerbeyi* of Yemen began in early 962/late 1554, but was cut short by his death at Zabīd five or six months later. Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār appears best remembered as the *beylerbeyi* whose considerable experience as *amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* for Egypt led him to institute the first annual pilgrims' caravan to Mecca from Ottoman Yemen.

Bibliography: The most complete and accessible contemporary source is Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* = *G̲h̲azawāt al-D̲j̲arākisa*, ed. al-D̲j̲āsir, Riyāḍ 1967, 88-9, 94-5, 107-18, 121-5. Three other chronicle sources, those of Fīrūz, *Maṭāliʿ al-nīrān*, Ibn Dāʿir, *al-Futūḥāt*, and ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh, *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*, remain in ms., although the relevant contents of the latter are conveyed in Ottoman Turkish by Aḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Yemen ve Ṣanʿā*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 75, 80, 95-107. Additional early works are those of al-Mawzaʿī, *al-Iḥsān*, ed. al-Ḥibs̲h̲ī, Ṣanʿāʾ n.d., 32-3, and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *G̲h̲āyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 688-90, 708-12, 715-19, in Arabic, and of Pečewi, *Tārīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 38, and Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im Bas̲h̲î, iii, 213, 238 f., 241-3, in Turkish. Fairly accurate dates for al-Nas̲h̲s̲h̲ār's second term in Yemen and for Ḳara S̲h̲āhīn's tenures in both Yemen and Egypt can be determined from existing Ottoman *Mühimme* documents. Two informative Egyptian chronicles (in Turkish) are al-K̲h̲allāḳ, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Miṣr*, and ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Miṣr* (both in ms. only).

Secondary materials include Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 8-9; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 373-5 (faulty); al-D̲j̲urāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 89; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1372/1952, 440-6, 449-53; M. Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUt̲h̲mānī al-awwal li 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1969, 157, 184-90, 194, 203-6; N.A. Asrar, *Kânûnî Sultan Süleyman devrinde Osmanlı devletinin dini siyaseti ve Islam alemi*, Istanbul 1972, 230-5; and H. Yavuz, *Yemen'de Osmanlı hâkimiyeti* (*1517-1571*), Istanbul 1984, 54, 59-61. (J.R. BLACKBURN)

MUṢṬAFĀ PAS̲H̲A, RES̲H̲ĪD [see RES̲H̲ĪD].

MUSTAG̲H̲ĀNIM (Mostaganem), a coastal town in Algeria, 8 miles E. of the mouth of the S̲h̲elif (5′ E. long. Greenwich). It does not occupy the site of any known ancient town. There is no natural harbour here; two capes, not particularly well marked (K̲h̲arūba and Salamander), leave vessels without protection against winds from the north and west. It is therefore not as a port that al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) mentions Mostaganem for the first time. He describes it as a town situated "not far from the sea" (it is less than a mile away) living on the products of its rich territory, notably the cotton plantations. From this time onwards it was surrounded by a wall which strengthened its natural defences. The old town occupies a triangular plateau formed by the sharp bend of the ʿAyn Sefra, and the wall runs along the top of the ravine. On the point of this natural stronghold, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tās̲h̲fīn is said to have built in 475/1082 a fortress which was later called Burd̲j̲ al-Maḥāl, from the name of one of the tribes of the neighbourhood, and which became a prison. Like the other towns of the coast, Nedroma or Algiers, Mostaganem was probably given a small Almoravid garrison. Thus strengthened, the town would serve as

a place of refuge against an attack from the sea and the Berber tribes of the hinterland, who belonged for the most part to the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] confederation, could be kept at a distance. It must thus have developed to some extent. In the middle of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī tells us that it had bazaars and baths; he emphasises the abundance of the water which irrigated the gardens and orchards and drove mills.

The name of Mostaganem does not figure in history throughout all this period when the Almohads in theory held the central Maghrib. The decline of the Almohads enabled the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*] to become complete masters of the country. In 665/1267 and 669/1271 the Zayyānid sultan of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsān, reduced these turbulent tribes and incorporated their lands in the empire which he had founded. In 680/1281 he entrusted the government of Mostaganem to one of his cousins, al-Zaʿīm b. Yaḥyā, a descendant of one of the collateral branches of the family of the Banū Zayyān, in spite of the lack of confidence he had in those relatives whom he had deprived of the throne. These fears proved well-founded. Al-Zaʿīm, having roused the Maghrāwa to rebel, declared himself independent. Yaghmurāsān had to march on Mostaganem; he blockaded the town strictly and the rebel surrendered after obtaining permission to cross to Spain.

Like all the coast region, Mostaganem in 735 or 736/1335-6 passed to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was engaged in the siege of Tlemcen. In 742/1340 the victorious sultan built a mosque in Mostaganem. We have an inscription attesting this foundation of the interregnum of the Moroccan princes. Regained by the sultans of Tlemcen, the town suffered disastrously from their weakness. The Suwayd Arabs of the great Zughba confederation became undisputed masters of the whole district. Mostaganem led a precarious existence. Leo Africanus at the beginning of the 10th/16th century says that it occupied only a third of its former area. He credits it with 1,500 hearths, but tells us however of the weavers and of the roadstead to which ships from Europe came. He says the river runs "through the city", which shows that in addition to the old stronghold on the left bank there were now quarters on the right bank. In the Turkish period we know of two suburbs: Tidjdit (the New) and Maṭmūr (the Silo). In 922/1516 Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] considerably strengthened its defences. Shaw at the beginning of the 18th century speaks of the citadel (the Fort of the East?) which, built on a height, commanded the town and vicinity. In 1830 the garrison consisted of some hundreds of Turks and Ḳulughlīs. The French took them into their service and put them under the command of the Ḳāʾid Ibrāhīm. Distrusting the loyalty of the latter and thinking he had an agreement with the Madjāhir, an unsubdued tribe of the neighbourhood, General Desmichels occupied the town in 1833. The troops whom he stationed there were attacked by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. The vexatious results of the treaty signed by Desmichels with the *amīr* forced Clauzel to retake Mostaganem (1835). Under Bugeaud, Mostaganem became the point of disembarkation and the centre of operations against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. It was there that in 1847 the first battalion of Algerian Tirailleurs (Turcos) was raised, and the town subsequently became an important centre for recruiting native troops.

Mostaganem has developed considerably since the early days of the French occupation; in 1960 it had 65,000 inhabitants. Its harbour, which owes nothing to nature, has been improved by two jetties which still afford only a rather mediocre shelter for shipping.

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MUSTAḤABB (a.), "recommendable", corresponds largely with *mandūb* "recommended", one of five descriptions for human acts [see SHARĪʿA].

MUSTAʿIDD KHĀN, Muḥammad Sāḳī, historian of Mughal India. Born about 1961/1650, he was brought up as an adopted son by Muḥammad Bakhtāwar Khān, whom he faithfully assisted in various capacities. After the death of his patron he passed into the service of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. In the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur Shāh I (1118-24/1707-12 [*q.v.*]), he became the secretary of ʿInāyat Allāh Khān, son of Mīrzā Shukr Allāh, the minister of Bahādur Shāh, and by his desire Mustaʿidd Khān composed the history of the reign of Awrangzib entitled *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*. Part 1 is a mere abridgement of Mīrzā Kāẓim's history of the first ten years of the emperor's reign; part 2 contains the history of the last forty years of ʿĀlamgīr's reign (edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1870-1; Eng. tr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1947).

He died at the age of seventy-five at Dihlī in 1136/1723.

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al-**MUSTAʿĪN** (I) bi 'llāh, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 248-52/862-6, grandson of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] and the son of a slave concubine of Ṣaḳlabī origin named Mukhāriḳ.

When his cousin al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*] died, the Turkish commanders in Sāmarrā plucked al-Mustaʿīn from a life of obscurity (he is said to have made a living as a copyist of manuscripts) to become caliph (6 Rabīʿ II 248/9 June 862). The choice aroused discontent in Sāmarrā and unrest broke out among those who supported al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] which was only put down after much bloodshed and financial expenditure by the Turkish soldiers. When al-Mustaʿīn was recognised as caliph, he confirmed the governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], in office. He bought all the property of al-Muʿtazz and his brother al-Muʾayyad and then had them arrested. The Turks wanted to put them to death, but they were protected by the secretary Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, who soon afterwards fell into disgrace and was banished to Crete. In 249/863 trouble broke out as a result of a defeat of the army by the Byzantines; the rebels were however scattered by the vizier Utāmish and the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Boghā al-Ṣaghīr. Utāmish was soon afterwards murdered at the instigation of the latter. As the caliph no longer felt safe in Sāmarrā, he went to Baghdād in Muḥarram 251/February 865. Al-Muʿtazz was then taken by his supporters out of his prison in Sāmarrā,

and a war broke out which ended in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 251/January 866 in the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn. By the arrangement made, the latter was to live in Medina in future; but he was detained in Wāsiṭ and murdered at Sāmarrā on 3 Shawwāl 252/17 October 866 at the age of 35 and after a reign of three years and eight or nine months.

On the administrative level, al-Mustaʿīn's initial choice of vizier, at the side of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, of Utāmish, a Turkish soldier who had taken part in the conspiracy which had in 247/861 led to the caliph al-Mutawakkil's [*q.v.*] death, is notable; in practice, day-to-day administration was probably carried on by Utāmish's own secretary Shudjāʿ b. al-Ḳāsim, whilst Utāmish acted as virtual regent for the caliph till Utāmish's murder in 249/863 (see above).

Enfeeblement at the centre of the caliphate had a predictable consequence in disturbance and revolts on the peripheries. During al-Mustaʿīn's reign, there are recorded anti-government outbreaks in Syria and Jordan; ʿAlid revolts at Kūfa (248/862 and 251/865) and at Ḳazwīn (250/864); whilst it was in this latter year also that the Zaydī movement under *al-Dāʿī al-kabīr* al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] began in Ṭabaristān and at Rayy.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MUSTAʿĪN** (II) BI'LLĀH, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās, tenth ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph in Egypt, son of al-Mutawakkil (I) Muḥammad by a Turkish concubine, Bāy Khātūn.

He succeeded his father on 1 Shaʿbān 808/22 January 1406. Accompanying the sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj [*q.v.*] on his expedition against the rebel *amīrs*, Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī (governor of Aleppo) and Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (governor of Tripoli), he fell into their hands when the sultan was defeated at al-Ladjdjūn on 13 Muḥarram 815/25 April 1412. There was virtual anarchy in the rebels' camp, where Shaykh, Nawrūz and Baktamur Djilliḳ (who had gone over to them early in the campaign) were competing for the primacy and prospectively the sultanate. The royal secretary (*kātib al-sirr*), Fatḥ al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh, who had also been captured at al-Ladjdjūn, advised them to set up a sultan to unite their efforts. As they lacked the obvious candidate for such a position, Faradj's infant son, Fatḥ Allāh suggested the appointment of al-Mustaʿīn, who formally deposed Faradj, and reluctantly accepted the sultanate on 25 Muḥarram/7 May. Faradj surrendered, was sentenced to death by a commission of jurists under al-Mustaʿīn, and was duly executed (16 Ṣafar/28 May). The Mamlūk realm was then in effect partitioned. Nawrūz administered the Syrian provinces, while al-Mustaʿīn returned with Shaykh and Baktamur Djilliḳ to Cairo, where he took up his residence in the Citadel (2 Rabīʿ II/12 July). This indication of his intention to rule as sultan, not merely to reign as a titular figurehead, was not welcome to Shaykh, who took steps to isolate him. On 8 Rabīʿ II/18 July, Shaykh was invested as senior *amīr* (*amīr kabīr*, *atābak al-ʿasākir*) with plenary powers, and assumed the title of *niẓām al-mulk*. Henceforward the sultan-caliph was virtually a state prisoner, while Shaykh moved towards the usurpation of the sultanate. The last obstacle in his way was removed on 8 Djumādā II/15 September by the death of Baktamur Djilliḳ. Having obtained the concurrence of the *amīrs*, Shaykh was recognised as sultan on 1 Shaʿbān/6 November. After long hesitation, al-Mustaʿīn formally abdicated as sultan, but tried to ensure his own future security as caliph. His reign as sultan had in no way signified an ʿAbbāsid revival; he was merely filling the role of interim sultan. After abdication he was held in the Citadel. On 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 816/9 March 1414, Shaykh, who was about to march against Nawrūz, deposed him from the caliphate, and installed his brother, al-Muʿtaḍid (II) Dāwūd. On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 819/29 January 1417 he was transferred to Alexandria with Faradj's three sons. He died there of plague in Djumādā I or II 833/February-March 1430 at less than 40 years of age.

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(P.M. HOLT)

AL-**MUSTAKFĪ** BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿABD ALLĀH, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 333-4/944-6, son of the caliph al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] by a Greek slave concubine called Ghuṣn.

When the commander-in-chief of the Turkish soldiery in Baghdād, Tūzūn, deposed and blinded al-Muttaḳī b. al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], he raised to the throne one of the latter's cousins as al-Mustakfī in Ṣafar 333/September-October 944, al-Mustakfī being then aged 41. The situation in ʿIrāḳ was unpropitious for the new ruler. The caliphs were puppets in the hands of the Turkish troops, whose excesses, combined with an empty state treasury, had reduced the population of Baghdād to economic distress and famine. The whole position in ʿIrāḳ was threatened by the advance of the Daylamī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], already established in southern ʿIrāḳ and moving northwards on the capital. The new caliph remained under the control of Tūzūn till the latter's death in Muḥarram 334/August 945, and then under that of the new commander-in-chief Ibn Shīrzād. He did, however, take care to hunt down his relative and rival al-Faḍl, representing the children of al-Muḳtadir, drove him into hiding and pulled down his house. When the Būyid leader Aḥmad arrived in Baghdād in Djumādā I 334/December 945, the caliph was obliged to grant him the *laḳab* of Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (and similar honorifics for his two brothers), to place his name together with his own on the coinage and to recognise the Būyid as *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] and in effect ruler of ʿIrāḳ. This move alarmed the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and northern Syria, who now recognised

instead of al-Mustakfī the former caliph al-Muttaḳī. Al-Mustakfī may have been tempted to intrigue with other Daylamī commanders; this, at least, was the pretext for Muʿizz al-Dawla, less than a month after his entry into Baghdād, to depose and blind al-Mustakfī on 8 Djumādā II 334/29 January 946 or in Shaʿbān/March and to replace him by al-Faḍl b. al-Muḳtadir, now given the title of al-Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*]. He died in imprisonment in Rabīʿ I 338/September 949.

Al-Mustakfī is described of having been fond of sports and games, a drinker of *nabīdh* [*q.v.*] and a person who had links with the Baghdād *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], in distinction from the pious family of al-Muḳtadir, though a sympathy by him for the Shīʿa—paralleling that of his grandfather al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*]—is mentioned.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 398-9, tr. 505-6; *Murūdj*, viii, 376-411 = §§ 3535-70; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 74-87, tr. v, 77-90; Hamdānī, *Takmilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Kanʿān, i, 142-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 340-3, 364; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 420-2, 446-51; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 388-90; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 694 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 574-5; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlí ibn ʿÍsà 'The Good Vizier'*, Cambridge 1928, 387-91; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 23-7.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MUSTAKHRIDJ (A.), the active participle of the verb *istakhradja* in the sense of "to extract", used in the mediaeval Islamic terminology for the person responsible for collecting money, such as that of the *ṣadaḳa* or poor-tax (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2746) or of the *kharādj* or land-tax; thus in ʿAbbāsid times he was an offical of the *Dīwan al-Kharādj* charged with the latter task (*ibid.*, iii, 1856, year 257/871, caliphate of al-Muʿtamid). In Muslim Spain, it seems to have been the original of the Latin term *exceptor*, the official who collected on behalf of the Muslim state the taxation due from the Mozarabs [*q.v.*] (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 219).

Often, however, *istikhrādj* has the additional nuance of meaning of extracting money by force or violence, no doubt necessary at times when dealing with recalcitrant tax-payers, but also applied to the process of making a dismissed offical disgorge his ill-gotten gains, hence here equivalent to *muṣādara* [*q.v.*] or *muṭālaba* (see al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣarafī, 14-15, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, 45; Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, cited in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 91.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 359, and the *Bibl.* to MUṢĀDARA. 2.

(C.E. Bosworth)

MÜSTAḲĪM-ZĀDE, Saʿd al-Dīn Süleymān b. Meḥmed Emīn (1719-88), Ottoman scholar and calligrapher.

1. Life. He was born in Radjab 1131/May 1719 in Istanbul, and died there on 22 or 23 Shawwāl 1202/27 or 28 July 1788. He came from a well-known *ʿulamāʾ* family. His grandfather, Meḥmed Müstaḳīm Efendi (d. 1124/1712), had occupied the post of *ḳāḍī* of Damascus and Edirne, while his father, Meḥmed Emīn Efendi (d. 1164/1750), only rose to the rank of a *mudarris* of the Sayyid Ḥasan Pasha *madrasa* in Istanbul.

Müstaḳim-zāde has left an autobiographical note on his education which gives a good insight into the scope and routine of the *madrasa* instruction of the time (printed in *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, introd., 6-7). According to this document, Müstaḳīm-zāde studied the traditional Islamic sciences under prominent scholars of the capital in order to qualify for a career in the ranks of the *ʿulamāʾ*, and at the same time was trained as a calligrapher. Both Müstaḳīm-zāde's grandfather and father had studied under and established close links with the famous Syrian scholar and *shaykh* of the Ḳādirī and Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳas*, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1050-1143/1641-1731 [*q.v.*]). Müstaḳīm-zāde himself became deeply influenced by the latter's works and teachings, which is evident from his own writings. His marked inclination towards the religious orders finds its expression in his association, while still an adolescent, with the Ḳādiriyya and Naḳshbandiyya, but particularly in his lifelong devotion to the Naḳshbandī *Shaykh* Meḥmed Emīn al-Toḳadī (d. 1158/1745; see A. Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i ewliyā*, 158-62), who passed on to Müstaḳīm-zāde the direct line of *shaykhs* (*silsile*) going back to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Farūḳī al-Sirhindī [*q.v.*].

The death of his *pīr* seems to have provoked a crisis in Müstaḳīm-zāde's life, but he continued to study in preparation for the office of Great Mollā, the highest rank within the Ottoman *ʿilmiyye* hierarchy. The second turning point of his life however, his failure in the entry examinations for the coveted career, determined Müstaḳīm-zāde, at the age of 32, to renounce his ambitions and to devote the rest of his life to private scholarship and contemplation. Until his death at the age of 69, he made a pitiful living on fees for his activities as an author and calligrapher, and on a small stipend (*maʿīshet*), a gift of the calligrapher and *Shaykh al-Islām* Ṣāliḥ-zāde Meḥmed Emīn (in office 1189-90/1775-6). Müstaḳīm-zāde never had a family of his own, and only a few disciples and patrons.

2. Works. His uneventful life gave Müstaḳīm-zāde the opportunity to compose around 150 books and treatises—the exact number has not been established yet—which attest his eminence as the most productive and versatile Ottoman author of the 18th century. This work, most of it in Turkish, but some also in Arabic and Persian, is indebted to the traditional Islamic subjects and methods, and thus furnishes an exemplary presentation of 18th century Ottoman learning. Most of it deals with topics from the field of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiḳh* and also of Ṣūfī mystical themes; but his writings on history (particularly biography) and *adab* are in general more voluminous. His poetry is insignificant. Manuscripts of Müstaḳīm-zāde's works can be found in most of the big manuscript collections. The Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul possesses the largest number of Müstaḳīm-zāde mss., some of them unique or autograph copies.

The following works can today be considered as his most important ones:

(a) *Religious sciences*. A Turkish commentary (*ḥāshiye*), finished in 1181/1768, on *al-Ḥizb al-aʿẓam wa 'l-wird al-afham*, a collection of prayers by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḳārīʾ al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), cf. Brockelmann, II², 520, S II, 539-41; autograph ms. Süleymaniye, Esat Ef. 1391. A Turkish commentary (*sherḥ*) on *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muḍariyya* in praise of the Prophet by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī al-Ṣanhādjī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], cf. Brockelmann, I², 308-9, 314, S I, 467; among many ms., Süleymaniye, Pertev Paşa 611/2.

(b) *Biography*. *Madjallat al-niṣāb fi 'l-nisab wa 'l-kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, in Arabic, finished in 1175/1761-2, a continuation of Kātib Čelebi's [*q.v.*] *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaḳāt al-fuḥūl*; unique ms., Süleymaniye, Halet Ef. 628. *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, biographies of calligraphers, in Turkish, finished in 1173/1759-60; edition by

İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl [İnal], Istanbul 1928. *Dewḥat ül-meshāyikh*, biographies of the Ottoman *Shaykh al-Islāms*, in Turkish, finished in 1158/1745, with two later continuations; critical edition by B. Kellner-Heinkele in press.

(c) *Adab. Sherḥ-i Dīwān-i ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā*, commentary on the alleged *dīwān* of the caliph ʿAlī (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 277-81), in Turkish, finished in 1186/1772; printed in 2 vols., Bulāḳ 1255/1839-40; ed. in modern Turkish by Şakır Diclehan, Istanbul 1981, repr. 1985. *Ḳānūn al-adab terdjümesi*, Turkish translation with commentary of the Arabic-Persian dictionary of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Tiflisī (wrote *ca.* 600/1203, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 893, and ʿA. Munzawī, *Farhang-nāmahā-yi ʿarabī bi-farsī*, Tehran 1337/1959, 74-6), written between 1183/1769-70 and 1191/1777; several mss. in the Süleymaniye.

(d) *Ṣūfism. Mektūbāt-i ḳudsiyye*, translation into Turkish of the Persian letters of the famous Indian Naḳshbandī Shaykh and renovator of Orthodox Indian Islam, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Farūḳī al-Sirhindī [*q.v.*] (cf. Muhammad Farman in *A history of Muslim philosophy*, ed. M.M. Sharif, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 873-83), written between 1162/1749 and 1165/1752; mss. are frequent; printed in 3 vols., Istanbul 1277/1860-1.

Bibliography: Faṭīn, *Tedhkire*, 194-5; *Tārīkh-i Djewdet*, iv, 260-1; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 168-9; A. Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 155-7; İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl (İnal), introd. to his ed. of *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, *passim*, for the most extensive description so far of Müstaḳīm-zāde's life and works; A.S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1973, 370-3, for the biographical writings.

(B. Kellner-Heinkele)

al-**MUSTAʿLĪ** bi **'LLĀH**, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Mustanṣir, ninth Fāṭimid caliph, born 20 Muḥarram 467/16 September 1074 (so in all the best sources and in al-Mustanṣir's letter to Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, quoted in Idrīs, vii, 152), the youngest son of his father. At this time it was generally assumed in the Ismāʿīlī organisation that the eldest son, Nizār (born 437/1045-6), would, in accordance with custom, succeed his father in the imāmate, although no formal investiture with the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* appears to have been made. The influence of the all-powerful *wazīr* Badr al-Djamālī, however, and of his son al-Afḍal [*q.vv.*] was thrown into the scale in favour of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and al-Mustanṣir's consent obtained to the marriage of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim with Sitt al-Mulk, the daughter of Badr (the statement in al-Fāriḳī, *apud* Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 128, that he was the son of Badr's daughter is evidently a misunderstanding). According to the tradition of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs [see bohorās], Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was invested with the succession at the time of this marriage; in another version (Ibn Muyassar, 66-7), al-Mustanṣir confided his nomination of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim to his own sister, who divulged it after his death. On the death of al-Mustanṣir on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 487/10 January 1094, the Shīʿī *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr*, al-Afḍal secured the accession of al-Mustaʿlī without serious difficulty. The subsequent revolt of Nizār [see nizār b. al-mustanṣir] at Alexandria failed owing to the opposition of the army, and al-Mustaʿlī's succession was generally recognised, except by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia [see al-ḥasan b. al-ṣabbāḥ and nizāriyya].

Throughout his reign, the actual power was entirely in the hands of al-Afḍal. At first some successes were gained in Syria; Fāmiya (Apamea) made a voluntary submission in 489/1096, and Tyre was recovered from a rebel governor in 490/1097. A project of alliance with the Saldjūḳ Riḍwān of Aleppo against Damascus in the same year fell through. On the appearance of the Crusaders in Syria (490/1097), an Egyptian embassy was sent to open negotiations with them, and in 491/July-August 1098 Jerusalem was recaptured from the Artuḳids Sukmān and Īl-Ghāzī. The advance of the Crusaders in the following year took al-Afḍal by surprise; Jerusalem was again lost, and the defeat of the Egyptian army near ʿAsḳalān (14 Ramaḍān 492/5 August 1099) definitely established them in possession. Two years later (17 Ṣafar 495/12 December 1101) al-Mustaʿlī died and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr (al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh [see al-āmir].

The personal character of al-Mustaʿlī is highly praised by his Sunnī contemporary Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; later writers speak of him as a fanatical Shīʿī, and it would seem that the Fāṭimid organisation and propaganda was intensified in his reign. Idrīs refers especially to his close relations with the *daʿwa* in the Yaman, represented by al-Malika al-Ḥurra and her *dāʿī* Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik al-Hammādī. In the capable hands of al-Afḍal, order and good government were maintained, and Egypt continued to enjoy prosperity, except for a famine in 492/1009 or 493/1100, due to the influx of Syrian refugees.

Bibliography: The fullest sources are Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 128-41, and Ibn Taghrībardī, ed. Popper, ii, part 2, 298-325; the chronology of the latter is defective; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 161-224, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, ms. B.L. Or. 3685, fols. 74b-77a; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 34-40, and the other sources mentioned under the articles al-afḍal add little of importance. The Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlī tradition is given in *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of the *dāʿī* Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872) (ms. in possession of H.F. al-Hamdani), vii, 151-75.—For relations with the Crusaders: *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Bréhier, 86, 96, 208-16; *Fulcher Carnotensis*, i, 19, ii, 10-12; Hagenmayer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, Innsbruck 1901, 151, 286. The general European literature is given in fāṭimids and al-mustanṣir; see also P.M. Holt, *The age of the Crusades*, London 1986, 12; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, index, s.vv. al-Mustaʿlī and Mustaʿlians, and ismāʿīliyya. (H.A.R. Gibb)

MUSTAʾMIN [see amān].

MUSTAMLĪ (a., the active participle of the Form X verb *istamlā* "to ask someone for dictation, to take down dictation from someone"), the title of a tradition transmitter's clerk. From the earliest days when in Islam *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] was transmitted from master (*shaykh*) to pupil, the writing down of traditions has played a certain role in an attempt to protect them against loss. Although transmitting from memory to a pupil, who then stored what he heard in his memory, was felt in the beginning to be the most meritorious transmission procedure, this was gradually overshadowed by the ever-increasing awareness that writing the traditions down constituted a more reliable guarantee against forgetting. The human capacity to retain large numbers of reports pertaining to the time of Muḥammad and his revered Companions, a capacity especially celebrated with the pious generations of old, became open to doubt, and the result was that, in practice, writing traditions down virtually eclipsed memorising, though never entirely: transmitting from memory became the *pro forma* course of action, but hardly ever without written records of the material to be transmitted being kept for safety's sake, albeit often out of sight.

It is generally assumed that the majority of transmitters of Prophetic traditions could read and write but, in the long run, the steadily-growing bulk of the transmitted material made the employing of secretaries imperative. It was then that the function of *mustamlī* became established, the earliest representatives of this professional class emerging in the course of the first half of the 2nd/8th century.

The task of the *mustamlī* can be gleaned from the lexical meaning of the word. In the first place, the *shaykh* would order his *mustamlī* "to write the traditions down from dictation". This task is more or less the same as that of a *kātib* (secretary) or *warrāḳ* (copyist). In the second place, the *mustamlī* would assist the *shaykh* in the actual communication (*tablīgh*) of the traditions to pupils who, it is alleged, were often so numerous that the *shaykh*'s voice could not possibly reach all of them from the spot where he taught. Thus the *mustamlī*(s) had to reiterate the traditions in a way audible for all concerned. With respect to this activity also, the term *muʿīd* is found, as well as *mulḳī* and *muktib*. However, not every *mustamlī* mentioned in the sources is to be understood as having fulfilled both functions, that of *warrāḳ* and that of *muballigh*, but either one or the other.

Accounts of mass meetings during which hundreds, even thousands, of pupils are alleged to have gathered at a certain mosque or a *shaykh*'s private quarters to hear traditions, meetings which would have necessitated the recruitment of dozens of *mustamlīs*, are found all over the sources, but have met with little credulity on the part of western historians (with the exception of a few, e.g. N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, ii, Chicago 1967). In Islam, however, these accounts are cherished as indelible proof of mediaeval pious interest in Prophetic tradition and its transmission. The latest references to *mustamlīs* in active service date to the 10th/16th century.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive study, which includes a chronological list of *mustamlīs* with their alleged *shaykhs* gleaned from a host of mediaeval Islamic sources, is M. Weisweiler, *Das Amt des Mustamlī in der arabischen Wissenschaft*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 27-57; for an Arabic source almost exclusively devoted to the function of *mustamlī*, see ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167), *Adab al-imlāʾ wa 'l-istimlāʾ, die Methodik des Diktatkollegs*, ed. M. Weisweiler, Leiden 1952.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-**MUSTANDJID** (I) BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MUẒAFFAR YŪSUF, ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, born on 1 Rabīʿ II 510/13 August 1116, the son of al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*] and a Byzantine concubine called Ṭāwūs or Nardjis, died 566/1170.

He was nominated *walī ʿahd* as early as 542/1147 and became caliph after his father's death on 2 Rabīʿ I 555/12 March 1160. His accession was not, however, secured until he had foiled a plot engineered by a favourite slave of al-Muḳtafī to instal her son, Abū ʿAlī, as caliph. The reign of al-Mustandjid was dominated by powerful viziers and court officials and it is difficult to disentangle from the sources the caliph's own rôle in political events. On his accession, al-Mustandjid confirmed the famous Ḥanbalī vizier, Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], in his post, promising him that he could remain in it for life (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 193). Although the two men did not enjoy the close relationship which had existed between Ibn Hubayra and al-Muḳtafī, they coexisted relatively harmoniously, if at arm's length (Ibn Khallikān, tr. iv, 119). Ibn Hubayra was later ousted and poisoned by his rivals (12 Djumādā I 560/27 March 1165). Having replaced him briefly by his son ʿIzz al-Dīn, al-Mustandjid next appointed Ibn al-Baladī, the *nāẓir* of Wāsiṭ, as vizier. This proved an unpopular choice, especially with the *ustādh al-dār*, ʿAḍud al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and the latter years of al-Mustandjid's reign were marked by bitter rivalry between Ibn al-Baladī and ʿAḍud al-Dīn. Fearing for their own safety at the hands of the caliph and Ibn al-Baladī, ʿAḍud al-Dīn and his associate, the caliph's *mamlūk*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḳaymāz, murdered the caliph and his vizier. Al-Mustandjid was taken forcibly to his bath where he was locked in until he died (9 Rabīʿ II 566/20 December 1170).

The ten-years' reign of al-Mustandjid saw the successful continuation of vigorous policies, begun under preceding caliphs, notably al-Muḳtafī, and now pursued by or on behalf of al-Mustandjid. These policies aimed at the exclusion of the Saldjūḳs from Iraq and at maintaining a strong territorial "caliphal state". Early in his caliphate, in 558/1163, al-Mustandjid despatched an army to Ḥilla and finally disposed of Mazyadid resistance there (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 195). To the east the Saldjūḳs were in full decline and the main threat to caliphal authority during al-Mustandjid's rule was posed by Shumla, a Turcoman of the Afshār tribe, who had held Khūzistān since *ca.* 550/1155 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 133; Bundārī, 286-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 161, 255). Shumla had designs on the lower Euphrates area but when the caliph's army defeated forces sent by Shumla in 562/1166-7 the latter withdrew to Khūzistān.

To the west the caliph maintained close relations with Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. The Ḥanbalī historian Ibn Radjab goes so far as to say that Ibn Hubayra had written spurring on Nūr al-Dīn to conquer Fāṭimid Egypt and that the *khuṭba* had been pronounced in the name of al-Mustandjid on Shīrkūh's third campaign into Egypt (*Dhayl*, i, 258). Although the sources generally agree that the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* was finally declared in Cairo in 567/1171, there is, however, good reason to assume that under the influence of Ibn Hubayra and other Ḥanbalīs there had been encouragement from al-Mustandjid for Nūr al-Dīn's activities in Egypt. According to Ibn Khallikān, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was sent by Nūr al-Dīn on a mission to al-Mustandjid's court (iv, 301).

The reign of al-Mustandjid witnessed the continuing flowering of Ḥanbalism. Al-Mustandjid is praised by Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] for his honouring of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] and himself (x, 194, 233). Indeed, a lost work of Ibn al-Djawzī on preaching was entitled *Kitāb al-Mustandjid* (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 487-8). The caliph held an annual festivity in Radjab to which religious notables and Ṣūfīs were invited, and on one such occasion he married the daughter of his paternal uncle Abū Naṣr b. al-Mustaẓhir (*ibid.*, 251, 267-8). Al-Mustandjid is blamed, however, in the sources for the death of the scholar Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), who had served as his *ṣāḥib dīwān al-zimām*. Ibn Ḥamdūn fell from grace because of alleged anti-caliphal comments in his writings (Ibn Khallikān, iii, 91). Al-Mustandjid is described as brown-skinned, of average stature, with a long beard (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 236; Sibṭ, 284). He was famous as a poet and for his first-hand knowledge of astronomy. His scholarly reputation is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdād in the 1160s and praises al-Mustandjid for his erudition and his tolerance towards the Jews.

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2. Studies. *EI*[1] art. *al-Mustandjid*; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of medieval Islam*, The Hague 1972, 69-76. (CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

AL-**MUSTANDJID** (II) BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF b. al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (? 798-884/? 1396-1479), thirteenth ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph of Egypt.

He was the last of five brothers (the others being al-Mustaʿīn, al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Mustakfī and al-Ḳāʾim) to be caliph (since 859/1455) and served six Mamlūk sultans (Īnāl, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl, Khushḳadam, Yilbāy, Timurbughā and Ḳāyitbāy). When Khushḳadam seized power in 865/1461, facing the fierce opposition of the Syrian viceroy Djānim al-Ashrafī (died ignominiously in 867/1462, a victim of one of his own *mamlūks*, as a refugee in Uzun Ḥasan's realm in the city of Edessa, cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfī ʿalā 'l-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, i, Mecca-Cairo n.d., 235, no. 812), he placed the caliph, the supreme judges and the leading generals under custody on the Cairo citadel in order to deprive his foe of potential supporters and legitimators (cf. the remark by Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. Popper, iii, Berkeley 1932, 399, 2-10). Whereas the other high-ranking prisoners were allowed to return to the city after the threat posed by Djānim was averted (see also al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo 1371/1952, 513-14), the caliph al-Mustandjid was forced to remain on the Citadel until the time of his death. There he lodged in the house of the former (short-lived) sultan al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān b. Djaḳmaḳ (cf. al-Djawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-haṣr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī. Cairo 1970, 1, 115, 183, 317) enjoying sufficient livelihood yet no political power whatsoever, less even than his predecessors. This transfer of the caliph to the Citadel was, to his contemporaries, his main contribution to history. Thereafter,—till the end of the Mamlūk sultanate (see Ibn Taghrībirdī's far-sighted remark in *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Cairo, xvi, 259, 10-11)—the caliphs thus remained under the immediate tutelage of the sultan, lest they be used in the inner-Mamlūk struggles for power. Not untypically for an ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph, al-Mustandjid seems to have been well-versed in the Ḳurʾān (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, x, 329 f., no. 1247) and is otherwise commended as thoroughly content with his restricted power and position (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, iii, 151, 1-12).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (U. HAARMANN)

AL-**MUSTANṢIR** (I) BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AL-MANṢŪR, ʿAbbāsid caliph (623-40/1226-42). He was born in Ṣafar 588/February-March 1192, the eldest son of al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]; his mother was a Turkish slave. He was proclaimed caliph after his father's death on 13 Radjab 623/11 July 1226 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 298). It is difficult to interpret from surviving sources the extent to which the caliph himself played a significant role in political events. It is especially regrettable that two works which dealt with his caliphate have not survived: a monograph by Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1276 [*q.v.*]) entitled *Iʿtibār al-mustabṣir fī akhbār al-Mustanṣir* which is quoted by later authors such as Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, xiii, 139) and al-Irbilī (*Khulāṣat*, 287-8); and the history of Baghdād by Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) which was used by al-Dhahabī and al-Suyūṭī.

The sources present a confused picture of the chronology and names of al-Mustanṣir's viziers and other prominent officials. The exact balance of power between these men is not clear. At least two major figures at the caliphal court were Shīʿīs: Muḥammad al-Ḳummī who had served under al-Nāṣir and al-Ẓāhir and who is described as *kātib al-inshāʾ* (Ibn al-Dubaythī, i, 134) and as *wazīr* (Sibṭ, *Mirʾāt*, 523, 533; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 568); and Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī [*q.v.*] who became deputy *wazīr* (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 289) or *ustadh al-dār* and later served as *wazīr* of al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād (Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, 139); it was he who was to be blamed later for treacherous complicity with the Mongols. According to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā (*loc. cit.*), al-Ḳummī was later replaced as *wazīr* by Naṣīr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḳīd, who remained in power until al-Mustanṣir's death. Ibn Wāṣil reports that the most powerful officials in al-Mustanṣīr's reign were the military commander Iḳbāl al-Sharābī and the *ustādh al-dār* Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī, who were responsible for installing al-Mustaʿṣim as caliph after al-Mustanṣir's death, an event which was briefly concealed to allow the succession to be arranged (*op. cit.*, 318).

Information on al-Mustanṣir's reign remains lacunary: random in its occurrence and of very unequal importance. Entire areas of his life and activities are simply not recorded. His caliphate spans an uneasy lull between Mongol onslaughts. The first years of his reign were dominated by the flamboyant career of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh [*q.v.*], who was seen by contemporaries as a buffer between the Mongols and the Muslim world (Ibn Wāṣil, iv, 323). The sources devote much more attention to him than to al-Mustanṣir; at this stage of his career he was campaigning principally in ʿIrāḳ, the Djazīra and western Persia. Djalāl al-Dīn seems to have harboured bellicose intentions towards the caliph (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 276-8). Moreover, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī mentions a letter from al-Mustanṣir to Djalāl al-Dīn, reproaching him for his treatment of his fellow Muslims (*op. cit.*, 668).

The other political events of al-Mustanṣir's reign mentioned in the sources reveal the caliph as a petty territorial ruler and arbitrator. The ruler of Irbil, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī, the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), being without male issue, had bequeathed the city to al-Mustanṣir. However, on Kökbürī's death, the caliph had to send an army under his military commander, the eunuch Iḳbāl al-Sharābī (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 346), to besiege Irbil before it finally surrendered on 17 Shawwāl 630/27 July 1233 (Sibṭ, 568; Ibn Kathīr, 135). Al-Mustanṣir seems also to have mediated between various political factions. Thus he arbitrated in disputes in ʿIrāḳ between Kökbürī and Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] (Sibṭ, 680-1) and between the Ayyūbids al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and al-Malik al-Kāmil (Ibn Wāṣil, 100-2).

Like his grandfather al-Nāṣir, al-Mustanṣir stands out as a great patron of architecture. Indeed, the most significant event of the second half of his reign was undoubtedly the establishment of the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* in Baghdād. The building and inaugural

ceremony of this monument are described in some detail in the sources, notably the *Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*]; (cf. Rosenthal's discussion of the authorship of this work) and were analysed by ʿAwwād in a pioneering article written in 1945 (cf. *Bibliography*). On instructions from the caliph, the foundations of the *madrasa* were laid in 625/1227 (*Ḥawādith*, 53) and the building was completed in 631/1234. The official opening of the Mustanṣiriyya was held on 5 Radjab 631/7 April 1234 while the caliph watched the proceedings from a belvedere in the centre of one of the *īwāns* (*ibid.*; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 149). The Mustanṣiriyya housed all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, (cf. the inscription over the door of the *madrasa*, published by Herzfeld, ii, 164), each of which were represented by their leading *ʿulamāʾ* at the inaugural ceremony. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, each *madhhab* had its own *īwān* (*op. cit.*, 109). The building also included a *dār al-ḥadīth*, a *dār al-Ḳurʾān*, hospital, kitchen, bath and library. The caliph was involved personally in building up the magnificent library of the Mustanṣiriyya (cf. Eche, 172-7). To this library the caliph brought valuable models of calligraphy, such as examples of the "well-proportioned scripts" (*al-khuṭūṭ al-mansūba*) of the famous Būyid calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] and his illustrious predecessor Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] (Sibṭ, 739). The caliph also endowed the library with the best books on *fiḳh*, literature and science (*Ḥawādith*, 54). At the invitation of al-Mustanṣir, desirous no doubt to eclipse the fame of the 5th/11th century Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in the same city, prestigious scholars were brought to work in the Mustanṣiriyya. They included the historians Ibn al-Sāʿī, who served as librarian for a while (Ibn al-ʿImād, v, 343) and Ibn al-Nadjdjār, who was the principal Shāfiʿī *mudarris* there (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 522).

Although much scholarly attention has been focussed on the Mustanṣiriyya (cf. *Bibliography*), there remains much to be said about its function within its own historical context. In particular, it is noteworthy that the Mustanṣiriyya was the first *madrasa* to be founded by a caliph. It was also (even more importantly) the first universal Sunnī *madrasa*: the patrons of earlier *madrasas* had been *amīrs*, high officials such as *wazīrs*, and occasionally sultans. It built boldly upon the already existing practice of founding *madrasas* designed for more than one *madhhab*, and took the decisive further step of catering for all four *madhhabs*. Moreover, al-Mustanṣir chose to build a *madrasa*, not a mosque or a mausoleum, which were traditionally the preferred buildings for a ruler wishing to perpetuate his name. Why choose a *madrasa*? The key reason may be that by building the Mustanṣiriyya the caliph established a teaching institution for all Muslims, not just for the people of Baghdād alone. There is other telling evidence which clearly points to wider and more grandiose aims on the part of the caliph. Firstly, certain features of this particular *madrasa* are unusual or suggestive. One of the crowning glories of the Mustanṣiriyya was its magnificent riparian inscription of historical content which specifically names the caliph himself. This gigantic inscription, although following local architectural traditions in certain respects, nevertheless decisively flouted convention by its sheer size and lavish rendering. It appears to have been (at least so far as surviving evidence indicates) the largest and longest cursive inscription known in the Islamic world up to that time, and like some vast hoarding it proclaimed its presence to anyone approaching the *madrasa* by river. Thus the privileged and unusual location of the *madrasa* was manipulated for propagandist purposes. Secondly, the Mustanṣiriyya also boasted a highly sophisticated and lavishly adorned zodiacal clepsydra which was similar to those described by al-Djazarī [*q.v.*] and which bore unmistakable royal and cosmological connotations (al-Irbilī, *Khulāṣat*, 287-8 (quoting Ibn al-Sāʿī)). In addition to its scholarly functions, the Mustanṣiriyya was used by the caliph in his role as arbitrator to receive visiting potentates, such as Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ of Mawṣil and Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāwūd of Damascus in 633/1235 (Ibn Wāṣil, v, 100-2) and Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of Shahrazūr the following year (*Ḥawādith*, 89).

It is perhaps not too fanciful to argue that al-Mustanṣir intended the Mustanṣiriyya to serve as a symbol of Islamic unity under the auspices of a revitalised ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Al-Mustanṣir may well have been attempting to continue and elaborate the grandiose universalist policies of his grandfather al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]. In one sense, the decision to house all Sunnī *madhhabs* under one roof was no abrupt innovation; it was merely a logical extension of al-Nāṣir's decision to limit the appointment of ḳāḍīs to the four *madhhabs*, a confirmation of the *status quo* which had prevailed since the demise of the Ẓāhirī *madhhab* around 475/1082 (cf. Makdisi, 6). Al-Mustanṣir is described by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī as having "no fanaticism for one particular *madhhab*" and is shown as behaving in a conciliatory way towards the Shīʿīs whose shrines he visited (*op. cit.*, 739-41). Moreover, a major figure in al-Nāṣir's revitalised caliphate had been Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (died 632/1234 [*q.v.*]). As the most prominent Ṣūfī of his time at Baghdād, it is quite conceivable that he had been influential in the education of al-Mustanṣir and that he continued to influence him whilst he was caliph.

Most of the extant historical sources date from the period after the Mongol capture of Baghdād. Overshadowed by this cataclysmic event, they may well have distorted the perspective of al-Mustanṣir's reign as seen by his contemporaries. The historical evidence of the Mustanṣiriyya, unaffected as it is by *ex post facto* commentary is thus even more important.

It may well be that al-Mustanṣir intended this building to be an instrument for continuing the policies initiated by al-Nāṣir, and to create under the caliphal banner some kind of unity amongst the Muslims whose territories bordered his own. Such a task was given added urgency by the recent Mongol onslaught on the eastern Islamic world. A political regrouping of the remaining Muslim powers in that area was therefore imperative. Al-Nāṣir had tried to encourage Muslim cooperation through establishing equal status for all four Sunnī *madhhabs*, through promoting Ṣūfism and through a pan-Islamic *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. Whilst there is little positive evidence for al-Mustanṣir's involvement in the *futuwwa*, it is unlikely that he discontinued this aspect of al-Nāṣir's policies. Djalāl al-Dīn had lacked the acumen or the political stability to effect an eastern Islamic coalition against any future Mongol attacks. It may well be that by the building of the Mustanṣiriyya al-Mustanṣir was proclaiming (ironically, far too late in the day) the paramount need for unity in the Islamic world.

Al-Mustanṣir also erected other buildings. These included the *Khān* of Sābūs near Wāsiṭ (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 567-8) and the *Khān* of Kharnīna between Takrīt and al-Balālīḳ (*ibid.*; G. Bell, *Amurath*, 219). Moreover, inscriptions on the Ḥarbā bridge over the Dudjayla canal between Baghdād and Sāmarrā testify that it was built by al-Mustanṣir in 629/1231 (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 567; Janabi, Plates 12 and 13). Al-Mustanṣir

also restored the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr in Baghdād which had been founded by al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] and he placed in it benches on which students could sit and hold discussions after prayers had been performed (Ibn Wāṣil, 317).

Al-Mustanṣir is accorded the usual high-flown panegyrics in the sources. More specifically, he is described as pale-skinned, red-haired, corpulent and short (Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 345). As already mentioned, he was a great bibliophile. He is reported to have been copious in alms-giving, especially when plague hit Baghdād in the last year of his reign. He died on 10 Djumādā II 640/12 December 1242 and was buried in the Ruṣāfa cemetery.

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AL-**MUSTANṢIR** (II) BI'LLĀH, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. al-Ẓāhir Muḥammad, the first ʿAbbāsid "shadow" caliph in Cairo.

When the Mongols captured Baghdād (656/1258), he and a number of other ʿAbbāsids were released from confinement, and he took refuge among the Arab tribesmen of ʿIrāḳ. A group of Arabs brought him to Cairo, where he was given a ceremonious welcome by the sultan, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, on 9 Radjab 659/9 June 1261. Four days later, his genealogy was formally attested by the chief judge, who performed the *bayʿa* to him followed by the sultan, the dignitaries and the Mamlūks generally. He assumed the throne-name of al-Mustanṣir, which had been borne by his brother as caliph in Baghdād (623-40/1226-42). The speed with which al-Mustanṣir was installed as caliph shows his importance to Baybars's political strategy at that juncture. Baybars had newly obtained the sultanate by usurpation on the murder of his predecessor, Ḳuṭuz (657-8/1259-60), and caliphal legitimation would secure his position. This was duly accorded. On Friday, 17 Radjab/17 June, al-Mustanṣir pronounced the *khuṭba* to a congregation of Mamlūks in the mosque of the Citadel at the sultan's instigation, and on 4 Shaʿbān/4 July at a solemn ceremony the caliph invested Baybars with the black livery of the ʿAbbāsids. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Luḳmān, the head of the sultan's chancery, read the diploma (which he himself had composed in the caliph's name) conferring the universal sultanate with plenary powers on Baybars. The provisions of the diploma, which purported to lay down Baybars's duties as sultan, were in fact his political manifesto. Al-Mustanṣir was rewarded with the establishment of a military and civil household. On 6 Shawwāl/3 September, the caliph accompanied Baybars to Damascus, where the two joined in public prayer at the Umayyad mosque on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/5 October. From Damascus, al-Mustanṣir and the sons of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, the late ruler of Mawṣil (631-57/1233-59) [see LUʾLUʾ] were sent out on separate expeditions to ʿIrāḳ, to regain their ancestral dominions from the Mongols. Setting out on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/19 October, al-Mustanṣir proceeded to ʿĀna, where he encountered a kinsman and rival, a descendant in the fourth generation of the caliph al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35 [*q.v.*]), who had been proclaimed as the caliph al-Ḥākim by Āḳūsh al-Barlī, the Mamlūk warlord of Aleppo and at this time Baybars's most dangerous opponent. The two caliphal pretenders, however, joined forces and advanced down the Euphrates to Hīt. The Mongol authorities in Baghdād sent out troops to halt the Muslims, and a battle took place opposite al-Anbār. The Muslims were at first successful, but then fell into a Mongol ambush. Al-Mustanṣir was almost certainly killed in the fighting (3 Muḥarram 660/28 November 1261), while al-Ḥākim escaped and made his way to Cairo, where he was installed as caliph on 2 Muḥarram 661/16 November 1262. His descendants continued the titular caliphate until it lapsed after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 922/1517.

Bibliography: The succinct account by Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 384-6, is based on Abū Shāmā, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Beirut 1974, 213-15; and Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1374/1954, i, 441-57, and cf. ii, 94-112. The official account is by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 99-112; it is summarised with a critical comment by Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsḳalānī, *K. Ḥusn al-manāḳib al-sirriyya al-muntazaʿa min al-sīra al-ẓāhiriyya*, ed. Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ 1396/1976, 37-46. See also D. Ayalon, *Studies on the transfer of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate from Baġdād to Cairo*, in *Arabica*, vii, 1960, 41-59, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)*, London 1977; P.M. Holt, *Some observations on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Cairo*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1984), 501-7; S. Heidemann, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amri 'llāh und Āqūš al-Burlī. Der Aufsteig des syrischen Kalifats bis 659h./1261 A.D.*, diss. Free Univ., Berlin 1988, unpubl. (P.M. HOLT)

AL-**MUSTANṢIR** BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ TAMĪM MAʿADD B. ʿALĪ AL-ẒĀHIR, eighth Fāṭimid caliph, born on 16 Djumada II 420/2 July 1029 (according to Idrīs, on 16 Ramaḍān/29 September), succeeded his father al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*] on 15 Shaʿbān 427/13 June 1036 and died on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 487/10 January 1094, after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement.

Internal history. During the childhood of al-Mustanṣir, the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's *wazīr* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjarāʾī [*q.v.*]. On his death (7 Ramaḍān 436/28 March 1045), it was seized by the evil genius of al-

Mustanṣir's reign, his mother, who was a Sūdānī slave, and her former master, the Jewish merchant Abū Saʿd al-Tustarī. When Abū Saʿd was assassinated in 439/1047 after an outbreak of rioting between the Turkish and Berber troops, his place as the queen-mother's agent was taken by his brother Abū Naṣr Hārūn (see however the documents published by Mann [*Bibl.*]) and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yāzūrī, who eventually accepted also the vizierate (7 Muḥarram 442/1 June 1050) and held it for eight years [see AL-YĀZŪRĪ]. Meanwhile, there was considerable unrest and perhaps also economic unsettlement in the country. If a statement in al-Maḳrīzī, i, 82 [92], ed. Wiet, ii, 4 [67], is to be believed, the *kharādj* of the Egyptian provinces amounted only to one million *dīnārs* in the time of al-Yāzūrī, but this may have been exceptional, though it is plain from other sources that the government had already been forced to the familiar expedient of confiscations and indemnities. The Delta was disturbed by Arab risings, the most serious of which, that of the Banū Ḳurra, was put down only with great difficulty by Nāṣir al-Dawla (see below) with the Ṭayyiʾ and other Arab troops at Kūm Sharīk in 443/1051 (see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 42-3; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 396-7, and for the date Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 85). At the capital there was an increasing state of tension between the Turkish and Berber troops and the enormous bodies of Sūdānī slaves raised by the caliph's mother (see Maḳrīzī, i, 94 [ed. Wiet, ii, 45] and 335; detailed but probably unreliable figures also in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Kaviani, 66, tr. Thackston, 48-9). In striking contrast to this is the magnificence of the court and properity of Miṣr-Fusṭāṭ as described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*]. There can be little doubt that the source of much of this prosperity, apart from the manufacture and supply of luxuries to the court, is already to be sought in the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian Ocean on the one hand (cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's account of ʿAydhāb) and Constantinople on the other. The general insecurity deepened after the execution of al-Yāzūrī, who was the last *wazīr* to attempt to control the situation. He was followed by a rapid succession of puppets in office, many of whom, despite the pompous titles duly recorded by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, held the position for no more than a few days at a time.

The Fāṭimid caliphate was now destined to pass in a few shattering years through the same agony as the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at Baghdād had suffered in the early part of the previous century. The breakdown of the civil administration and subsequent exhaustion of the treasury gave a free hand to the military, and the sinister policy of the caliph's mother brought matters speedily to a head. In a pitched battle at Kūm al-Rīsh (close to Cairo) in 454/1062 (sometimes confused with the previous battle at Kūm Sharīk), the Turkish and Berber troops led by Nāṣir al-Dawla Ibn Ḥamdān, a descendant of the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil, defeated and drove the Sūdānīs into the Ṣaʿīd, but the struggle continued for some years and the blacks were not finally routed and driven out until 459/1067; thereafter they were confined to the Ṣaʿīd, which suffered severely from their plundering and devastations. Nāṣir al-Dawla in turn quarrelled with the Turks, and, defeated in battle by a force commanded by al-Mustanṣir in person (461/1068-9), appealed to the Saldjūḳ Alp Arslān [*q.v.*]. Without waiting for his help, however, he regained control of Cairo and the Delta with the aid of the Arabs and Lawāta [*q.v.*] Berbers, reduced al-Mustanṣir (it is said) to the state of a pensioner on a hundred *dīnārs* a month, assumed the title of Sulṭān al-Dawla, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to restore the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba*. In Radjab 465/March 1073 he and all his house were killed by the rival Turkish faction, led by Ildegüz, under whom the caliph fared little better. Meanwhile, the constant anarchy and remorseless plundering of the country by the troops brought agriculture to a standstill (although the Nile floods seem to have been uniformly good). The result was a famine which lasted from 459 to 464 (1067-72) and became progressively more severe. During these years the country was a prey to the utmost misery; the royal city and palaces were looted, and Fusṭāṭ was twice plundered and even burned by Nāṣir al-Dawla. Large numbers of the population, including even the caliph's own family, sought refuge in Syria and ʿIrāḳ (for the depopulation and shrinkage of Fusṭāṭ, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, i, 5, ed. Wiet, i, 12; on the fate of the royal library see also Olga Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi*, Rome 1928, 25-6). The Sunnī historians dwell on this famine with some complacence, regarding it as the retribution for the impious attack of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate (see below), and circumstantial stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al-Mustanṣir himself was reduced. That these must be accepted with some reserve is clear from such passages as Ibn Taghrībardī, ii/2, 186, 18-19.

At length in 465/1073, al-Mustanṣir, taking courage of despair, secretly invited the governor of ʿAkkā, the Armenian general Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] to assume supreme control in Egypt. Badr accepted the commission, on condition of bringing his own troops with him, and sailing from ʿAkkā in the winter, reached Cairo on 28 Djumādā I 466/29 Jan. 1074. His rapid and energetic movements took the Turks by surprise, and he put to death the whole body of their leaders, together with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials. For his further military and administrative measures, by which he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt (the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, which in 466/1073-4 had amounted to 2,800,000 *dīnārs*, rose by 483/1090 to 3,100,000 *dīnārs*: al-Maḳrīzī, i, 100; ed. Wiet, ii, 68; cf. Abū Ṣāliḥ, fols. 7b-9a). The alliance between general and caliph was cemented by the marriage of Badr's daughter to al-Mustanṣir's youngest son Aḥmad, the future caliph al-Mustaʿlī [*q.v.*]. The Fāṭimid caliphate was saved but, like its ʿAbbāsid rival, at the cost of abandoning its temporal authority to a series of military commanders, entitled *umarāʾ al-djuyūsh*, from whose control it never afterwards succeeded in emancipating itself.

Al-Mustanṣir is described in contemporary sources as upright and amiable in character, and just and equitable in his dealings, but as a ruler his personality is entirely obscured by the successive *wazīrs* and generals who kept him virtually a prisoner. The statements of the later anti-Fāṭimid writers must, of course, be entirely discounted; the Fāṭimid sources, on the other hand, praise his sagacity and infallibility (*ʿiṣma*) as Imām.

External relations. The empire to which al-Mustanṣir succeeded was beyond any doubt the most powerful Muslim state of its time. It extended from Ifrīḳiya and Sicily to Mecca and central Syria, and maintained an active propagandist organisation in ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Khurāsān (see the following section). Within a few years of his accession, its territories were still further expanded by Anūshtagīn's conquest of Aleppo in Shaʿbān 429/May 1038 [see FĀṬIMIDS and ḤALAB] and extension of his authority even across the Euphrates, on the one hand, and on the other by the conquests of ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī in the

Yaman, after establishing himself at Masār in the same year (see ṢULAYḤIDS and also H.F. al-Hamdani, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* [1931], 505 ff., and in *JRAS* [1932], 126 ff.). After the deaths of Anūs͟htagīn and the *wazīr* al-D̲j̲ard̲j̲arāʾī, who in spite of their rivalry zealously maintained the interests of the dynasty, the power and prestige of the Egyptian court steadily declined. The Arab tribes in Syria, though defeated in the field, remained unsubdued, and the caliph had to be content with the little more than nominal allegiance of the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*] at Aleppo. At Damascus, the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops and the hostility of the citizens reduced the governors to impotence. The disturbed state of Syria was so disastrous that it made it impossible for the Fāṭimid government to give effective support to the *amīr* al-Basāsīrī (see the list of war material and subventions sent from Egypt, Ibn Tag͟hrībardī, 177) in his attempt to oppose the advancing Sald̲j̲ūḳ power, with the result that his occupation of Bag͟hdād and proclamation of al-Mustanṣir in 450/1059 was speedily brought to an end. The subsequent military and economic disorders in Egypt allowed a free hand to the Turkmen (G͟huzz) bands, who had appeared in northern Syria as early as 447/1055, though it was not until 463/1071 that the first Sald̲j̲ūḳ armies entered northern Syria and the G͟huzz bands under Atsïz [*q.v.*] occupied Palestine and began to harass Damascus. In many of the other towns and district of Syria, the authority was seized by local chiefs, such as the *ḳāḍīs* Ibn ʿAmmār (see ʿAMMĀR, Banū, and also G. Wiet, in *Mém. Henri Basset*, 279 ff.) at Ṭarābulus and Ibn Abī ʿAḳīl at Tyre, though both of these acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Fāṭimid caliph (cf. also the account of the foundation of the castle of Ṣark͟had by Ḥassān b. Mismār al-Kalbī in 466/1073-4, quoted from Sibṭ b. al-D̲j̲awzī in Ibn Tag͟hrībardī, 253). The menace of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs became more substantial after the arrival of Tutus͟h [*q.v.*] in 470/1077-8, but the latter never actually organised a full campaign against the Fāṭimids. On the contrary, the offensive was taken by Badr, who succeeded in restoring Egyptian control on the coast as far as Tyre, Sidon and D̲j̲ubayl in 482/1089, but not in recovering the interior of Palestine and Damascus (lost in 468/1075-6), in spite of a certain revulsion of feeling in Syria in favour of the Fāṭimids. It is difficult to know how much weight to lay on the story (Ibn Tag͟hrībardī, 272-3) that Tutus͟h at one time proposed to ally himself in marriage with Badr.

The success of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs also affected the position of the Fāṭimids in Arabia. In 462/1069 the ʿAbbāsid caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities, and after a brief return to the Fāṭimid obedience between 467 and 473/1074-81, the Ḥid̲j̲āz passed definitely to the ʿAbbāsid cause. In the Yaman, the Ṣulayḥids in the interior and the Zurayʿids in the important commercial centre of ʿAden maintained the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, the latter until the Ayyūbid conquest by Tūrāns͟hāh in 569/1173 [see ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN].

Meanwhile, the Fāṭimid empire had been similarly shorn of its possessions in the West. About 435/1043-4 al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*], the Zīrid lieutenant of the Fāṭimid caliph in Ḳayrawān, began a series of repressive measures against the S͟hīʿīs of Ifrīḳiya; in 440/1048-9 he seems to have made the first overt gesture of independence, and in 441/1049-50 superseded the Fāṭimid coinage; but it was not until 443/1051 that he formally renounced the Fāṭimid suzerainty and obtained an investiture from the ʿAbbāsid caliph. According to the traditional account (already fully developed in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī), the *wazīr* al-Yāzūrī in revenge launched against him the nomad bands of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian sources are Zug͟hba, Riyāḥ, al-At͟hbad̲j̲ and ʿAdī), who had been a cause of much trouble to the government in the Ṣaʿīd and were now given a free hand to plunder the territories of the Zīrids [*q.v.*]. As Wüstenfeld has already indicated, *Gesch.*, 234 n., the story as it stands is open to serious objections, and there can be little doubt that it has been amplified by popular legend. The westward movement of the Hilāl tribes began as early as 440/1048-9, and there is no reason to reject the account of Ibn ʿId͟hārī that it was al-Muʿizz himself who invited the Arab tribes, then in Barḳa, to enter Ifrīḳiya as his *d̲j̲und* (since he was not on good terms with the Ṣanhād̲j̲a), and that they, having set out in response to his invitation, began to plunder on their own account and already before the close of 443/1051-2 had inflicted a severe defeat on his troops. The two traditions are not, however, mutually exclusive and may be reconciled by supposing that the Banū Hilāl were transported in the first instance to Barḳa (the governor of which had thrown in his lot with al-Muʿizz), and that their advance into Ifrīḳiya was facilitated, for opposite reasons, by both al-Muʿizz and the *wazīr* (cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 387-8). During the first years of his reign, the son and successor of al-Muʿizz, Tamīm, (453-501/1061-1107), temporarily returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance (see H.R. Idris, *Sur le retour des Zīrīdes à l'obédience fāṭimide*, in *AIEO Alger*, XI [1953], 25-39), but with the conquest of Sicily by the Normans in 463/1070, Barḳa became the western limit of the Fāṭimid state.

The diplomatic relations of al-Mustanṣir with non-Muslim states covered a wide field. In 429/1038 the existing treaty with the Byzantine Emperor was renewed and relatively cordial relations established. If Nāsir-i K͟husraw, ed. Kaviani, 6, tr. Thackston, 49, is to be trusted, the Egyptian government was in communication in 439/1047 also with the Georgians, the Daylamīs, the K͟hāḳān of Turkistān and even the *rād̲j̲ā* of Dihlī, all of whom shared with Egypt a common hostility to the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and the G͟haznavids. The friendly relations with Constantinople, however, were broken off in 446/1054, when the Empress Theodora demanded an offensive alliance against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. Egyptian troops were despatched on an unsuccessful expedition against al-Lād͟hiḳiyya, the Empress retaliated by opening negotiations with the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, and al-Mustanṣir seized the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-Ḳumāma*). This breach with Constantinople had important consequences for the future of Egypt, since to it may perhaps be ascribed the opening up of direct commercial relations with the Italian trading cities, though documentary evidence on the point is lacking (see Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i, 105, 124).

Religious conditions. The wide expansion of the Fāṭimid power under al-Mustanṣir is reflected also in the religious situation. Propaganda on behalf of the Fāṭimids is synonymous with the dissemination of the official state religion of the Fāṭimids, the Ismāʿīlī S͟hīʿī faith. Not only in Egypt and other lands in actual subjection to the Fāṭimid authority, but in all quarters of the Islamic world, we learn of missionaries (*duʿāt*), who during the long reign of al-Mustanṣir struggled, in part with great success, to secure recognition of his claim to be the religious Imām. In the east, in Persia, and especially in S͟hīrāz, at the court of the Būyid prince Abū Kalīd̲j̲ār [*q.v.*], we can trace the activities at least since 429/1037-8 of the *dāʿī* Abū Naṣr Hibat

Allāh b. Mūsā al-Muʾayyad fī Dīn Allāh [see AL-MUʾAYYAD], doubtless the most prominent personality of his time in the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. He endeavoured to win over the court and the Daylamī troops to the Fāṭimid cause, but was forced to leave his post in 439/1047-8 as the result of pro-ʿAbbāsid intrigues. In the first part of his autobiography (see *Bibl.*), al-Muʾayyad gives a detailed account of his activity, and in particular publishes his correspondence with an unnamed Sunnī from Khurāsān, in which he explains the religious and political principles of his mission. How much the power of the Fāṭimids and the success of their emissaries in ʿIrāḳ and Persia was feared at Baghdād is shown by the fact that several times, and latterly in 444/1052, there was published a document, to which the ʿAlids also subscribed, with the object of declaring false the claim of the Fāṭimids to descent from ʿAlī. At the same time, the Fāṭimid cause gained also new ground in the Yaman. After the political power of the Fāṭimids had been reduced there to a minimum in the course of the 4th/10th century, it now acquired in the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad a powerful supporter. He and his successors regarded themselves not only as political but also as religious representatives of the Fāṭimid Imām in the Yaman. The voluminous correspondence between the Ṣulayḥid rulers and al-Mustanṣir, which is still preserved, collected in a separate work (*Kitāb al-Sidjillāt wa 'l-tawḳīʿāt wa 'l-kutub li-Mawlānā al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh*, ms. SOAS London; many of these letters are also reproduced in Idrīs, vii [see *Bibl.*]), deals, along with political questions, in the first place with the position of the *daʿwa* in the Yaman and in the Fāṭimid state; see further al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*.

In Egypt itself, soon after the accession of al-Mustanṣir, the doctrines of the moderate official Ismāʿīliyya were threatened by the appearance of extremists related to the Druzes [see AL-DURŪZ]. A pretender, al-Sikkīn, together with his associate al-ʿĀnī, gave himself out as the returned caliph al-Ḥākim, but was promptly unmasked (Idrīs, vi, 296). Al-Muʾayyad, who came to Cairo in 439/1047-8 and won the goodwill of al-Mustanṣir, was entrusted with the leadership of the religious mission as *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt* (it should be remarked, however, that al-Yāzūrī during his vizierate also held the title of *dāʿī 'l-duʿāt*; cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 40). In the reopened seminary in Cairo, where the *duʿāt* of the various countries received instruction, he gave his lectures and gathered into his hands the strings of the whole *daʿwa*. He appears to have exercised a special influence over the development of the *daʿwa* in the Yaman, as the future Yamanī *dāʿī* Lamak b. Mālik was numbered amongst his pupils. From Persia, the newly-converted Ismāʿīlī Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] came to Egypt, to find his master in him. At the same time, al-Muʾayyad seems also to have played an important political role. In his autobiography he quotes numerous letters which he wrote to al-Basāsīrī and other generals of the Fāṭimids in Syria and Mesopotamia. In particular, it was at his instigation that the *khuṭba* for the Fāṭimids was introduced into the prayer at Baghdād in 450/1098 (cf. Ibn Muyassar, 8, l. 1, 10, ll. 6-7). In his poems, he eulogises the *Imām* al-Mustanṣir in a similar manner to Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Other Ismāʿīlī authors of this period were the poet Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, the *dāʿī* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī, and the author of the *Kitāb al-Madjālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* (lectures in which the imāmate of al-Mustanṣir is demonstrated with the aid of the Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl*), which are described by the Fāṭimid tradition to Badr al-Djamālī.—For the Fāṭimid propaganda in Transoxania, see also Barthold, *Turkestan*², 304-5.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-wizāra*, ed. A. Mukhliṣ, Cairo 1924, 57-77; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, 84-128; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1341, 54-82, tr. Schefer, Paris 1881, 110-62, tr. W.M. Thackston, New York 1986, 38-67; Abū Ṣāliḥ, ed. Evetts, fols. 9a, 24a-b, 33a, 51a; Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal al-munḳatiʿa*, éd. Ferré, Paris 1971; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 304-x. 161; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ed. Dozy, i, 285-92, 298 ff.; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, xii, Paris 641; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Massé, Cairo 1919, 1-43; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 381; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, ii/2, 168-296; Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 99-100, 335-6, and other passages; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār mulūk Banī ʿUbayd*, ed. Vonderheyden, 59; Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1467-8), *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, vi, 292-vii, 150; al-Muʾayyad fī 'l-Dīn, *al-Sīra al-Muʾayyadīya* (Autobiography), ed. M.K. Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949; F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fat. Caliphen*, 227-71; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 136-61; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1920-2, i, 75-83, ii, 79-80, 376-7; Ḥ.S. Maḥmūd, Ḥ.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn wa 'l-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimiyya fī 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1956; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, index.

(H.A.R. GIBB and P. KRAUS)

AL-MUSTANṢIRIYYA [see MADRASA. I. 4, at Vol. V, 1127a, and III, at Vol. V, 1148, and AL-MUSTANṢIR (1) BI 'LLĀH].

MUSTAʿRIB [see MOZARAB].

MUSTAʿRIBA (A.), "arabicised", the name of one of the groups into which the Arab genealogists divide the population of Arabia. The first is the *ʿarab ʿāriba*, the original Arabs of pure stock; they numbered nine (some say seven) tribes which are regarded as the descendants of Iram and Lūdh b. Sām b. Nūḥ and the first settlers in Arabia: ʿĀd, Thamūd, Umayyim, ʿAbīl, Ṭasm, Djadīs, ʿImlīḳ, Djurhum and Wabār. These are extinct except for a few remnants incorporated in other tribes. The second group comprises the *mutaʿarriba* [*q.v.*] who are not pure-blooded Arabs. They are regarded as descendants of Ḳaḥṭān (the Yoḳṭān of the list of nations in Gen. x. 25 ff.) and live in southern Arabia. The third group is called *mustaʿriba*; this name is also applied to tribes who were not originally Arabs; they trace their descent from Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, a descendant of Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*]. All the north Arabian tribes are included among the *mustaʿriba*, so that the Ḳuraysh, to which Muḥammad belonged, are one of them; his genealogy is in this way traced back to Abraham and he thus thought he could prove his connection with the Biblical prophets. The old term *mustaʿriba*, for tribes not originally of Arab descent, obtained a new meaning after the conquest of Spain. It was applied to the Christian Spaniards who retained their religion under Islam; the word *mustaʿriba* was corrupted to Mozarab [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i, § 43; idem, *Studi di storia orientale*, i, 306 ff.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, 6 ff.; C. Ritter, *Arabien*, 57; Ṭabarī (Leiden) i, 213-16; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, i, 40-41; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, 1st *nawʿ*; *TA*, i, 371, cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUSTASHĀR (A.), counsellor, used in Ottoman Turkish as *müsteshār*, meaning "general secretary to a ministry" or "under-secretary of state". The word, which means literally "one who is

consulted", comes from the same root as *mü<u>sh</u>īr* [*q.v.*], which properly means "he who gives advice". Sāmī Bey regards the word *müste<u>sh</u>ār* as a synonym of the old Turkish *inal*. The office was called *müste<u>sh</u>ārī* or more simply *müste<u>sh</u>arlı̊k*.

Like the title *mü<u>sh</u>īr*, that of *müste<u>sh</u>ār* was created by Maḥmūd II. There were at first two *müste<u>sh</u>ārs* in the grand-vizierate, one for foreign and the other for home affairs. The latter was later replaced by a Minister of the Interior who had in his turn a *müste<u>sh</u>ār*. The number of *müste<u>sh</u>ārs* gradually increased, but some less important departments had *muʿāwins* "assistants, deputies" (in 1296/1897 for example there were *muʿāwins* in the finance and police departments). The office was retained under the Turkish Republic and each ministry or *wekālet* has its *müste<u>sh</u>ār*; that of national defence has three (for army, navy and air force).

The chief *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul used to have a *müste<u>sh</u>ār*. According to Luṭfī Efendi, the post of *müste<u>sh</u>ār* of the Navy was created in 1253/1837 (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, v, 91) and that of *müste<u>sh</u>ār* of the *ṣadreyn* or of the two *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* [*q.v.*] in 1262/1846 (viii, 127). On the honorary grades of *müste<u>sh</u>ār*, cf. idem, vi, 66; cf. also 103, line 8 from below.

Müste<u>sh</u>ār is also the name given to the "counsellors" of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations. The title of *müste<u>sh</u>ār awwal* borne by the ambassador himself, sent by the Sultan of Morocco to Istanbul in 1197/1783 is inexplicable to us (cf. <u>Dj</u>ewdet Pa<u>sh</u>a, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, Istanbul 1309, ii, 251; cf. *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux de l'École des Langues Orientales à Paris*, 1905, 6).

As to the term *mü<u>sh</u>āwir*, a synonym of the preceding and from the same root, it is applied to technical advisers, whether foreigners or not, e.g. *ḥuḳūḳ mü<u>sh</u>āwiri* "legal adviser".

Bibliography: See the various Ottoman calendars. The historians Aḥmed <u>Dj</u>ewdet and Luṭfī, following their predecessors, give few details of the administrative organisation. (J. DENY)

AL-**MUSTAR<u>SH</u>ID** BI'LLĀH, ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-FAḌL, ʿAbbāsid caliph (reigned 512-29/1118-35), was probably born in 486/1093-4 (though some sources suggest a date as early as 484), the son of al-Mustaẓhir [*q.v.*] and a slave girl called Lubāba. Al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id came to the throne after his father's death on 16 Rabīʿ II 512/6 August 1118.

The reign of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id coincided with a period of intense strife amongst the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia after the death of sultan Muḥammad b. Malik <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] in 511/1118 and the accession of his son Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. Apart from sultan Maḥmud and the caliph himself, the strong hand of sultan San<u>dj</u>ar [*q.v.*], the most senior member of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ clan, often intervened from <u>Kh</u>urāsān. There is also frequent mention of other Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ pretenders, as well as a series of powerful *<u>sh</u>iḥnas*, especially Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī and Zangī. The interplay of these figures with the caliph is chronicled in confusing detail and reveals constantly shifting alliances. Al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id initially juggled with these factions, depending on one group or another for military support. Later, he espoused the more intrepid and fateful policy of trying to rid ʿIrāḳ of all these opposing forces.

The early years of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id's caliphate were dominated by his bitter feud with the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa of Ḥilla [see MAZYAD, BANŪ]. Initially, Dubays had no doubt hoped to wield influence over the new caliph as his father Ṣadaḳa had done with al-Mustaẓhir. The caliph sent warning letters to Dubays reproaching him for plundering ʿIrāḳ during the revolt of the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ prince Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] against his brother, sultan Maḥmūd, in 514/1120-1. Dubays responded by coming to Ba<u>gh</u>dād and threatened al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id from his tent pitched opposite the caliphal palace (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 397-8). At this stage al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id, needing military support, requested Maḥmūd to stay on in Ba<u>gh</u>dād because of the threat posed by Dubays. Maḥmūd agreed and was honoured by the caliph in a lavish ceremony (Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, ix, 222-3). In 516/1122-3, al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id sent the *<u>sh</u>iḥna* of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī, to drive Dubays out of al-Ḥilla. This attempt proved a failure (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 423-4; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, ix, 232). In Muḥarram 517/March 1123 al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id decided to take matters into his own hands. Having distributed money and weapons to the people of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, he sallied forth in person to fight Dubays. Wearing full caliphal regalia, al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id stood prominently behind the battlelines, accompanied by prayer-leaders and Ḳurʾān readers. He scored a resounding victory against Dubays and returned triumphantly to Ba<u>gh</u>dād on the Day of ʿĀ<u>sh</u>ūrāʾ (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bu<u>gh</u>ya*, 227-8; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *Atābegs*, 25-6; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, ix, 235, 242-3). The caliph also humiliated Dubays by writing to his father-in-law, the Artuḳid Na<u>dj</u>m al-Dīn Il <u>Gh</u>āzī, ordering him to annul Dubays' marriage with Il <u>Gh</u>āzī's daughter (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bu<u>gh</u>ya*, 226). Even after Dubays had fled from ʿIrāḳ and fallen into the hands of Būrī, the ruler of Damascus, al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id remorselessly pursued him, sending the caliphal *kātib al-in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, Ibn al-Anbārī, to bring the prisoner to him. Dubays, however, had already been handed over to Zangī, who released him (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 230; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bu<u>gh</u>ya*, 249, 256; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 470-1; Sibṭ b. al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, 135-6).

The growing assertiveness of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id clearly alarmed Maḥmūd's *<u>sh</u>iḥna*, Yürün-Qü<u>sh</u>, who clashed openly with the caliph in 519/1125-6. Yürün-Qü<u>sh</u> visited the sultan and warned him that the caliph was no longer docile and that he would not tolerate the sultan's interference in Ba<u>gh</u>dād (Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>awzī, ix, 255-6). Sultan Maḥmūd advanced rapidly, ignoring the excuses fabricated by al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id to delay his arrival. After skirmishes between the troops of caliph and sultan, al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id sued for peace. Before leaving Ba<u>gh</u>dād on 10 Rabīʿ II 520/5 May 1126, Maḥmūd took the precaution of appointing a new *<u>sh</u>iḥna*, Zangī, to keep a close eye on the caliph (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 447-50; *Atābegs*, 28-31; al-Ḥusaynī, 97; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 51).

In the complicated power struggle which followed sultan Maḥmūd's death in <u>Sh</u>awwāl 525/August-September 1131 and the short reign of his brother, sultan Ṭoghrīl, San<u>dj</u>ar's appointee (526/1132-529/1134), al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id behaved in a quietly subversive way and played off the various factions against each other, no doubt in an attempt to increase his own power. Several earlier caliphs had practised such brinkmanship. But in the case of al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id, an inflated sense of his own importance coupled with his awareness of Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ division at this critical point made a dangerous combination, and his own rash (perhaps even bellicose) personality tipped him over the brink and precipitated an adventure that was to be fatal to him. When San<u>dj</u>ār attempted to instal Ṭoghrīl as sultan, al-Mustar<u>sh</u>id urged Ṭoghrīl's brothers, Masʿūd and Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ <u>Sh</u>āh, to rebel. San<u>dj</u>ar responded by launching Zangī and Dubays into an attack on Ba<u>gh</u>dād (Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, x, 476-7; *Atābegs*, 44). The caliph defeated them on 27 Ra<u>dj</u>ab 526/13 June 1132. It is interesting to note that Usāma [see

MUNKIDH, BANŪ] in an unnamed book of his mentions that he was present at this battle and that he saw for himself "the caliph's black satin tent in which he sat upon a throne" (as quoted by Ibn Wāṣil, 50, and Ibn al-Furāt, 94). It could be argued that thus far al-Mustarshid had only been defending himself against attack. It was his next step which took the matter a crucial degree further. After the battle, al-Mustarshid once more opposed Sandjar by proclaiming Masʿūd's name in the *khuṭba* at Baghdād in Muḥarram 527/November-December 1132 (Bundārī, 175; al-Ḥusaynī, 102; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 29).

Later that year, the caliph again left Baghdād to launch a retaliatory attack against Zangī in Mawṣil. After a three months' siege, al-Mustarshid was forced to return home, out-manoeuvred by Zangī, for whilst the latter's deputy, Naṣīr al-Dīn Djaḳar, strengthened the city's fortifications, Zangī had left Mawṣil and cut off the caliph's food supplies (Bar Hebraeus, 127; Ibn Khallikān, i, 330; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, *Atābegs*, 47-8). At this point, one would have expected al-Mustarshid to have learned his lesson. Manifestly he had not.

It is difficult to disentangle the circumstances surrounding al-Mustarshid's decision to set out to fight Masʿūd in western Persia: the received version of events is as follows. Masʿūd had sought al-Mustarshid's help in 528/1133-4 against Ṭoghrïl, but they had quarrelled. Masʿūd had then rushed to Hamadhān on the news of Ṭoghrïl's death in Muḥarram 529/October-November 1134. Masʿūd subsequently quarrelled with some of his *amīrs*, who arrived in Baghdād and incited the caliph to go out against Masʿūd (Ibn al-Athīr, *Atābegs*, 48-9; Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 36-41). Al-Mustarshid, with heavy baggage train and official entourage, left Baghdād in Shaʿbān 529/17 May-14 June 1135 and joined battle against Masʿūd at Day Marg outside Hamadhān (for a discussion of Day Marg, cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, 497-8, 926). The caliph's army was defeated, after the Turkish *amīrs* rejoined Masʿūd's side, and al-Mustarshid and all his officials were taken prisoner. His goods were seized (according to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *op. cit.*, 521, 170 mules were needed to carry away the contents of the caliph's camp) and his officials were imprisoned in the castle of Sar-i Djahān near Ḳazwīn and Rayy. As for the caliph, he was obliged to move around Ādharbaydjān with Masʿūd. When the sultan made camp outside Marāgha, the caliph was murdered in his tent in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 529/August 1135, allegedly by Assassins. The body of al-Mustarshid was wrapped in green silk brocade (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 156) and borne on the heads of *amīrs* and *ʿulamāʾ* to its burial-place in Marāgha. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā mentions that he saw the caliph's tomb when he visited the town in 697/1297-8 (*op. cit.*, 522).

The traditional version of al-Mustarshid's final battle and murder needs some revision. Most of the sources attribute the blame for the caliph's killing to Sandjar or Masʿūd or both. Was the caliph the victim of a trap set by Masʿūd? Did Masʿūd send the *amīrs* to Baghdād to lure the caliph (and more especially, his lavish train) to Ādharbaydjān? This is certainly a strong possibility. All this casts doubt on the story that it was the Assassins who killed him. However, to tackle Masʿūd head on and to rid ʿIrāḳ of his deputies was clearly al-Mustarshid's own policy by this stage. As Usāma commented: "It was that great boldness which destroyed him" (Ibn Wāṣil, 50; Ibn al-Furāt, 94). Al-Mustarshid's march against Masʿūd was famous enough to be enshrined in the *Čahār maḳāla*, in which Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī quotes part of an eloquent *khuṭba* delivered by the caliph at Kirmānshāh, strongly denouncing the Saldjūḳs (tr. E.G. Browne, 37-8).

The reign of al-Mustarshid represents a critical phase in the relationship between caliph and sultan, a phase in which long-suppressed tensions erupted into open conflict, especially at Baghdād, the traditional area of caliphal strength. Al-Mustarshid's efforts to liberate himself from the yoke of the Saldjūḳs were generally praised in the mediaeval sources. He was seen as following the path of the earlier caliphs, al-Ḳādir and al-Ḳāʾim [*q.vv.*] (Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 156), and he is credited by al-Suyūṭī with having revived the ancient customs of the caliphate and putting "life into its bones" (*op. cit.*, 453). Certainly, al-Mustarshid was acting in a different way from his immediate predecessors in the caliphal office. He levied and reviewed his troops (the alleged size of his army compares favourably with those of his Saldjūḳ opponents) and was often in dire need of funds to pay the troops (in 528/1133-4 al-Mustarshid's men surrounded the citadel of the *shiḥna*, Bihrūz al-Khādim, until he disgorged funds to pay the caliph's army (Ibn al-Djawzī, x, 35). Al-Mustarshid also appeared on the battlefield on several occasions. Thus he arrogated to himself the traditional prerogatives of the Saldjūḳ sultan and his deputies and revealed himself unwilling to accept the usual, albeit uneasy, accommodation between the caliphate and the military authorities.

What of the attitude of the Saldjūḳs towards al-Mustarshid? According to Ibn al-Anbārī, the caliph's *kātib al-inshāʾ*, who was released from prison and brought to sultan Masʿūd at Marāgha, Masʿūd told him categorically that he could no longer endure a caliph like al-Mustarshid. He preferred someone on the throne who would "meddle in nothing but religious matters" and who would not "raise an army, take up arms or assemble men" (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 73). Al-Mustarshid was clearly perceived as a growing threat to the Saldjūḳs; he was an opponent difficult to mollify. Even though he had descended into the military arena and had tarnished the caliphal aura, sultan Masʿūd still baulked at the idea of killing the caliph in battle. Instead, the conventional device of private assassination was chosen. Al-Mustarshid was afraid to return alone to Baghdād fearing to be killed en route and Masʿūd refused to accompany him (Bar Hebraeus, 260). Thus it came about that he was murdered in Masʿūd's camp itself. Most of the sources gloss over this deed; the strongest condemnation of the caliph's murder is given by Ibn al-Ḳalānisī who, expanding on the more muted criticism of al-Bundārī, finds the killing repugnant (*op. cit.*, 249).

How then should al-Mustarshid's unconventional reign be assessed? He certainly made a fateful error in leaving his power base, Baghdād, and its environs. Nor was he likely to achieve frequent military successes against such hardened warriors as the Saldjūḳs or Zangī. Apart from the fiasco which occurred during the short reign of his son al-Rāshid, the military option was not repeated by subsequent caliphs. Nevertheless, al-Mustarshid had gone a considerable way towards removing the Saldjūḳ presence from ʿIrāḳ and towards the creation of a small caliphal state in that area. This proved a valuable basis upon which al-Muḳtafī and above all al-Nāṣir [*q.vv.*] could later build.

Not surprisingly, al-Mustarshid's preoccupation with military matters left him with little time to devote to the activities usually associated with his office. There were few foreign embassies or lavish court ceremonies. Al-Mustarshid's building programme was modest: he is recorded as rebuilding the wall

around Baghdād in Ṣafar 517/April 1123 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 435; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 243), building the octagonal palace (*al-muthammana*) for his wife, Sandjar's daughter, who arrived in Baghdād for the wedding in Radjab 518/August-September 1124 (Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, 113), and he added the great hall (the *bāb al-ḥudjra*) to the Tādj palace (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 259-60).

A number of prominent officials served al-Mustarshid. These included the *wazīr* Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ṣadaḳa (d. 522/1128) whom, under pressure from the sultan's *wazīr*, ʿUthmān b. Niẓām al-Mulk, the caliph was obliged to remove temporarily in favour of Aḥmad b. Niẓām al-Mulk. In the later years of his caliphate, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ṭirād al-Zaynabī and Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*] served as *wazīr* (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 523-9; Bundārī, 104, 152; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 80).

Al-Mustarshid is described as having a ruddy complexion with dark-blue eyes and a sparse beard. In his youth, he had practised asceticism, read the entire Ḳurʾān, studied *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and was such a fine calligrapher that, according to Ibn al-Anbārī, he would correct the mistakes made by his scribes (al-Kutubī, ii, 248; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 197) Ibn al-Athīr claimed that he had seen al-Mustarshid's handwriting, one of the finest examples of *ruḳʿa* (xi, 17). Al-Mustarshid is mentioned by some sources as belonging to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (al-Suyūṭī, 454). He was an accomplished poet (ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, i, 30; Ibn Wāṣil, 51; al-Kutubī, ii, 249). To him are attributed the grandiose words: "My horses will reach the land of Rūm and the gleam of my blade will extend to the limits of China".

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(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MUSTASHRIḲŪN (A.), orientalists, those who study the Orient.

A. Terminology

Mustashriḳ (not yet mentioned in Lane) is the active participle of the Xth form of the root *sh-r-ḳ* and means either "people studying/seeking for the East/Orient" or "people becoming (like) Easterners/Orientals", Orient and Orientals tending to have a somewhat more emotional connotation than East and Easterners. The word *mustashriḳūn* consequently conveys a broader scope of meaning than the present-day Western term "Orientalists", i.e. "scholars specialised in Oriental studies" does. The term "orientalist" first occurs in English around 1779, in French in 1799; "orientalism" had then the broad meaning of "being oriented towards an oriental culture".

In 19th and early 20th century usage, the term "orientalist" had both a general cultural and a scholarly meaning. Cultural orientalists were those, including painters and writers, who were inspired by the Orient. Scholarly orientalists were specialists in oriental languages and cultures, as distinct from "classicists", specialists in classical languages and cultures (Latin and Greek). Inasmuch as such an orientalist was more than a pure technician of languages, he was a humanist supposed to possess a real profound knowledge of one or more oriental cultures and devote himself to the study of Oriental languages and literatures in past and present as well as other cultural monuments in the fields of art and archaeology. His search for solid knowledge distinguished him from the cultural orientalists, who were in fact devotees of the Orient.

Until the end of the 19th century, the term "Orient" stood especially for the Near East but it also comprised the rest of the Ottoman empire and, in French parlance, North Africa. The "Ancient" East was the Near East up to the spread of Christianity in the region, which introduced the period of the "Christian" East, followed by that of the "Muslim" or "Islamic" East when the region was Islamicised. During the 19th and early 20th century, the concept "Orient" widened in scope to comprise the whole of Asia, retaining the sense of largely unknown cultures challenging Western man to discover them. Up to the Second World War, Orientalism in its broader sense indicated a particular cultural orientation in Europe and North America, and in its narrower sense it meant empirical Oriental studies.

The first International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1873, and in 1951 an International Union of Orientalists was founded. Since the Congress in Moscow in 1960 the term has been challenged for various reasons, and after the Congress in Paris 1973 the name of the congresses has been changed. Asian cultures are of course only "East" when seen from Europe, and since these cultures are now also studied by specialists coming from the regions themselves and elsewhere, the term "Orient" has become largely metaphorical. At the present time the tendency is to speak of "human sciences in Asia and North Africa", and orientalist scholars are now identified by their culture, period and region of specialisation, and by their specific discipline. Given the nature of the *Encyclopaedia* we mean by *mustashriḳūn* here specifically scholars of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures. "Oriental studies" stands here specifically for that branch of it which is devoted to the study of

Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, that is to say "Islamic studies" in the broad sense of the word.

The notion of "orientalist" in the domain of Islam and elsewhere has changed in several respects since the beginning of the last century. Whereas formerly *mustashrikūn* were by definition non-Muslim Western scholars of Islam, there are now Western scholars who are Muslim, non-Muslim scholars outside the West, and Muslim scholars in this field both in and outside Muslim countries. And whereas formerly the West and the Muslim world were two different geographical areas, they now interpenetrate and various Muslim communities live in Western countries. At present *mustashrikūn* in Islamic studies should be understood as comprising all impartial scholars of Islam, Muslim societies and cultures, whether of Western or non-Western, Muslim or non-Muslim origin and whether they work in the West or elsewhere. Cooperation between scholars in the field takes place beyond differences of faith, country of origin and place of work. The sole difference seems to be that Muslim scholars are more aware of the immediate implications of their research for the Muslim community.

Another change in the notion of "orientalist" concerns the area of specialisation. In former times almost all *mustashrikūn* were professional philologists specialised in Oriental languages, with or without a historical interest. This was a tough course of study with its own tradition and demands of scholarship, hardly leaving room for new paradigms of research. During the past few decades, however, scholars from other disciplines have increasingly engaged in research on Muslim societies and cultures. They include social historians, anthropologists, sociologists and other researchers in the social sciences, and also specialists in the fields of literature, the arts and religion. In this article the term *mustashrik*, when used for the past, refers to scholars of Oriental languages, literatures and histories; when used for the present, it also includes representatives of other disciplines contributing to our knowledge of Muslim societies and cultures.

The social function of orientalists has changed too. More than formerly, *mustashrikūn* have become experts inside Western societies on certain aspects of Islam, Muslim societies and cultures. They perform certain corresponding roles in society; besides research and teaching, they provide information where necessary and mediate in communication when needed. In some cases special tasks may be assigned to them. More than before, society puts pressure on them to make their expertise socially relevant; more than before, they have to comply with the needs of institutions in their society.

If *mustashrikūn* had an expert knowledge, they have also held certain opinions about Islam; sometimes they have opposed particular Muslim ideas and practices, at other times they have tried to spread their own ideas and practices among Muslims and in many cases they have had personal friends among them. Such personal activities and commitments of *mustashrikūn* should be seen and judged in the particular context of their own society and in the context of the relationships between that society and particular Muslim societies. To the extent that the search for knowledge takes priority, *mustashrik* scholarship increases, but alongside this scholarly knowledge there has always existed a wide margin of private ideas, values and orientations of the *mustashrikūn* themselves which they have communicated to certain groups in their own society. This non-academic human cultural side of the *mustashrikūn* has been interwoven with their work and is not without interest. It is striking, for instance, to see to what extent they have been in the first place specialised researchers, with little idea of the political or social implications which their work could have for either their own society or the society studied. Like other scholars, they have mostly been defenceless against possible misuse of the results of their work. The fact of being a scholar in the field of Islam has little to do with insight into present-day Third World problems. Such scholars are not necessarily keen to distinguish the various ways in which Islam has been presented ideologically or used politically for different interests, those of Muslims and of non-Muslims alike. And they are not *per se* aware of situations of social tension in which Islam has been used as a battle-cry, as a symbol of a programme of social and political action, or simply as a utopian formula.

The work done by the *mustashrikūn*, like any study of other societies and cultures in the past and at present, has different dimensions: (1) the technical expertise acquired by detached scientific treatment of factual data; (2) the researcher's attitude to and possible involvement with his subject-matter in the course of his work; (3) the various motivations (romantic, humanist, religious) and objectives for which such studies are carried out, including particular causes adhered to by the researcher, and his personal experiences, involvements and commitments which are relevant to his research; (4) the social setting in which the research is carried out, its place in society and its relationships with particular Muslim societies; this also includes its organisation and funding and its institutional setting; (5) the extent to which the researcher fulfills a bridge function between two or more cultures, developing distance from his own society and an increasing impartiality in his evaluations and judgements on either society.

The question remains to what extent there has been a direct correspondence between the role which their society has attributed to the *mustashrikūn* and the kind of knowledge and general ideas which these last have developed about Islam and Muslim peoples. Where have they developed knowledge and ideas, so to say, ahead of their own society and where have they simply complied with its current ideas and behaviour? Where and how did they relativise or criticise norms and values adhered to in Western societies? Some *mustashrikūn* have, consciously or not, created a distance between their own society and Islam or Muslim people by describing Islam as absolutely different, as a danger or as an object or mission. Others of them have, consciously or not, created a rapprochement between their own society and Islam or Muslim people by describing what human beings, societies and cultures have in common, taking communication and learning from each other as self-evident. More than has been appreciated generally, most *mustashrikūn* have been much less original in their attitudes than is generally thought of and have merely been spokesmen of their societies in their assessment of the distance between Islam and the West. Except when they have wanted explicitly to study Islam and Muslim societies and cultures independently of current ideas and practices (sometimes emphatically against them), their appreciations of Islam have been heavily dependent on ideas and values current in their own society or community.

B. The period until the 19th century

When the Arabs carried out their conquests in the south, and in the 8th and early 9th centuries in the south-west of Europe, two worlds found themselves

opposed to each other. For centuries they identified themselves as the Christian and Muslim worlds according to where political authority lay. The Turkish conquests of the Arabic speaking lands (except Morocco), Anatolia, and the south-east of Europe up to the mid-16th century created a similar situation. In this case, however, the worlds which confronted each other were not only identified as Christian and Muslim but also increasingly as the European and the "Oriental" domain, the Orient starting at the boundary of Ottoman rule.

The history of the encounter between these two worlds and their relations, specifically around the Mediterranean and in the Balkans (also, further east, on and within the borders of the Russian empire) is complex; the borders of the two worlds have witnessed many kinds of interaction. Here we shall only deal with one aspect of cultural interaction: the development of the knowledge which European scholars acquired of the world represented by Islam, including the Arabic and Turkish languages, before the 19th century, when Islamic studies became firmly established as a distinct field of research in European universities. What knowledge of Islam had been attained, what motivated the search for it, what major obstacles had to be conquered, and what was the European cultural context within which this search for knowledge developed?

1. The Arabic heritage; the mediaeval period

Until the Crusading movement began in the second half of the 11th century, with the conquests of Toledo in 1085, Sicily in 1091 and Jerusalem in 1099, knowledge about Islam and Muslim lands in Latin Europe was limited. Its sources were scattered: incidental reports from Christians living in the Levant or in Spain under Muslim domination, doctrinal positions typical of Islam which had been related by John of Damascus and Byzantine theologians in their refutations of Islam, and what had been reported to the Church of Rome about Muslim dealings with Christians, outside or under the authority of the Roman Church. This knowledge was very limited. It was mixed with elements of religious imagination and coloured by efforts to show that Muslims constituted a danger for Europe and Islam for Christendom not only politically but also religiously. Islam was not the right religion: at best it was a Christian sect, but it was certainly not based on Revelation like Christianity.

Spain

The first instruments of work for the study of Arabic in Europe known to us come from Spain: a 12th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (with *ca.* 11,000 Latin key words of which one-third have not been translated) and a 13th century *Vocabulista in Arabica* (with *ca.* 4,000 Latin key words and *ca.* 8,000 Arabic index words). They must have served the purpose of translating from Latin into Arabic, largely for purposes of missionary work among Muslims in areas brought under Christian rule by the *Reconquista.*

The first written information about Islam and Muḥammad comes from a certain Moses Sefardi (1062-1110) who knew Arabic astronomical works well. In 1106 he converted to Christianity and took the name Pedro de Alfonso, moving subsequently to England where he became the king's personal physician. This information is contained in the fifth of his *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum confutantur* (Migne, *PL*, 157). Little is known, however, about the author.

More solid information is contained in the so-called Cluniac Corpus. After the capture of Toledo in 1085, this city was chosen as the principal see of the Roman Church in Spain (1088). Some decades later it became a centre of translation of Arabic scientific and philosophical texts into Latin, in particular thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Don Raymundo (r. 1125-51). When Peter the Venerable (1094-1156), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Cluny, visited Spain in 1142, the two men may have discussed the project of translating some Islamic texts from Arabic into Latin. In any case, Peter the Venerable then commissioned two scholars of his order working on Arabic astronomy, Robert of Ketton (Chester) and Hermann of Dalmatia, to translate five Islamic texts, including the Ķurʾān, into Latin; Robert succeeded in finishing the Ķurʾān translation by 1143. Peter the Venerable himself wrote two texts in addition to these translations, the more descriptive *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and the polemical *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum.* These texts together constitute the so-called Cluniac Corpus or Toledo collection.

Peter the Venerable, known for his anti-Jewish stand over against Bernard of Clairvaux, also differed from him as regards the attitude to be taken to the Muslims. Whereas Bernard actively preached the call to the second Crusade, Peter believed that, rather than war, it was missionary work that would bring victory over Muslims. But to combat Islam one had to know it, and this was the reason that he ordered original Arabic texts to be made accessible in Latin. Robert of Ketton's Ķurʾān translation was printed in Basel in 1543 (1550²) thanks to the efforts of Bibliander.

The coexistence of the three monotheistic faiths in mediaeval Spain meant that intellectuals adhering to one faith needed to possess knowledge of the others, not only because it was a demand of culture but also because it was a prerequisite for any claim to superiority on the part of their own faith. Ibn Ḥazm (*ca.* 994-1064) in his *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* and Yehuda Halevi (*ca.* 1085-*ca.* 1143) in his *al-Khuzarī* (1140) write from a Muslim and Jewish point of view. Peter the Venerable in his *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, Raymond Martin (*ca.* 1230-86) in his *Pugio fidei adversos Mauros et Judaeos* (1278), Raymond Lull (*ca.* 1231-1315) in his *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*, and his *Liber de Tartari et Christiani*, and finally Ricoldo da Monte Croce (d. 1321) in his *Disputatio contra Saracenos et Alchoranum* ("*Improbatio Alchorani*") and *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, express a Christian point of view. With other, less important authors, they produced a flood of anti-Islamic writings which, however, betray increasing information about Islam. Raymond Lull, sometimes called the founder of Western orientalism, not only had a religious vocation but also was of a creative philosophical, scientific and poetic turn of mind. Wishing to demonstrate the Christian truth to Muslims by peaceful discussion and rational argument, he founded a school of Arabic for future Christian missionaries at Miramar in Majorca, which existed from 1276 till 1294. The study of Arabic became institutionalised in a more regular way when the Council of Vienna in 1311 at his recommendation laid down that in each of five European universities (Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Salamanca) two scholars should be appointed to teach Oriental languages, that is to say, Greek and Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, the first two being the most important. In fact, however, the number of people who knew Arabic well in Europe during the 13th and 14th centuries has been estimated to have been less than twenty.

Role of the Roman Church in Europe with regard to Islam

These efforts to obtain a better knowledge of Islam all originated in the Roman Church, in particular the

Cluniac Benedictine, Dominican and Franciscan orders. Since one of the most important themes in the encounter of the Christian and Muslim worlds, mentioned at the beginning, was the relationship between the Christian and Muslim faiths, views of this very relationship have greatly influenced the way in which people coming from these two worlds have perceived the encounters between them, rationalising them in terms of their respective religions.

In connection with the Crusading movement which started in the second half of the 11th century in Spain, Sicily and the rest of Western Europe (with Urban II's call of 1096), an image of Islam as the great Adversary of Christianity arose in Europe. W.M. Watt describes the following four main features of this image as follows (*The influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, Edinburgh 1972, 73): "(a) the Islamic religion is falsehood and a deliberate perversion of the truth; (b) it is a religion of violence and the sword; (c) it is a religion of self-indulgence; and (d) Muḥammad is the Antichrist."

The author correctly speaks here of a "distorted" image of Islam, an image which has been scrupulously analysed by Norman Daniel (*Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1960). It is fair to add that the factual improvements in knowledge of Islam possessed by the authors quoted above always remained within the limits of the four features of the image of Islam just mentioned, sanctioned by the Roman Church and later endorsed by the Reformation.

On a popular level, Muḥammad and his prophetic claims, the Ḳurʾān and certain cultural traits of Arab-Muslim society like polygamy were ridiculed. On an ideological level Islam was depicted as a coherent system of false doctrines, a hostile ideological structure. Both levels together incited the religious collective imagination to an anti-Islamism which had its parallel in a rising anti-Judaism. The Church may have asserted its identity over against Muslims and Jews in this way as it had done earlier over against gnostics and pagans in its first centuries, and Europe may have sought and found its soul, but it may also be contended that the European Christians were mobilised for the wrong cause and with the wrong means. In any case, the Crusading ideology with its centres, propaganda and the missionary efforts based on a distorted image of Islam did not merely constitute the greatest obstacles to true knowledge of Islam and Muslim societies. In Spain the mediaeval Christian syndrome and the underlying attitudes, supported by the Inquisition, led to the human tragedy of the elimination of both Islam and Judaism within three centuries after the military victories of the 13th century by the Christian kings. Both Jews (1492) and Muslims (1502) were put before the alternative of baptism or expulsion, the final solution of the time. This political action was ideologically justified by the distorted image of Islam and Judaism and by the absolute claims of the Church and its institutions, and had been prepared theologically by Augustin's *De civitate dei*, Anselm's *Cur deus homo* and Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*.

Arab sciences and philosophy

It was in Spain, too, that another type of studies developed and another kind of knowledge was acquired which may more properly be called the forerunner of Oriental studies in the modern sense of the word. This was the translation activity which started in Toledo after it was taken in 1085, with the encouragement of Don Raymundo mentioned above. This concerned in particular the translation from Arabic into Latin of scientific and philosophical texts sought after in Europe. They were either translations of Greek philosophical, scientific and medical texts (*e.g.*, Aristotle in Arabic translation) or texts, including commentaries, written by Muslim authors (*e.g.*, Ibn Sīnā, 980-1037 [*q.v.*]) whose work became known in Europe *ca.* 1180. A group of scholarly translators devoted themselves to this translation work for more than two centuries, some of them from outside Spain; Jewish scholars played here a role similar to that which Nestorian scholars had played in the earlier 9th and 10th century translation activity in Bag̲h̲dād from Syriac (Greek) into Arabic.

Outstanding leaders of the translation work in the 12th century were Domingo Gonzalez and the proliferous Italian scholar Gerard of Cremona (1114-87) who is said to have been responsible for the translation of more than 70 works in Arabic. Among the prominent Jewish scholars working in the movement was Abraham ben Ezra (1089-1167). It was especially in the 13th century that philosophical works were translated, partly serving as a basis for the great apologetic treatises of Christianity written at the time, partly stimulating the increasing debate among Christian thinkers about the relationship between faith and reason. Two translators in the service of the Emperor Frederick II (r. 1215-50) were famous for these philosophical translations: Michael Scotus (*ca.* 1200-*ca.* 1236) and Jacob Anatoli (*ca.* 1230-50). In the second half of the 13th century, the names of Hermannus Alemannus and Moses ibn Tibbon (1240-83), the latter working in Syria-Palestine, are well known. In Spain it was the great King Alphonso X of Castile, Alfonso el Sabio (r. 1252-84), who commissioned translation work and founded several institutions of higher learning.

The influence of Arabic philosophy on European thought in the 13th century is a case of "orientalism" in itself. Several European philosophers studied and quoted it: Roger Bacon (*ca.* 1214-92) in his *Opus maius* (he also treated the different religions in his *Moralis Philosophia*, IV), Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) of the Platonic tradition, Albertus Magnus (*ca.* 1206-1280) and Thomas Aquinas (1226-74) of the Aristotelian tradition, and the Latin Averroist Siger of Brabant (*ca.* 1235-*ca.* 1282). After much debate, Latin Averroism was finally condemned by Bishop E. Tempier of Paris (1277).

Sicily, Syria-Palestine and Europe until 1500

Orientalism in its wider sense, the taste for Oriental culture and the desire to know it and derive values from it, did not arise in Spain where the Roman Church imposed its institutions and doctrines by force, but in other places of encounter between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Sicily, where the Arab Kalbī dynasty had ruled (902-1091), became such a meeting-place after its conquest by Roger I (d. 1101). His son Roger II (r. 1130-54), the latter's grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (r. 1215-50), and later Manfred and Charles of Anjou, not only engaged translators for Arabic-Latin translation work but also themselves possessed a direct knowledge of Arab-Muslim manners and customs, accepting Arab cultural norms and values.

Another place of encounter was Syria-Palestine during the Crusader period (1099-1291). William of Tyre's (*ca.* 1130-84) *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, describing the period 1094-1184 (the year of the author's death), contains careful observations of Arab Muslim behaviour and may be called an Orientalist's historical work in its own right. Here, too, certain translations of scholarly works from

Arabic into Latin were made. The knowledge which the Franks obtained here first-hand from an essentially superior culture, while meeting Muslims in actual life, gave a more realistic turn to Europe's knowledge of the East; numerous cultural borrowings occurred and trade increased between both sides of the Mediterranean.

Godfrey of Viterbo (12th c.) was now able to give a reasonable historical account of Muḥammad's life in his *Universal Chronicle*. Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo (early 13th century) provided a fair account of the history of the Arabs, in particular in the West, including Spain in his *Historia Arabum* (or: *Saracenica*). Somewhat later travellers like William of Rubruck (William de Rubruquis, *ca.* 1220-*ca.* 1294, travelled in 1254) and Marco Polo (1254-1324) were to discover other worlds, cultures and religions beyond the realm of Islam. And within Europe itself spiritual travellers along initiatory paths discovered positive features of Islam represented for instance by the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and given an esoteric form in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzifal* and *Willehalm* as well as in the German version of the *Grail*.

The last two contributions to Arabic studies of this period are again from Spain and can be dated to thirteen years after the fall of Granada (1492). In his *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* (printed 1505), the scholar Pedro de Alcalá (Petrus Hispanus) left a precious account in Latin script of the Arabic vocabulary of the spoken language in Granada at the time. And in the same scholar's *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga* (printed 1505, 2nd ed. corrected and enlarged also 1505) we have the first Arabic grammar written by a European, describing the spoken Arabic of Granada by means of the categories of Latin grammar.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, humanists of the Italian Renaissance studied not only the classical Greek and Latin authors but also paid attention to Hebrew kabbalistic writings and Arabic texts basic to European science, medicine and philosophy. At the time, the Arab cultural heritage was still part of the European conscience, at least in Italy. In the course of the 15th century, however, a change occurs, represented by the great humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) who, though knowing Arabic and Hebrew well, reverted to the classical heritage and left the Arab heritage aside. Over against the "classicists" it was the "orientalists" to whom the task fell of revealing the facts and significance of the Arab Islamic world and its heritage.

2. The Turkish threat; the period 1450-1700

After the failure of the Balkan Crusades and the efforts at unification with the Greek Orthodox Church, the Roman Church's initial reaction to the fall of Constantinople (1453) was one of relative openness, thanks to the efforts of some great intellectuals. Immediately after the fall of Constantinople John of Segovia (*ca.* 1400-58) proposed a conference between Christian clergy and Muslim *fuḳahā*ʾ to open a dialogue on their respective faiths. Nicholas of Cusa (1401-64) had already published his *De pace fidei*, a dialogue between representatives of the major religions in search of what was their truth and unity. His *Cribratio Alcoran* (1460) is a careful examination of the contents of the Ḳurʾān, trying to identify what connects Islam with, and what separates Islam from Christianity on the basis of the text. Moreover, he suggested practical measures to realise the Muslim-Christian conference proposed by John of Segovia. And the new Pope Pius II, the humanist Aeneas Silvius (1405-64), Pope from 1458 onwards, at John's instigation wrote a letter to the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Constantinople, in which he appealed for reason and practical common sense in the foreseeable relations between the two worlds confronting each other.

The proximity of the Ottoman empire, a firmly-established state whose power was still increasing until the mid-16th century (Vienna was besieged in 1529) affected the development of knowledge of Muslim societies and Islam in Europe. Whatever the reasons, the Europeans recognised a clear need for true and objective knowledge of this Muslim empire, its administration, resources, religious institutions, and so on; its proximity, moreover, facilitated the acquisition of this directly and indirectly. Besides primarily military and political interests, there were economic interests at stake in establishing and expanding trade relations with Istanbul, Smyrna and the Levant. This need for practical knowledge was supplemented by the stimulus of humanist and Renaissance thought. A new subject of study arose: Islam in its Ottoman context, Islam being now largely identified with the Turcs and their rule. The idea of Islam as a hateful religion and ideological structure was subtly transformed into the idea of Islam as Ottoman power and civilisation. This civilisation was regarded as different from the European one, but there were still more remote civilisations beyond the Ottomans, in Persia, India, China and Japan. This idea of an Islamic civilisation was later to develop into the idea of Islam as a subtle and refined culture expressed in attractive (*1001 Nights*) and even beautiful literature (Arabic and Persian poetry).

Printing presses and their use

Ottoman Turkish was written in Arabic script and the technology first of woodcut and then of loose letter printing imposed itself as an important tool for Oriental studies. The first Arabic printed edition was made in Rome in 1514; it was a Christian liturgical text meant for Oriental Christians. An Arabic Ḳurʾān seems to have been printed in Venice about 1530 but the whole edition must have been destroyed on the order of Pope Paul III (r. 1534-7). Be that as it may, Daniel Bromberg installed an Arabic press in Venice around 1537.

There were several Arabic presses in Rome, the most important being that of Ferdinand de Medici, installed around 1586, which printed the four Gospels in Arabic in 1590, again for use by Oriental Christians, among other texts. In fact, the Roman Church's interest in Arabic printing had to do with intensive efforts to establish contacts and eventually union with the Oriental Churches in the Ottoman empire, just as in mediaeval Spain during the *Reconquista* the study of Arabic had been inspired by missionary activity among the Muslim population living in territories conquered by the Christian kings. In the same perspective of church union, a Maronite College was established in Rome in 1584 (and also an Armenian one) and Maronite clergy and laymen were invited to Rome both to receive instruction and to render services, for instance, in matters of Arabic language. In 1627 Urban VIII founded the College of the Propagation of Faith (*Officium de propaganda fide*) which also encouraged the study of Oriental languages for missionary purposes.

Another famous Arabic press was the one installed by François Savary de Brèves, first in Rome around 1613 and then transferred to Paris in 1615, where it became the *Imprimerie des Langues Orientales*. Franciscus Raphalengius (1539-97) established a commercial press in Holland, while Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624)

installed a private one which was later sold to Elzevir in Amsterdam. On a smaller scale, Arabic texts were printed in Breslau on a press which Peter Kirsten (1575-1640) established before he migrated to Sweden in 1636 (see further, MAṬBAʿA. B. 1. In Europe).

Guillaume Postel and the French context

Following Portugal and Spain, 16th century England and France both enjoyed an immense broadening of their horizons and interests, and people developed a vivid sense for what was new and foreign yet accessible. This happened literally through the voyages of geographical discovery and, probably more than in the Iberian peninsula, through intellectual and spiritual discovery. Guillaume Postel (1510-81) is representative of such a discovering state of mind, within the special context of France, Italy and Austria at the time. Gifted for languages, he studied a number of them and Francis I (1494-1547, king of France from 1515 on), who was eager to attract artists and humanists at his court, became interested in him. Given his pro-Ottoman Levant policies, which had produced a treaty including valuable Capitulations in 1535 [see IMTIYĀZĀT], and in view of the Papal policy of union with Oriental Churches, a policy which he supported, Francis I needed expertise. Postel, who had just finished an extensive journey to Egypt and Constantinople and published his *Grammatica Arabica*, based on the Arab grammarians (1538-9), was appointed Professor of Arabic (1538) at the newly established Collège Royal (1530) which was later to become the Collège de France. Postel published a book on the Ottoman Empire, *De la république des Turcs* (1539-40), in which he presented a highly idealised picture of the King's ally. For various reasons Francis I dismissed Postel from the Collège Royal in 1543, and this marked the beginning of a new period in this man's agitated life. After far-reaching spiritual, intellectual and political adventures, and several brushes with the Roman Inquisition, he ended his life as a *de facto* prisoner in a French convent (1562-81), still moved by great ideas of world conversion and world domination before the nearby apocalyptic end of times. His precious manuscripts went to the University of Heidelberg.

Institutionalisation of Oriental studies: Leiden

An interesting example of a concerted effort to develop Oriental studies in the first half of the 17th century is provided by the history of this field at the University of Leiden, which soon achieved eminence. The university was established in 1575 as a reward for the city's withstanding the Spanish siege of 1574. The Low Countries declared their independence in 1581. Oriented as they were towards the sea and maritime trade, with vital interests in the Ottoman empire and Morocco, the Dutch considered a knowledge of Oriental languages a demand of the time. Franciscus Raphalengius (1539-97) started to teach Hebrew in Leiden in 1586, and in 1593 he added Arabic and prepared his *Lexicon Arabicum* which was published posthumously in 1613. The classicist, historian and Arabist Joseph Scaliger, a pupil of Postel, was appointed professor in 1593 without specific teaching duties. A separate chair of Arabic was created in 1599. After Scaliger, the reputation of Leiden in this field was enhanced by two scholars of great stature. In 1613 Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), whose main interest was in languages, was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages; in the same year he published his important *Grammatica Arabica* which was to become a classic for two centuries (1636[2]; enlarged edition 1656[3]; 1748[4]). Jacob Golius (1596-1667) was appointed his successor in 1624; in 1653 he published his important *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, based on Arab dictionaries and his own readings, which also became a classical instrument of research. Besides publishing these major works of scholarship, the two men distinguished themselves also with a typical pedagogical concern; both prepared Arabic reading materials for beginners which lasted for nearly two centuries. In this regard, Erpenius prepared the *Locmani Sapientis Fabulae* together with some Arabic maxims (1615) and a voweled text with notes and Latin translation of the *Sūrat Yūsuf* (1617), while Golius published his *Shadhrat al-adab*... in 1629.

But Leiden established its reputation for Oriental studies in another scholarly and practical sense too. Just as Guillaume Postel had been sent out by Francis I to buy Oriental manuscripts in the East, Golius after his appointment spent from 1625 until 1629 in the East, bringing back a harvest of some 300 Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts. Still more importantly, the Dutch representative of the States General at the Porte after 1655, Levinus Warner (1619-65) who had studied in Leiden and lived in Istanbul since 1644, bequeathed his precious collection of about 1,000 manuscripts and his books to the University Library of Leiden. This had already earlier acquired Scaliger's library and Golius' manuscripts, and it subsequently became a kind of Mecca for Arabists.

Examples of scholarly work

Among the scholarly works of the period under consideration which deserve mention is first of all Joseph J. Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (1583; enlarged edition 1598; 1629). This was the fruit of extensive Oriental researches and readings, encompassing various Oriental calendars and expounding a kind of world history. A century later Richard Simon (1638-1712) was able to offer his *Histoire critique de la créance et des coutumes des nations du Levant* (1684), in which he presented side-by-side and as objectively as possible the Muslim and Christian communities living in the Near East. Around the same time appeared in Vienna the precious *Thesaurus linguarum orientalum*... of Franz Meninski, in three volumes, a Turkish-Arabic-Persian-Latin dictionary which became a classic.

In this connection, the problem of the edition and translation of the text of the Ḳurʾān must be mentioned. Pope Alexander VII (1655-67) still forbade both its edition and its translation. Thanks to the Protestant theologian Bibliander, the Latin Ḳurʾān translation by Robert of Ketton, dating from 1143, could be printed in Basel in 1543, with a second edition appearing in 1550. In 1647 André du Ryer published an original French translation accompanied by a "Sommaire de la religion des Turques"; this translation was in turn translated into various other European languages. In 1694 A. Hinckelmann published the first Arabic text edition of the Ḳurʾān. It was in 1698 that the learned Catholic scholar Lodovico Maracci published an Arabic text edition and Latin translation of the Ḳurʾān, preceded by a lengthy introduction called the *Prodromus*. This was the standard scholarly edition and translation for at least a century and a half.

Other editions of important texts besides the Ḳurʾān are that of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* and his *Kitāb al-Nadjāt*, published together as early as in 1593, in Rome. Erpenius edited the vowelled *Sūrat Yūsuf* with a Latin translation and notes as an introduction to reading the Ḳurʾān (1617), and also the Arabic New Testament (1616) and Pentateuch (1622). In 1625 his edition and translation of the larger part of the world chronicle of the Coptic historian al-Makīn

(d. 1273), from Muḥammad onwards, together with the *Historia Arabum* (or *Saracenica*) of Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada (*ca.* 1210), saw the light. The British scholar Edward Pocock (1604-91), who travelled extensively in the Near East between 1637 and 1640 to collect manuscripts, was appointed to the new Oxford chair of Arabic in 1638. He edited the great history of Abu 'l-Faradj Gregorius (Bar Hebraeus), *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, first in part with extensive notes in his *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650) and then in its totality, which was published posthumously by his son in 1663, who edited himself Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yakẓān* (1671). The Arabic New Testament was edited again, after Erpenius' edition of 1616, by the Syrian Christian Salomo Negri (London 1727).

3. The breakthrough of enlightenment; the 18th century

The end of the 17th century saw the appearance of a new series of publications on or related to Islam which breathed another air than most publications mentioned until now. These had stood in the old scheme of the controversy between Muslims and Christians, the declared opposition between the Islamic and Christian religions. Scholars like Erpenius and Pocock had not hidden their hostility to Muḥammad's claims to be a prophet and the idea of Islam as an acceptable religion. This was not only a matter of personal judgement but had to do with the dominant place of Christian theology at the universities. Arabic philology was often used as an aid to the exegesis of the Hebrew Old Testament; a scholar like Albert Schultens (1686-1570), as others before him, even considered Arabic as a dialect of Hebrew. Islam was nearly always compared with and judged in the light of the doctrines of Christianity. In other words, Arabic and Islam had in fact been studied according to norms of Christian theology or even as *ancilla theologiae*.

The breakthrough and emancipation of the study of Islam and Muslim lands in a spirit of rational Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) happened to take place precisely at a time in which the Ottoman empire, after its last siege of Vienna in 1683, was on the retreat and had to sign the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) [see ĶARLOFČA]. This disappearance of the Turkish danger from the European scene, marking the end of the wars of religion, must have meant an easing of tension, not only political but also psychological, cultural and religious. Just as the Turks were no longer a political danger, Islam could no longer be seen as an inherently dangerous religion. Through the voyages to the East, Europe on its part had already started to develop a curiosity and cultural openness in the second half of the 17th century and this could now extend beyond Chinese culture to Islamic culture too.

One of the first publications breathing this new, fresh and open spirit was the thousand pages-long *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697) edited by Bartholomé d'Herbelot (1625-95), who represented a new type of enlightened "orientalist". It was prepared with royal support and sought to offer the French public all that could be of interest in Arabic, Turkish and Persian works in alphabetical order. Another publication, which opened up a still more imaginative side of Muslim culture was the French translation of the *Arabian Nights* in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717. It was made by Antoine Galland (1646-1715), from 1709 Professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, who had made several journeys to the Near East and already published in 1694 a book of maxims from Muslim literature illustrating Muslim wit.

The new, rational trend of thought of the times, which had already distanced itself from, if not opposed, traditional Christianity, was also able to study and appreciate other religions with greater openness than before. Leibniz (1646-1716) considered Islam as a natural religion, and in 1720 an anonymous pamphlet circulated under the title "Mahomet no impostor, or a Defence of Mahomet". In 1730 appeared *Vie de Mahomet*... written by Henry Boulainvilliers (1658-1722), in which Muḥammad is described as a heroic figure. Simon Ockley (1678-1720) wrote his *History of the Saracens* (1708-18) in a sympathetic spirit and Edward Gibbon (1737-94) would give an objective historical account of the rise of Islam in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-81). Voltaire (1694-1778) gave such an account in his *Essai sur les moeurs*... (1753). In an indirect way, Islam was used to express critical ideas about one's own society, state and church: Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and Voltaire's *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* (1742).

Most important, however, was the study by a specialist, Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Utrecht, about Islamic religion itself, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705, 1717²). Here Reland presented Islam as it had been described by Muslim authors themselves, translating the original texts, and he denounced and refuted wrong ideas current about Islam in his time. The book, written in Latin, was translated into French and German and may be called the first enlightened study of Islam as a religion. In the same spirit of reasonable presentation, the lawyer George Sale (d. 1736) published his "Preliminary Discourse" on Islam as a religion, preceding his English Ķurʾān translation (1734). That this change of perspective, the freedom of research and the emancipation of Arabic and Islamic studies from theological patronage, was not that easy shows up in the work and still more the autobiography (*Lebensbeschreibung*, 1783) of that gifted but non-recognised Arabist Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-74). As Reland was a predecessor of the modern study of the religion of Islam, Reiske, besides being an Arabist according to modern standards, in his *Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifae librum memorialem* (written 1747, published 1766) was a predecessor of the modern study of Islamic history.

Another sign of the new open spirit was the kind of thoughtful travel literature which saw the light now, as for instance Volney's (1757-1820) *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte* (1787).

This open spirit could also lead to a new sensitivity to *belles lettres* and literary beauty. One of the first Orientalists following this path was William Jones (1746-94), highly gifted in languages and from 1783 judge in Calcutta. In 1774 he published his *Poeseos Asiaticae commentarium libri six*, offering a first panorama of the rich field of poetry existing in particular in Muslim countries in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Once arrived in India, he put himself to Sanskrit and translated several Sanskrit works into English. At the same time, with a clear awareness of practical necessities, he took the initiative to prepare the publication of the *Digest of Hindu and Mohammedan Law*.

Role of persons from the regions concerned

In several ways, people from the regions concerned, nearly always Christians, played a role in the process of acquiring knowledge about Islam and Muslim societies and cultures. The glossaria in Spain were made with the help of Muslim converts to Christianity who, whatever their knowledge of Arabic, knew little

or no Latin. As "new Christians" speaking Arabic they could act as intermediaries between the Christian conquerors and the Muslim population.

In the second half of the 16th century Near Eastern Christians, mostly Maronites but also members of the Uniate Churches, started to play a role too. A certain number went to the new Maronite College in Rome, founded in 1584, to pursue theological studies. Others went to Italy and France to study or act as translators into Arabic. Others again simply came in order to improve their own situation. All too often lacking proper education, Oriental Christians pretended to be able to teach Arabic, give reliable information about Muslim societies and even give instruction about Islam, creating in this way more confusion than providing knowledge.

There were exceptional figures, however. The Moroccan prisoner al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyāti converted to Christianity, took the name Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] and wrote a book on "Famous Men among the Arabs" and his well-known *Descrittione dell'Africa* (around 1520). In Paris, Erpenius learnt much from a Moroccan called al-Andalusī, who also informed him about Islam. Members of the Maronite al-Simʿānī family catalogued Arabic manuscripts in several libraries in Italy during the 18th century and the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Escurial Library was published in two volumes (1760-70) by the Maronite Michael al-G̲h̲azīrī (Casiri, 1720-91). The learned Syrian Christian Nāṣīf al-Yāzid̲j̲ī (1800-71 [*q.v.*]) wrote a critical commentary on Silvestre de Sacy's edition of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* (1822), which was published in Arabic with a Latin translation and notes by A.W.F. Mehren in Leipzig in 1848.

New teaching institutions

Besides the chairs of Oriental Languages attached to a growing number of European universities, there was an increasing need for the practical teaching of Oriental languages, in particular for interpreters and translators. Already in 1670 a French school for interpreters had been established in a convent in Pera, and in 1700 the *Ecole des jeunes de langue* was established in Paris for the same purpose. It was directed by Jesuits, as was the *Orientalische Akademie* established in Vienna in 1754 for the same purpose but also preparing young Austrians for the foreign service.

The *Ecole spéciale des langues orientales* was founded in Paris in 1795 for the study of living oriental languages, in view of the increasing need for qualified people to represent French commercial and political interests in Asia and Africa. Teaching concentrated on Arabic, Turkish and Crimean Tatar, Persian and Malayan. The chair of Arabic at the *Ecole spéciale* fell in 1795 to A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who in 1806 also became Professor of Persian at the Collège de France. With his *Grammaire arabe* of 1810 and his *Chrestomathie arabe* of 1806 and *Anthologie grammaticale* of 1829, he supplanted the older publications by Erpenius and Golius. His impeccable publications in the realm of Arabic philology made Sacy the outstanding Arabist in Europe, inaugurating a new period of the study of the Islamic languages. In 1803 a chair for spoken Arabic was added at the *Ecole spéciale*, and the learned Copt Elias Buḳṭur (Bocthor, 1784-1821) was appointed. He prepared a two-volume *Dictionnaire français-arabe* (spoken Arabic, especially in Egypt) which was published by his successor A.P. Caussin de Perceval Jr. The latter wrote himself a *Grammaire arabe vulgaire* (1824).

As for the British, following William Jones (1746-94) and his creation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), they established in 1800 in Calcutta the Fort William College for the study of Oriental languages and literatures, right on the spot. The College was to last until 1854, providing courses in the most important Indian languages and publishing a number of text editions and translations, dictionaries and scholarly studies. The scholars worked in the spirit of enthusiasm for Indian (including Islamic) culture which already had inspired William Jones and they were willing to learn from the culture in which history had placed them. Over against this line of enthusiastic "Orientalists" who wanted to learn, serve and study the indigenous cultures of the colonies, arose the line of the "Anglicists" who imposed British education, norms and values. Colonial times started to demand their dues.

In Austria, the third major European power to develop relations with Muslims, in particular in the Balkans, another kind of initiative was taken to spread knowledge about Islamic culture. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), who established the scholarly study of Oriental languages and literatures in Austria, founded the first orientalist journal Europe has known. Between 1809 and 1818 six issues of the *Fundgruben des Orients* appeared, bringing and encouraging knowledge about the world of Muslims and Islam, its motto being the second half of Sūra II, 142/147.

C. The period of the 19th and 20th centuries

1. International scholarship until the Second World War

The 19th century saw the rise of Islamic studies as a scholarly field of studies in its own right. The publication of the voluminous *Description de l'Egypte* between 1809 and 1822, written by a number of French scholars who had done research in Egypt during Bonaparte's campaign there, gave a powerful impetus to Oriental studies in general. This enterprise was an example of what scholars could accomplish through co-operation when they enjoyed good financial support and efficient organisation.

A prerequisite for any research on Islam and Muslim societies was the study of Arabic; descriptive grammars and the compilation of dictionaries prepared the way for critical editions of manuscript texts. Scholars of great repute in this field were Antoine Silvestre de Sacy in Paris, Edward William Lane (1801-76) in England and Egypt, Reinhart P. Dozy (1820-83) and Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909) in Leiden, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-88) in Leipzig and I.Y. Krachkovsky (1883-1951) in St. Petersburg-Leningrad. A landmark was Gustav Flügel's (1802-1879) publication of the Arabic text of the Ḳurʾān in 1834 with the concordance to it in 1842. This was the prerequisite for a more accurate literary and historical study of the Ḳurʾān. A pioneering study in this respect was Theodor Nöldeke's (1836-1930) *Geschichte des Korans*, originally a dissertation in Latin (1856), the German version of which (1860) was to be followed later by a considerably augmented edition in three volumes, supervised by three other German scholars, which appeared between 1909 and 1938. An increasing number of printed critical editions of Arabic, Persian and Turkish texts from manuscripts followed, first in Europe, and then also in Cairo and elsewhere.

Available manuscript resources were described for instance by Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) for Arabic Muslim and Jewish manuscripts, followed by Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956) for Arabic manuscripts in general and Georg Graf (1875-1955) for Christian Arabic manuscripts. Brockelmann's *Ge-*

schichte der arabischen Literatur has now in part been superseded by Fuat Sezgin's invaluable *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (since 1967). C.A. Storey published his *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey* (of Persian manuscripts) from 1927 onwards, with a new enlarged edition by Yuri Bregel (1972).

Broad historical surveys of literature in these languages were undertaken, for instance, by Von Hammer-Purgstall and Elias John Wilkinson Gibb (1857-1901) for Turkish literature, and by Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926) for Persian literature. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson's (1868-1945) preliminary survey of the history of Arabic literature was followed by Régis Blachère's (1900-73) more systematic but unfortunately unfinished survey.

The study of Islamic history required editions and analysis of historical texts. Important pioneers in this field were Alfred von Kremer (1828-89) for Islamic cultural history, and Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) for the early political history of Islam. Dozy deserves mention for his history of Muslim Spain, published in four volumes in 1861.

It was on the basis of the growing accessibility of the relevant literary and historical sources that Islamic studies proper, that is to say the study of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, could now come into being. In this respect, scholars like Ignác Goldziher (1850-1921), Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) and Louis Massignon (1883-1962) paved the way. To them may be added the names of Joseph Schacht (1902-72) for Islamic law, Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb (1895-1971) for the history of Islamic institutions in particular, Gustav Edmund von Grunebaum (1909-72) for the history of Islamic culture and civilisation generally and Arendt Jan Wensinck (1882-1939) for the study of Islam within the perspective of science of religion. A scholar of exemplary modesty, Wensinck was the moving spirit behind two major enterprises of international collaboration in the field of Islamic studies. These are the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [see MAWSŪʿA. 4.], which appeared in five volumes in an English, French and German edition between 1913 and 1942 (and which inspired the Turkish *İslam Ansiklopedisi* which started to appear in 1940), and the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* which appeared in eight volumes between 1933 and 1989, both published by E.J. Brill in Leiden.

2. Institutionalisation and developments until the Second World War

The immense development of Oriental studies in general and Islamic studies in particular in Europe and North America since the middle of the 19th century cannot be explained only in terms of spiritual motivations and scholarly interest in the non-Western world. It also came about thanks to the availability of funds to develop these studies in new independent institutions and institutional arrangements for research and teaching. Universities became better organised, special chairs were established, scholarly meetings facilitated communication. Certain publishers specialised in books in this field and societies were established specifically to favour Oriental studies.

In France J.B. Colbert had established the *Ecole de jeunes de langues* in Paris in 1700; this functioned as a school for interpreters until its closure in 1873. In 1795 the *Ecole spéciale des langues orientales* was founded, in 1914 renamed *Ecole nationale des langues orientales vivantes* and in 1971 *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*; it has now become part of the University of Paris. In 1822 the newly founded *Société asiatique* met for the first time, and the same year it began to publish its *Journal asiatique*.

For a long time, Oriental languages and literatures were not taught at French universities but at special institutions, all of them in Paris; the *Collège de France* from 1530, the institutions mentioned above, and the *Ecole Pratique des hautes Etudes* after 1868. The *Revue du Monde musulman* (1906-26), and its successor the *Revue des Etudes islamiques* (1927-), have been keen to publish on events throughout the contemporary Muslim world with an important part of which France was involved from its occupation of Algeria in 1830 until Algeria's independence in 1962.

The French also established academic research institutes in different countries overseas, for instance the *Institut français d'etudes arabes de Damas*, established in 1930 (replacing an older Institute of 1922) and attached to the University of Paris, which has regular publications until the present time. In 1929 an *Institut d'etudes islamiques* was created as part of the University of Paris. This was to constitute the centre of Islamic studies in France, with numerous students from North Africa attending after the Second World War. The Department of Arabic and Islam at the University of Algiers and similar institutions in Tunis and Rabat had political relevance within the framework of French interests in what was then still French North Africa. Scholars like Robert Montagne (1893-1954), for instance, studied Islam in this framework. French historical and linguistic scholarship on Islam in Spain and North Africa was represented, *e.g.*, by Evariste Lévi-Provençal (1894-1956), Roger Le Tourneau (1907-71), Georges (1876-1962) and William (1874-1956) Marçais. Jean Sauvaget (1901-50), besides his own historical work, wrote a useful bibliographical introduction to the historical study of Islam.

In Germany, Oriental studies developed around the middle of the 19th century as an academic discipline at the newly-founded or organised universities, and it remained firmly linked to the universities, Arabic often being taught as one of the Semitic languages at the Faculties of Theology. In 1845 the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* was founded, bringing together all German orientalists; it has been publishing the *Zeitschrift der DMG* since 1847. Islamic studies acquired some political relevance in Germany in the context of the rapprochement with the Ottoman empire and during the thirty odd years during which Germany had some Muslim colonies in Africa. Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), for instance, besides his historical work paid attention to contemporary Islam in these regions, at the *Kolonialinstitut* established in Hamburg in 1908. The Nazi period and the Second World War (1933-1945) gave an unforeseen ideological twist to German scholarship. A few German orientalists, mostly of Jewish descent, succeeded in escaping abroad; others perished or survived under heavy stress. After 1945 Oriental studies in both parts of Germany had largely to be built up again.

Islamic studies in Germany have remained very much part of the older German orientalist tradition of solid philological and historical work, lack of social and political commitment and relatively little interest in the realities of the contemporary scene. It is probably in Germany that the orientalists' tradition has achieved the greatest degree of technical perfection in what may be termed scholarly precision engineering, a phenomenon which can be observed elsewhere too. This has happened, however, at a price: a certain isolation through remoteness from other scholarly disciplines, an aloofness from contemporary developments and a certain weakness of scholars to

take a personal stand, disciplined objective scholarship being the cause for which they live, imagination being subordinated to mental discipline. Much less formulation of basic problems of research has taken place here than could have been expected, given the German philosophical tradition, and compared with important changes of paradigm in other scholarly disciplines in the country. Islam as a faith and religion as well as contemporary developments have tended, paradoxically, to be marginalised in Islamic studies as an academic discipline. Several German Islamicists have tried, however, to set Islam and Islamic history in the broader context of cultural history, among them the aforementioned Carl Heinrich Becker and Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896-1957). A younger generation of German Islamicists has established closer communication with and commitment to living Muslim societies and their future.

Oriental studies in Great Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries have been very much influenced by contact with a number of important Muslim regions within and outside the empire, *e.g.*, Persia. Quite a few British scholars have not been attached to university institutions but have carried out research on their own, sometimes working as civil servants in the colonial administration or diplomatic service but also as independent travellers and authors like W.S. Blunt (1840-1922) and others. As early as 1784, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones in Calcutta. A parallel society in Bombay was to follow. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in London in 1823; it has been publishing its *Journal* since 1834.

Academic studies of Arabic, Persian and Turkish were concentrated in the universities of Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh, where old traditions in this field existed. The London School of Oriental Studies, attached to the University of London, was founded after the First World War and renamed the London School of Oriental and African Studies after the Second World War. It brings together a broad range of orientalists' expertise and field experience. Britain, too, founded some academic institutes overseas in Ankara, ʿAmmān, Bag̲h̲dād and Tehran, which stimulated archaeological and art history research in particular.

The Netherlands' overseas history with Islam came through contacts with Indonesia. The world's first society of Oriental studies, the *Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences*, was founded in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1778 and would publish its own Journal. In Dutch Oriental studies as elsewhere, a distinction can be made between academic Oriental studies for the sake of scholarship and the study and teaching of Islamic law and institutions and Muslim languages and ethnography for the benefit of the colonial administration. The second tradition was combined with the first in the dominating personality of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who for a number of years was an official adviser to the government on Muslim affairs.

For Russia, the Orient started with the presence of the Tatars, Islamicised since the 1260s. The main institutions of Oriental studies were in St Petersburg, then the capital: the Asiatic Museum, founded in 1818, and the Institute for Oriental Languages, established as part of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of the Exterior in 1823. A faculty of Oriental Languages was founded here in 1854. The city held, and holds, important manuscript collections.

A school of Arabic scholarship was established in Russia by Viktor Romanovich Rosen (1849-1908). His most outstanding Arabist pupil was the aforementioned I.Y. Krachkovsky whose *Among Arabic manuscripts* (Eng. tr. 1953) brought Oriental studies nearer to the general public, even in the West. It is, however, Turkic Islam with which Russia has had the most direct relations and a centuries long common history. The foremost scholar in this field was Vasilii Vladimirovich Barthold (1869-1930), also a pupil of Rosen (see Yuri Bregel, *The bibliography of Barthold's works and the Soviet censorship*, in *Survey*, no. 108 [1979], 91-107).

Russian Oriental studies changed greatly after the revolution of 1917, gradually becoming subjected to ideological constraints. Islamic studies, like Islam itself, were severely curtailed from the later twenties on, as part of the general drive to eradicate religion. In the fields of linguistic, literary and historical studies, however, research went on. After the Second World War the Institute of Oriental Studies was founded in Moscow as part of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the existing Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad became a branch of the Moscow institute.

In most other European countries, too, traditions of Islamic scholarship established themselves during the period under consideration. Prominent in the Italian tradition were Leone Caetani (1869-1935), Ignazio (1844-1935) and Michelangelo (1886-1946) Guidi, Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872-1938) and Giorgio Levi della Vida (1886-1967). Prominent in the Spanish tradition were Julián Ribera y Taragó (1858-1934) and Miguel Asín y Palacios (1871-1944). Special mention should be made of Arminius Vambéry (1832-1918) in Hungary, Adam Mez (1869-1917) in Switzerland, Tor Andrae (1885-1946) in Sweden and Armand Abel (1903-1973) in Belgium.

In the USA, an interest in Oriental studies appeared on the East Coast in the first decades of the 19th century. The American Oriental Society was founded in 1842 and started to publish its *Journal* in 1880. Universities began to teach Oriental studies in the 19th century, but Islamic studies lagged behind somewhat. After the First World War, Princeton University became the main centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, as they were developed by Philip Hitti (1886-1978); The University Library here was able to acquire a large manuscript collection. Other centres of Oriental studies where Islamic languages were taught were Harvard University, and Universities in Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley (UCB). Since the Second World War, the teaching of Islamic languages has been regarded as a vital necessity and programmes of Middle Eastern area studies, including Islamic history, have been developed at a number of American universities, to which European scholars like G.E. von Grunebaum, H.A.R. Gibb and B. Lewis have been attached. The Library of Congress has tried to acquire consistently all publications which have appeared in Muslim countries and has the most important collection of materials on the subject in the world.

Similar Islamic studies, based on philology and history, have been pursued at some Western institutions in Muslim countries. To the French institutions in Damascus and North Africa, mentioned earlier, should be added the Jesuit Université de St.-Joseph in Beirut, recognised in 1881, with its *Faculté orientale* (between 1902 and 1914) and its *Institut de Lettres orientales*, from 1937 on. The Belgian scholar H.J. Lammens (1862-1937) worked here. At the American University of Beirut, which goes back to the Syrian Protestant College, founded in 1863, the Arabic Language and Islamic history have been

taught for a long time. Islamic studies were also pursued at several British institutions in British India, for instance in Lahore. Many text editions were published in Cairo, Ḥaydarābād and other centres of Islamic studies in Muslim countries.

From the beginning a number of independent scholars have carried out research, often in disciplines other than philology, textual source analysis and documentary history represented by the universities at the time. Their work has proved to be crucially important for Islamic studies. Some of them studied non-textual material sources like Arabic epigraphy (Max van Berchem, Swiss, 1863-1921), numismatics and archaeology, and art and architecture (Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, British, 1879-1974). Others explored contemporary Muslim societies in ethnographical studies such as those carried out by the above-mentioned Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca, Acheh and Gajoland; Edmond Doutté (French, 1867-1926) in Morocco and Algeria; and Edward Westermarck (Finnish, 1862-1939) in Morocco. After the Second World War, anthropological fieldwork developed rapidly and Islamic studies are now unthinkable without the contributions from it and other social sciences.

3. Critical evaluations of *mustas̲h̲riḳūn*

Oriental studies generally and, in particular, Islamic studies based on scholarly, and therefore by definition critical philological, literary and historical methods, have been critically evaluated and discussed during the past decades. Specifically, the contribution of Islamic studies to our knowledge of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures, its epistemology and presuppositions, its older ethnocentrism and its ethical implications have been at issue. Criticism has been articulated both by Western scholars, in particular social scientists studying non-Western societies and cultures, and by Muslims on different levels. We shall review some of the main arguments contained in this criticism and show the paradoxical situation in which the *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* as bridges between cultures find themselves, even if they are not always aware of this themselves.

i. Scholarly criticism

As has been observed by Maxime Rodinson (*La fascination de l'Islam*, Paris 1980; Eng. tr. *Europe and the mystique of Islam*, Seattle 1987) and others, the rise and development of Oriental studies in Europe shared in 19th century trends of thought, which for decades put their stamp on this kind of studies. One idea current at the time, which in part even accounted for the enthusiasm for Oriental studies, was that in contrast to the West, the spiritual and in particular the religious element predominates in the Oriental cultures. As a consequence, until recently Islamic studies have been tinged with a certain idealism in that much importance has been attached to the influence of religion, specifically Islamic ideas and practices on Muslim societies, while general technological, economic and social factors tended to be neglected. Another idea current in the 19th century was that peoples could be classified according to races, each possessing inherent cultural and psychological characteristics. The dynamics of Islamic history were then largely explained as a struggle between religious movements or a struggle between races, in particular Semitic and Indo-European. A third idea in vogue at the time when Oriental studies developed was that certain characteristics of a particular language like Arabic or a language group like the Semitic languages reflected themselves in specific cultural features of the speakers of that language. In the case of Islam, this meant that Europeans had a marked tendency to interpret Islam and Muslim societies in terms of what were thought to be unchangeable realities of Islamic religion, Semitic and other races, and Semitic and other languages. Even after the Second World War, such ideas were still accepted by some *mustas̲h̲riḳūn*.

The fact that Oriental studies at the time consisted largely of the study of languages and texts, meant that *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* had difficulties in drawing conclusions about the social and other realities within which the texts originated and functioned. It was possible to reconstruct the chronology of political events mentioned in historical texts but much harder to draw conclusions for instance as to the social history of Muslim societies and the way they functioned and function. While overestimating the role of religion, race and language, *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* greatly underestimated, or even refused to acknowledge, the role of, for instance, particular demographic and ethnic structures, and social and economic causes in explaining particular facts or developments. In short, precisely because of their interest in Islam and in what distinguishes Muslim from Western societies, orientalists tended to stress the specificity of things Islamic and to reify Islam as an explanatory cause. They tended to neglect the many things that human beings, societies and cultures have in common and to disregard general causes as explanations of particular developments in Muslim societies.

Furthermore, the very equipment of orientalists, bound or at least accustomed by their education to work on texts, prevented them from interpreting adequately contemporary developments in Muslim societies. Most of them found themselves at too great a distance from the tangible world they studied, including the psychological and social distance to the people created by the political relationships of colonial times. The orientalists in fact did not know much more about contemporary Muslim societies than other Westerners. In their thinking they mostly tended to accept as self-evident the basic assumptions and presuppositions current in their own society. Consequently, it was not so much professional orientalists as travellers and journalists, missionaries and tradesmen, politicians and military experts who, whatever their natural biases, furnished factual observations and practical knowledge of contemporary Muslim societies, with which they were often involved over many years.

The focus of interest and style of research of most *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* in the period under consideration was fact-finding and the search for permanent structures. A deeper causal or structural cohesion between the known facts was seldom sought; these facts were rarely interrogated with a view to their social implications; the patterns of meaning which these facts taken together conveyed to the people concerned were seldom investigated. Whenever attention was paid to these people's interpretations of the facts, there was a certain predilection in the West and among some orientalists for the exotic, archaic, and poetic meanings of what were held to be the "religious" elements.

Although orientalists in principle and quite naturally could listen to the people of the culture and society they studied, understand what they needed or wanted to convey and defend their interests, most of them refrained from doing so. Their primary concern was their scholarly work. Moreover, a widely-held official view in the colonial period held that natural resistance to Western political and economic domination at the time was to be attributed to Islam ("Muslim fanaticism", "Panislamism", etc.) rather

than admitting self-critically that it was due to the growing penetration of Western power.

Paradoxically, it was not only the colonies but also the orientalists who tended to become victims of Western domination, which caused normal relations between people to become disrupted, and prevented Muslim people and societies, their culture and religion from being perceived and understood as they understood themselves. The uneven relationship between the Western and the Islamic worlds put the orientalists in a difficult position, since this kind of relationship obstructed true insight rather than promoting it. Some did not realise the complex nature of their situation and, rather than trying to build bridges between peoples and cultures and correct misconceptions at home, they tended to legitimate and defend Western domination without question. Those orientalists who took up the defence of the people on the other side often justified this with a religious or ideological terminology which was hardly comprehensible to others. Most, however, working in the service of Western scholarly institutions to study Islam and Muslim societies, must have seen the course of events as irreversible and the people of the Orient as doomed to lose out to the West.

ii. Muslim critical responses

Soon after the establishment of the scholarly field of Islamic studies in Europe, scholars from Muslim countries too became interested in it. Many cooperated with Western scholars in studying and publishing manuscripts. They attended Western universities, took part in broader research projects, and could be appointed to teach and do research at Western scholarly institutions. While the immense amount of knowledge generated by the *mustas̲h̲riķūn* evoked the admiration of Muslims of all persuasions, it also aroused a certain unease because this knowledge was made available in the first place to people in the West. Moreover, was it the right knowledge? A whole literature circulating in Muslim countries alleges that it is not, and insinuates that orientalists have somehow intentionally or because of material interests distorted the reality of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures.

Since the culture and religion under study is theirs, the cooperation of researchers and scholars from Muslim countries has proved to be indispensable as well as self-evident. They have been able to contribute considerably to Islamic studies, in particular when working in Western countries. They have also been able to correct certain mistakes made by *mustas̲h̲riķūn* in their handling and interpreting of materials. In the case of precise data, they could initiate scholarly debates which are the essence of research proper.

Muslim criticisms have gone further than that, however, entering into debate concerning certain orientalists' general ideas, underlying attitudes towards Islam and the value judgements they have passed on it. Some have gone as far as to deny at least in part the scholarly validity of the work of all orientalists, using sweeping arguments which can neither be proved nor disproved and must be seen as part of a broader protest against Western domination. The *mustas̲h̲riķūn* themselves often seem to have been taken by surprise by what they have seen less as a lack of appreciation of hard work than as an attack on their profession and critical scholarship in general. The ensuing debate has led, however, to greater awareness of problems of a both human and technical nature familiar to cultural anthropologists, since they occur in the study of other cultures and religions in general.

Following E. Rudolph's interpretation, to which the present writer owes much (*Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik. Grundzüge und aktuelle Merkmale einer innerislamischen Diskussion*, Berlin 1991), critical Arab Muslim responses to orientalism, particularly in Egypt (elsewhere the situation seems to be less turbulent), present the following historical development:

a. Debates between modernist reformers and Europeans writing on Islam (al-Afg̲h̲ānī against Renan, ʿAbduh against Hanotaux).

b. Critical reactions by Muslim reformists and Azhar scholars to non-Muslim secular scholarship in the West concerned with Islam (Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā against E. Dermenghem, the campaign against A.J. Wensinck's membership in the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo). Parallel to this are the violent reactions, often by the same people, to "secular" research pursued by Muslim scholars, *e.g.*, at the University of Cairo (attacks on Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and M.Ḥ. Haykal).

c. Critical reactions to Western scholarship on the Ķurʾān and historical criticism of *ḥadīth* literature (Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī and Muḥammad al-G̲h̲azzālī attacking Goldziher's work), after the Second World War.

d. Accusations that orientalists in general, and certain of them in particular, are engaged in a broader attack on Islam and Muslim societies, in league with Colonialists, Christian Missionaries and Jewish and Gentile Zionists. Such attacks have been launched in the Arab world (*e.g.*, by ʿUmar Farrūk̲h̲, Muḥammad al-Bahāy, Anwar al-D̲j̲undī, Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Mālik Bennabī). Orientalism is here seen as an ideological enemy of Islam, and from *ca.* 1960 on the debate about it has been of a clearly ideological nature.

e. More subtle criticism of *mustas̲h̲riķūn* through an intellectual analysis of the underlying notions of the Orient, Orientalism and Orientals current in the West, for which orientalists are alleged to be partly responsible or of which they are victims. One of the main proponents of the ensuing debate is Edward W. Said, an Arab but not a Muslim.

Feelings have been the highest when Muslim religious convictions have been hurt by secular Western scholarship. A brief analysis by R. Peters (*Abendländische Islamkunde aus morgenländischer Sicht*, 20. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Erlangen, October 1977) presents critical responses by Arab Muslims to Oriental studies of Islam, in defence of Islamic religion. According to these, the orientalists are divided into two groups. The first group consists of those orientalists who evaluate Islam correctly (*al-munṣifūn*), *i.e.*, they speak positively about Islam or praise it. They suffer, however, from insufficient knowledge and intellectual incapacity.

The second group consists of those who do not appreciate Islam correctly (*g̲h̲ayr al-munṣifīn*). It consists of four subgroups: Christian clerics (out to convert Muslims to Christianity), Zionists (seeking to weaken Islam in order to strengthen political and ideological Zionism), colonialists (*istiʿmāriyyūn*, in the service of colonial governments), and "free thinkers", Marxists and materialists (who aim to weaken the faith and morale of Muslims and mankind generally, in order to enslave them mentally and morally). This second group is held to constitute a coherent movement which tries to achieve through science what the Crusaders sought to do under the banner of religion: to dominate the Muslims.

Peters lists some typical themes which, according to this literature, *mustas̲h̲riķūn* explore in their efforts to defame Islam: the pretended lack of originality of

Islam, textual criticism of Ḳurʾān and historical criticism of *sunna* (*ḥadīth̲* literature), diversity in Islam, the position of non-Muslim minorities, concentration on periods of decline rather than growth in Islamic history, tendentious accounts of Islamic prescriptions like the *d̲j̲ihād*, etc.

While admitting that on closer analysis certain statements made by orientalists may indeed be seen as insulting to Muslim readers, Peters emphasises that the accusation that the majority of orientalists collaborated with the colonial governments is untrue: as philologists, they were far removed from contemporary politics. He then shows that one of the deeper reasons for the defamation of the orientalists and Oriental studies in general has been the onesidedness of these studies carried out by westerners—allegedly, a unilateral and unselfcritical operation performed by Western scholars on Eastern people who are patients in the original sense of the word ("sufferers"). This is also the deeper reason why Muslim critics identify orientalism with colonialism: both exclude an equal exchange between two parties and imply that the one party simply regards and treats the other as an "object". Perhaps because of their high expectations, Muslim critics feel strongly that *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* misunderstand them profoundly and, as they tend to see it, intentionally. If suspicion deepens into distrust, it may even produce a desire to repay Western culture and religion for what the West is supposed to have tried to do to Islamic culture and religion. As a possible solution, Peters suggests that Western researchers into Islam should be able and willing to collaborate with Muslim researchers.

The reproaches described here have been repeated at various times and on various levels. For instance, A.J. Wensinck's official appointment (1933) by King Fuʾād to the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo had to be revoked in 1934 under pressure from Muslim activists in Cairo, since his article on *Ibrāhīm* in the *EI* (1st edition) spoke of the Ḳurʾān as relating the "legend" of Ibrāhīm, not his historical reality (see file by L. Massignon on this matter in the University Library of Leiden). Ideological attacks on *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* have been made precisely by people who do not know what scholarship is, and those who know better have not been able to express themselves often because of political and social pressures.

Muslim intellectuals who have studied in the West articulate their reproaches on another level. A recurrent one levelled at the *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* is their lack of the necessary scientific tools to acquire sufficient or true knowledge about Muslim societies and Islam, for instance, competence in the social sciences. The texts which they read do not allow them to draw the right conclusions about Muslim societies and cultures. A second reproach is that they display a cool objectivity, a lack of sympathy or a hidden antipathy even going so far as hatred towards Islam and Muslim societies. The orientalists allegedly exhibit a lack of modesty and a profound incapacity or unwillingness to understand correctly. A third reproach directed at them is their lack of concern with, let alone commitment to, any real improvement in the situation of the people or any authentic development of the societies they study. Summing up, what Muslim critics object to appears to be, above all, a certain inhumane and incommunicative attitude to be found in the West and among orientalists. While claiming to be true knowledge, in fact their scholarship is used by political and ideological agencies and serves to humiliate Muslims as human beings and denigrate their religion, which to them is the highest value.

The relative naivety of many orientalists about their paradoxical situation and their complex condition as bridge-makers between cultures becomes manifest precisely in their emotional reactions of disappointment and anger about such attacks. They feel that, despite their good intentions, and quite incomprehensibly, their scientific work is not understood, let alone appreciated. It is even intentionally misrepresented by the people they study and about whom they claim to present objective scientific knowledge.

Misunderstandings exist on both sides.

iii. Oriental studies as a risk: the meeting of cultures

From the way in which *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* have defined their work and tended to react to critical responses, it becomes clear that in general scholars in Oriental studies have not been prepared for the problems of cultural interaction they have encountered and in which they became involved. They have had little idea of what could happen when, in the name of Science, they started to publish things which offended values not in their own but in another living society and culture. They have had little idea or concern that they could offend people who had become sensitive to any attacks on what they felt to be their basic norms and values, indeed their identity, and who often saw such attacks everywhere.

From the responses described it also becomes clear that, within Muslim societies at the time, very few people have known or understood what Western scholars and in particular orientalists have been doing. They have understood still less what *mustas̲h̲riḳūn* can know scientifically and what are the limits of their science, where the realm of private opinions begins. Given a lack of ordinary everyday communication, much of the natural suspicion of foreigners who, for some mysterious aims and purposes, want to know a foreign society, has been projected on the orientalist in situations of political tension or conflict.

In the ensuing debate on "orientalism", the very perspective in which orientalists carry out their studies is at stake. Consequently, some kind of fundamental reflection is required and to this Edward W. Said's book *Orientalism*, because of its provocative *J'accuse!* tone, seems only to have opened the door halfway. There is no reason why the notion of the "Orient" should not be replaced by a less ambiguous notion, for instance "peoples and cultures of Asia and Africa". There is no reason either why the philological and historial approaches should not be seen within a broader multi-perspective framework in which, for instance, the social sciences and in particular cultural anthropology but also the study of religion have their part to play. Again, the study of living societies and their aspirations, as well as of the underlying norm and value systems, can gain immensely from the collaboration of scholars who themselves come from such societies and have grown up in the traditions concerned. Again, for the study of contemporary societies it is mandatory that researchers have free access to them, meet people and work together with researchers from the country concerned.

It is also questionable whether in the human and social sciences, including history and comparative religion, any research can claim to be satisfactory when it takes no account of the points of view and the values of the people under study. Any kind of social science research, for instance, which objectifies human beings to fit into a particular scholarly model remains limited within the parameters of the model applied. It cannot claim to offer much knowledge

about a society or culture beyond the limits of the particular model chosen or the experimental situation analysed.

As a consequence, the search for knowledge of Oriental as of all foreign societies and cultures requires insight in given limits and absence of any desire to dominate. The venture of intercultural studies requires that the researcher take the personal step of leaving his own world for a time, and reaching a world of other people, for which real communication is required. In the complex relations between people from different societies and cultures, the orientalists, like the anthropologists, at best belong to the few who, not essentially bound by loyalties to either party, in principle have the capacity to transcend the clash of societies and cultures, and for that matter religions, on a personal level. Failing in mediation is the risk of the profession, but it is something to be learned from.

iv. Muslim studies of other cultures and religions

Just as Western orientalists have shown an interest in Islamic civilisation and religion, Muslim scholars recently have developed an increasing interest in the common history of the Muslim world and the West, for instance, in the various forces which have shaped European history. After some travel accounts in the mediaeval period, European culture was "discovered" first by Ottoman Turks and Arabs and later in particular by students from Muslim countries studying in Europe. This interest has been pursued now by professional researchers. Already in the mediaeval period Muslim thinkers had shown a certain interest in other cultures and religions than Islam, and this interest may arise again (J. Waardenburg, *World religions as seen in the light of Islam*, in *Islam: past influence and present challenge*, ed. A.T. Welch and P. Cachia, Edinburgh 1979, 245-75).

4. Progress in Islamic studies since the Second World War

The advancement of Islamic studies since the Second World War can be indicated briefly on three levels: that of institutions and organisation, that of areas covered, and that of reorientations of a more fundamental nature.

i. Institutions and organisation

There is a trend, cautious in Europe and gradual in North America, for university appointments in Islamic languages and history, as well as in social science research on Muslim societies, to include an increasing number of researchers and scholars from Muslim countries themselves. If, at the beginning of the fifties, they were mainly language informants, at present qualified Muslim scholars may occupy posts at higher levels too. The increasing number of Muslim students in Islamic studies at Western universities means that possibilities of instruction and communication have multiplied not only in teaching but later also in research. Whatever the ideas on orientalists in Muslim countries, direct contact with them in the West has become possible on a scale and in ways unimaginable before the Second World War.

Besides the older Oriental research associations, new organisations have been founded specifically to promote the study of the Middle East and Islam, encouraging fresh approaches and new ways of questioning. Local organisations are increasingly coming under the umbrella of larger organisations which stimulate research and mutual collaboration, for instance the *Union européenne d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants* in Europe, and the *Middle East Studies Association* of North America. Besides larger meetings and congresses, workshops and colloquia of a new kind are organised on specialised subjects, with a restricted number of participants from different countries. A new type of research institute, specifically for Islamic Studies, with good libraries, has emerged, like the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal. There are also several Centres dedicated to the study of Muslim-Christian relations: in Hartford, Ct., USA; in Birmingham, England; and the Pontifical Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Rome.

There are, however, some worrying developments too. Current budget cuts in most Western countries threaten the standard of Islamic studies. There are several cases where financial assistance from Islamic foundations or Muslim countries has permitted chairs to survive. In the present unemployment situation it would be of great help if translation programmes like that of Ṭabarī's *History* could be set up, funded by Muslim foundations or oil-producing states, where younger academics could usefully be employed.

Great care has to be taken that Western academic institutions continue to guarantee freedom of research and publication in the field of Islamics as in other fields. In some notorious recent cases, for instance, pressure has been exerted by Muslim interest groups in connection with university appointments and publications concerning Islam. In other cases, excessively pedantic programming or the organisation of the study of Islam along rigid ideological lines have thwarted research and the emergence of fresh ideas. Academic Islamic studies ought not to serve particular interests but develop as an autonomous field of teaching and research.

Recent history has increased interest in the Middle East, Islamic movements in the region and Islam in general. The immigration of millions of Muslim workers to Western Europe has stimulated more detailed research about Muslim ways of life in general and in the West in particular.

ii. Some areas of research

By contrast with the period before the Second World War, the need for specialisation among Islamicists and scholars in Oriental studies generally has become imperative. If in former times at least some scholars could still realise something of the ideal of the universal man, at present all *mustashriḳūn* have become specialists. Among them a distinction has developed between those who carry out research on the so-called "hard", infrastructural sectors of Muslim societies (in particular social scientists) and those who study the so-called "softer" sectors of language and literature, art and history, culture and religion (in particular humanistic scholars). A distinction has also emerged between those specialists who work on specific Muslim societies, regions and periods, and those who work on particular cultural expressions like art or religion which are common to all Muslim regions. We indicate now, by way of example, some areas of research which have gained prominence since the Second World War.

First of all, precious bibliographical surveys of Islamic history have been published (Cl. Cahen, J.D. Pearson, J. Sauvaget) and manuscript resources brought together (F. Sezgin). Solid historical research has been going on according to the lines laid down since the rise of Islamic studies (H.A.R. Gibb, G.E. von Grunebaum, H. Laoust, B. Lewis). Within the realm of historical studies, social and economic history have enjoyed rapid development (Cl. Cahen, M. Rodinson) and have also thrown new light on the beginnings of Islam and the history of Islamic thought (W. Montgomery Watt). The volume *Islamologie* (ed.

F.M. Pareja) represents the field and the state of Islamic studies as conceived in the 1950s.

Second, critical philological and literary analysis applied to the Ḳurʾān has led to new questions about its early history and composition (A. Neuwirth, J. Wansborough). Similarly, critical *ḥadīth* research has provided further insight into the history, nature and function of this kind of literature (G.H.A. Juynboll) as well as its meaning and that of the Ḳurʾān as "Divine Word" (W.A. Graham). New questions have been put concerning the early history of Islam (M. Cook, P. Crone). Equally, early Islamic thought has been analysed and certain basic positions identified (J. van Ess). Careful research on the semantics of religious terminology has proved rewarding for our understanding of the Ḳurʾān and other religious texts (T. Izutsu). Semiotic research has opened up basic structures in Islamic discourse and writing (M. Arkoun).

More attention has been given to the notion of the Muslim community (*umma*) both in its ideal forms (L. Gardet) and in social reality (W. Montgomery Watt). This has led to further research both on the legal and social status of women within Muslim societies in the past and at present (G. Ascha, L. Beck-N. Keddie and many others), and on the legal and social status of non-Muslim minorities (A. Fattal, S.D. Goitein, A. Hourani, B. Lewis), and the functioning of religious institutions, in particular religious authorities (*ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*) (N. Keddie) and religious education (G. Makdisi).

Extensive research has been carried out on Islam outside the heartlands of Islam, e.g., in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (A. Ahmad, A. Schimmel, W.C. Smith) and Africa (J. Cuoq, J. Spencer Trimingham).

A field which hardly existed before the Second World War, for various reasons, and which has expanded tremendously, is that of contemporary developments in Islam. General surveys have become rare (H.A.R. Gibb, W.C. Smith, W. Ende-U. Steinbach); specialisation has become the rule here too. Attention has continued to be paid to popular Islam (L.R. and H. Kriss) as well as sectarian forms of communal Islam (Klaus E. Müller), devotional practices (C. Padwick) and mysticism (A. Schimmel). Islamic aspects of recent social history (J. Berque) and of political developments (O. Carré, J. Piscatori and many others) in the Arab world and elsewhere have attracted ever more interest. This is also true for the developments of *ṭuruḳ* in modern times (M. Gilsenan, F. de Jong) and of reform and modernisation movements (A. Hussain, M.H. Kerr and others) as well as the Muslim Brotherhood (R.P. Mitchell).

Due to recent developments in Iran and elsewhere, Shīʿī Islam has become an area of renewed interest (first of all H. Corbin, later S.H. Nasr for its gnostic aspects; H. Enayat, K.H. Göbel and others for political thought), as has the more recent history of Iran (N. Keddie, A.K.S. Lambton).

The most noteworthy and innovating contribution to our knowledge of present-day living Islam, however, has probably been made by anthropologists specialised in particular Muslim regions (C. Geertz, E. Gellner, M. Gilsenan and others) or surveying the various Muslim peoples (R.V. Weekes).

An area of research which is developing is that of the study of different religions existing side by side in the same region, for instance the Middle East (A.J. Arberry) and the Indian Subcontinent (W.C. Smith). Questions have been raised about the relationships and interaction between Muslim and other religious communities in history (W.C. Smith) and the development of knowledge in the Muslim world about other religions and the formation of images about them (G. Monnot, J. Waardenburg). The relationships between the Muslim world and Europe have been the subject of historical and comparative studies (M. Canard, G.E. von Grunebaum, A. Hourani, B. Lewis).

The study of Muslim minorities outside the Muslim countries has become a new area of research, especially since the migration of Muslim workers to Europe and the establishment of mainly Turkish and North African communities there (F. Dassetto, T. Gerholm-Yngve G. Lithman, G. Kepel, J.S. Nielsen, H. Safar and others).

iii. New orientations

The question should be raised, to what extent the general scholarly view of Islam has changed in the last decades, not only in the expansion of its subject areas and themes of research but also in the way in which Islam and Muslim societies and cultures as a whole are approached? Or more precisely, has our view of Islam changed intrinsically since the classical times of Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje, say since the First World War? The answer must be affirmative.

In the first place, breakthroughs have been achieved thanks to the innovations of some prominent scholars: L. Massignon revealing the presence of largely unknown spiritual forces in Islam; G.E. von Grunebaum stressing fundamental analogies between mediaeval cultural expressions in the Muslim, Byzantine and Latin worlds; W.C. Smith affirming first the role of class and the national independence struggle in Muslim presentations of Islam and then Islam's specific kind of faith and its taking shape in various ways; C. Geertz and others calling attention to basic patterns and variations of meaning within Muslim societies; M.G.S. Hodgson writing a new kind of overall history of "the venture of Islam" within world history; and M. Rodinson urging a reconsideration of aims and tools of research in Islamic studies and, on the basis of infrastructural factors, throwing new light on Islamic ideologies developed in history and at the present time.

In the second place, the rise of independent Muslim nation states has brought about an important change in perspective. If older generations of Islamicists customarily regarded contemporary Islam as void of political expression and Muslim societies as developing according to the needs and directives of the West, researchers who started their work after the Second World War, in the fifties, sixties and seventies, have inevitably developed very different views of today's Muslim world, stressing its own internal dynamics.

In the third place, Muslims themselves have asserted their Islamic identity during the last decades in ways that were hardly imagined in the fifties. Such self-assertation in words and deeds, including intense political action, can no longer be interpreted simply as a rebellion against Western law and order. It has its own impetus and since the mid-sixties and still more the late seventies it has had unforeseen effects both political and religious, resisting various current forms of domination. Muslim Islamicists (Fazlur Rahman, Muhammad Arkoun) working in Western universities have given their own interpretations of such developments, M. Arkoun pleading for an applied islamology. Once-aloof Western scholars, too, have become alert to new responsibilities, scholarly and social.

All of this has led to a certain shift in perspective on Islam and the Muslim world at large, with its natural

implications for the development of scholarly research. We may summarise this change of perspective by trying to identify roughly three successive phases since the Second World War which have each implied a new orientation towards Islam.

a. The first phase is that immediately following the colonial period. Scholars in the forties and fifties tended to be very aware of the effects of Western culture in the broadest sense on Muslim societies, which had just been liberated from Western political dominance. The focus of attention was on processes of modernisation, sometimes simply put on a par with "westernisation". Islam was seen as an ancient tradition which seemed to be losing ground under the policies of the rather secular-minded national leaders after independence. Perhaps Von Grunebaum's interpretation of modern Islam as a search for cultural identity (1962) can be seen as representative of this orientation which, in any case, took a positive attitude towards the future of the Muslim world whose own historical and cultural identity it recognised. It thus distinguished itself from the more pessimistic views of scholars of the colonial period such as Snouck Hurgronje, who saw a future only in assimilation to the West.

b. The second phase started when scholars observed that profound and radical economic and social changes were taking place in Muslim countries, often after internal revolutions. Researchers on contemporary Muslim societies became attentive to the use of Islam as a social ideology justifying necessary or desired social changes. Islam, instead of being a hangover from the past, was being used to effect by influential leaders like Gamāl ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir. The adjective "Islamic", far from suggesting something antiquated, was serving to connect present-day solutions with hallowed, age-old religious tradition. Scholars came to realise that processes and events in Muslim countries should be studied not only in terms of Western theories but also within their own cultural framework, in which they became more meaningful. The social functions of Islamic ideas and practices, the social basis of changing interpretations of Islam, the social causes for changes in religious institutions, or institutions legitimated by religion, all became subjects of research. Scholars became aware that elements of Islam could convey political, social and religious meanings simultaneously, and that particular ideologisations of Islam, or chosen Islamic ideas and practices, could appeal explicitly to specific groups in particular circumstances. In short, there was a discovery of Islam as a social ideology, and social scientists started to cooperate in building on this discovery in research on Islam.

c. With the self-affirmation of Islam not only as a social but as a religious ideology, a new phase started. This may be dated broadly speaking from the late sixties in the Middle East and it then spread throughout the Muslim world as a whole. As a result, scholarly attention has come to be directed more towards Islam as a religion and faith which is appealed to in different ways according to country and group. While recognised as a religion providing its own absolute norms and values, Islam is then seen not only as an instrument of political action but also as an instance of appeal against various kinds of injustice, economic deprivation and political oppression. In this phase, the contribution of the study of religion is needed to lay bare the religious aspects, amongst others, of present-day appeals to Islam.

To ensure that scholarly standards are maintained and intellectual rigour is preserved when religion is the object of inquiry, the following remarks are in order.

First of all, Islam is not an empirical piece of data in the same way as a text, a practice or even an ideal which is subjected to the scrutiny of scholarly enquiry. The way in which Islam, in research, is conceptualised, what is held to be the reality of Islam, and whether the scholarly concept of religion (and of Islam) used is simply descriptive or also normative, largely depends on the theoretical framework within which a particular scholar is working. The variability of frameworks and point of departure explains the fact of continous discussions taking place amongst orientalists, between Muslims and orientalists, and among Muslims themselves about what is to be understood by Islam.

Second, when we address our research to the interpretations which Muslims themselves have given of Islam as a religion, some hermeneutical warnings are in order. Scholars as well as believers have often tended to reify Islam, forgetting that we have to do not with an "Islam" in itself but alway with an interpreted Islam and that, throughout history, the Muslim community has kept this interpretative process going. Accordingly, special attention should be paid to what Muslim authors, speakers, groups and movements actually mean when they express themselves in particular situations in terms Islamic or with an appeal to Islam. In such research we should free ourselves as much as possible from current interpretations, applications or explanations or Islam, both Western and Muslim.

What can the study of religion contribute to a better grasp of the religious aspects of Islam and Muslim societies and cultures? Islam as a religion, in the strict sense of the word, can probably best be called a network of signs; when such signs are internalised, they become symbols. The Ķurʾān itself hints at such an interpretation, for Islam, according to it, is supposed to constitute the right human response to the *āyāt* that mankind has been provided with, notably in the Ķurʾān, in nature, and in history. These *āyāt* are considered to be nexus points of divine revelation and human reflection, and Muslims are enjoined to draw the right conclusions from them and to act accordingly. But even apart from this, a scholar of Islam as a religion will study its elements (Ķurʾān verses, *aḥādīth*, ritual prescriptions, living traditions, etc.) as signs and symbols. His enquiry will concern the various ways in which particular Muslim persons and groups in specific situations have interpreted these elements of Islam and the ways in which they have acted.

Insofar as this scholarly approach runs parallel to a notion of religion present in the Ķurʾān, it avoids stamping Islamic data with inadequate Western-coined concepts, while remaining scientific. A study of Islam as a network and reservoir of signs and symbols, constantly interpreted and applied by individual members and groups of the community, reveals certain texts and practices as permanent vehicles of meaning; these permit communication between Muslims despite varying circumstances of place and time. By approaching Islam as a communicative, religious sign and symbol system, we avoid the one extreme of searching for an eternal essence of Islam and reifying it as well as the other extreme of denying any spiritual reality to Islam as measured against the material world. The focus of attention from the point of view of the study of religions should be the interpretations and usages which Muslims have made and make of "their" Islam and its elements. This is fruit-

ful to understand, for instance, what particular Muslims mean when they speak of applying the *sharīʿa*, establishing an Islamic state, or going back to the sources of Islam.

5. Needs and suggestions

The community of the *mustashriḳūn* has become ever more varied and, from the inside, this diversity is just the opposite of what their opponents ascribe to them. They are anything but an ideological bloc, and their present discourse is anything but spellbound by a magic Orient. Present-day conflicts and tensions in and around Muslim countries, particularly in the Middle East, make it nearly impossible for serious, hard working scholarship to float away on the clouds of the Orient or anywhere else.

The subject-matter of Islamic studies has become much less clearly identifiable among *mustashriḳūn* now than in former times, when orientalists were less specialised and Muslims ideologised Islam less. For a long time, a more or less stable image of Islam existed in scholarly research, as a historical reality and a set of doctrines and practices (J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident*, 1970³). This image has been broken by the course of history and the progress of specialised scholarly research. At the same time, new religious, ideological, political and other "readings" of Islam have arisen, of very different kinds, so that one may speak also of a growing plurality of interpretations of Islam among Muslims.

One of the most pressing problems on a more theoretical level is the way in which any particular (Muslim) interpretation and application of (elements of) Islam is related to the particular historical and social context in which it occurs. How should the study of specific Muslim societies in the past and at present be linked to the study of the specific ways in which Islam has been interpreted and applied in those societies? And the other way round, how should the study of interpretations of Islam be related to the study of Muslim societies?

A solution to this problem, at least on a theoretical level, seems to be within reach. For one thing, a certain fixed "reifying" or essentialist view of Islam is being replaced by a view of Islam as a subject of an ongoing process of interpretation. Second, a certain rigid "model" view of Muslim societies is being replaced by a view which allows for a much more precise and differentiated observation of them, their social history and their corresponding articulations of Islam.

Another need in Islamic studies and Oriental studies generally is for scholars to acquaint themselves more than before with certain new developments in the human sciences, including the science of religion, which take place across the borders between the disciplines. Too exclusive a devotion to philology, history or anthropology leaves little time for enquiry about what happens in other disciplines and what can be learnt from them. It also increases the risk of Oriental studies being cultivated as in a ghetto apart from and somehow backward compared to other fields of scholarship.

Again, the field of Islamic studies as well as the study of non-Western societies and cultures in general would also greatly benefit if research problems were to be formulated on a somewhat higher level of abstraction than is done in the day-to-day "technical" work. More reflection on problems of method and theory of research would certainly facilitate cooperation between Islamic studies and other fields of scholarship, including science of religion.

Finally, it may be suggested that, now that the classical image of Islam as a more or less closed entity of religion and culture has been broken, efforts be made to place Islamic history, societies and religious expressions within the broader history of mankind, the manifold human societies, and the large number of man's religious expressions. Special attention can be paid to historical interactions, and to similarities and differences by means of comparative research. In order to understand contemporary developments in Muslim societies, it will be useful to place them within the broader context of contemporary developments of Asian and African societies generally.

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(J.D.J. Waardenburg)

al-MUSTAʿṢIM BI 'LLĀH, Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mustanṣir, the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād (640-56/1247-58), born in 609/1212-13.

After the death of his father in Djumādā I or II 640/November-December 1242, he was raised to the caliphal throne, but he had neither the talent nor the strength to avert the catastrophe threatening from the Mongols; he allowed himself to be guided by bad counsellors who were not agreed among themselves but working against one another. In 683/1255-6, the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] demanded that the Muslim rulers should make war on the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt. The caliph did not trouble about this, and in Rabīʿ I 655/March-April 1257 a Mongol embassy came to Baghdād and demanded that al-Mustaʿṣim should either raze the defences of the city and appear in person before Hūlāgū for further negotiations or send a deputy. As the caliph refused to meet these demands, Hūlāgū threatened him with war. After another message, in which al-Mustaʿṣim tried to intimidate Hūlāgū, the latter set out against the ancient city of the caliphs. On the way, he met another embassy, offering him an annual tribute, but this effort to appease the cruel foe was useless and by Muḥarram 656/January 1258, the Mongols were at the gates of Baghdād. Preparations for the siege advanced rapidly and after all attempts to resume negotiations had failed against the relentless Hūlāgū, al-Mustaʿṣim had to surrender on 4 Ṣafar/10 February and the city was sacked. Ten days later, Hūlāgū had the caliph, with some of his relations put to death [see baghdād], thus ending the line of ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād.

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MUSTAWFĪ (a.), an official in mediaeval Islamic administration who was in charge of official accounts and thus acted as an accountant-general.

The title first becomes generally used in the successor-states to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Under the Ghaznavids, the *mustawfī al-mamālik* was responsible to the vizier, and kept accounts of income and expenditure in the *dīwān-i wazīr* (M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 132). Under the Great Saldjūḳs, e.g., in the time of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], the *mustawfī* was second in importance only to the vizier himself (al-Bundārī,

Zubdat al-nuṣra, ed. Houtsma, 100), and his office seems to have corresponded to the ʿAbbāsid *dīwān al-zimām* or *dīwān al-azimma* "office of financial control" [see DĪWĀN. i], although the term *dīwān al-zimām* is also found under the Saldjūḳs, apparently for the *dīwān al-istīfāʾ*. Although we have no direct information on the workings of this office in Saldjūḳ times, A.K.S. Lambton surmises that it was divided into sub-departments, such as the *dīwān-i muʿāmala wa ḳismat*, concerned *inter alia* with a tax-farming contracts, and that there was a network of provincial *mustawfīs* or *ʿāmils* who allocated locally the taxation required by the centre and disbursed from the money thus collected local pensions, salaries, etc. (see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Großselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 51-2 and *passim*; Lambton, in *Camb. hist of Iran*, v, 257-8). The *mustawfī* in the central administration had certainly to be a man of great administrative and financial competence, and he often wielded extensive influence in the state; thus under Sultan Berk-yaruḳ, Madjd al-Mulk al-Ḳummī al-Balāsānī [*q.v.*] (d. 492/1099) was the real power behind the incompetent vizier Fakhr al-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Mulk. On several occasions in Saldjūḳ history, the office was a stepping-stone to the vizierate itself: thus Saʿd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Maḥāsin was first *mustawfī* and then in 496/1103 vizier to Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, and Kamāl al-Mulk al-Simīrumī was *mustawfī* at the end of Muḥammad's reign and then in 512/1118 vizier to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vizierate. A study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 16, 21, 39 and *passim*).

Under the Mongols, the title was given to the superintendents of provincial finances (*e.g.*, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī [*q.v.*] and his great-grandfather; cf. E.G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, iii, 87), and under the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs, the *mustawfī 'l-mamālik* filled the office of a secretary of state in charge of the public treasury accounts, while the ordinary *mustawfī* was one of the lesser officers of the court (R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, 26, 178-9; A. Olearius, *Voyages and Travels*, London 1669, 274; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 437; R.G. Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, 16-17; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, 54, 122-5, 141). There was also in the Ṣafawid period a *mustawfī-yi khāṣṣa* who was in charge of accounting for the crown estates (*ibid.*, 123-4; R.M. Savory and B. Fragner, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vi, 354, 554). *Mustawfī 'l-mamālik* might, however, under the latest Ḳādjars, be a title personal to a particular individual, who might be the Minister of the Interior (as in 1890) or even Prime Minister (as in 1910).

In Egypt, under the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks, the *mustawfī* might be the head of a *dīwān* (as of the *dīwān al-djaysh*) or hold a less exalted, but still important, position as financial controller in such matters as the *iḳṭāʿāt* or military fiefs (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 193, middle and 227, under *naẓr al-djaysh*). The ordinary *mustawfī* was a minor official of the status of a clerk employed under a *shādd*, or overseer, in land-surveys or crop-estimation or else in a government office such as the depot of the government office such as the depot of the government grain monopoly (*op. cit.*, ed. Wiet, ii, ch. 32, 23-5).

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(R. LEVY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUSTAWFĪ [see ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ].

MUSTAZĀD (A.) a classical verse form employed in Persian and kindred literatures, principally Turkish and Urdu. Its literal meaning is "additional", and the term has sometimes been translated in English as "increment poem" (cf. E.G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, 41). In its most common form, it is a poem based upon the pattern of the *ghazal* or the *rubāʿī*, in which each hemistich is followed by a short metrical line. This short line is metrically related to the principal hemistich, and usually comprises the first and last feet to the metre employed in the latter. The metres frequently used in the *ghazal*-based *mustazāds* include the *hazadj-i muthamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḥdhūf* (––⏑/⏑––⏑/⏑––⏑/⏑––), the *ramal-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf*, (–⏑––/–⏑––/–⏑––/–⏑–), and the *ramal-i muthamman-i makhbūn-i maḥdhūf* (–⏑––/⏑⏑––/⏑⏑––/⏑⏑–). The *rubāʿī*-based *mustazāds* employ one or the other special metres prescribed for the *rubāʿī*.

The different varieties of *mustazāds* may be distinguished not only by their basic *ghazal* or *rubāʿī* forms, but also by their rhyme scheme. In the majority of cases, the rhyming in the *mustazād* is of two kinds. The first category consists of poems in which the rhyme in the short line corresponds with that of the main hemistich; while the other category is comprised of examples wherein the short line has a rhyme of its own independent from the rhyme in the main hemistich.

The *mustazād* has remained a sparsely-used form, presumably because of its unorthodox character. One of the underlying principles of Arabic-Persian prosody is that all the lines in a given poem should be in one metre and conform to the same metrical length. Accordingly, the *mustazād*, with its mingling of long and short lines, does not fit into the general pattern, and could not but remain an exception in a poetical tradition constricted by rigid conventions.

Perhaps the earliest known *mustazād* in Persian (incidentally a deviation from the metrical rule described in the beginning) is one which was written by Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān (d. 515/1121) (cf. *Dīwān-i Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehran 1318 *sh*. 1939, 561). Sporadic examples of the *mustazād* are found in the works of several early poets such as Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73), Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325), Khwādjū of Kirmān (d. *ca.* 762/1361), and Ibn Ḥusām Harawī (d. 757/1355-7). At a later date, the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaghmā Djandaḳī (1782-1859) composed a number of *mustazāds* as mourning songs (*nawḥas*) for ceremonies connected with the martyrdom of Ḥusayn. Some of these show a departure from the accustomed trend in the sense that each principal hemistich is followed by two short lines of varying metrical length. During the early period of modern Persian poetry, the *mustazād* was employed by Bahār (d. 1951), Ashraf of Gīlān (d. 1934), Lāhūtī (d. 1957) and ʿIshḳī (d. 1924) for some of their political poems, both serious and satirical.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

AL-**MUSTAẒHIR BI'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph, was born in S̲h̲awwāl 470/April-May 1078. He came to the throne on 18 Muḥarram 487/7 February 1094, three days after the death of his father al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]. Al-Mustaẓhir's accession ceremony was attended by such famous figures as al-G̲h̲azālī and Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.vv.*] (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 82; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 157).

His reign proved turbulent. By the time of his accession, the stability of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ state had been seriously undermined by the successive deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Maliks̲h̲āh, whilst the Nizārī schism had further weakened the Fāṭimid caliphate and unleashed the Assassins' campaigns within Sald̲j̲ūḳ territory. The first years of al-Mustaẓhir's rule were dominated by the rivalry between Barkyārūḳ and Tutus̲h̲ [*q.vv.*] and later by the protracted power struggle between Barkyārūḳ and his half-brother Muḥammad Tapar [*q.v.*]. The caliph was never able to turn these debilitating disputes to his own advantage, since all three Sald̲j̲ūḳ pretenders still saw the need to obtain caliphal ratification for their activities whilst allowing the caliph no scope for political autonomy. On one occasion only was there a hint of military aggression on the part of the caliph. When news of Barkyārūḳ's high-handed treatment of al-Mustaẓhir's representative in Wāsiṭ came to Bag̲h̲dād in 495/1101-2, the caliph announced his desire to fight alongside Muḥammad Tapar against Barkyārūḳ. This suggestion was rejected very firmly by Muḥammad (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 225). Despite the unstable political situation, al-Mustaẓhir managed, however, to emerge intact from the many, often threatening visits to Bag̲h̲dād made by the different pretenders to the western Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate and to co-exist uneasily with the various high-handed *s̲h̲iḥna*s sent (often concurrently) by the three Sald̲j̲ūḳ princes to police the caliphal capital during their absences. Described in the sources as malleable, al-Mustaẓhir tried at times to play the rôle of peacemaker and to humour the claimants to the Sald̲j̲ūḳ throne.

Initially, he juggled adroitly with the numerous requests by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ princes to be mentioned in the *k̲h̲uṭba* at Bag̲h̲dād but he also knew how to curry favour with the eventual victor, Muḥammad Tapar (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 210). In 495/1101-2 the Sald̲j̲ūḳ brothers Muḥammad and Sand̲j̲ar [*q.v.*], unhappy with Barkyārūḳ's rule (al-Ḥusaynī, 77), were received in solemn ceremony by al-Mustaẓhir clad in full caliphal regalia. Al-Mustaẓhir honoured both Muḥammad and Sand̲j̲ar with the gifts customary to the rank of *sulṭān* and he then had the *k̲h̲uṭba* pronounced in Muḥammad's name (*ibid.*; Bundārī (*sub anno* 496), 261; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 130; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, quoting the lost Sald̲j̲ūḳ history of al-Hamad̲h̲ānī, tr. de Slane, iii, 233).

The struggle between Muḥammad and Barkyārūḳ continued, however (in 496/1102-3 the caliph seems to have been temporarily unsure as to which candidate to support and omitted any reference whatsoever to the sultan in the *k̲h̲uṭba* (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 245; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 132)). Stability was finally secured with the death of Barkyārūḳ in 498/1105.

The disturbed period of al-Mustaẓhir's caliphate favoured intensified activity from the Assassins, although Muḥammad Tapar, once firmly established in power after 498/1105, made determined efforts to quell them. At the very beginning of al-Mustaẓhir's reign, al-G̲h̲azālī, on the evidence of the *Munḳid̲h̲* (44), had been commissioned by the caliph himself to write the work usually known as the *Kitāb al-Mustaẓhirī*, in which he set out to prove the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and to refute the claims of the Ismāʿīlī imāmate (this is confirmed by Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 170). Underlying al-G̲h̲azālī's arguments, however, was a veiled plea to the sixteen year-old caliph to reach a *modus vivendi* with the military might of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Turks and to avoid the tensions which had been stirred up between caliph and sultan, al-Muḳtadī and Maliks̲h̲āh, during the latter's last visit to Bag̲h̲dād in 485/1092. Al-G̲h̲azālī's warning was generally heeded by al-Mustaẓhir. When fear of Assassin activity was at its height, he did, however, intervene with sultan Muḥammad on one occasion in 504/1110-11 and persuaded him not to execute the S̲h̲āfiʿī *faḳīh* al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī [*q.v.*] a former pupil of al-D̲j̲uwaynī [*q.v.*], who had been accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 221; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 129-30).

The role and importance of al-Mustaẓhir's officials remain imprecise, although a number of names are mentioned in the sources. The office of caliph's *wazīr* was still dominated by the Banū D̲j̲ahīr [*q.v.*]. At the beginning of his reign, al-Mustaẓhir reappointed ʿAmīd al-Dawla Ibn D̲j̲ahīr, who had served the two preceding caliphs in the post (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 82). He was, however, arrested in Ramaḍān 493/July-August 1100 (probably at the instigation of Barkyārūḳ, whose coffers were enriched through mulcting Ibn D̲j̲ahīr) and he died in prison in the caliphal palace the following month (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 118; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 203). A prominent figure in the early years of al-Mustaẓhir's reign was the Mazyadid ruler of al-Ḥilla, Ṣadaḳa, "the king of the Arabs" (d. 501/1107-8 [*q.v.*]), who sought to gain ascendancy over the caliph. Ṣadaḳa was involved in 500/1106-7 in the dismissal of his *wazīr*, Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Ibn D̲j̲ahīr, who had been appointed in 496/1102-3 to the same office as his brother (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, 517; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 149; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 251). Proof of Ṣadaḳa's status vis-à-vis the caliph is furnished by Ibn K̲h̲allikān's account of his standing on the right of the throne at the official reception for Muḥammad and Sand̲j̲ar in 495/1101-2 (*loc. cit.*). After the dismissal of Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Ibn D̲j̲ahīr, the caliph was moved to raze his house to the ground—it had allegedly been built with the "ill-gotten gains" of his father (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 149; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 305). Nevertheless, Ibn D̲j̲ahīr was reappointed as the caliph's *wazīr* in 502/1108-9 and remained in office until his death in 507/1113-14 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 329, 349; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 182). The sources say very little about al-Mustaẓhir in the latter part of his reign, a clear indication that sultan Muḥammad had achieved firm political control over him.

The advent of the Crusaders impinged very little on al-Mustaẓhir's activities. As early as 491/1097-8, the caliph had written to Barkyārūḳ urging him to go to war against the Crusaders before their power increased. This request was not followed up (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 191; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, ix, 105). Between 500/1106-7 and 505/1111-12 Syrian fugitives and dispossessed rulers visited Bag̲h̲dād seeking help against the Crusaders, but this was barely forthcoming. Indeed, when on one occasion the arrival of certain Aleppan notables in Bag̲h̲dād coincided with the festivities for the caliph's marriage to the sister of sultan Muḥammad, ʿIṣma K̲h̲ātūn, in 504/1110-11, al-Mustaẓhir was clearly irritated and asked them to leave (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 173). A year later, however, after a further Syrian delegation to Bag̲h̲dād, Mawdūd was finally sent out against the Crusaders (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 340).

Al-Mustaẓhir is praised in the sources in conventional panegyrical terms. He is described as a poet and fine calligrapher. He also sponsored new building programmes. In Rabīʿ II 488/April-May 1095 he began building the wall of the *ḥarīm* which comprised a large part of eastern Baghdād (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 172; Ibn al-Djawzī, ix, 85). Later, between 503/1109 and 507/1113, he built a new palace known as the *Dār al-Rayḥāniyyīn* (for a detailed description, cf. Le Strange, 272-3). Al-Mustaẓhir died of a throat tumour 4 months after sultan Muḥammad on 16 Rabīʿ II 512/6 August 1118 aged 41. His body was washed by Ibn ʿAḳīl and prayers were recited over him by his son and *walī ʿahd*, the future caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*]. Al-Mustaẓhir was buried initially in the caliphal palace. Later, his body was moved to the Ruṣāfa cemetery alongside his caliphal predecessors. Ibn al-Athīr wryly observes that as with the deaths of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh, which were quickly followed by those of the caliphs al-Ḳā'im and al-Muḳtadī, the caliph al-Mustaẓhir died very shortly after sultan Muḥammad (x, 375).

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2. *Secondary sources*. *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 102-18; *EI*[1] art. *al-Mustaẓhir* (K.V. Zetterstéen); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 272-3, 279.

(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

MÜSTETHNA EYĀLETLER (T.), literally, "excepted, separated", denoting those provinces of the Ottoman empire separated from the "normally-administered" ones of the Anatolian and Rumelian heartland. In the heyday of the empire (10th-12th/16th-18th centuries) these usually comprised such provinces as Ṣaydā, Aleppo, Baghdād, Baṣra, Mawṣil, Ṭarābulus al-Gharb, Benghazi, Ḥidjāz and Yemen, i.e., essentially those of the more recently-conquered Arab lands. Since the feudal system of *tīmārs* and *ziʿāmets* hardly existed there, taxation from these regions was collected by a local office, *müfred ül-ḳalem*, and any surplus forwarded to Istanbul after the salaries of the governor and his officials had been paid.

Bibliography: M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarikh deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 632-3; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 147-8.

(ED.)

MU'TA, a town in the centre of a fertile plain in the land east of Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, about two hours' journey south of Karak, renowned for the defeat of the Muslims there in Djumādā I of the year 8.

According to the Arabic account, the reason why Muḥammad sent 3,000 men to this region was that an envoy whom he had sent to the king (presumably the imperial governor of Boṣrā) had been murdered by a Ghassānid, but the real reason seems to have been that he wished to bring the (Christian or pagan) Arabs living there under his control. If the story is correct that he chose three leaders for the expedition, Zayd b. Ḥāritha [*q.v.*] and, if he fell, his cousin Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and, if he also fell, the poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*], he must have fully recognised the hazardous nature of the enterprise; but the tendency of the stories to describe the dangers of the expedition and the overwhelming nature of the opposing force as very great in order to put the unfortunate result of the battle in a better light is quite evident. In the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit (xxi, cf. cxlviii) we are only told that the three leaders above mentioned fell in succession. When the Muslims arrived in Maʿān in eastern Jordan, they learned that no less than 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and Bedouins—a much exaggerated figure which Ibn Hishām doubles—had assembled in Ma'āb. Musil (*Arabica petraea*, i, 29) located this Ma'āb, which according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2108, was not a town but a camp (*fusṭāṭ*), at Ladjdjūn [*q.v.*], a place near a spring with traces of an old Roman camp. But Abu 'l-Fidā' identifies it with al-Rabba which he describes as a village on the site of the former capital of the district, *i.e.*, Rabbot Moab or Areopolis (P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, 25; Brünnow, in *MNDPV* [1895], 70-1, with photographs; Musil, *op. cit.*, 370 ff., 381).

According to the Arab story, it was the emperor Heraclius himself who assembled this great army in Ma'āb, which is of course not true. When the Muslims heard this, we are told, they lost courage and wanted to wait until the Prophet could send them reinforcements, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was able to fill them with such enthusiasm for a possible martyr's death that they marched on the imperial army. According to Ibn Hishām, the latter met them at a village of the Balḳā' called Mashārif, but this must be a misunderstanding, as this term means the Syrian fortresses on the edge of the desert. At the sight of the great force of the enemy, they withdrew to the south, but fighting began at the village of Mu'ta and they were routed. When the three leaders named by Muḥammad had fallen in the order indicated, they wanted Thābit b. Arḳān to take command but he gave it to Khālid b. al-Walīd, who succeeded in saving the rest of the force; this was the first occasion on which his military talents benefited the Muslims; how he did it, we do not know, as the stratagem related by al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 312, is not to be taken seriously.

Besides the Muslim account we have a Byzantine one, the earliest in the history of the Prophet, by the historian Theophanes, whose version bears the stamp of veracity. According to him, Muḥammad sent four chiefs to the land east of Jordan against the Christian Arabs there. They went, to a village named Mucheon, which M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*[2], 6 ff., takes to be a copyist's error for Ma'āb, while Musil, *op. cit.*, 153, identifies it with Khirbet al-Mahna which lies in a broad depression, in order to fall upon the Arabs on a feastday (ἡμέρᾳ τῆς εἰδωλοθυσίας αὐτῶν, which seems to indicate a heathen rather than a Christian population), but the *vicarius* Theodorus there learned of their plans and, rapidly collecting the garrisons of the fortresses, fell upon the Muslims at Mu'ta and defeated them. Three of the leaders and most of the force were killed, and

Chaledos, who was called the "sword of God", alone succeeded in escaping. The tombs of the martyrs who fell there used to be pointed out at Muʾta, where a mausoleum was built over them.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 791 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 1610 ff.; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 301-15; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 92 ff., cf. iii/2, 82, 14; iv, 22 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 80-8; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 327; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 335; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 176; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Muḳaddasī, 178; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 677; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 247; A. Musil, *Arabia Petrœa*, i, 152; E. Probst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens u. Palästinas nach Wilhelm v. Tyrus* (*Das Land der Bibel*), 1927, i, 73; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 53-5, 347; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*², Paris 1969, 169-70; F. McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 103, 105 ff.

(F. Buhl)

MUTʿA (a.), literally, "enjoyment", used in Islamic law in the sense of temporary marriage (according to the Arab lexicographers "marriage of pleasure"), a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period on rewarding the woman.

I. Before Islam. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 4, 4, temporary marriage was in use among the Arabs already in the 4th century A.D.; but this can hardly be a reference to *mutʿa*, as the woman brings a lance and tent to the man and can leave him if she likes after the period has elapsed. It is also doubtful if there is a distinct *mutʿa* character in the marriage of Hāshim with Salma bint ʿAmr, whom he married during a temporary stay in Yathrib and left with her family there after the birth of her child (Caetani, i, 111, § 92). From the passage in *Aghānī*, xvi, 63 (*mattiʿūnī bihā 'l-layla*) as well as from Muslim traditions, it may be concluded that *mutʿa* was known in the Djāhiliyya. If we remember that the same kind of temporary marriage as *mutʿa* was known in Erythaea (Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario*, Rome 1916, 189, 249), it seems certain that *mutʿa* is an old Arabian institution. (Temporary marriage is also found among other peoples: cf. Wilken, 21-2; Westermarck, *History of human marriage*⁵, London 1925, iii, 267-8; cf. also the ἄγραφες γάμος in Egypt, to which Griffini, 327, calls attention. In a demotic document there is a reference to such a marriage for five months; cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, ii, 203 ff.)

II. In the Ḳurʾān, there is undoubtedly a reference to this form of marriage in the Medinan sūra IV, 28, although the orthodox explanation of this passage as early as the 1st/7th century refers it to the ordinary *nikāḥ*; after giving a list of the classes of women with whom marriage is forbidden, it goes on: "And further, you are permitted to seek out wives with your wealth, in modest conduct but not in fornication; but give them their reward (*udjūr*) for what you have enjoyed of them (*istamtaʿtum*) in keeping with your promise". After *istamtaʿtum*, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Ibn ʿAbbās read the words *ilā adjalin musammaan* "for a definite period" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, v, 9), a reading which naturally has not found its way into Sunnī circles but is often added in Shīʿī books.

III. The traditions are contradictory on the question of *mutʿa*. According to some, it was in use in the time of the Prophet and he was even said to have practised it (*mattaʿahā*: al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1775, 1776; cf. Caetani, ii, 478 nos. 17, 19). In return for a robe or a handful of dates one could take an unmarried woman (*uyyām*) for a period of cohabitation (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 13, 17; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1637). Especially when a man came to a strange town, he could marry a woman there for the period of his stay so that she could look after him (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28).

On the other hand, according to one tradition related by ʿAlī, it was forbidden by the Prophet on the day (or in the year) of Khaybar (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 38; *Dhabāʾiḥ*, *bāb* 28; *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 31; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 31-4; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71 ["on the day of Ḥunayn" must there be a mistake for Khaybar]; *Ṣayd*, *bāb* 31; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28; *Aṭʿima*, *bāb* 6; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 41; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i, 79, 103, 142; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 111; Zayd, *Madjmūʿ*, no. 718).

According to other traditions, he is said to have permitted it for a short time on particular occasions. In this connection we have a group of traditions which goes back to Sabra b. Maʿbad; the various accounts of this, some long, some short, which supplement one another, are in part given without date (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 20, 26; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404), in part referred to the conquest of Mecca (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 21, 24, 25, 27, 28; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 16; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404, 405), and in part to the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 13; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 404-5). Their substance is as follows. The Prophet permitted *mutʿa*; Sabra therefore went with a companion to a woman and each offered her his cloak. She chose the younger with the shabbier cloak and slept three nights with him; thereupon the Prophet forbade it. According to the stories associated with the Farewell Pilgrimage, the woman wished *mutʿa* only for a fixed period, so that ten days or nights was agreed upon, but the Prophet forbade it after the first night, saying "Whoever of you has married a woman for a period, shall give her what he promised and ask nothing of it back and he shall separate from her; for God has forbidden this up to the day of resurrection". (For the conclusion, cf. also the fragments of this in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 23, 30.)

According to a second group of traditions, which goes back to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh and Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, the Prophet permitted *mutʿa* for three days on a campaign (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 71; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 14, 15; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 47, 51; according to Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 19, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 55, this was in the year of Awṭās, *i.e.*, shortly after the capture of Mecca). In al-Bukhārī we have at the end "The partnership of the two parties lasted three nights; and if they agreed to extend it, they did so, and if they wished to separate, they did so". A prohibition is given only in two versions in this group.

According to other traditions, *mutʿa* was first forbidden by the caliph ʿUmar at the end of his caliphate (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 16-18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 304, 380, and iii, 325, 356, 363, where there is a reference to the two kinds of *mutʿa*, *i.e.*, *tamattuʿ* on the pilgrimage and *mutʿat al-nisāʾ*). ʿUmar threatened the punishment of stoning, so that he regarded *mutʿa* as fornication (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 44; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 42; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1792). Cf. the angry exclamation of Ibn ʿUmar when he was asked about *mutʿa*: "By Allāh, we were not immodest in the time of the Prophet of Allāh nor fornicators" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 95, 104).

What then is at the bottom of these contradictory traditions? While Wellhausen regards *mutʿa* as simply prostitution and not an old Arabian custom, Caetani points out that the traditions agree in connecting *mutʿa*

with an entrance of the Prophet into Mecca and sometimes even with the *ḥadjdj*, and that a three days' duration is a feature of the *mutʿa*; taking account of other considerations, he concludes that *mutʿa* in the pagan period was religious prostitution on the occasion of the Meccan festival. However tempting this explanation may be, there is a complete lack of evidence for any religious prostitution in Mecca. With Wilken and Robertson Smith, we must rather regard *mutʿa* as the survival into Islam of an old Arabian custom. The Prophet gives this custom sanction in the Ḳurʾān and also practiced it himself. The traditions, if examined carefully, only mention two cases of prohibition by the Prophet: Khaybar and Mecca. As both these are later than the above Ḳurʾānic passage (years 3-5, according to Nöldeke-Schwally, *G. des Q.*, i, 198) this prohibition would be quite possible. But since on the other hand the caliph ʿUmar prohibited *mutʿa*, which there is no reason to doubt, we might regard the tradition of prohibition as representing later views, which, as is often the case, are put back to the time of the Prophet.

IV. Attitude of the *fuḳahāʾ*. Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68) was an ardent champion of *mutʿa* (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 31; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 18; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1792; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1324, iii, 195). In Mecca and the Yaman, according to Ibn Rushd (*Bidāya*, Cairo 1339, ii, 54), he also had followers; but before his death he is said to have been converted to the opposite view (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28; al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*). In later times, people still spoke derisively of a marriage by a *fatwā* of Ibn ʿAbbās. In the second half of the 1st century in Mecca, *fatwās* were still given permitting *mutʿa* (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 29). The Ḳurʾān commentators Mudjāhid, (d. 100), Saʿīd b. Djubayr (d. 95), and al-Suddī (d. 127) also referred the above verse of the Ḳurʾān to *mutʿa*. Al-Suddī says that it is a marriage for a fixed period and that it should be concluded with the permission of the *walī* and with two witnesses; that after the expiry of this period the man has no longer any claim on the woman and that the two parties cannot inherit from one another (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 8). With the 2nd/8th century, the contrary view begins to predominate; although individuals like ʿAmr b. Dīnār (d. 126/743-4), Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) and the Zaydī sect of the Djārūdiyya permit *mutʿa* (Ibn Rushd, *loc. cit.*; Van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, etc., Leiden 1919, 72, n. 9), al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 28) and all the Sunnī schools of law as well as the Zaydīs (al-Nāṭiḳ bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, *Taḥrīr*, Berlin ms., Glaser 74, fol. 53b) consider *mutʿa* forbidden. Its recognition was now limited to the Shīʿa. And if the caliph Maʾmūn tried to introduce *mutʿa* again, this was certainly due to his Shīʿī sympathies (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 218).

At the same time, we still have in the 2nd/8th century the opinions of a period of transition. According to Zufar (d. 158/775), the marriage concluded under the form of *mutʿa* was valid as a marriage, but its limitation in time was invalid (al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, v, 153; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Ḥiyal*, *bāb* 4). According to al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī (d. 204/819-20), *mutʿa* was valid if the partners could not survive the time fixed, *e.g.*, 100 years or more (al-Sarakhsī, *loc. cit.*).

But in spite of their refusal to recognise *mutʿa*, the Sunnīs made concessions by which *mutʿa* gained a footing in another form. It became the practice not to insert a definite period in the contract; any agreement made outside the contract was not affected by the law. Al-Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, v, 71), for example, declared a marriage valid when it was concluded with the unuttered resolution (*niyya*) to observe it only for the period of stay in a place or for a few days only, so long as this was not expressly stipulated in the contract. Similarly, if agreement to this effect (*murāwaḍa*) had been previously made and even if made on oath; but he describes such an agreement as *makrūh*. There are also traces in later literature of a decision by Mālik by which he permitted *mutʿa* (al-Sarakhsī, v, 152; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. Lees, ii, 208 ff.) although only the contrary is recorded in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and *Mudawwana* (iv, 46).

A good exposition of the two opposite points of view is given from the Sunnī side by al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1191), *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii, 272-4, and in al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii, 193-8, and from the Shīʿī side by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, Tehran 1315, 60-5. The Sunnis refer the above-mentioned verse from the Ḳurʾān to regular marriage and declare the *adjr* to be *mahr*, while the Shīʿīs base their view on this verse and consider the traditions of prohibition not to be abrogatory and do not consider ʿUmar authoritative for a prohibition. The Imāmīs even go so far as to say "The believer is only perfect when he has experienced a *mutʿa*" (al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, v, 69, 2).

V. The teachings of the Imāmīs. 1. Form. *Mutʿa* is an irrevocable (*lāzim*) contract which, like every contract, comes into existence through *ḳabūl* and *īdjāb*. It may be concluded with the words *nikāḥ*, *tazwīdj* or *tamattuʿ*, but must always contain a precise statement of the period (*adjal*) and a definite recompense (*adjr* or *mahr*). This recompense may be the dowry usual in other marriages or a handful of corn, a *dirham* or such-like. The period may vary from a day to months or even years. Witnesses are not necessary; nor need it be concluded before the *ḳāḍī*, if the partners are capable of using the formulae correctly. If the *mahr* is not given, the contract is invalid; if the period is not given, according to some it is a regular marriage provided that the word *tamattuʿ* was not used at the end of the ceremony; in the latter case, the contract is again invalid.

2. The two partners must naturally fulfil the usual conditions for the the conclusion of an agreement. The woman must further be unmarried and chaste (*ʿafīfa*) and, if possible, ought to know about *mutʿa*, *i.e.*, be a Shīʿī, and can only contract a temporary marriage with a Muslim. According to Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) and al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), *mutʿa* with an unbeliever is forbidden, even with a member of the possessors of a scripture (*kitābiyya*). The *nawāṣib* (extreme Khāridjīs) are included among the unbelievers. According to most Imāmīs (and Ṭūsī also), however, *mutʿa* with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted but *makrūh* with a *madjūsiyya*. *Mutʿa* with a slave-girl is only admitted with the consent of her master. Usually, the woman contracts the marriage without a *walī*; only a virgin (*bikr*), according to some, requires her father's consent (Abu 'l-Ṣalāḥ, d. 82; Ibn Bābūya; Ibn al-Barrādj, d. 481; cf. al-Ḥillī, iii, 92). The man may in this way take other wives in addition to his four legal wives, especially on journeys. He must not, however, take two sisters at the same time, not even during the *ʿidda*.

3. The *mutʿa* ends on the expiry of the period agreed upon. It cannot be prolonged by arrangement between the two parties; a new temporary marriage with a new *mahr* must rather be contracted at the end of the period. Divorce is impossible; according to some, however, *liʿān* and *ẓihār* are permitted.

4. There is no obligation on the man to provide food and home for the woman. The two partners cannot inherit from one another; but according to some,

inheritance may be provided for in the contract. The *ᶜidda* after the expiry of the *mutᶜa* is two menstrual periods or 45 days, *i.e.*, the *ᶜidda* of a slave-girl. There is, however, disagreement whether on the man's death the period of waiting is the usual one for a wife or that for a slave. The children go with the father.

VI. Modern practice. Although these S͟hīᶜī views have a certain amount of moral support, *mutᶜa* in many cases can only be described as legalised prostitution. It is true that in Persia such marriages are made for very long periods, *e.g.*, 99 years, but the Persian, when on a journey, temporarily marries in any place where he is stopping for some time, and in the towns and caravanserais mullahs and other brokers offer a wife to each new arrival. To make this business more profitable, the *ᶜidda* period is evaded by concluding a second temporary marriage with the same man after the expiry of the first, for in the case of such a marriage the *ᶜidda* is not necessary. This marriage and a woman of this kind is called in Persia *ṣīg͟ha* (lit. "form" *i.e.*, of the contract). Cf. Olearius [1637], *Muscowit. u. pers. Reyse*, Schleswig 1656, 609; Chardin [1673], *Voyages*, Paris 1811, ii, 222-3, 225-7; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 207-8; E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, 505-6; H. Norden, *Persien*, Leipzig 1929, 148-167; the romance of the traveller James Morier, *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, 1824, part iii, chs. 6-8; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 164-5.

The constantly-quoted story (first in Wilken, 19) of Alex. Hamilton (*A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, i, 51) that at the beginning of the 18th century temporary marriages were publicly negotiated in Sounan (= Ṣanᶜāʾ) in South Arabia and concluded before the *ḳāḍī*, is a very improbable one, for Hamilton knew only the coast towns from his own observation and wrote his account of his travels later from memory. He seems to be confusing them with conditions in Persian towns, and he makes mistakes on other matters.

In Mecca, in modern as well as ancient times (for the Middle Ages, cf. *Lisān al-ᶜArab*: *wa-mutᶜat al-tazwīd͟j bi-Makka minhu*), temporary marriages were concluded among the Sunnīs, but nothing is said of this in the marriage contract or this would make it invalid; everything necessary is arranged previously by word of mouth. On the conclusion of the contract, the man utters the *ṭalāḳ* formula with a time limit. Such agreements are as a rule kept (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 156; *Verspr. Geschriften*, vi, 150). The same artifice is used in such cases as al-S͟hāfiᶜī indicated long ago (cf. above).

In the early 20th century, marriages of this kind were still concluded at Deir ez-Zor in eastern Syria by Bedouins who came there temporarily to trade (V. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, 231-2).

Finally, it should be noted that *mutᶜa* is used in Islamic law in a quite different sense from that of "temporary marriage" for the indemnity payable to a divorced wife where no *mahr* or dowry has been stipulated (Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, 31-2; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, 167).

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(W. Heffening)

MUTAᶜARRIBA (a.), "those who seek to become Arabs", the term applied to the descendants of Ḳaḥṭān (the Biblical Yoḳṭān) who were regarded by the genealogists as "having become Arabs" in contrast to the supposedly indigenous "pure" Arab tribes like ᶜĀd, T͟hamūd, etc. [see mustaᶜriba]. They settled in South Arabia and adopted Arabic from the "pure" Arabs. The latter had learned it through D͟jurhum, the only man who spoke Arabic in Noah's Ark (all the rest spoke Syriac), and his son-in-law Iram b. Sām b. Nūḥ was the ancestor of the ᶜĀd and T͟hamūd, etc. From South Arabia, their main centre, tribes of the Banū Ḳaḥṭān migrated to the north, so that there are in Northern Arabia also tribes whose genealogies make them belong to the Banū Ḳaḥṭān.

Bibliography: See that to mustaᶜriba.

(Ilse Lichtenstädter)

MUTADĀRIK, name of the sixteenth metre in Arabic prosody, added to al-K͟halīl b. Aḥmad's list by al-Ak͟hfas͟h al-Awsaṭ [*q.v.*]. It is also called *muk͟htaraᶜ*, *muḥdat͟h*, *k͟habab*, *s͟haḳīḳ*, *muntasiḳ*, *ḍarb al-k͟hayl*, *rakḍ al-k͟hayl*, *ṣawt al-nāḳūs*. It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Islam or of the first century A.H. It is made up, in each hemistich, of four *fāᶜilun*, which may be reduced to *faᶜilun* or even *faᶜlun*. See also ᶜarūḍ. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

AL-MUᶜTAḌID BI'LLĀH, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Ṭalḥa, ᶜAbbāsid caliph. The son of the

regent al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*] and a Greek slave-girl called Ḍirār, the date of his birth is unknown but was probably around 245/860. His father gave him a military training and from 267/880-1 he is found leading operations against the Zandj rebels [*q.v.*]. In 271/885 he suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the troops of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*]. Relations between him and his father were not always cordial, and one occasion in 275/888-9 Aḥmad actually ordered his arrest. The incident showed that the future caliph had already acquired his own military following, who now demonstrated and secured his release.

On his father's death in Ṣafar 278/June 891, Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās was given the honorific of al-Muᶜtaḍid and inherited his father's position as second in line of succession to the caliphate after al-Muᶜtamid's son, al-Mufawwaḍ. He also inherited his father's chief supporters, notably the *wazīr* ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb and the commander of his army Badr [see BADR AL-MUᶜTAḌIDĪ in Suppl.]. In Muḥarram 279/April 892 al-Mufawwaḍ was unceremoniously removed from his position as heir apparent, which then passed to al-Muᶜtaḍid and six months later in Radjab 279/October 892 he became caliph without opposition on al-Muᶜtamid's death.

Al-Muᶜtaḍid's great strength was the close relations with the army which he had inherited from his father and the close and harmonious relations between civil and military leaders, and he was determined to use these assets to reassert the power of the ᶜAbbāsid family. He led his armies in person and spent much of his reign on campaign. While he was forced to acknowledge that Khurāsān, Syria and Egypt were lost to the ᶜAbbāsids, at least for the time being, he strove to re-establish control over the core territories, ᶜIrāḳ and al-Djazīra, so important as a source of grain for Baghdād, and western Persia.

In al-Djazīra he was faced by the ruler of Āmid, Aḥmad b. ᶜĪsā b. Shaykh al-Shaybānī. In 280/893 he drove Aḥmad out of Mawṣil and retook the city, and in 286/899 he took Āmid from Aḥmad's son and successor Muḥammad. He also secured the support of the Taghlibī chief Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, so, unwittingly, beginning the rise of the Ḥamdānid dynasty [see ḤAMDĀNIDS].

In Persia, the keystone of al-Muᶜtaḍid's policy was the development of a working relationship with ᶜAmr b. Layth [*q.v.*], the Ṣaffārid leader, perhaps trying to recreate the sort of partnership which his predecessors had had with the Ṭāhirids. The country was divided into spheres of influence, with the Ṣaffārids keeping Khurāsān, the East and Fārs, while the ᶜAbbāsids controlled Rayy, Iṣfahān and the West. The ᶜAbbāsids were unable to maintain themselves in Rayy, which was handed over to the Ṣaffārids in 284/897, but in the Iṣfahān area the last of the Dulafids, ᶜUmar b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, was dispossessed in 283/896 and the city brought back under ᶜAbbāsid rule. In 285/898 al-Muᶜtaḍid appointed ᶜAmr as governor of Transoxania, but he was humiliatingly defeated by Ismāᶜīl the Sāmanīd and sent to Baghdād, where he was killed in prison in 289/902 immediately after the caliph's death.

ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb remained *wazīr* until his death in 288/901 when he was replaced by his son al-Ḳāsim. The all-important finances of ᶜIrāḳ were managed by the Banu 'l-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] until 286/899, when they were replaced by their arch-rivals the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ. Command of the army remained in the hands of the loyal Badr. His reign saw the final return of the ᶜAbbāsid capital from Sāmarrā to Baghdād, which had long been his father's base of operations against the Zandj. The geography of the city was altered, however, the new official quarter being on the east bank and down-river from the city of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. It was this new city which was to form the nucleus of modern Baghdād.

From 284/897 the authorities began to be troubled by Ḳarmaṭī [*q.v.*] disturbances. In the early days these were essentially small-scale rebellions among the peasantry of the Sawād of al-Kūfah but from 286/899 the Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Saᶜīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] also controlled Baḥrayn and in 287/900 decisively defeated the ᶜAbbāsid troops under al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAmr al-Ghanawī and took the provincial capital of Hadjar. It was not until after the iron hand of al-Muᶜtaḍid was removed, however, that the Ḳarmaṭīs became a serious threat.

Al-Muᶜtaḍid died in Rabīᶜ II 289/April 902. He had already secured the succession for his son al-Muktafī [*q.v.*], who had received a sound practical training as governor in Rayy and al-Djazīra. By his military energy and determination he had greatly extended ᶜAbbāsid power, but his reign was too short to reverse long-term trends and re-establish ᶜAbbāsid power on a lasting basis.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-MUᶜTAḌID BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ ᶜAMR ᶜABBĀD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABBĀD, the most important and most powerful sovereign of the ᶜAbbādid dynasty [*q.v.*] who reigned over the little kingdom formed by his father Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ᶜAbbād, with Seville [see ISHBĪLIYA] as his capital, at the time of the break up of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain and the rise of the *reyes de taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*]). In the course of a reign of more than 25 years (433-60/1042-69), he very considerably increased his territory by making himself the champion of the Spanish Arabs against the Berbers in Spain whose numbers, already very large in the 4th/10th century, had been much increased since the period of the ᶜĀmirid dictators.

When he succeeded his father, the new king of Seville, who was then 26, following the usual practice of the period, assumed the title of *ḥādjib*, and a little later the *laḳab* of al-Muᶜtaḍid bi 'llāh by which he is best known. Gifted with real political ability, he was not long in revealing his character, that of an autocratic ruler, ambitious and cruel and little scrupulous in the means which he used to achieve his ends. As soon as he came to the throne he continued the war begun by his father against the petty Berber ruler of Carmona [see ḲARMŪNA], Muḥammad b.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Birzālī, then against the latter's son and successor Isḥāḳ. At the same time, al-Muʿtaḍid was extending his kingdom in the west between Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. It was with this object that he attacked and defeated successively Ibn Ṭayfūr, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Mertola [see MIRTŪLA], and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Yaṣḥubī, lord of Niebla (Ar. Labla [*q.v.*]), who in spite of his Arab descent had had the audacity to ally himself with the Berber chiefs. In face of these successes of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] who distrusted him formed a kind of league into which entered the princes of Badajoz [see BAṬALYAWS], Algeciras [see AL-DJAZĪRA AL-KHAḌRĀʾ], Granada [see GHARNĀṬA] and Málaga [see MĀLAḲA]. This soon became a war between the ʿAbbādid of Seville and the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] of Badajoz al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]; it was to last for many years in spite of the efforts at mediation by the Djahwarid ruler of Cordova, which only achieved their end in 443/1051. Down to this year, while harassing the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Muʿtaḍid displayed other activities; in succession he defeated Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva [see WALBA] and of Saltes [see SHALTĪSH] (whose son was the famous geographer), the Banū Muzayn, lords of Silves [see SHILB], and Muḥammad b. Saʿid Ibn Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [see UKHSHŪNŪBA], and annexed their territories. To justify these annexations, al-Muʿtaḍid used a very crude pretext; he alleged that he had found the unfortunate Hishām II, who had really died in obscurity a few years before, and would go on till he had restored to him his former empire subdued and pacified in its integrity. In order not to be exposed to the cruelty of the king of Seville, the majority of the petty Berber chiefs settled in the mountains of the south of Andalusia, acquiesced in this make-believe and paid homage to the ʿAbbādid and the Commander of the Faithful, miraculously restored to aid the cause of al-Muʿtaḍid but at the same time carefully concealed by him. It was labour lost for them. One day, the ʿAbbādid invited to his palace in Seville all these petty chiefs with their suites and put them to death by asphyxiating them in baths, the openings in which he walled up. In this way he took Arcos [see ARKUSH], the capital of the principality of the Banū Khizrūn, Moron [see MAWRŪR] defended by the Banū Dammar, and Ronda [see RUNDA], capital of the Banū Ifran (445/1053).

This aroused the wrath of the most powerful Berber ruler in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs the Zīrid [*q.v.*], who ruled in Granada and who alone seemed able to resist al-Muʿtaḍid. The latter, however, found that fortune favoured him in this war, and a little later took Algeciras from the Ḥammūdid al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd. He next tried to seize Cordova, and sent an expedition against it in charge of his son Ismāʿīl; the latter tried to profit by the occasion to rebel and created for himself a kingdom with Algeciras as capital. This rash plan cost him his life, which his father took with his own hand, just as before him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir had inflicted the supreme penalty on their unworthy sons. This was the beginning of the political career of al-Muʿtaḍid's other son Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*], who was to succeed him on his death; by his father's orders he went with an army to support the Arabs of Málaga, who had rebelled against the tyrannical rule of Bādīs, the despotic Berber of Granada. But the latter routined the Sevillan army, and al-Muʿtamid reached Ronda in sorry state, from which he sought and received the pardon of his terrible father. The latter had long before repudiated the fiction of the pseudo-Hishām which he no longer needed. He was now by far the most redoubtable and the most feared of the Spanish rulers. He had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself but much further removed from his social ideal of a Spaniard than his Christian neighbours in the north. In another land he might have been called *Berberoktonos*. But the bitterness of his hatred cast a shadow over his last days; it was not without fear that he followed events in the western Maghrib, hitherto the fief of Muslim Spain, at least in the sub-Mediterranean zone. The irresistible advance of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], following Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn through all Morocco, would not find the straits of Gibraltar an insurmountable obstacle for long. Al-Muʿtaḍid realised this very well. Death at least prevented him from seeing his kingdom, entirely built up by his own energy and bold initiative, pass in a few weeks into the hands of invaders, brethren of these Berbers of Spain whom he had detested and in part destroyed.

Bibliography: All the texts of Arabic historians relating to the ʿAbbādids (particularly Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām; *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Abbār, Maḳḳarī) have been published by R. Dozy in his *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leiden 1846. Add also: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, and appendices (cf. indices); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām fī man būyiʿa ḳabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, part relating to the history of Spain, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, index. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, index; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, 73-5; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 95 (with Bibl.), 155-6 and index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUTAFARRIḲA, IBRĀHĪM [see IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA].

AL-MUṬAHHAR, eldest son of the Zaydi *Imām* al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā [*q.v.*], and principal early opponent of Ottoman expansion into Yemen.

Born in Radjab 908/January 1503, he early showed considerable military promise, and to him is owing much of the credit for the securing of his father's sway over most of Yemen. Yet, passed over by his father as his possible successor, al-Muṭahhar grew alienated from his family, even to the point of briefly encouraging the Ottomans to expand inland (953/1546) from their foothold in the Tihāma. The Zaydī aristocracy, facing internal disharmony and repeated setbacks, including the loss of Taʿizz to the Turks (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 953/1 February 1547), was at last persuaded that al-Muṭahhar should be recognised as their leader (*ca.* early 954/February-March 1548). But Ottoman expansion could not then be stemmed, and Ṣanʿāʾ, the Zaydī capital since 923/1517, fell to Özdemir Bey [see ÖZDEMIR PASHA] on 7 Radjab 954/23 August 1547. Al-Muṭahhar took refuge in his mountain fortress of Thulā. After peace was concluded with the Ottomans in 959/1552, he acted as an Ottoman *sandjaḳbeyi*, exercising limited authority over districts northwest of Ṣanʿaʾ.

The progressive alienation of hitherto pro-Ottoman native elements by several poor Ottoman governors in succession encouraged al-Muṭahhar to resume the offensive in 973/1566. Although by 976/1568 his followers had reduced the Turks to a small coastal enclave, within two years his fortunes were completely

reversed by a massive Ottoman force under Ḳodja Sinān Pasha. Al-Muṭahhar died in relative obscurity on 3 Radjab 980/9 November 1572.

Al-Muṭahhar was *imām* only inasmuch as he exercised political and military leadership. Both his congenital lameness and the fact that he was not a *mudjtahid* (one learned in Zaydī doctrine and law) precluded his being recognised as a true *imām* like his father).

Bibliography: Two primary sources are *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* (in ms. only) by ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh (d. 1048/1638), the grandson of al-Muṭahhar, and *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* (*Ghazawāt al-djarākisa*, ed. Ḥ. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1967) by al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582). Other Arabic ms. sources include Ibn Dāʿir, *al-Futūḥāt*; Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Sulūk al-dhahabiyya*; and al-Shillī, *al-Sanā' al-bāhir*.

Useful printed materials are Mawzaʿī, *al-Iḥsān*, ed. Ḥiloshī, Ṣanʿā' n.d., 24-62 *passim*; the 11th/17th-century Arabic chronicle by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 662-745; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii, 309 f; Zabāra, *A'immat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1375/1955-6, i, 452-86; Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 38-145; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 7-28; ʿĀṭif Pasha, *Yemen tārīkhi*, Istanbul 1326/1908, 51-79; al-Djurāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 88-90, 134-41; Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 118-293; J.R. Blackburn, *The Ottoman penetration of Yemen*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 55-100; and idem, *The collapse of Ottoman authority in Yemen*, in *WI*, xix (1980), 119-76. (J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR (or al-Muṭahhar) **AL-MAḲDISĪ**, Abū Naṣr, the otherwise unknown author of an "historical" encyclopaedia called *Kitāb al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh* composed at Bust [*q.v.*] around 355/966 at the prompting of an anonymous Sāmānid minister. Cl. Huart had the merit of bringing out of oblivion an eloquent piece of work which witnesses to the interest shown in the history of humanity, probably less in regard to actual events than in regard to culture, by mediaeval Muslims. Huart published, on the basis of an Istanbul ms., the Arabic text of this and a French translation (Paris 1899-1919, repr. Baghdad 1962), and up to the sixth volume retained the title adopted originally of *Livre de la Création et de l'histoire attribué à Abou-Zéïd al-Balkhi*, when, thanks to the citations which al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] was able to make from it in his *Kitāb al-Ghurar*, partially tr. by H. Zotenberg in his *Histoire des rois de Perse* (Paris 1900), it was possible for him to identify the author and to rectify, in the prefaces to vols. ii, iii and iv his earlier error of attribution.

The *K. al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh* recalls al-Masʿūdī's [*q.v.*] *Murūdj*, but history here is envisaged from a more philosophical and certainly from a more critical point of view. The author displays a good knowledge of ancient and alien religions, whose cultural value he stresses without however ceasing to place Islam above them. He follows the usual order. Beginning with the creation of the world, he devotes the first three volumes—half of the whole work—to ancient history and to philosophical, theological, geographical, etc. considerations and does not reach a consideration of Islam until the fourth volume (cf. the parallel lay-out of al-Masʿūdī's work, in which these earlier topics occupy only two volumes out of five), finally reserving a restricted place for the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids.

One inevitably wonders why this encyclopaedia, whose value is undeniable, should nevertheless have fallen into oblivion. It has remained unknown not only to the Muslims (the extant mss. are all in Istanbul and al-Sakhāwī, e.g., does not cite it in his *Iʿlān*) but also to Orientalists (J. Sauvaget and Cl. Cahen do not make use of it either in their *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman*). Such a disdain may possibly arise precisely from the originality and free thought of a writer who seems to have maintained a certain independence and not to have been an adherent of any religious movement of the age when he lived.

Al-Muṭahhar mentions a work that he had written before the *Bad'*, a *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* (above all, at iii, 98) and announces three further ones: *K. al-Nafs wa 'l-rūḥ* (ii, 107/115), *K. al-Diyāna wa 'l-amāna* (i, 64/70-1) and *K. al-Maʿdila* (i, 83/91).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 222; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 337; and above all, A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, i, Paris-The Hague 1967, p. xxxii, 211 ff. and the indices to the succeeding volumes. (ED.)

MUṬAHHARĪ, ĀYATULLĀH MURTAḌĀ (1920-79), Iranian religious thinker, writer, and close associate of Āyatullāh Khumaynī, active in fostering the intellectual developments that contributed to the revolution of 1978-9. Born on 2 February 1920 in Farīman, about 60 km distant from Mashhad, to a religious scholar who was also his first teacher, Muṭahharī began his formal schooling in Mashhad at the age of twelve. He soon discovered the predilection for philosophy, theology and mysticism that stayed with him throughout his life. In 1937 he moved to Ḳum, where he remained for many years, studying *fiḳh* and *uṣūl* with Āyatullāhs Ḥudjdjat Kūhkamarī, Sayyid Muḥammad Dāmād, Muḥammad Riḍā Gulpāyagānī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣadr, and — from 1944 onwards— Muḥammad Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī. He also attended the lectures of Āyatullāh (then Ḥudjdjat al-Islām) Khumaynī on ethics and key texts of the Shīʿī philosophical tradition such as the *Asfār al-arbaʿa* of Mullā Ṣadrā and the *Sharḥ-i manẓūma* of Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī, thereby inaugurating an intimate relationship that was to last for the rest of his life. Of almost equal significance were Muṭahharī's ties to the philosopher and exegete Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī; he participated in his classes on the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā and in the Thursday evening meetings which he organised to discuss materialist philosophy.

In 1952, Muṭahharī left Ḳum for Tehran, where he began teaching philosophy at the Madrasa-yi Marwī, and two years later he also accepted an appointment at the Faculty of Theology and Islamic Sciences of Tehran University. The scope of his lecturing began transcending these two institutions when he started to collaborate first with the professional Islamic organisations that had been established by Mahdī Bāzargān and Āyatullāh Ṭāliḳānī and then, in 1960, with the *Andjuman-i Māhāna-yi Dīnī* ("Monthly Religious Society"). Many of the lectures which he gave under the auspices of these groups were subsequently published in book form. Muṭahharī was also a leading figure in the Ḥusayniyya-yi Irshād, an institution established in north Tehran in 1965 with the aim of gaining the allegiance of the secularly educated to Islam. The Ḥusayniyya-yi Irshād drew huge crowds to its functions, but Muṭahharī gradually and discreetly withdrew from its work, in large part because of differences of outlook, both ideological and political, with ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, another of its leading members.

The first overt sign of Muṭahharī's commitment to the struggle against the Shah's régime came when he

was imprisoned for forty-three days in the aftermath of the uprising of 15 Khurdād 1342/6 June 1963. After his release, he participated actively in the various organisations that sought to maintain the momentum which the uprising had created, most importantly the *Djāmiʿa-yi Rūḥāniyyat-i Mubāriz* ("Society of Militant Clergy"). He remained in contact with Āyatullāh Khumaynī throughout his fourteen-year exile, visiting him occasionally in Nadjaf and then, in the months leading up to the triumph of the revolution, at Neauphle-le-Château near Paris. He was accordingly named to the *Shawrā-yi Inḳilāb-i Islāmī* ("Council of the Islamic Revolution") which administered the country after the overthrow of the Shah in February 1979, in uneasy tandem with the provisional government headed by Mahdī Bāzargān. A few months later, on 1 May 1979, Muṭahharī was assassinated in Tehran by adherents of Furḳān, a group which espoused a radically modernistic reinterpretation of Shīʿī doctrine and saw in Muṭahharī its most formidable opponent. Muṭahharī was eulogised by Khumaynī as "a part of my flesh" and buried in Ḳum.

Muṭahharī left behind a large and varied corpus of writing, much of it marked by his training as a theologian and philosopher and his devotion to the works of Mullā Ṣadrā. He was also guided, however, by the desire to present Islam as a coherent world-view (*djahānbīnī*) in the modern sense, and to clarify questions that had become controversial or a source of misunderstanding (such as the rights of women in Islam).

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MUTAKALLIM [see KALĀM]

MUTAḲĀRIB (A.), the name of the fifteenth metre in Arabic prosody [see ʿARŪḌ]. It comprises, in each hemistich, four feet made up of one short and two longs (*faʿūlun*). A certain number of licences are possible, in particular, the omission of the fourth foot, the shortening or even the cutting out of the third syllable of a foot, etc.

Bibliography: M. Ben Cheneb, *Tuḥfat al-adab*[3], Paris 1954, 87-93. (ED.)

MUTAKĀWIS [see ḲĀFIYA].

AL-**MUTALAMMIS**, surname given to an Arab poet who lived in the 6th century A.D., belonged to the tribe of Ḍubayʿa and was called Djarīr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ; another name, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, given to his father in some sources, appears to signify that this polytheist had been the first of his family to convert to Christianity.

Al-Mutalammis was the maternal uncle of Ṭarafa [*q.v.*], and both figure in a narrative which may contain only an essence of truth but that the philologists and anthologists of the Middle Ages considered to be a trustworthy account of a series of perfectly authentic deeds. According to the tradition, the uncle and nephew had frequented the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and gained the favour of ʿAmr b. Hind (554-69 A.D. [see LAKHMIDS]), with whom they had become familiar; nevertheless, some satirical verses had irritated the king who, in order to seek vengeance, entrusted to each of them a sealed letter addressed to al-Mukaʿbar, governor of Baḥrayn, giving them to understand that, on the receipt of the letters, the latter would bestow on them valuable presents on his behalf. On their way, but not far from al-Ḥīra, the two poets saw an old man who, all at the same time, answered a call of nature, ate a piece of bread and deloused himself. As al-Mutalammis treated him as insane, the man defended himself by saying: "Why do you find me insane? I expel the bad, introduce the good and kill an enemy", then he added: "More foolish than myself (*aḥmaḳ min-nī*, note the elative) is one who holds in his hand the instrument of his destruction". The poet hesitated to take this statement seriously, when, seized with doubt, he came upon a young ʿIbādī from al-Ḥīra who, questioned as to whether he knew how to read, replied in the affirmative; he then gave the letter, after unsealing it, to the young boy who read the following sentence: "After the customary salutations, when al-Mutalammis reaches you, cut off his hands and feet and bury him alive". Ṭarafa, incredulous, refused to imitate his uncle and rushed to his deadly fate. Al-Mutalammis, however, threw his letter into the nearby river (the Ḳāfir: see Yāḳūt, iv, 228 ff., where there is once more an account of the whole story) and made for Boṣrā [*q.v.*], where he lived until his death (in 580, according to the reckoning of P. Cheikho). From this legend, the Arabs have derived a proverbial saying, *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis*, corresponding to the expression "Bellerophon's letter", to designate a letter containing the order to kill (or at least torture) the one who is entrusted with carrying it to its addressee.

The mediaeval philologists who report the narrative make al-Mutalammis ask the young man the following simple question: *yā ghulām, a-taḳraʾ?* without troubling to identify the writing used. Now the authors of this popular tale certainly did not think of the problem that it would pose, for they lived in a period when Arabic writing was sufficiently widespread and when it was easy to commit an anachronism. In any case, if one takes as a historical fact the plot of the narrative, it is evident that al-Mutalammis was illiterate, and there appears to be no reason to follow the suggestion of A.F.L. Beeston who [see MUSNAD] proposes considering that he only knew the Bedouin (South Semitic) writing and was not able to read the primitive Arabic writing (that the king or his scribe had supposedly used).

Al-Mutalammis is said to owe his surname, like many other poets, to a verse of his own composition which runs: "Here is the time when, in the wooded valley, are reborn the common flies, wasps and insistent (*mutalammis*) bluebottles". He is described as not very productive (*muḳill*) and placed for this reason in the seventh class of pre-Islamic *fuḥūl* by Ibn Sallām

(*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 131-2). His works, some fragments of which are cited in a considerable number of sources, were none the less of interest at an early date to the most reputable philologists, notably al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Kalbī and ibn al-Sikkīt. They were collected in a *Dīwān* that K. Vollers published and translated into German in 1903 in Leipzig (a more recent edition was published by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1390/1970). Modern historians of Arabic literature, when they come to cite this poet, devote only a brief notice to him, for he is outshone by his nephew, whose renown is certainly much greater. In one of his poems, he calls for revenge for the latter's death (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-dī*) and naturally attacks ʿAmr b. Hind, the affair of the *ṣaḥīfa* having inspired him to a great extent in his work. He is credited with a certain number of original *maʿānī* [see MAʿNĀ. 3] and proverbial sayings derived from his verses, including a *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] of ʿAmr (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-mā*) provoked by accusations relating to his belonging to the Ḍubayʿa or Yashkur (his mother's tribe). R. Blachère (*HLA*, ii, 295-6) describes him as a "tribal poet" and judges the form of his compositions as "not very mannered". The fact is that, for example, the language of a poem which has attracted the attention of the anthologists (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-sū*) is relatively simple; however, another *sīniyya* (metre *basīṭ*, rhyme *-ī/ūsū*) replying to a supposed prohibition on his returning to ʿIrāḳ and "devouring the corn" of the land, decreed by ʿAmr b. Hind, presents variants and inspires such divergent interpretations that one has the impression that the transmitters and commentators did not understand it. Probably a tribal, hence Bedouin, poet who, however, describes a male camel as a *ṣayʿariyya*, term reserved for female camels (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-mī*) and earns the taunts of his fellows who say of him *instanwaḳa 'l-djamal* "He made the male camel into a female", but it is true that the verse in question is also attributed to al-Musayyab b. ʿAlas (*e.g.*, in *LA*, root ṣ-ʿ-r).

Bibliography: The richest source is the *Aghānī* (xxi, 185-8, 198-205; Beirut ed., xxiii, 524-72), whose data was taken and greatly augmented by L. Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 330-49, with a list of sources used). Apart from the references cited in the art., one may give Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 375, iii, 38, 60; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 85, iii, 47, 136, 391, iv, 263, v, 561; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 85-8, 91 = Cairo ed. 131-6, 142; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, Cairo n.d., 272-5; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 173 and ii, 258; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352, i, 412-14 (on the saying *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis*); Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1383/1964, 233, 397-400; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 446, iii, 73, iv, 214-16; R. Basset, *Millet et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1926, ii 326-7 (with detailed bibl.); O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 59; Brockelmann, S I, 46-7; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 173-5. (CH. PELLAT)

MUʿTAMAD KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF, KHWĀDJA TAḲĪ (?-1049/?-1639), Mughal Indian commander and imperial historian.

He was born into an obscure family in Persia, but coming to India, he attained high honours in the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. He received in the third year of Djahāngīr a military command and the title of Muʿtamad Khān. Subsequently, he joined prince Shāh Djahān in his campaign in the Deccan as a *bakhshī* (paymaster). On his return to court, in the 17th year of Djahāngīr's reign (1031/1622), he was entrusted with the duty of writing the Emperor's memoirs. He attained a higher rank in the service of Shāh Djahān and was appointed *mīr bakhshī* (adjutant-general) in the 10th year of the new reign. He died in 1049/1639. He is the author of a history called *Iḳbāl-nāma-yi Djahāngīrī*, in three volumes: 1. the history of Akbar's ancestors; 2. Akbar's reign (numerous mss.); 3. the reign of Djahāngīr (printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865, Lucknow, 1286/1869-70, etc.).

Bibliography: *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, iii, 431; *Tuzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, 352; *JRAS*, N.S., iii, 459; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vi, 400; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, repr. Karachi 1967, index s.v.; M. Athar Ali, *The apparatus of empire*, Delhi 1985, index at p. 355 s.v. Khwāja Taqī; Storey, i, 557, 560-2, 564-5, 1316.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN*)

MUʾTAMAR (A.), conference or congress. In the modern Islamic context, the term refers to the convening of Muslims from throughout the world in order to deliberate over common concerns. In the course of the 20th century, Muslim conferences emerged as the organised, modern expression of the deeper sentiment of Muslim solidarity.

The idea of convening Muslims in conferences first gained currency in the late 19th century. The advent of easy and regular steamer transport accelerated the exchange of ideas among widely separated Muslims, and made feasible the periodic assembling of representatives. The idea also appealed to Muslim reformists, who sought a forum to promote and sanction the internal reform of Islam. Such an assembly, they believed, would strengthen the ability of Muslims to resist the encroachments of Western imperialism.

A number of émigré intellectuals in Cairo first popularised the idea in the Muslim world. In 1900, one of them, the Syrian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], published an influential tract entitled *Umm al-Ḳurā*, which purported to be the secret protocol of a Muslim congress convened in Mecca during the pilgrimage of 1316/1899. The imaginary conference culminated in a call for a restored Arab caliphate, an idea then in vogue in reformist circles. Support for such a conference also became a staple of the reformist journal *al-Manār*, published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. The Crimean Tatar reformist Ismāʿīl Gasprali (Gasprinski) [see GASPRALI] made the very first concrete initiative in Cairo, where he unsuccessfully worked to convene a "general" Muslim congress in 1907-8.

Al-Kawākibī's book, Riḍā's appeals, and Gasprali's initiative all excited the suspicion of Ottoman authorities. In Istanbul it was believed that a well-attended Muslim conference would fatally undermine the religious authority claimed by the Ottoman sultan-caliph. In particular, the Ottomans feared the possible transformation of any such conference into an electoral college for choosing an Arab caliph. Steadfast Ottoman opposition thwarted all of the early initiatives of the reformers.

In the void created by the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, a number of Muslim leaders and activists moved to convene general Muslim conferences. In each instance, they sought to mark their causes or their ambitions with the stamp of Islamic consensus. In 1919, Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk] convened a Muslim conference in Anatolia in order to mobilise foreign Muslim support for his military campaigns. During the pilgrimage season of 1342/1924, King Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of the Ḥidjāz summoned a "pilgrimage conference" in Mecca to support his claim to the caliphate — a manœuvre which failed to stall the relentless advance of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd. Following Ibn Saʿūd's occupation of Mecca,

he convened his own "world" conference during the pilgrimage season of 1344/1926. The leading clerics of al-Azhar in Cairo convened a "caliphate congress" in Cairo in 1926, to consider the effects of the Turkish abolition of the caliphate two years earlier. The conference was supported by King Fu'ād [*q.v.*], who reputedly coveted the title of caliph, but no decision issued from the gathering. In 1931, Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Muftī* of Jerusalem, convened a "general" conference of Muslims in Jerusalem, to secure foreign Muslim support for the Arab struggle against the British Mandate and Zionism. And in 1935, the pan-Islamic activist Shakīb Arslān convened a conference of Europe's Muslims at Geneva in order to carry the protest against imperialism to the heart of Europe. Each of these conferences resolved to create a permanent organisation and to convene additional conferences. But all such efforts were foiled by internal rivalries and the intervention of the European powers.

With the spread of political independence after the Second World War, several Muslim leaders floated new plans for the creation of a permanent organisation of Muslim states. Pakistan took a number of initiatives in the late 1940s and early 1950s, but soon encountered stiff opposition from Egypt, which gave primacy of place to pan-Arabism and the Arab League. When Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of Egypt transformed pan-Arabism into a revolutionary doctrine, Saʿūdī Arabia sought to counter him by promoting a rival pan-Islamism, and assembling conferences of Muslim activists and *ʿulamā'* from abroad. In 1962, the Saʿūdī government sponsored the establishment of the Mecca-based Muslim World League, which quickly built a wide network of Muslim clients. Beginning in 1964, Egypt responded by organising large conferences of Egyptian and foreign *ʿulamā'* under the auspices of al-Azhar's Academy of Islamic Researches. These rival bodies then convened a succession of dueling conferences in Mecca and Cairo, each claiming the sole prerogative of defining Islam. In 1965-6, King Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz launched a campaign for an Islamic summit conference, which would have balanced the Arab summits dominated by Egypt. However, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir had sufficient influence to thwart the initiative, which he denounced as a foreign-inspired "Islamic pact" designed to defend the interests of Western imperialism.

Israel's 1967 defeat of Arab armies and occupation of Jerusalem eroded faith in the brand of Arabism championed by Egypt, and inspired a return to Islam. This set the scene for a renewed Saʿūdī initiative. In September 1969, following an arsonist's attack against the Aḳṣā Mosque in Jerusalem, Muslim heads of state set aside their differences and met in Rabat in the first Islamic summit conference. King Fayṣal took this opportunity to press for the creation of a permanent organisation of Muslim states. The effort succeeded, and in May 1971, the participating states established the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (O.I.C.; *Munaẓẓamat al-mu'tamar al-islāmī*). The new organisation, with headquarters in Djudda (pending the liberation of Jerusalem), adopted its charter in March 1972.

The O.I.C. eventually earned a place of some prominence in regional diplomacy, principally through the organisation of triennial Islamic summits and annual conferences of the foreign ministers of member states. The O.I.C.'s activities fell into three broad categories. First, it sought to promote solidarity with Muslim states and peoples which were locked in conflict with non-Muslims. Most of its efforts were devoted to the causes of Palestine and Jerusalem, although it supported Muslim movements from Eritrea to the Philippines. Second, the organisation offered mediation in disputes and wars between its own members, although its effectiveness was greatly limited by the lack of any force for peace-keeping or truce supervision. Finally, the O.I.C. sponsored an array of subsidiary and affiliated institutions to promote political, economic and cultural co-operation among its members. The most influential of these institutions was the Islamic Development Bank, established in December 1973 and formally opened in October 1975. The bank, funded by the wealthier O.I.C. states, financed development projects while adhering to Islamic banking practices.

The O.I.C. represented the culmination of governmental efforts to organise Muslim states. But it did not end moves by individual states to summon international conferences of supportive *ʿulamā'*, activists and intellectuals. Saʿūdī Arabia and Egypt, realigned together on the conservative end of the Islamic spectrum, increasingly co-operated in mounting large-scale Muslim conferences. Their rivals, revolutionary Iran and Libya, did the same. Divisive events, such as the war between Iran and ʿIrāḳ (1980-8) and the killing of 400 Iranians in Mecca during the pilgrimage season of 1407/1987, produced conferences and counter-conferences, each claiming to express the verdict of united Islam. Leaders of Muslim opposition movements also met in periodic conferences, often on the safe ground of Europe. Less than a century after al-Kawākibī's fantasy, a crowded calendar of conferences bound together the world of Islam as never before. But it remains uncertain whether these often competing institutions would bridge the differences between Muslims or would serve to widen them.

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AL-**MUʿTAMID ʿALĀ 'LLĀH**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar, ʿAbbāsid caliph (256-79/870-92), son of al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] and a slave-girl from Kūfa called Fityān.

He seems to have had no political experience before being chosen as caliph in Radjab 256/June 870 on the

death of his nephew al-Muhtadī [*q.v.*] and he was never able to build up an independent power base. For most of his reign he remained a figurehead in Sāmarrāʾ while effective power was exercised by his brother Abū Aḥmad, who took the quasi-caliphal title of al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*]. Al-Muʿtamid was able to appoint his own *wazīr*, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān [see IBN KHĀḲĀN], who had previously served his father al-Mutawakkil. After ʿUbayd Allāh's death in 262/877, he was succeeded by Sulaymān b. Wahb and then by Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul. In Shawwāl 261/July 875 he arranged the succession, designating his son Djaʿfar al-Mufawwaḍ as heir-apparent and governor of the west and his brother al-Muwaffaḳ as next in line to the throne and governor of the east, but it does not seem that al-Mufawwaḍ exercised any real authority. The threat posed by the Zandj [*q.v.*] in southern ʿIrāḳ and the upheavals caused by the rise of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] in Persia meant that power lay with al-Muwaffaḳ, the only member of the ʿAbbāsid family to command the allegiance of the Turkish military.

The limits of the caliph's independence were clearly demonstrated in 269/882-3 when he tried to leave Sāmarrāʾ and take refuge with Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], ruler of Egypt and Syria. He set off to meet Ibn Ṭūlūn's envoys in Raḳḳa, but al-Muwaffaḳ's right hand man, Saʿīd b. Makhlad, wrote to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, governor of Mawṣil, with orders to detain him. His followers were arrested and stripped of their estates, and he was returned to Sāmarrāʾ under escort to stay in the Djawsaḳ palace. To add to his humiliation, he was obliged to denounce Ibn Ṭūlūn and assign Egypt to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, who, however, made no real attempt to take it. Towards the end of 269/May-June 883 he was obliged to come south to Wāsiṭ, where his brother could keep a closer eye on him, but the next spring (Shaʿbān 270/March 884) he was allowed to return via Baghdād to Sāmarrāʾ. He does not seem to have left it again until Ṣafar 278/April 892, when he and his sons came to Baghdād having heard that al-Muwaffaḳ was ill. His brother's death did not, however, allow al-Muʿtamid to gain real power, which passed directly to the dead man's son, al-Muʿtaḍid. Al-Muʿtamid died in Baghdād in Radjab 279/October 892 aged about 50, apparently as a result of a surfeit of drink and food. It is impossible to know whether he would have made an effective caliph in different circumstances; but he seems to have been naive and ineffective, and after his death, his unfortunate son al-Mufawwaḍ was easily swept away by his ruthless cousin al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*].

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-**MUʿTAMID IBN ʿABBĀD**, the *laḳab* or honorific by which the third and last ruler of the dynasty of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] in Seville [see ISHBĪLIYA] in the 5th/11th century is best known; his full and real name was MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABBĀD AL-MUʿTAḌID [*q.v.*] B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL IBN ʿABBĀD.

1. Life. While still a boy—barely 13, having been born in 431/1040—he was placed by his father in nominal command of an expedition against Silves (Ar. Shilb [*q.v.*]), then in the possession of Ibn Muzayn, and this town was taken by assault as was Santa Maria de Algarve soon after (Ar. Shantamariyyat al-gharb [*q.v.*], now Faro) which was held by Muḥammad b. Saʿīd Ibn Hārūn (444/1052). The young ʿAbbādid prince was then appointed by his father governor of these two towns. His elder brother Ismāʿīl having been executed in punishment for his rebellion (455/1063; cf. AL-MUʿTAḌID), Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid became heir-presumptive to the throne of Seville. A little later, the army which he was leading to the help of the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, the Berber ruler of Granada of the Zīrid [*q.v.*] dynasty, was routed by the latter and al-Muʿtamid had to take refuge in Ronda [see RUNDA] to which his father, at first very angry at his failure, finally sent him his forgiveness. When the powerful ruler of Seville died in 461/1069, his son succeeded to a considerably extended kingdom which included the greater part of the southwest of the Iberian peninsula.

Early surrounded by men of letters and poets, al-Muʿtamid followed their teaching sessions and made for himself a very honourable place in the history of Arabic literature in Spain (see 2. below). It is likely that Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070) [*q.v.*] taught him the rules of Arabic poetry before becoming vizier; this same function was to be exercised by his son Abū Bakr Ibn Zaydūn from 478 to 484/1085-91, after the disgrace of Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 479/1086 [*q.v.*]). A whole series of more or less romantic episodes, in which the latter plays an extremely influential role, are attached to the life and reign of al-Muʿtamid. His relations with a young slave girl, al-Rumaykiyya, who was herself gifted with considerable poetic talent, have also been the subject of much literary embellishment. It was from the surname of this young woman, Iʿtimād, that al-Muʿtamid is said to have adopted his own name, which comes from the same root. She became his favourite wife and presented him with several sons. As to Ibn ʿAmmār, exiled by al-Muʿtaḍid, he was recalled on the accession of his patron to Seville, from which he went at his own request to be governor of Silves before being appointed grand vizier.

In the second year of his reign, al-Muʿtamid was able to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova (Ḳurṭuba [*q.v.*]), over which the Djahwarids had been ruling, in spite of efforts of the king of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*]. The young prince ʿAbbād was appointed governor of the old capital of the Umayyads. But at the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer named Ibn ʿUkāsha was able in 468/1075 to take Cordova by surprise and put to death the young ʿAbbād and his general Muḥammad b. Mārtīn. Al-Maʾmūn took possession of the town, where he died six months later. Al-Muʿtamid, whose paternal affection had been wounded and pride insulted, tried for three years vainly to reconquer Cordova. He was not successful until 471/1078; Ibn ʿUkāsha was put to death and the part of the kingdom of Toledo between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana conquered by the armies of Seville. Nevertheless, it took all the skill of the vizier Ibn ʿAmmār to conclude peace by paying double tribute with Alfonso VI of Castile when he sent an expedition against Seville.

This was just the time when, through the energy and tenacity of the Christian princes taking advantage of the feuds which were setting the Muslim rulers of the *taifas* [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] against one another, the *reconquista*, which had received a check and then a setback from the last Umayyads, resumed its advance on the south of the Peninsula. In spite of their successes, of which the Muslim chroniclers make a

great deal, it must not be forgotten that by the middle of the 5th/11th century, many Muslim dynasties of Spain were being forced to seek by payment of heavy tribute the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the taking of Toledo [see ṬULAYṬILA], which had far-reaching effects, by Alfonso VI in 478/1085, al-Muᶜtamid began to be involved in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of his vizier Ibn ᶜAmmār, he tried to add to his kingdom, after the principality of Cordova, that of Murcia [see MURSIYA], which was ruled by a prince of Arab origin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāhir. In 471/1078, Ibn ᶜAmmār went to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked him for assistance to conquer Murcia in return for a payment of 10,000 *dīnārs*; until this sum was paid al-Ras͟hīd, a son of al-Muᶜtamid, was to remain as hostage. After animated negotiations which ended in the payment of a sum three times as large to the Count of Barcelona, Ibn ᶜAmmār resumed his plan of conquering Murcia, and soon succeeded in doing so with the help of the lord of the castle of Bild͟j (now Vilches), Ibn Ras͟hīḳ [*q.v.*]. In Murcia, however, Ibn ᶜAmmār soon rendered himself obnoxious to his master by assuming the attitude of an independent ruler, and on al-Muᶜtamid's reproaching him he replied by insults to the king of Seville, his wife and his sons. Betrayed by Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, he had to take refuge in Murcia and then successively in Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. Returning to Saragossa, he endeavoured to assist its ruler al-Muʾtamin Ibn Hūd [*q.v.*] on his expedition against Segura [see S͟HAḲŪRA], but he was taken prisoner and handed over to al-Muᶜtamid, who in spite of the bonds of friendship which had so long linked them together, slew him with his own hand.

In the meanwhile, Alfonso VI was no longer concealing his designs on Toledo, the siege of which he began in 473/1080. Two years later, when he sent a mission to enforce payment of the annual tribute due to him from al-Muᶜtamid, its members were insulted and the Jewish treasurer Ibn S͟halīn who accompanied it was put to death because he had refused to accept debased money. He therefore invaded the kingdom of Seville, sacked the flourishing towns of Aljarafe (Ar. al-S͟haraf [*q.v.*], advanced through the district of Sidona (Ar. S͟had͟hūna [*q.v.*]) as far as Tarifa [see ṬARĪF], where he uttered his celebrated remark expressing his pride at having reached the utmost limits of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI dealt a serious blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castile soon demanded of al-Muᶜtamid that he should surrender those of his lands which had formed part of the kingdom of the D͟hu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*] (a part of the modern provinces of Ciudad-Real and Cuenca). Throughout Muslim Spain, his demands, which increased every day, made the position very serious. In spite of their reluctance, the Muslim rulers in Spain, led by al-Muᶜtamid, were forced to seek the help of the Almoravid sultan Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], who had just conquered the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy consisting of the vizier Abū Bakr b. Zaydūn and the *ḳāḍīs* of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. An agreement having been reached, not without difficulty, Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and on 12 Rad͟jab 479/23 Oct. 1086 inflicted on the Christian troops the disastrous defeat of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] not far from Badajoz. We need not recall here how Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn, recalled to Africa, could not follow up his victory as the Muslim rulers of Spain had hoped, who through the influence exercised by the Spanish *faḳīhs* on the Almoravid, soon lost all prestige in his eyes. After his departure, the Christians began again to harrass Muslim lands, to such an extent that al-Muᶜtamid had this time to go in person to Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn in Morocco to ask him to cross the Straits once more with his troops. Yūsuf consented and landed at Algeciras in the following spring (482/1090). He laid siege to the fortress of Aledo (Ar. Ḥiṣn Liyyīṭ) but without taking it; then stimulated by popular feeling and the advice of the *faḳīhs*, he came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous for him to wage the *d͟jihād* in Spain on his own account and proceeded to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had sought his intervention. With this object, he sent an army to invade the kingdom of Seville under Sīr b. Abī Bakr, who at the end of 1090 took Tarifa, then Cordova, where one of al-Muᶜtamid's sons, Fatḥ al-Maʾmūn, who was in command of it, was killed, Carmona and then Seville, which was captured in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Muᶜtamid. The latter was taken prisoner by the Almoravid and sent with his wives and children first to Tangier, then to Meknès and, a few months later, to Ag͟hmāt [*q.v.*], near Marrākus͟h. There he led a miserable existence for several years until his death at the age of 55 in 487/1095.

The sad end of al-Muᶜtamid touched all his biographers, who are particularly numerous and expatiate on his natural gifts, poetical talents, generosity and chivalrous spirit. He is one of the most representative types of the enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages, patrons of letters and scholarship, liberal and tolerant, but living in an atmosphere of luxury and ease little compatible with the care of a kingdom with frontiers open to envious neighbours on all sides. Not so great a ruler as his father al-Muᶜtaḍid, al-Muᶜtamid is however a much more attractive figure, perhaps just on account of his misfortunes. He is entitled to a place among the great figures of Spanish Islam, alongside of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Ḥakam II, al-Manṣūr b. Abī ᶜĀmir and, at a later date, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-K͟haṭīb.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-D͟hak͟hīra*, iv; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963; ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākus͟hī, *al-Muᶜd͟jib*, ed. Dozy, tr. Fagnan; Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*; idem, *Aᶜmāl al-aᶜlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal; Ibn ᶜId͟hārī, *al-Bayān al-mug͟hrib*, iii, ed. Lévi-Provençal; al-Fatḥ Ibn K͟hāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ᶜiḳyān* and *Maṭmaḥ*; Ibn K͟haldūn, *ᶜIbar*, iv, and *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii; *al-Ḥulal al-maws͟hiyya*, Tunis; Ibn Abī Zarᶜ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, etc. The majority of the references to al-Muᶜtamid have been collected by R. Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, Leiden 1846. Cf. also the long discussion of al-Muᶜtamid by Dozy in Bk. IV of his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leiden 1932, iii; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*², Barcelona 1929, 77 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas* (mainly numismatic), Madrid 1926; S. K͟hāliṣ, *al-Muᶜtamid b. ᶜAbbād*, Bag͟hdād 1958; R. Souissi, *al-Muᶜtamid ibn ᶜAbbād* (in French), Tunis 1977; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, index. The life and touching end of al-Muᶜtamid were put on the stage in Cairo, by S͟hawḳī [*q.v.*] in *Amīrat al-Andalus*. He is also discussed in numerous monographs —mostly at second hand— composed in recent years in the east (mainly in Egypt) on the Islamic past of Spain. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

2. As poet.

The mediaeval *dīwān* is lost, but a partial collection of his and his father's poems is appended to the ms.

dīwān of Ibn Zaydūn, and his poems are widely quoted in mediaeval sources; 188 monorhymed poems and one *muwashshah* are preserved (*Dīwān*, ed. R. Souissi, Tunis 1975; *Studies of the Research Institute of Hebrew Poetry*, ii [1936], 23; *al-Andalus*, xix [1954], 382; Mª Jesús Rubina Mata, *Poesias. Antología bilingüe*, Madrid 1982).

The extant poems are mostly short; several genres such as *madīh* addressed to a patron are wholly lacking and nature description nearly so. His production thus cannot be compared to that of the major poets of al-Andalus, but his poetry was highly regarded by mediaeval readers. To the period before al-Muʿtamid's deposition belongs all his lighter verse, mostly *ghazaliyyāt*, with some *khamriyyāt*, *wasf* poems and other verses. More sentimental than sensual (Souissi, *al-Muʿtamid et son œuvre poétique*, Tunis 1977, 8), the *ghazaliyyāt* are not particularly distinctive. They are addressed to both male and female beloveds, especially to his favourite Iʿtimād, including one with an acrostic of her name. His most characteristic early poems are those addressed to al-Muʿtaḍid, especially his masterpiece and longest extant poem, the *rāʾiyya* apologising for the loss of Malaga. Also much admired was another *rāʾiyya* addressed to Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], recalling their friendship in Silves.

The forty poems of his exile are distinctive and personal, reflecting the stages by which al-Muʿtamid grappled emotionally with imprisonment. Some are self-pitying laments comparing his opulent past with his present misery; tears and weeping are prominent themes, and occasional angry outbursts at fate. In others he urges himself to *ṣabr*, reflecting on his clan's *muruwwa*, and on the inexorability of fate. Religious themes also provide consolation. Warm poems are addressed to visitors; poignant are those addressed to the ravens of Aghmāt, to his chains, and a poem written as his own epitaph.

Al-Muʿtamid employs a simple vocabulary, but he exploits all the rhetorical figures, especially antithesis and various kinds of *tadjnīs*. Enjambment is unusually frequent, and his poems generally seem to be planned structures rather than mere aggregations of separate verses.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Dīwān*, ed. Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī and Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1951; H. Pérès, *La poésie arabe en arabe classique au XIᵉ siècle*, Paris ²1953, 58 and index; Ṣāliḥ Khāliṣ, *al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād al-Ishbīlī: dirāsa adabiyya taʾrīkhiyya*, Baghdād 1958; R.P. Scheindlin, *Form and structure in the poetry of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād*, Leiden 1974.

(R.P. SCHEINDLIN)

AL-**MUʾTAMIN** IBN HŪD, YŪSUF B. AḤMAD (al-Muktadir). Hūdid [*q.v.*] ruler of the *taifa* state [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] of Saragossa (Sarakusṭa [*q.v.*]), in al-Andalus [*q.v.*], during the 5th/11th century. The date of the beginning of his reign is obscure: it may have started in 474/1081-2, but we have coins of his predecessor, his father al-Muktadir, dated apparently 475/1082-3, and Vives at the end of the last century even reported a coin of al-Muktadir in the University of Valencia dated as late as 476/1083-4 (though Prieto, in 1926, does not record the type). The end of his reign is equally obscure, but he appears to have been succeeded in 476/1083-4 by a son, Aḥmad Sayf al-Dawla al-Mustaʿīn II (his coins begin in that year); however, there are reports indicating that al-Muʾtamin was still ruling two years later. Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], the poet and politically ambitious servant of the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*], took refuge at his court and served him for a time, before being captured and returned to Seville (Ishbīliyya [*q.v.*]). Al-Muʾtamin is reported to have had a strong interest in mechanical instruments and to have written a book (now lost), *K. al-Istikmāl wa 'l-manāẓir*, on mathematics; we also have a few lines of verse by him and some lines of ornate prose which may be by him.

Bibliography: Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 288, 424, 431-3; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1399/1979, iii, 371, 388, v, 39; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*², i, 390; for the coins, see A. Vives y Escudero, *Monedas de las dinastías arábigo-españolas*, Madrid 1893, no. 1216 (cf. A. Prieto y Vives, *Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hégira (XI de J.C.)*, Madrid 1926, no. 269); G.C. Miles, *Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*, New York 1954, nos. 428-9); D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings. Politics and society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Princeton 1985, 94 and n. 29 (with further references).

(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

MUTAMMIM B. **NUWAYRA**, a poet, contemporary with the Prophet. He was the brother of Mālik b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*], chief of the Banū Yarbūʿ, a large clan of the Banū Tamīm. Mutammim owes his fame to the elegies in which he lamented the tragic death of his brother Mālik (gathered together at the opening of the 3rd/9th century by Wathīma b. Mirsāl, see Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 248; whilst his *dīwān* was put together by Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Aṣmaʿī and al-Sukkarī, see *Fihrist*, 158), and these poems have made the latter's name immortal. The Arabs said there was nothing comparable to these elegies, overflowing with emotion [see MARTHIYA]. They regarded their author as the type of brotherly devotion.

Mutammim does not seem to have played any prominent part before the *Hidjra*. He was eclipsed by the striking personality of his brother, to whose qualities he never hesitated to pay homage. He is represented as having been of unprepossessing appearance, one-eyed and short in stature. The Bakrī chief al-Ḥawfazān eulogised the humanity with which Mutammim treated him during his captivity. Falling in his turn into the hands of the Banū Taghlib, Mutammim was delivered by a stratagem devised by his brother. He seems to have adopted Islam at the same time as his brother. Like the latter, he is numbered among the Companions, although we never find him in direct relations with the Prophet. He escaped from the disaster in which Mālik was overwhelmed; a few fragments of other poems suggest he did not write elegies exclusively.

But after the death of Mālik he devoted himself to celebrating his memory and demanding vengeance for his death. Refused by the caliph Abū Bakr, he thought he might have more success on the accession of ʿUmar. He hurried to Medina where he was very well received by ʿUmar. The latter listened with delight to his elegies, regretted that he himself had not the gift of poetry so that he might worthily celebrate his brother Zayd who had fallen in the wars of al-Yamāma, but he refused to reverse Abū Bakr's decision and limited himself to dismissing Khālid b. al-Walīd, a step which probably owed something to the poetical exhortations of Mutammim.

After this, tradition says that the poet became almost blind through weeping, and that he wandered over the many routes of Arabia, uttering his complaints everywhere. He found himself abandoned by his wives who became tired of his incurable sadness and wandering life. He left two sons Dāwūd and Ibrāhīm, also poets. He survived ʿUmar if, as Ibn Khallikān says (ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 792), he is really

the author of an elegy on the death of this caliph.

Bibliography: The principal references are given in Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Kenntniss der Poesie*, 95-152; Brockelmann, I², 34, S I, 70; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, nos. ix, lxvii, lxviii; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, photo. ed. Leiden, 138, 331, 341, 371; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv, 66-76; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, 192-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iv, 398-9; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi, 40-1; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, iii, 368-9; Blachère, *Hist. litt. arabe*, 258-9; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 154-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 204-5.

(H. Lammens)

al-**MUTANABBĪ**, "he who professes to be a prophet", the surname by which the Arab poet Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Djuʿfī is usually known (cf. in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 36, two genealogies, which do not agree, going back to his great-grandfather). Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was born in Kūfa in 303/915 in the Kinda quarter, whence the ethnic al-Kindī sometimes given him. His family, although in very humble circumstances, claimed descent from the Yamanī clan of the Djuʿfī, and he himself all his life was convinced of the superiority of the Arabs of the South over those of the North (cf. al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Dieterici, 48-9; al-Yāzidjī, *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib*, 29 [these two works will be quoted as Wāḥ. and Yāz.]). The boy received his early education in his native town and soon distinguished himself by his intelligence, his prodigious memory and his precocity as a poet. He now passed under Shīʿī influences, perhaps Zaydī (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 382, 12 = ed. 1348/1929-30, ii, 303, where the editor proposes however to read *ʿarabiyya* instead of *ʿalawiyya*), which served as prelude to his philosophical development, a subject to which we shall return. Circumstances were however to accelerate the speed of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's religious development. Towards the end of 312/924, perhaps under pressure from the Ḳarmaṭians [see ḳarmaṭī] who had just taken and sacked Kūfa, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib and his family made a first stay of two years (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 506b; al-Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbī*, i, 6) in the Samāwa, the region lying between the Sawād of Kūfa in the east and Palmyrene in the west. The Banū Kalb, who led a nomadic life in these desert steppes (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 129), had been much cultivated by the Ḳarmaṭian *dāʿīs*. It is possible that the young poet at this time came into contact with some of these heretics. It is, however, not very probable, in view of his youth, that this first contact had any definite effect upon him. On the other hand, this stay among the Bedouins certainly gave Abu 'l-Ṭayyib that profound knowledge of the Arabic language of which he was later so very proud.

On returning to Kūfa, at the beginning of 315/927, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib seems to have decided to devote himself entirely to poetry. At this time, he most admired the great panegyrists of the preceding century, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī [*q.vv.*]. Like them and like the majority of his contemporaries, he saw in poetry a sure means of attaining wealth and power. He at once attached himself to a certain Abu 'l-Faḍl of Kūfa, to whom he dedicated a short piece (Wāḥ., 17-21; Yāz., 10-11). Though not yet a convert to Ḳarmaṭism, but in any case a complete agnostic—the praises which he allowed to be offered to him show this—this individual seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the religious and philosophical development of al-Mutanabbī (cf. also *Khizāna*, i, 382 = ii, 304). Prepared by the Shīʿī atmosphere in which he had passed his childhood and by the relations which he had had with the Ḳarmaṭians in the Samāwa, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, in contact with his patron, cast off religious dogmas which he regarded as spiritual instruments of oppression. He then adopted a stoic and pessimistic philosophy, echoes of which are found throughout his work. The world is made up of seductions which death destroys (Wāḥ., 39, ll. 8-13; 162, ll.12-13; Yāz., 23, 97); stupidity and evil alone triumph there (Wāḥ., 161, ll. 8-10; Yāz., 97); the Arabs—representatives of a superior race in his eyes—are ill-treated in it by cowardly and barbarous foreigners (Wāḥ., 148, ll. 1-5; 160, ll. 2-6; Yāz., 87, 96). In contact with this world which lacks harmony, the consciousness of his talent, which Abu 'l-Ṭayyib possessed, developed rapidly; his vanity increased to a degree which is almost inconceivable (Wāḥ., 60; Yāz., 34). His Arab particularism, as with all anti-Shuʿūbīs [see shuʿūbiyya], incited him to attack foreign oppressors (Wāḥ., 58, ll. 30-1; Yāz., 33). This is why, by a contradiction from which he was hardly ever free, al-Mutanabbī was to covet all his life those riches and power which he scorned in his heart, while he stood out from the mass of his contemporaries by his rigid morality and austerity (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 78-81).

At first, however, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib thought only of conquering the world by his poetic gifts, and in order to find a more favourable field for his activity he left Kūfa towards the end of 316/928, probably as a result of the town being again sacked by the Ḳarmaṭians. He was naturally attracted to Baghdād (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 82-3), and there became the panegyrist of a compatriot of his, Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿAlawī (Wāḥ., 6-7; Yāz., 3-4). From there he went to Syria. For two years he led the life of a wandering troubadour of the period (cf. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 256). It is impossible to follow him in his wanderings, for his *Dīwān*, our only guide, does not present his poems in a satisfactory chronological order. Some pieces of the period are addressed to Bedouin chiefs of the region of Manbidj [*q.v.*] (Wāḥ., 24-5, 38-9, 66-7; Yāz., 12-13, 22-3, 28-9); others are dedicated to the educated classes of Tripoli (Wāḥ., 88-9; Yāz., 19-20) and al-Lādhiḳiyya (Latakia) (cf. Wāḥ., 116-35; Yāz., 66-78). The poems of this period are hurriedly written and mediocre in quality, but traces of his real genius are already apparent. With the exception of a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] or elegy and some impromptu pieces, they are all *ḳaṣīdas* on neo-classical lines. The influence of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī preponderates.

In the course of this period of experiment, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was irritated at not finding his merit recognised. Gradually, he looked forward to his dreams of domination being realised by violence (Wāḥ., 138, ll. 3-7; Yāz., 79). Finally, he abandoned the work of a paid panegyrist and, returning to al-Lādhiḳiyya, he began revolutionary propaganda, the nature of which has long been misunderstood. According to Oriental writers (al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 25-30; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 369), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib proclaimed himself a prophet in the Samāwa, was taken prisoner by the troops of al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*] and then received his epithet of al-Mutanabbī. Kratschkowsky (*Mutanabbi i Abu l'Ala*, St. Petersburg 1909, 9-11) does justice to these traditions, without however taking full account of some clear allusions in the *Dīwān*. The latter contains pieces which prove beyond all possible doubt that a rebellion was led by al-Mutanabbī (cf. Wāḥ., 49-58, 86; Yāz., 28-33, 50). This rising, as usual at this period, must have been political as well as religious. The rising began in al-

Lādhiḳiyya and then extended to the western borders of the Samāwa, where the Banū Kalb constituted an element always ready to rebel. Without adhering to Ḳarmaṭism, al-Mutanabbī exploited its principles, which found only too ready an echo among the marauding Bedouins (Wāḥ., 57, ll. 22-3; Yāz., 32; allusion to the massacre of pilgrims by the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir, in 317/930). The ambiguity of the utterance of the rebel, the opportunism of his doctrines and his conception of the imāmate on Ḳarmaṭian lines, may have caused some misunderstanding of his preaching, since at this time any agitator was regarded as a Ḳarmaṭian. After some initial successes, al-Mutanabbī and his Bedouins were defeated; he was captured and imprisoned at Ḥimṣ (towards the end of 322/933). After a trial and two years' imprisonment (*Dīwān*, ms. Paris no. 3092, fol. 16a), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was condemned to retract his errors and then set free. From his adventure he gained only the epithet of al-Mutanabbī and the conviction that poetry alone would lead him to the realisation of his ambitious dreams.

The poems composed by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib immediately before and during his rebellion are distinguished by spontaneity of inspiration, by the liberty which the poet takes with poetic frameworks and by the vigour of the style, which has a much more personal character than in his first "manner".

As soon as al-Mutanabbī had returned to his profession of panegyrist, he naturally resumed his wandering life (beginning of 325/937). For several years he led a precarious existence, and had to be content to sing the praises of undistinguished bourgeois and minor officials of Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo, etc., who paid him very badly (Wāḥ., 93-206; Yāz., 51-131; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 203). Little by little, however, his fame grew. At the beginning of 328/939, we find him becoming court poet to the *amīr* Badr al-Kharshānī [*q.v.*] (the Badr b. ʿAmmār of the *Dīwān*), governor of Damascus for the ex-*amīr al-umarā'* Ibn Rā'iḳ [*q.v.*], who had just taken possession of Syria. Of Arab origin, Badr was regarded by al-Mutanabbī as the Maecenas for whom he had been waiting so long. The panegyrics and occasional poems which are dedicated to this *amīr* reveal a sincere admiration for him and possess a sustained inspiration (Wāḥ., 206-45; Yāz., 132-63). These pieces and those that precede them, after Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's return to literature, constitute what might be called the third "manner" of the poet. With the exception of a poem on hunting in the style of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] (Wāḥ., 201-2; Yāz., 128-9) and a number of impromptu poems of no particular interest, al-Mutanabbī wrote only *ḳaṣīda*s during this period. He would seem then to have returned to his first "manner", if the work of this period did not show considerable progress in form.

The friendship between Badr and al-Mutanabbī lasted only about a year and a half, and as a result of intrigues of jealous rivals (Wāḥ., 253, ll. 13-16; Yāz., 169), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, feeling no longer safe, sought refuge in the Syrian desert (Wāḥ., 251-2; Yāz., 168-9). There, the idea of rebelling again took possession of him (Wāḥ., 253-4; Yāz., 170-1). Fortunately, the departure of Badr for ʿIrāḳ enabled him to leave his hiding-place and resume his profession of panegyrist. He now sang the praises of several individuals of second rank (Wāḥ., 107-8, 284-348; Yāz., 60-1, 194-241). Finally, he succeeded in establishing himself at the Ḥamdānid court in Aleppo, where he became the official poet of the *amīr* Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] at the beginning of 337/948.

From the literary point of view, the work of this period which runs roughly from the middle of 329/940, the date of the quarrel with Badr, to the beginning of 337/948, marks his fourth "manner", to which he remained faithful till his death. It is characterised by a compromise between the pure neo-classical tradition and a freer form which the poet had adopted in the poems of the period of his rebellion. Without rejecting the framework of the neo-classical *ḳaṣīda*, he reduces the erotic prelude to a minimum, sometimes even replacing it by a philosophical and lyrical opening which breathes his dreams, disillusionments and anger.

Al-Mutanabbī stayed nine years with Sayf al-Dawla. He was genuinely attached to this patron, who was in his eyes the personification of the ideal Arab chief, brave, magnanimous and generous. Sayf al-Dawla in his turn recognised the worth of his panegyrist, whom he overwhelmed with gifts and never treated with arrogance. Al-Mutanabbī accompanied him on his expeditions, and on returning to Aleppo sang of his exploits against the Byzantines and the Bedouins of the desert. In the brief intervals of leisure between the campaigns of the Ḥamdānid, the poet shared in the leisure of the court of Aleppo, devoting himself to improvisation and writing panegyrics as occasion arose (Wāḥ., 522-37; Yāz., 376-95) or laments (*marthiya*) on the deaths of relatives of Sayf al-Dawla (Wāḥ., 388-9, 408-9, 577-8; Yāz., 271-2, 286-7, 427-8). The difficult character of al-Mutanabbī and the repute which he enjoyed did not fail to gain him implacable enemies. A few devoted friends, like the poet al-Babbaghā' [*q.v.*], tried, it is true, to defend him, but their zeal could do nothing against the enmity of the hostile group led by the famous Abū Firās [*q.v.*]. Sayf al-Dawla at first paid no attention to the attacks made upon his favourite. When he grew tired of the poet's arrogance and his protection ceased, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib no longer felt his life safe, hence fled secretly from Aleppo with all his family and sought refuge in Damascus (end of 346/957).

Eastern critics are generally agreed that the poems composed by al-Mutanabbī during his stay with Sayf al-Dawla mark the highest point in his work. Although there is a certain degree of exaggeration in this, it is certain that the poet, while continuing his fourth "manner", reveals in the highest degree the mastery which he had acquired in his art during this period. Much more than Abū Firās, with whom he is often contrasted, he was able to depict the glories of Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns against the Byzantines. His verse, it is true, has not the charm of that of Abū Firās, but it is fuller and more epic in style.

From Damascus, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib went to Egypt and to al-Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], where he obtained the patronage of the Ikhshīdid regent Kāfūr [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutanabbī's career now reveals the necessities to which poets in the 4th/10th century had to submit. Deprived of moral and material independence, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib was forced to sing the praises of a patron for whom in his heart he felt only contempt. The panegyrics which he devoted to him barely conceal his regret at losing the favour of Sayf al-Dawla. They are somewhat forced, and contain points against Kāfūr (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 125-6). The poet perhaps only agreed to celebrate this patron because the latter had promised him the governorship of Ṣaydā [*q.v.*] (cf. *ibid.*, i, 115). When he saw that these promises were not being fulfilled, he tried to gain the favour of another Ikhshīdid general, Abū Shudjāʿ Fātik (*ibid.*, i, 131-2), but the latter dying in 250/960 and relations with

Kāfūr becoming more strained, al-Mutanabbī had once more to decide to fly. On the day of the feast of sacrifice of this year, 20 January 962, after writing a satire on Kāfūr, he left al-Fusṭāṭ secretly, and crossing Arabia after great trials (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 139-40), he reached ʿIrāḳ, spent some time in Kūfa and then settled in Baghdād. He perhaps thought of attaching himself to the famous Būyid vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], who had gathered a very brilliant court around him. He had, however, to abandon hope of this in face of the hostility to him evinced by poets and scholars established at the court of al-Muhallabī, such as Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. During his stay here, as he had already begun to do in Egypt (cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, no. 453), al-Mutanabbī gave lectures in which he expounded to a group of friends the work he had done till that date (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ms. Paris, no. 1581, fol. 265a). The year 353/964 was spent in this fashion. The poet perhaps also visited Kūfa about this time (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Vita di al-Mutanabbī*, 60, n. 4). At the beginning of 354/965, in any case, he left ʿIrāḳ and went via al-Ahwāz to Arradjān [*q.v.*] in Susiana, where he received the patronage of the Būyid vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutanabbī devoted some panegyrics to him (Wāḥ., 740-1; Yāz., 564-5), but then he left him to go to Shīrāz in Fārs, where he joined the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who had expressed a desire to have him at his court. The poet enjoyed a splendid reception. After addressing to the Būyid ruler several panegyrics which are among his best work, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib left Shīrāz for reasons not clearly known, perhaps simply out of homesickness (Wāḥ., 766, ll. 1-3; Yāz., 589). He was returning by short stages from Persia to Baghdād when he was attacked by marauding Bedouins near Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*] at the end of Ramaḍān 354/Aug. 955. He and his son were killed in the fighting and all his baggage, including the autograph mss. of his *Dīwān*, was scattered (cf. al-Badīʿī, *op. cit.*, i, 227-39).

Even in his lifetime, al-Mutanabbī had been surrounded by ardent admirers who defended his work in its entirety against the attacks of detractors no less eager to run him down. Among the latter, however, the majority only criticised him as a poet because they objected to his character as a man. The criticism was therefore not distinguished by impartiality and only reflects the opinions of a coterie. It required the death of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib to produce a third class of admirers who were more clear sighted than the first and sufficiently impartial not to fall into the exaggerations of the second (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa*, 11-12, 45-6). It was the opinion of this new category that prevailed, and when al-Mutanabbī's contemporaries had all disappeared, the educated public remained decidedly favourable to Sayf al-Dawla's panegyrist (except al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khaldūn). From the 5th/11th century onwards, the name of al-Mutanabbī became a synonym for "great poet". His literary influence became one of the most considerable ever exercised on Arabic poetry. Commentated upon by Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and later by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], by al-Wāḥidī, al-Tibrīzī, Ps.-al-ʿUkbarī and Ibn Sīduh [*q.v.*], to mention only the most eminent, the *Dīwān* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib throughout the Middle Ages and in modern times has been made accessible to scholars and literary men by learned men from Persia to Spain, often more zealous than intelligent. Space does not permit us to estimate what later poetry owes to al-Mutanabbī. We are content to point out that, in different ways, all Arab panegyrists have been influenced by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib. At the present day, he is still one of the most read in North Africa; Syria and Egypt also hold him in very high esteem, and many critics have devoted studies full of praise to him. It seems, however, that in the last-named country al-Mutanabbī attracts people at least as much by the boldness of his philosophy and the ardour of his pro-Arab feelings as by his purely literary qualities.

Bibliography: This is enormous, and occupies some twenty pages in Sezgin (*GAS*, ii, 484-97, ix, 290-4; further additions by R. Weipert, in *ZGAIW* 2 (1985), 266-67) and stretches over more than 125 pages in K. and A. ʿAwwād's bibliographical guide *Rāʾid al-dirāsa ʿan Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M.* given in vol. vi/3 (1977) of the Baghdād journal *al-Mawrid*, an issue in large part devoted to the poet. Note also that Pearson has a special section for him in his *Index Islamicus* (XXXVII).

The abundance of this bibliography is a striking proof of the eminent place occupied by al-M. in Arabic literature from the 4th/10th century till the present day and the interest which has continuously been accorded to him by Arab critics and by Arabists. However, a large part of the mediaeval bibliography on this poet is only known from mentions in the biographical collections or in manuscript catalogues; in the latter case, it seems that those works worthy of study have been largely worked over by researchers.

The *Dīwān*. Al-M.'s *Dīwān* was made the object, in the mediaeval period, of numerous recensions, of which a considerable number of manuscripts are extant; to the independent copies of this should be added the commentaries in which the poet's work is reproduced *in extenso* and explained. Amongst editions of the *Dīwān* should be mentioned those of Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Beirut 1860, 1867, 1882, 1887) and of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām (Cairo 1363/1944), but there are many others, published at Būlāḳ, Cairo, Beirut and also at Bombay, Deoband and Calcutta.

Al-M.'s fame—his work being considered as model—stimulated the composition of a number of anthologies by anonymous or declared authors who, from mediaeval times onwards, aimed at making a choice of the poems. Amongst these should be mentioned ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), *al-Mukhtār min dawāwīn al-M. wa 'l-Buḥturī wa-Abī Tammām* (ed. Maymanī, in *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, Cairo 1937, 195-305) and, for the modern period, Sāmī al-Bārūdī, *Mukhtārāt* (Cairo 1327-9), F. Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ* (nos. xi-xii) and A.J. Arberry, *Poems of al-M. A selection, with introduction, translation and notes* (Cambridge 1967). It is also possible to consider amongst these choices of verses the collection of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) containing *al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1965), which in some degree embodies the poet's popularity.

Commentaries. Al-M.'s neo-classicism, added to the need to supply the reader with explanations not merely philological but also historical concerning the composition of such-and-such a poem, led several philologists to write commentaries on the *Dīwān*, and an incomplete list of these can be found in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Lexicon*, iii, 306-12), without of course taking into account Sezgin and ʿAwwād. R. Blachère justly highlighted (see the beginning of the article) those of Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (ed. Bombay 1271/1854; Būlāḳ 1287; above all, F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbii carmina cum commentario Wahidii*, Berlin 1861, and many subsequent eds.)

and of Yāzidjī (d. 1871), *al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī sharḥ Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib* (publ. by his son Ibrāhīm at Beirut in 1885, 1887; new ed. 1964). But there exist others, printed or unpublished, amongst which one of the highest-regarded is that falsely ascribed to ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), *al-Tibyān fī sharḥ al-Dīwān* (Calcutta 1261-2, 1264; Būlāḳ 1261, 1277, 1287; Cairo 1303, 1308/1890; Cairo, ed. al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, 1936-8, 1956). One should also mention Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699-1700), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (Calcutta 1814), and Barḳūḳī (d. 1944), *Sharḥ Dīwān al-M.* (Cairo 1348, 1357, 1938).

Several partial commentaries deal only with difficult verses, notably Ibn Fūrradja (d. after 437/1141-2), *Sharḥ mushkilāt Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M.* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, ii/1 [1973], 105-40; ed. Dudjaylī, Baghdād 1974); Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066), *Mushkil abyāt al-M.* (ed. Saḳḳā and ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1976); and Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ (d. 515/1171), *Sharḥ al-mushkil min shiʿr al-M.* (ed. U. Rizzitano, in *RSO*, xxx [1955], 207-27; ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3 [1977], 237-60).

Since mediaeval times, some commentaries on the *Dīwān* of al-M. have been severely criticised, notably by Muhallabī (d. 644/1246), *al-Maʾākhidh ʿalā shurrāḥ Dīwān al-M.*, against Ibn Djinnī, Maʿarrī, Tibrīzī and Kindī (partial ed. in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3 [1977], 165-212). The first of these *shurrāḥ*, Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), had made the acquaintanceship of al-M. in Aleppo and, since he appreciated his work, he devoted to him commentaries which stirred up controversies and polemics, above all, the great one called *Fasr shiʿr al-M.* (ed. S. Khulūṣī, Baghdād 1970-8), but also the smaller one, *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ʿalā mushkilāt shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, Baghdād 1973 [cf. *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 393-400]), and also a third one, the *Tafsīr maʿānī Dīwān al-M.* Most of the critical works are still unpublished: Zawzanī (d. 370/980), *Ḳashr al-fasr*; Rabaʿī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā akhṭāʾ Ibn Djinnī*; Ibn Wakīʿ attracted upon himself a refutation by Ibn Djinnī, *al-Naḳd ʿalā Ibn Wakīʿ*; and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Djinnī fī shiʿr al-M.* Three critical works have however been published: Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century), *al-Wāḍiḥ fī mushkil shiʿr al-M.* (ed. Ṭāhir b. ʿĀshūr, Tunis 1968) Ibn Fūradja, *al-Fatḥ ʿalā Abi 'l-Fatḥ*, ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid* 2 (1973) and al-Dudjaylī, Baghdād 1974; and idem, *al-Tadjannī ʿalā Ibn Djinnī* (ed. Ghayyāḍ, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 213-36).

To the attacks against Ibn Djinnī's favourable judgement of the poet should be added the accusations of plagiarism, such as those of ʿAmīdī (d. 433/1042), *al-Ibāna ʿan sariḳāt al-M. fīmā naẓamahu min al-shiʿr* (ed. Dasūḳī, Cairo 1961); by an anonymous author, *Sariḳat al-M.* (ed. Dasūḳī, with the *Ibāna*); and Ḥātimī (d. 388/998), *al-Risāla al-Mūḍiḥa fī dhikr sariḳāt Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M. wa-sāḳiṭ shiʿrihi* (ed. Shammāʿ, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, iv [Riyāḍ 1975-6], 237-95). The bad verses have also been highlighted by Ibn ʿAbbād, *al-Kashf ʿan masāwī al-M.* (ed. Dasūḳī, with the *Ibāna*). An author like Bākathīr al-Ḥaḍramī attempts to demonstrate his impartiality in his *Tanbīh al-adīb ʿalā mā fī shiʿr Abi 'l-Ṭayyib min al-ḥasan wa 'l-maʿīb* (ed. R.A. Ṣāliḥ, Baghdād 1976), and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001) shows himself as conciliatory in *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-M. wa-khuṣūmihi* (Ṣaydā 1336 and edd. Ibrāhīm and al-Bidjāwī, Cairo n.d. (1950s)).

Biographies. As well as biographical data that can be derived from the commentaries, several easily-accessible biographies should be mentioned: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab* (ed. Cairo 1299, i, 382-9 = ed. Cairo 1348, ii, 302-17); Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* (Damascus 1304, i, 78-162, *passim*); Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Cairo 1349/1931), iv, 102-4; this notice is reproduced by Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. ʿĀmir, 176-80, and Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. f. 506b); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 36-8; and Badīʿī, *al-Ṣubḥ al-munbī ʿan ḥaythiyyat al-M.* (edd. al-Saḳḳāʾ, Shitā and ʿAbduh, Cairo 1963; Maḥmūd Shākir, *al-Mutanabbī*, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1977), vol. ii, contains the important biographies contained in Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalib*, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashk*, and al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā*, all published from mss.).

Modern studies. Al-M. has been the subject of a considerable number of studies both in the East and the West. As well as the standard works on Arabic literature which have sections on him which are sometimes quite lengthy, the works of F. Gabrieli deserve special notice: *La vita di al-M.*, in *RSO*, xi, 27-42; *Studi sulla poesia di al-M.*, in *RCAL* (1927); *La poesia di al-M.*, in *Giornale della soc. asiat. ital.*, i/1 (1929). But the most outstanding synthesis is the basic monograph of R. Blachère, who, following the chronological order of the poems, combines biography with a literary study, *Un poète arabe du IVe siècle de l'Hégire. Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935. A little after this work's appearance, the 1,000th anniversary of the poet's death (354/965) stimulated in 1354/1935-6 the publication of three lengthy collective works, one organised under the direction of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, *Dhikrā Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-M. baʿd alf ʿām* (Baghdād 1936); the second under the auspices of the Institut Français de Damas, *al-M., recueil publié à l'occasion de son millénaire* (Beirut 1936; cf. A. Fāḍil, *al-M. fī dirāsat al-mustashriḳīn*, in *al-Mawrid*, vi/3, 43-86); and the third was to appear in two numbers of the *Ṣaḥīfat Dār al-ʿUlūm* (April-June 1936). There is a list in Sezgin (ii, 485-6) of the articles in these three collections. Sezgin enumerates, moreover (ii, 497 and ix, 293), a series of articles and works amongst which attention may be drawn to those which deal with al-M.'s language and with his influence on the later poets, in particular those of Muslim Spain, where he enjoyed exceptional prestige; see e.g., al-Ṭāhir Makkī, *Maʿa shuʿarāʾ al-Andalus wa 'l-M.* (Cairo 1974). See also W.P. Heinrichs, "*The Meaning of Mutanabbī*", in James L. Kugel (ed.), *Poetry and Prophecy* (Ithaca, NY 1990), 120-39, 231-39, and A. Hamori, *The composition of Mutanabbī's panegyrics of Sayf al-Dawla*, Leiden 1992.

Translations. The *Dīwān* has inspired some translators, like von Hammer-Purgstall, *Motenebbi, der grösste arabische Dichter* (Vienna 1824), O. Rescher, *Der Dīwān des Motenebbi nach der Ausgabe ʿOkbarī (Būlāq 1287) mit Vergleichung der Edd. Jazydjy (Beyrouth) und Wāḥidī (Berlin ...)* (Stuttgart 1940), and A.J. Arberry, who translated into English the selection of poems mentioned above (under *Dīwān*). It is mainly separate poems which have been the subject of translations (see Sezgin, ii, 497).

(R. Blachère-[Ch. Pellat])

MUTARĀDIF [see ḲĀFIYA].

MUṬARRIFIYYA, a Zaydī sect in the Yemen named after its founder Muṭarrif b. Shihāb b. ʿAmr al-Shihābī, who died after 459/1067 at an advanced age.

They constituted a pietist movement striving to adhere strictly to the teachings of Imām al-Ḳāsim b.

Ibrāhīm, his sons, and of the early Yemenite Imāms al-Hādī, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIyānī and al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī, while rejecting the doctrine of the Caspian as well as the contemporary Yemenite Zaydī Imāms. In implementing the religious duty of *hid̲j̲ra*, emigration from the abode of injustice (*dār al-ẓulm*) which had been stressed by al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and other Zaydī authorities, they founded "abodes of emigration" where they gathered to engage in worship, ritual purification, ascetic exercises and teaching of their creed. The first of these *hid̲j̲ras* was founded already by Muṭarrif in Sanāʿ, south of Ṣanʿāʾ in the territory of his own tribe, the Banū S̲h̲ihāb. After Sanāʿ had to be abandoned under threat from the Ṣulayḥid Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad between 481/1088 and 491/1098, Muṭarrif's successor Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Hayt̲h̲am founded a *hid̲j̲ra* at Waḳas̲h̲, south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ, which remained the spiritual centre of the movement until its destruction by Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 611/1214-5. Numerous other *hid̲j̲ras* were founded by the Muṭarrifiyya in various regions of northern Yemen. The Muṭarrifī *hid̲j̲ras* were a major factor in the development of the modern Yemenite concept of *hid̲j̲ra* as a protected enclave in a tribal territory. The persecution of the Muṭarrifiyya and destruction of their *hid̲j̲ras* by Imām al-Manṣūr led to the progressive decline of the sect. By the 9th/15th century it had become extinct.

The religious doctrine of the Muṭarrifiyya was essentially elaborated and systematised by Muṭarrif b. S̲h̲ihāb on the basis of the works of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and the early Yemenite Imāms, especially al-Hādī. Further sources were some statements ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and a short treatise attributed to Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā whose authenticity was disputed by their Zaydī opponents. There is no evidence of either Ismāʿīlī or philosophical influence, as alleged by these opponents. Since al-Hādī espoused the theological doctrine of the Bag̲h̲dād school of the Muʿtazila against the Baṣran school, the Muṭarrifiyya also repudiated Baṣran Muʿtazilī doctrine upheld by the Caspian and later Yemenite Imāms. Thus they reduced the divine attributes of hearing, seeing, and perceiving to that of knowing, whereas the Baṣrans considered the attributes of perceiving to be additional to knowing, and they identified the divine will (*irāda*) with the object willed (*murād*) by God, as against the Baṣran concept of God's will as an accident without a substrate. There are, however, also substantial deviations from Muʿtazilī doctrine in general. The Muṭarrifiyya held, on the basis of a sentence of al-Hādī, the divine attributes of essence to be identical with the divine essence itself and with each other. They explained divine justice as meaning that God initially treats all men equally in six respects: their physical constitution (*k̲h̲alḳ*), sustenance, life, death, obligation to worship (*taʿabbud*) and recompense. After men display obedience or disobedience by their free choice, God may prefer some to others and withdraw His grace from some. Against Muʿtazilī dogma, they affirmed that God does, and causes, evil and orders men to perform acts whose performance He prevents. They rejected the Muʿtazilī doctrines of generated acts of man (*tawallud*) and of the obligation of God to compensate man for undeserved pain inflicted by Him.

The most radical deviation from Muʿtazilism was in cosmology. Repudiating the atomism of *kalām* in general, the Muṭarrifiyya affirmed that God had initially created the world out of three or four elements (water, air, winds (*riyāḥ*), fire). The inherent transformations and interaction of these elements, rather than the direct action of God, bring about changes in the world. The Muṭarrifiyya thus affirmed a natural causality in the world. They described events and effects, whether beneficial or harmful to man, as acts (*afʿāl*) only in the sense that God has compelled the elements and bodies through their structure to bring them about. God may, however, interfere in the course of the world through miracles in support of His prophets, through granting or withholding help, benefits, guidance, and through responding to prayers.

Bibliography: Earlier attemps to analyse Muṭarrifī doctrine on the basis of polemical refutations by R. Strothmann, *Die Literatur der Zaiditen*, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 67-9; C. van Arendonk, *De Jemenitische secte der Mutarrifieten*, in *Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, Verslag van het Vijfde Congres*, 1927, 23-4, and A.S. Tritton, *The Muṭarrifiyya*, in *Muséon*, lxiii (1950), 59-67, have been rendered partly obsolete by the discovery of an authentic Muṭarrifī work by Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥallī, *al-Burhān al-rāʾiḳ*, analysed in W. Madelung, *A Muṭarrifī manuscript*, in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm 1975, 75-83. For the history of the sect, see in particular Musallam al-Lahid̲j̲ī, *Ak̲h̲bār al-Zaydiyya bi 'l-Yaman*, ii, ms. in private possession (see D.T. Gochenour, *A revised bibliography of medieval Yemeni history in light of recent publications and discoveries*, in *Isl.*, lxiii [1986], 315-17); idem, *The penetration of Zaydī Islam into medieval Yemen*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard 1983; Madelung, *The origins of the Yemenite hijra*, in *Arabicus felix luminosus britannicus. Essays in honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his eightieth birthday*, Reading 1991, 25-44. (W. Madelung)

AL-**MUṬARRIZĪ**, Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (Abu 'l-Muẓaffar) Nāṣir b. Abi 'l-Makārim ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. ʿAlī al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī al-Ḥanafī, philologist, jurist and *adīb* (538-610/1144-1213). He was born in K̲h̲ʷārazm, at al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya or Gurgānd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], in Rad̲j̲ab 538/January-February 1144. He began his studies with his father and continued them under the *ak̲h̲ṭab K̲h̲ʷārazm* Abu 'l-Muʾayyad al-Muwaffaḳ b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, a pupil of al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī [*q.v.*], and others. Later, well-known as an authority in philology, he was called *k̲h̲alīfat al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī* after his great countryman, who died in the same year and in the same town in which al-Muṭarrizī was born. Like him he was an adherent of the Muʿtazila. As a pilgrim of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* of 601 (summer 1204), he passed through Bag̲h̲dād twice and had disputations with scholars there. On this occasion, Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār [*q.v.*], the biographer of the metropolis, met and interviewed him (Ibn al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār/al-Dimyāṭī, 237). He died in al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya on Tuesday 21 D̲j̲umādā I 610/8 October 1213.

Among al-Muṭarrizī's seven books enumerated by his younger contemporary Yāḳūt—who had left al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya after a short visit at the beginning of 617/March 1220, fearing the Mongols—in his *Udabāʾ* (vii, 203), the compendium of Arabic grammar, (1) *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-naḥw*, has found the widest circulation. Compiled for his son, the treatise became a text-book in the *madrasas* of the East, often commented and glossed upon, not only in Arabic but also in Persian and Turkish, as well as versified. The number of mss. is abundant, and the basic work itself is printed. The *Miṣbāḥ* was based on three small grammatical monographs of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*], to wit, *al-Tatimma*, *al-D̲j̲umal* and *al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa*. On the latter, al-Muṭarrizī wrote a (1a) *S̲h̲arḥ*

(Brockelmann, S I, 503; Kaḥḥāla, *Mustadrak*, 380). Only the title of another grammatical opuscule, (2) *al-Muḳaddima al-Muṭarriziyya fī 'l-naḥw* (cf. Paris 4254, 2 and 6911?), and that of his (3) *Mukhtaṣar Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*] are known to us. However we do have mss. of his (4) *al-Iḳnāʿ li-mā ḥuwiya taḥt al-ḳināʿ*, a handy lexicon with precise grammatical explanations, a kind of text-book for his son, dealing only with "good and usual" words and omitting the "bad and unusual" ones. It is divided into four parts (*asmāʾ*, *afʿāl*, *ḥurūf*, *naḥw*), which are in turn divided in four chapters each and many subsections. The first part is very rich in synonyms; modern and ancient linguistic usages are distinguished and verses are quoted in illustration. His dictionary (5) *al-Muʿrib fī gharīb alfāẓ al-fuḳahāʾ* is arranged alphabetically after the first letter. It is a reference book of terms used in Tradition and jurisprudence; it exists in a second, enlarged version by the author under the title (6) *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-Muʿrib*. The work was regarded by the scholars of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* with the same respect as the *Gharīb al-fiḳh* of al-Azharī [*q.v.*] by the Shāfiʿīs. The last print, Aleppo 1402/1982 in 2 vols., is an edition by Maḥmūd Fākhūrī and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Mukhtār; another edition, based on the autograph of 598/1201, is in preparation in Cairo. His commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, entitled (7) *al-Īḍāḥ* (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 5, and Berlin [Ahlwardt] 8541) has been edited by Ḥamad b. Nāṣir al-Dakhīl (Ph.D. diss., Riyāḍ 1402/1982); the same scholar is now preparing an edition of al-Muṭarrizī's opuscule (8) *Fasr al-Mawlā wa-ḥaṣr maʿānīhi wa 'l-kashf ʿan ḥaḳīḳatihī*. For his (9) *Risāla fī Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* see O. Spies, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 106 and Kaḥḥāla, *Mustadrak*, 380; and for his still undiscovered rhetorical work *fī ʿilm al-badīʿ*, entitled (10) *Zahr al-rabīʿ*, see Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ*, i, 202. Al-Muṭarrizī was also known as a gifted poet, who made frequent use of *tadjnīs*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 350-2, S I, 514-15; Storey, iii, 148-9; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, I-II, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, 1976-87, *passim.*; F. Meier in *Isl.*, lxvi (1989), 318-21; Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1956, viii, 311; ʿU.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1380/1960, v, 232, xiii, 71; idem, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Beirut 1406/1985, 380, 812; M.A. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*², Tabrīz n.d. [*ca.* 1347/1969], v, 325-6.

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(R. Sellheim)

MUTAṢARRIF (A.), a term of Ottoman local administration. In the Ottoman system of local administration defined by the provincial administration laws of 23 Rabīʿ I 1284/25 July 1867 and Shawwāl 1287/1871, this term designated the chief administrative official of the *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] or *liwāʾ*, the second highest in the hierarchy of administrative districts. The *sandjaḳ* had existed as an administrative district since early Ottoman times (Ortaylı, *İdare tarihi*, 184-5). However, during the 10th/16th century, the functionary in charge had been known as the *sandjaḳ begi*, who was primarily a military officer. With the decline of the cavalry (*sipāhī*) and the diversion to other uses of the landholdings (*tīmār*, *zeʿāmet* [*q.vv.*]) that had been used to support them, a different pattern began to emerge. From the 11th/17th century onwards, the number of *wezīrs* began to increase without any corresponding increase in the number of provinces or *eyālets* [*q.v.*] to which they could be appointed as *beglerbegis* or *wālīs*. To deal with this problem, the government began to separate some *sandjaḳs* from the provinces of which they were part and assign them to such individuals as a source of income (*arpalīk*). The *wezīr* would not take up such a position in person, but would send an agent to collect the revenues for him. These agents were known by titles such as *müsellim*, later *mütesellim*, or sometimes *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, which suggest their functions. Some references suggest that the term *mutaṣarrif* may already have been used in this period, as a common noun, rather than a technical term, to refer to the titular holder as contrasted with his collection agent, so that the whole arrangement could be described in terms of *mutaṣarrif* (the *wezīr*) and *mütesellim* (his agent; Çadırcı, *Mütesellimlik*, 288, 291; idem, *Kent*, 23-29; cf. Ergenç, 95). Under Selīm III and Maḥmud II [*q.vv.*], the revenues of some *sandjaḳs* and other territorial units were assigned directly to treasuries in Istanbul, which would then appoint their own *mütesellims* to collect the revenues (Çadırcı, *Mütesellimlik*, 288; idem, *Yönetim*, 1216).

When Selīm III and Maḥmūd II began trying, in the interests of centralisation, to supplant local notables with agents of the central government, the term *mutaṣarrif* clearly was used for officials with the rank of *wezīr* who were to be employed in local administration, but for whom positions as governor (*wālī*) of a province (*eyālet*) were unavailable. Such officials would be assigned to administer one or more *sandjaḳs* as *mutaṣarrif* (Çadırcı, *Yönetim*, 1226). This usage of terms continued in places after the inauguration of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms with the Gülkhāne Decree of 1255/1839.

The term soon acquired other uses, too, as the evolution of the local administrative system proceeded. During the experiment with fiscal centralisation and direct tax collection inaugurated in 1254/1838, the *mütesellim*'s historical role in revenue collection was taken over by *muḥaṣṣils* [*q.v.*] appointed from the capital. After the abandonment of this experiment in 1258/1842, the role of *mütesellim* was not revived. Instead, the earlier fiscal practice of tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) was revived, on the one hand; and local administration was reorganised, on the other hand, with the *sandjaḳ* being entrusted for the first time to an official known as the *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, while a lower-level administrative district, the *ḳaḍāʾ*, was set up under the administration of the *ḳaḍāʾ müdīri* (Çadırcı, *Meclisler*, 260; idem, *Kent*, 236). A set of measures inaugurated in 1265/1849, marking the most important reforms in local administration since the experiment with the *muḥaṣṣils*, again designated the governor of a province (*eyālet*) as the *wālī*, who would normally hold the rank of *wezīr*. The title *mutaṣarrif* was set aside either for a governor of a small *eyālet* who held a lower rank, or for an administrator in charge of more than one *sandjaḳ*; at least from *ca.* 1274/1858 onwards, the same title applied to the administrator of a *sandjaḳ* that was "independent" (*mustaḳill*), meaning that it was subordinate, not to

any *eyālet*, but directly to the Ministry of the Interior in Istanbul. The administration of a *sandjak* remained the task of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* (Çadırcı, *Meclisler*, 269-70; Scheben, 109-16, 281-302; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 20, 65; Başbakanlık Archives, Meclis-i Tanzimat defteri, no. 34, untitled printed volume, dated at end 15 Rabīʿ II 1267/1851, containing regulations on local administration, 56-81). Probably the best-known example of an "independent" *sandjak* under the administration of a *mutaṣarrif* who reported directly to Istanbul, rather than to any province, was Lebanon under the special régime introduced there in 1861 (Young, *Corps de droit*, i, 139-59; *Düstūr*[1], iv, 695-701). Meanwhile, the number of *eyālets* had been increased from fifteen to twenty-eight (*ca.* 1250/1834) and then to forty after another twenty years, while the number of *sandjaks* had hardly increased at all. The decrease in the number of *sandjaks* per *eyālet* implies a tightening of the *wālī*'s control—another sign of centralisation (Scheben, 95 n. 130).

The most important steps toward systematisation of local administration occurred with the provincial administration law of 1281/1864, which was initially applied only in the specially-created Danube province but was revised for wider application in 1867, followed by the supplementary provincial administration law of 29 Shawwāl 1287/1871 (Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 24-6, 74-86, 105-15; Heidborn, i, 157-72; *Düstūr*[1], i, 608-51; Çadırcı, *Kent*, 250-2). Under this new system, the provinces were renamed *wilāyet*, instead of *eyālet*, the *wilāyets* were divided into *sandjaks* or *liwāʾs*; the *sandjaks* into *ḳaḍās*; the *ḳaḍās* into villages (*ḳarye*). The law of 1287/1871 inserted another echelon, the *nāḥiye*, between the *ḳaḍā* and the village.

The 1864 law for the Danube province still provided for a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* at the head of each *sandjak* and a *müdīr* to head each *ḳaḍāʾ*; but the 1867 law at last gave the title *mutaṣarrif* its definitive Ottoman meaning as the chief administrator of a *sandjak*, using *ḳāʾim-maḳām* for the head of the *ḳaḍāʾ* (instead of *müdīr*; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1864-1878*, 75-6, 78-82). At this point, other, earlier uses of the term *mutaṣarrif* ceased to apply in administrative usage. The practice of treating some especially sensitive *sandjaks* or *liwāʾs* as "independent" of any province and directly subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior continued, however; these "independent" *liwāʾs* (*alwiya-i mustaḳilla*) remained a familiar category in Ottoman administrative practice.

No further legislation of comparable scope was enacted until the provincial administration law of 17 Rabīʿ II 1331/7 October 1913 (*Düstūr*[2], v, 186-216; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung 1878-1913*, 118, 122, 129, 137, 140; Findley, *Evolution*, 15-24). Introducing refinements into the earlier system, the new law retained the *mutaṣarrif* as the chief administrator of the *sandjak*. However, the Fundamental Law of 20 January 1921, passed by the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Medjlisi*) in Ankara, revised local administration by taking the empire's *sandjaks* as the *wilāyets* for what in 1923 became the Turkish Republic. The Republic's *wilāyet* law of 18 April 1929 retained this arrangement, along with many features of the provincial administration law of 1331/1913 (Lewis, 384-6). Long-term continuity thus significantly characterised late Ottoman and Republican local administration. With the transformation of the old *sandjaks* into *wilāyets* in 1921, however, the term *mutaṣarrif* passed out of use as a designation for a type of local official.

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(C.V. FINDLEY)

AL-MUʿTAṢIM, ABŪ YAḤYĀ MUḤAMMAD B. MAʿN B. MUḤAMMAD IBN ṢUMĀDIḤ AL-TUDJĪBĪ, second ruler of the dynasty of Tudjībids [*q.v.*] of the kingdom of Almería [see AL-MARIYYA], reigned 443-484/1051-1091. Gifted like his contemporary al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*] of Seville with a certain amount of poetic talent, he made his capital during his long reign one of the great centres of culture in the Peninsula. But like the other *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*] of Spain, he was for the most of his time at war with one or another of his neighbours. He was probably implicated in the conspiracy fomented by the Jew Yūsuf against his master Bādīs, king of Granada [see ZĪRIDS]. Later his forces took part with those of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in the famous battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Like the other Muslim rulers of Spain, he felt in the following year the weight of the Almoravid sultan's arm. After unsuccessfully besieging the fortress of Aledo and inciting Yūsuf to act harshly against al-Muʿtamid, whom he hated personally, he realised on his death-bed that his capital would be besieged by the Almoravids as Seville had been. This is why he advised his son and successor Aḥmad to seek asylum with the lords of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. Almeria was taken very soon afterwards by the Almoravids.

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*siyarā*ʾ, ed. Dozy, 172, 174, ed. Muʾnis, ii, 78-88 and index; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy, tr. Fagnan; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, ed. Lévi-Provençal; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., iii; idem, *Recherches*³, i, (memoir on the Tudjībids); D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton 1985, 83 (bibl.). (E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-MUʿTAṢIM BI 'LLĀH, Abū Isḥāḳ Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 218-27/833-42, son of the caliph Hārūn by a slave concubine Mārida.

During the reign of his brother and predecessor al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], al-Muʿtaṣim achieved a reputation as a skilful commander in Anatolia and as governor in Egypt. When al-Maʾmūn died in the Byzantine marches in Radjab 218/August 833, al-Muʿtaṣim was recognised as caliph despite support within the army for his nephew al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn (who was, in fact, later to conspire against al-Muʿtaṣim during the return from the Amorium campaign, and as a result to lose his life in 223/838). The beginning of al-Muʿtaṣim's reign was taken up with campaigns against the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*] in Djibāl (218/833), against the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid rebel Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim at Ṭālaḳān in Khurāsān (219/834) and against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] or Jhāts in Lower ʿIrāḳ (219/834), who were now deported to the Byzantine frontier region.

The four main, extended campaigns of the reign were, however, those firstly against the Khurramī leader Bābak [*q.v.*] in Arrān and Ādharbāydjān [*q.vv.*], brought to a successful conclusion with the storming of Bābak's headquarters at al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] by the general al-Afshīn Khaydhar (Ḥaydar) b. Ḳāwūs [*q.v.*] in 222/837. Secondly, in revenge for a Greek attack on Zibaṭra in the *thughūr* of the northern Djazīra, al-Muʿtaṣim himself and his commanders al-Afshīn and Ashnās led successful expeditions into Anatolia against the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, sacking Anḳira (Ankara) [*q.v.*] and ʿAmmūriyya (Amorium) [*q.v.*] in 223/838, thereby achieving for himself a great contemporary reputation, reflected in the verse of such poets as Abū Tammām, as a great *ghāzī* and hammer of the infidels. Thirdly, in 223 or 224/838-9, the Ḳārinid prince Māzyār b. Ḳārin b. Wandā(d)hurmuz [see ḲĀRINIDS] rebelled in Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*], seeking to extend his political authority within the Caspian provinces at the expense of other petty Iranian rulers there and to exclude the influence of the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. ṬĀHIR and ṬĀHIRIDS]. Members of the Ṭāhirid family were sent against Māzyār, his rebellion was quelled and Māzyār executed, as was at this time the now disgraced general al-Afshīn, accused of encouraging and colluding with Māzyār (226/841). Finally, revolts in Damascus and in Palestine and Jordan, the latter one led by a leader of the Yemeni Arabs there, one Abū Ḥarb, called al-Mubarkaʿ "The Veiled One" [*q.v.*], whose movement seems to have taken advantage of lingering pro-Umayyad sentiment in Sufyānid messianism there, had to be suppressed in 226-7/841-2.

Whereas ʿIrāḳ and the capital Baghdād had been the focus of prolonged resistance against al-Maʾmūn in the earlier part of that caliph's reign, this province remained quiet under al-Muʿtaṣim. He did, however, adopt a conscious policy of reducing dependence on the *Abnā*ʾ of Baghdād, the Arabs of Khurāsān who had hitherto been the mainstay of the ʿAbbāsid régime until the civil warfare between the brothers al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn in 195-8/811-13, and of relying more on professional slave troops (*ghilmān*, *mamālīk*), mostly Turkish or Maghribī [see GHULĀM. i]. Hence he now built for these new troops a military centre at Sāmarrā [*q.v.*] to the north of Baghdād, and this was to become the administrative capital of the caliphate for some sixty years. The purge of *Abnā*ʾ and Iranian commanders which followed al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn's abortive plot accelerated this trend, but the caliph was nevertheless wise enough to retain the Ṭāhirids as governors in Khurāsān, and one member of the family, Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab, governor of Baghdād, was always one of al-Muʿtaṣim's closest advisers and confidants.

Al-Muʿtaṣim's viziers included al-Faḍl b. Marwān [*q.v.*], who seems to have planted the idea of a move away from Baghdād in the caliph's mind, until 221/836, and then Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT] until the caliph's death. But a dominant influence over al-Muʿtaṣim was exercised by the Chief *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.v.*], under whose stimulus the Muʿtazilī inquisition, the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*], begun by al-Maʾmūn, continued not only in Baghdād but in such provinces as Syria and Egypt also, and involved the *imām* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*].

Al-Muʿtaṣim died at Sāmarrā on 18 Rabīʿ I 227/5 January 842, and was succeeded by his son Hārūn al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*]. Not much of the caliph's character emerges from the sources, though they stress his lack of culture compared with his brother al-Maʾmūn, with his questing mind; yet al-Muʿtaṣim's qualities as a military commander seem assured, and the ʿAbbāsid caliphate remained under him a mighty political and military entity.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

MUTAṬAWWIʿA, Muṭṭawwiʿa (a.), lit. "those who perform supererogatory deeds of piety, those over and above the duties laid upon them by the *Sharīʿa*", echoing the use of the verb *taṭawwaʿa* in Ḳurʾān, II, 153/158, 180/184, IX, 80/79, the term used in military contexts for volunteer fighters. Al-Samʿānī defines them (*Ansāb*, ed. Haydarābād, xii, 317) as "a group who devote themselves to *ghazw* and *djihād*, station themselves in *ribāṭ*s along the frontiers (*thughūr*) and who go beyond the call of duty

(*taṭawwaʿū*) in *ghazw* and undertake this last in the lands of unbelief when it is not incumbent upon them nor is an obvious institution in their land".

As well as the regular troops forming the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid army or *djund*, those in receipt of regular stipends (*rizḳ*, *ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]) from the *dīwān al-djaysh*, sc. the *murtaziḳa* "those entitled to living allowances" [see DJAYSH. i. Classical, and DJUND], there were from earliest times volunteers who served without *ʿaṭāʾ* but were entitled to a share in any captured plunder [see GHANĪMA]. However, it seems that they might sometimes be asked to make a contribution (*tanāhud*) to the expenses of a campaign out of their subsequent share of the booty. In early times, these volunteers must have included poor Bedouins, *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ], and, as time went on, an increasing proportion of those motivated by religious zeal and the desire for a martyr's death [see SHAHĪD]. Thus in the campaign of ʿAbd al-Malik's commander ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra against a local ruler of eastern Afghānistān, the Zunbīl of Zābulistān, in 79/698, volunteers from the Yemeni tribes of Madhhidj and Hamdān [*q.vv.*] are mentioned (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, cited in C.E. Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 277). Likewise, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's army assembled in 98/716-17 for an expedition against Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān included 100,000 Syrian, ʿIrāḳī and Khurāsānī troops plus *mawālī*, slaves (*mamālīk*) and volunteers (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1318; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 29).

There was, of course, a disadvantage to commanders having contingents of volunteers attached to their armies in that these volunteers were less amenable to military discipline and could come and go of their own free will, hence could not be relied upon for sustained campaigning or arduous fighting in remote or inhospitable terrains. During the campaign of al-Afshīn [*q.v.*] in northern Ādharbāydjān against the Khurramī rebel Bābak [*q.v.*] in 222/836-7, many members of the contingent of volunteers from Baṣra under the command of Abū Dulaf al-Ḳāsim al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*] melted away from the army when the final assault on the Khurramī fortress of al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] seemed to be unduly delayed (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1209-11, 1214, tr. Bosworth, *Storm and stress along the northern frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1991, 62-5, 67).

Volunteers were especially to be found on the frontiers of the Islamic world, where the opportunities for *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the pagans were greatest, e.g., along the Anatolian marches against the Byzantines, in the Caucasus against the Khazars, in Central Asia against the steppe peoples and in eastern Afghānistān and the fringes of north-western India against the local idolaters. In the caliphate of al-Mahdī, both regular troops and *muṭṭawwiʿa* were garrisoned at al-Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] in Cilicia (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 166). The frontier towns of Transoxania and Khʷārazm and their *ribāṭ*s had strong concentrations of volunteers within them, and these seem to have been often regarded as a volatile and unruly element, similar in social constitution and function to the *ʿayyārs* [*q.v.*]. They were ready to rush off and fight wherever the possibilities of holy war and plunder presented themselves, but were not always welcome (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 214-16). In 355/966 the Būyid *amīr* Rukn al-Dawla repelled by military force a group of 10,000 *ghāzī*s from Khurāsān who were ostensibly marching westwards against the Byzantines but who were, he feared, being utilised by the rival Sāmānid dynasty to destabilise his amirate (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 569-71).

Where a ruler or commander acquired a particular reputation as a successful war-leader and hammer of the infidels, volunteers would be attracted to his standard in large numbers. This was especially the case with the early Ghaznawids Sebüktigin, Maḥmūd and Masʿūd [*q.vv.*], whose campaigns down to the plains of northern India, with rich prospects of Indian slaves and temple treasures, always included a large proportion of volunteers from all over the eastern Islamic world (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 114).

The bands of volunteers or *ʿayyārūn* in certain parts of the eastern Islamic world might also turn their energies against internal dissent or heterodoxy. This is clear in the province of Sīstān, where bodies of orthodox Sunnī volunteers or vigilantes were active against local Khāridjite elements; out of these bands, the Ṣaffārid brothers Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.vv.*] were to rise to power during the second half of the 3rd/9th century (see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-240/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 85, 112 ff.).

From around the 5th/11th century onwards, the term *mutaṭawwiʿa*/*muṭṭawwiʿa* tends to drop out of use, and such terms as *ghāzī and mudjāhid* [*q.vv.*] are used more and more for the concept of volunteer warriors for the faith.

A modern formation from this Arabic root is *muṭawwiʿ*, lit. "one who compels obedience", used in contemporary Saudi Arabia to designate the religious police who enforce the closure of shops during the times of public prayer, oversee morals, etc.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also RIBĀṬ. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ 'LLĀH**, ABU 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, ʿAbbāsid caliph. He was born in Shawwāl 206/Feb.-March 822, son of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim [*q.v.*] and a Khʷārazmī slave-girl called Shudjāʿ. There is no sign that he had early political ambitions, and he seems to have lived in obscurity until the death of his brother, the caliph al-Wāthiḳ [*q.v.*] in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/Aug. 847. Al-Wāthiḳ left a young son but no designated adult successor. The succession was decided by a council consisting of the *wazīr* ibn al-Zayyāt and the chief *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.vv.*], two other bureaucrats and two leading Turkish military men, Aytākh and Waṣīf. They rejected Ibn al-Zayyāt's advice to appoint al-Wāthiḳ's son and instead chose his brother Djaʿfar, who was duly installed as caliph. They probably hoped that he would prove a pliable instrument like his brother had been, but they soon found out how mistaken they were, and al-Mutawakkil soon showed that he had an independent mind and a clear and decided policy. He was determined from the beginning to assert the independence of the caliph and to break the dominance of the Turkish military and the bureaucracy.

He rapidly removed the leading figures and the old régime, Ibn al-Zayyāt (executed 233/847), Aytākh (assassinated 235/849) and Ibn Abī Duwād (dismissed 237/851-2). In their places he appointed new ministers, notably the *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān and his personal favourite al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*]. In 235/849 he also appointed his sons to take over the vast supervisory governorates held by the Turkish generals, al-Muntaṣir to Egypt and al-Djazīra, al-Muʿtazz to Khurāsān and al-Muʾayyad to Syria and Palestine, intending that the great men of the next generation should be members of the ʿAbbāsid family as they had been under al-Manṣūr. Only the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in Baghdād and Khurāsān

were left unchallenged and continued to work in partnership with the caliph.

Al-Mutawakkil also set about recruiting a new army in order to break the Turkish monopoly of military power, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāḳān sought to recruit troops from the Ḳaysī Arabs of Syria, the *abnāʾ* of Baghdād and from Armenia. The favour shown to these new elements provoked growing anger among the Turks, who felt their position threatened. Just as al-Muʿtaṣim had founded a new capital at Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*] to house his Turkish army, so al-Mutawakkil sought a new seat where he could establish himself. He tried Damascus briefly in 244/858, but is said to have been deterred by the plague, but probably also because it was too far from the centres of wealth and power in ʿIrāḳ and Persia. He chose instead a site a few miles north of Sāmarrāʾ in 245/859-60 which he called al-Djaʿfariyya. Despite its proximity to Sāmarrāʾ, this was conceived as an independent town with its own great mosque, palaces and urban centre, the outline of which can still be traced on the ground today.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of his policy was to break with the Muʿtazilī position which had been the official doctrine of the ʿAbbāsid government since al-Maʾmūn had introduced the *miḥna* [*q.v.*]. In its place, the caliph stressed his adherence to the doctrines of the Ḥanbalīs and other Traditionists. In part, this was a symbolic rejection of his predecessors' policies, but he probably hoped also to attract to himself the undoubted popular support which the Traditionists enjoyed, especially in Baghdād. He appointed a new *ḳāḍī*, Yaḥyā b. Aktham, who was sympathetic to the Traditionists, introduced discriminatory dress regulations for Christians and Jews [see GHIYĀR], and destroyed the tomb of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, which had become an important centre of devotion.

Despite these political upheavals, his reign was in the main a time of peace. There were continuing disturbances in Ādharbaydjān, where Ibn al-Baʿīth rebelled in 234/848-9 and in Armenia in 237/851-2, where a rebellion against increasing ʿAbbāsid pressure was put down by the Turkish general Bughā the Elder [see BUGHĀ AL-KABĪR]. Bughā also led successful campaigns against the Byzantines in 245/859 and 246/860, but without producing any decisive results.

The caliph's decisive policies made him a number of enemies, notably among the Turkish military. To these he added his eldest son al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], who feared that he was to be deprived of his position as heir apparent, and they came together to assassinate him in Shawwāl 247/Dec. 861. His death deprived the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of a forceful and effective ruler who might well have re-established the caliph's authority on a firm footing. In the event, his death plunged the caliphate into anarchy.

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(H. KENNEDY)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ 'LLĀH, IBN AL-AFṬAS, ʿUMAR B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd Allāh, fourth and last ruler of the Afṭasid [*q.v.*] dynasty in the petty state [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] of Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]), in south-western al-Andalus [*q.v.*], in the 5th/11th century.

ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil came to power as a result of intrigues against his brother Yaḥyā in 461/1068-9 (the date emerges from two passages in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām, iv, 650 and v, 252); Yaḥyā himself appears to have reigned for some four or five years (the chronology of the dynasty still presents problems). From this time on, al-Mutawakkil played an important political role in peninsular affairs, one consonant both with the (relatively) great size of his kingdom and with its isolation from the main cultural and economic centres further to the east in the Iberian peninsula. A number of well-known littérateurs served him as viziers (e.g., Ibn ʿAbdūn, one of the Banū Ḳuzmān and one of the Banū Ḳabturnu [*q.vv.*]). In 472-3/1079-80, he occupied Toledo (Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*]), but although he had come at the invitation of the city's inhabitants, who were anxious to be rid of the incompetent and dangerous Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], he was unable to establish a durable régime there, and left after only ten months. In the succeeding years, as the general position of Islam in the peninsula worsened, he adopted a policy, much like those of his peers, vacillating between temporising with regard to Christian demands for tribute (*parias*) and appealing for help to the rising power of the Almoravids (al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]) in North Africa. His attempts to play each side off against the other came to nothing, however; despite his presence in 479/1086 at the battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], which took place in his own territory, and his participation in the struggle against the Christian advance, he was in the end, like virtually all the other *taifa* monarchs, deposed, in 487/1094 or 488/1095, and put to death, together with two of his sons, on the road to captivity. A third son is said to have spent some time in Christian Spain and may even finally have been converted to Christianity. His dynasty was the subject of a famous *marthiya* [*q.v.*] or lament by Ibn ʿAbdūn, on which Ibn Badrūn later wrote a well-known commentary (ed. Dozy).

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(D.J. WASSERSTEIN)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ 'LLĀH, ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-MANṢŪR BI'LLĀH AL-ḲĀSIM (b. *ca.* 1019/1610), the first Ḳāsimī Zaydī *imām* to rule Yemen completely independent of the Ottoman Turks.

Ismāʿīl's claim to the imāmate, following the death

of his brother, Imām al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Muḥammad [*q.v.*], at Shahāra in Radjab 1054/September 1644, was challenged by three other aspirants, most seriously by his older brother, Abu Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim (1007-66/1598-1656). Despite some initial regional support for the latter, Ismāʿīl's claim ultimately won acceptance among the *ʿulamāʾ*, owing to broad recognition of his predilection for scholarship and his knowledge of the principles of Zaydī governance. Once the succession had been resolved after at least one test of arms (1055/1645), the *imām*'s family closed ranks behind him; his brother Aḥmad accepted to become his governor of the important northern city of Ṣaʿda, while several nephews served him well as commanders.

Although Imām Ismāʿīl lacked the martial qualities often associated with Zaydī *imāms*, it is nevertheless the case that in his time the *imām*'s authority was carried to perhaps its widest extent ever in modern history. Most of this expansion occurred in the south and east, where successful campaigns were conducted against Aden and Laḥdj (1055/1645), al-Bayḍāʾ and Yāfiʿ (1065/1655), Ḥaḍramawt (1069-70/1659-60) and even Ẓufār in ʿUmān (1073/1662-3). In these and other military operations the *imām*'s principal commander was his nephew and successor, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim [see AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD].

Imām Ismāʿīl died on 5 Djumādā II 1087/15 August 1676 at Djabal Ḍawrān, south of Ṣanʿāʾ, to where he had transferred the *imām*'s residence from Shahāra in the north. Essentially a scholarly and religious personality who preferred the company of the *ʿulamāʾ*, he composed numerous works on Zaydī jurisprudence and dogma, of which at least 23 have been identified as extant (al-Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt*, 140-3). Reflecting this personal preoccupation with religious concerns were his dispatch of an unsuccessful mission to convert the emperor of Abyssinia to Islam (1057/1647) and his revival of the office of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* for Yemen, a position which had not been filled since before the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks in 1045/1635.

Bibliography: 1. Unpublished sources. An unpublished partial biography covering the years 1056-72/1646-62 is that by Djurmūzī (d. 1077/1666-7), *Tuḥfat al-asmāʿ wa 'l-abṣār*. Other ms. sources include Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1689), *Bahdjat al-zaman*, the continuation to an earlier work (*Anbāʾ al-zaman*) chronicling events in Yemen between 1046/1636-7 and 1099/1687-8; the *Sīrat al-Manṣūr bi'llāh al-Ḳāsim*, a work of unidentified authorship described as a history of Yemen 985-1085/1577-1674 (A. Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 332); al-Ḥasanī (d. 1104/1692-3), *Takmilat Kitāb al-ifāda*; ʿĀmir b. Muḥammad al-Rashīd (d. 1135/1722-3), *Bughyat al-murīd*.

2. Useful published accounts are Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1734-5), *Ṭabaḳ al-ḥalwā*, ed. Djāzim, Ṣanʿāʾ 1405/1985, a general chronicle focussing on events in Yemen 1045-90/1635-79; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 411-16, iv, 122 f.; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen*, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 258 f.; Wüstenfeld, *Jemen*, Göttingen 1884, 63-71; Zabāra, *Ithāf al-muhtadīn*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1343/1924-5, 82; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 146-9; ʿArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. al-Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 67 f.; Djurāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 156-66; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1957-61, ii, 287; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 246-51; Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 139-43; R.G. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (eds.), *Ṣanʿāʾ, an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, 80-2.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALĀ 'LLĀH, SHARAF AL-DĪN YAḤYA B. SHAMS AL-DĪN B. AL-IMĀM AL-MAHDĪ AḤMAD, 10th/16th century Zaydī *imām* in whose time the Ottoman Turks first became established in Yemen.

Born in northwestern Yemen on 27 Ramaḍān 877/25 February 1473, Sharaf al-Dīn announced his claim (*daʿwa*) to the imāmate during Djumādā I 912/September 1506, after years of study to achieve the necessary recognition as a Zaydī *mudjtahid*. It was another three decades (*ca.* 941/1535), however, before he was able to impose his religious and political authority upon the majority of Zaydī communities, particularly upon the rival northern tribal confederations of the Āl al-Maḥmūd (Āl Ḥamza) and Āl al-Muʾayyad. Aided by his sons, principally the eldest, al-Muṭahhar [*q.v.*], a proven commander, Imām Sharaf al-Dīn succeeded in reuniting the Zaydīs and in restoring the ascendancy of the imāmate after a protracted period of weakness. He further regained for the Zaydīs control over much of the southern highlands and of the northern Tihāma from a succession of pretenders to the Sunnī Ṭāhirid sultanate (*ca.* 858-923/1454-1517 [see ṬĀHIRIDS]) and from the Egyptian Mamlūks based in the southern Tihāma since 922/1516. Subsequently, he contained for eight years the tiny Ottoman *sandjaḳbeyilik* established by Khādīm Süleymān Pasha at Zabīd in 945/1539 (and shortly elevated in status to a *beylerbeyilik*).

At the close of 953 or the beginning of 954/February or March 1547, Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, who forever favoured religious and scholarly pursuits to attending to administrative demands, lost *de facto* control of the imāmate to al-Muṭahhar. Following his deposition at a time when the Zaydīs, threatened by an Ottoman thrust into the interior, needed a general more than a jurisprudent as their leader, Sharaf al-Din went into forced retirement. Stripped of power, but not of influence, he remained opposed to al-Muṭahhar's leadership and ambivalent towards the Ottoman Turks. His death from plague occurred on 7 Djumādā II 965/27 March 1555 at Ẓafīr, where he had proclaimed his imāmate half a century before. Despite his lifelong devotion to scholarship, none of his compositions concerned with the Zaydī rite achieved any lasting repute.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-Dīn's life was the subject of at least four biographies (*sīra*s). The oldest, that by al-Zurayḳī (d. 960/1553), goes only as far as 940/1533-4. Another, that by al-ʿAlafī, begins with the year of the *imām*'s *daʿwa* (912/1506). The remaining two were composed by Ibn Dāʿir (the father of the author of *al-Futūḥāt*, see below) and by Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1085/1674-5), *al-Sulūk al-dhahabiyya*. Other ms. sources are Fīrūz (d. after 970/1562-3), *Maṭāliʿ al-nīrān*; Ibn Dāʿir (d. after 1010/1601-2), *al-Futūḥāt*; al-Mawzaʿī (d. after 1031/1622), *al-Iḥsān*; ʿĪsā b. Luṭf Allāh (d. 1048/1638; the *imām*'s great-grandson), *Rawḥ al-rūḥ*; al-Sharafī (d.1055/1645-6), *al-Laʾālī al-muḍiyya*; al-Shillī (d. 1092/1681), *al-Sanāʾ al-bāhir*; al-Ḥasanī (d. 1104/1692-3), *Takmilat al-ifāda*; and al-Shahārī (d. 1153/1740-1), *Ṭabaḳāt al-Zaydiyya*.

Two printed sources of primary value are Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī* = *Ghāzawāt al-Djarākisa*, ed. al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1967, 60-8, and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. *ca.* 1100/1688), *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1968, ii, 634-717. Other printed sources include Aḥmed Rāshid,

Tārīkh-i Yemen, Istanbul 1291/1874-5, i, 12-81; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 278-80; Djurāfī, *al-Muktaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 134-40; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, Taʿizz 1375/1955-6, i, 369-453; Sālim, *al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Cairo 1969, 115 ff.; Bayḥānī, *Ashiʿʿat al-anwār*, Cairo 1391/1971-2, ii, 146-9, 222, Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 119-23, and Blackburn, *The Ottoman penetration of Yemen*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 55-100.

(J.R. Blackburn)

MUTAWĀLĪ (A.), pl. *matāwila/mutāwila, mtawleh* in colloquial Lebanese, *métoualis* in French, name for the Twelver Shīʿīs [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] in Lebanon [see LUBNĀN]. The term is also used for those Twelver Shīʿīs who emigrated from there to Damascus, but not, generally speaking, for those resident in Ḥamāt, Ḥims, Aleppo or elsewhere in Syria. The name seems to have come into use at first as *Banū Mutawāl*, and not before the 11-12th/17th-18th centuries. It most probably was the name by which the Shīʿīs of the Djabal ʿĀmil [see ʿĀMILA], of Baalbek [see BAʿLABAKK] and of northern Lebanon designated themselves. From the 17th century onwards, they gradually gained some form of independence from the *amīrs* of Lebanon under their own leaders, the Āl Naṣṣār, the Banū Ḥarfūsh [*q.v.*] and the Āl Ḥamāda (Ṣafadī, *Lubnān*, index, 261; Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān*, ii, index, 579; Aḥmad Riḍā, in Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, vi, 252 f.; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, i/1, ed. 1960, 16 f., ed. 1986, 20; Cohen, *Palestine*, 98-104).

Even after the endeavours of Aḥmad Riḍā, H. Lammens, Muḥsin al-Amīn and others, the etymology of the name is not clearly elucidated. According to Aḥmad Riḍā, *matāwila* is a plural which, contrary to the rules, is formed from *tawallā/mutawallī* or, in accordance with the rules, from *tawālā/mutawālī*. In both cases the name would refer to a relationship of loyalty and adherence to the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] (*al-ʿIrfān*, ii/5 [May 1910], 237; *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xxxvi/5 [May 1910], 425, and the critical notes to this by Shakīb Arslān in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, xxxvii/2 [August 1910], 739 f.). In the version mentioned by Arslān (*ibid.*), who refers to Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the name is said to go back to *mut waliyyan li-ʿAlī*, a kind of war-cry, and as such it is a merely popular etymology (for the various explanations of the name, see also Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Āl al-Faḳīh al-ʿĀmilī, *Djabal ʿĀmil*, 31 f.).

At first, the *Matāwila* most probably regarded their name as a mark of honour. It did not however remain unknown to them that, in the common parlance of Sunnīs, Druzes and Christians in Lebanon, the term soon had a negative ring to it. It was only their political consciousness under Imām Mūsā Ṣadr which, around 1974, made them shake off definitely this designation which young educated Shīʿīs in particular associate with backwardness and discrimination (Lammens, *Les "Perses"*, 31 f.; Ajami, *The Vanished Imam*, 155; Rieck, *Die Schiiten*, 140, 147).

It is beyond doubt that the historical presence in Lebanon of the Twelver Shīʿīs is much older than the time in which the name *matāwila* came up. Referring to a passage in the *Amal al-āmil* [see AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ], *matāwila* authors, particularly in the 20th century, point out again and again that the community of the Twelver Shīʿīs in Lebanon was established already in early Islamic times. Their existence there is said to go back to the missionary activities of Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], the Companion of the Prophet; this community thus would be the second oldest after that in the Ḥidjāz (Aḥmad Riḍā, *op. cit.*; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Djabal ʿĀmil*, ed. 1983, 83 ff.). This assertion was challenged in particular by Shakīb Arslān (see *Bibl.*). But the popularity which Abū Dharr in recent times enjoys with many Twelver Shīʿīs (and with Sunnīs as well) as an alleged socialist and rebel furthers the spread and the affirmation of the idea that he is a sort of founding father of the Shīʿa in Lebanon. This way of representing things is also suitable for rejecting any speculation about an alleged Persian origin of the *matāwila*, which is undesirable from the point of view of Arab nationalism (see Lammens, *op. cit.*). It is true that in Lebanon there never was a centre of Shīʿī learning of the same importance as the ʿAtabāt [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in ʿIrāḳ, but the region of Djabal ʿĀmil throughout the centuries produced a number of important learned families (see the outline map in Momen, *An introduction to Shiʿi Islam*, New Haven-London 1985, 270-1). Members of these families have played an important role in both ʿIrāḳ and Persia, especially since the 10th/16th century (Hourani and Muruwwa, see *Bibl.*). However, their influence on the early phase of the Ṣafawid period in Persia should not be exaggerated.

Authors from the Djabal ʿĀmil such as ʿĀrif al-Zayn (d. 1960), Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1952) and Muḥammad Djawād Mughniyya (d. 1979), have had an important part in the development of Twelver Shīʿī modernism (Makkī, *al-Ḥaraka*; Muḥammad ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn, *al-Iṣlāḥ al-hādiʾ*; Khalidi, *Shaykh Ahmad*; Mallat, *Shiʿi thought*).

After the foundation of the State of Lebanon, the *Matāwila* succeeded in 1926 to be recognised as an independent *madhhab* with their own judges and courts (see *OM*, vi [1926], 87 f.). However, in the following period they again and again had occasion to complain about their being discriminated against in the country's political system and about the economic neglect of their regions. The "Shīʿī awakening", the formation of Shīʿī militias and the influence of Iran on this development play a central role in the outbreak and the course of the Lebanese Civil War since 1975 (see the research by Ajami, Pohl-Schöberlein, Rieck and Norton and the literature given there). Because of the *ṭāʾifiyya* system in Lebanon, giving information about their exact number or about their part in the entire population has always been avoided in the case of the Twelver Shīʿīs. There are also only vague reports on their part in the population of Lebanese origin living abroad (West Africa, South and North America).

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Ḥaraka al-fikriyya wa'l-adabiyya fī Djabal ʿĀmil, 1st ed. Beirut 1963, 2nd enlarged ed. 1982; ʿAlī Muruwwa, al-Tashayyuʿ bayn Djabal ʿĀmil wa-Īrān, London 1987; Muḥ. Djawād Mughniyya, al-Waḍʿ al-ḥāḍir fī Djabal ʿĀmil, 1st ed. 1947, 2nd ed. 1984; Muḥ. ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn, al-Iṣlāḥ al-hādiʾ, Beirut 1985 (biography of Muḥsin al-Amīn); Ḳayṣar Muṣṭafā, al-Shiʿr al-ʿāmilī al-ḥadīth fī djanūb Lubnān, Beirut 1981. For further material in Arabic, see Yūsuf al-Dīb (ed.), Fihrist Djabal ʿĀmil, 1909-1986, Beirut 1986. An invaluable source is the journal al-ʿIrfān, founded in 1909 in Ṣaydā; cf. Tarif Khalidi, Shaykh Ahmad ʿArif al-Zayn and al-ʿIrfan, in Marwan R. Buheiry (ed.), Intellectual life in the Arab East, Beirut 1981, 110-24. Further literature in western languages: Fouad Ajami, The Vanished Imam, London 1986; A. Cohen, Palestine in the 18th century, Jerusalem 1973; A. Hourani, From Jabal ʿĀmil to Persia, in BSOAS, xlix (1986), 133-40; H. Lammens, Les "Perses" du Liban et l'origine des Métoualis, in MUSJ, xiv (1929), 23-39; Chibli Mallat, Shiʿi thought from the south of Lebanon, Oxford 1988; R. Norton, Amal and the Shia. Struggle for the soul of Lebanon, Austin 1987; Monika Pohl-Schöberlein, Die schiitische Gemeinschaft des Südlibanon, Berlin 1986; A. Rieck, Die Schiiten und der Kampf um den Libanon. Politische Chronik 1958-1988, Hamburg 1989; C.E. Bosworth, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī and his literary anthologies, Manchester 1989. (W. Ende)

al-**MUTAWALLĪ**, Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maʾmūn, Shāfiʿī jurist, born at Nīsābūr in 426/1035 (or 427/1036), died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 478/February 1086. In *fiḳh*, his principal teachers were the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn al-Marwarrūdhī (d. 462/1070; see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 356-65) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Fūrānī al-Marwazī (d. 471/1079; *ibid.*, v, 109-15). In the history of the Shafiʿī school, he is primarily known as *ṣāḥib al-Tatimma*, that is, as author of a "Supplement", which was never completed, to the *Ibāna* of al-Fūrānī (see Brockelmann, I, 387, S I, 669). On the death of Abū Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] in Djumādā II 476/October 1083, he succeeded him for some time in the Niẓāmiyya at Baghdād; dismissed the same year and replaced by Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1085), he was restored a few months later to his functions, which he retained until his death.

Besides his works of *fiḳh* (including a "Summary" concerning successions which is attributed to him), al-Mutawallī is also the author of a brief treatise on the *uṣūl al-dīn*, the title of which is not mentioned by his biographers, and which has recently been the object of two editions: the first (1986) under the title of *al-Mughnī* (after the ms. of Alexandria, Baladiyya 2014 d), the second (1987) under that of *al-Ghunya* (after the ms. of Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2340). This treatise, rightly described by al-Subkī as conforming to the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī, is in fact nothing more than a fairly systematic plagiarism —in spite of a few modifications or suppressions—of the *K. al-Irshād* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and is therefore of little interest beyond the assistance which it may supply in the reading of the latter work.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 18; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, iii, 132-3; Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960, iii, 290; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1974-6, v, 106-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 128; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 358; M. Bernand, *Un ouvrage de kalam ashʿarite attribué à un contemporain d'al-Juwayni*, in *Islamic theology and philosophy, Studies in honor of G.F. Hourani*, ed. M.E. Marmura, Albany 1984; idem, *Le* Mugnī *d'al-Mutawallī*, Supplement to *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo 1986 (on this edition, see *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques*, no. 5 [1988], 54-9); al-Mutawallī al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Ghunya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. ʿImād al-Dīn A. Ḥaydar, Beirut 1406/1987. (D. Gimaret)

MUTAWĀTIR (a.), active participle of Form VI of *w-t-r*, "that which comes successively". It is used as a technical term in two senses:

(a) In the methodologies of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*, and for the term see Vol. III, 25b] and of law, the term is the counterpart of *khabar al-wāḥid* [*q.v.*] and denotes a Prophetic tradition (or, in general, any report) with multiple chains of transmission [see isnād]. Concerning the requisite number of concurrent chains that would make a report *mutawātir*, there is no unanimity; it is supposed to be a sufficient number to preclude the possibility of possible agreement on an error or of collusion in a forgery. The Kurʾān, e.g., is clearly transmitted by *tawātur* [*q.v.*]. The works on *ḥadīth* methodology do not devote much attention to the notion, whereas most compendiums on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (juridical methodology) contain chapters—sometimes lengthy ones—on it within the section dealing with *akhbār* (reports). This is only natural, because the notion of *mutawātir* grew out of discussions of the *ḥudjdjiyya* (possibility of proof, conclusiveness) of a Prophetic tradition for determining the legal status of an act, which was a central concern of the legal theorists. In fact, a *mutawātir* tradition was considered by the majority of authorities to yield knowledge (*ʿilm*) and certitude (*yaḳīn*) rather than presumption (*ẓann*). There are not too many traditions that qualify as *mutawātir*, especially not of the *mutawātir bi 'l-lafẓ* variety, in which the texts appended to the various chains are identical in wording (the opposite being *mutawātir bi 'l-maʿnā* where the texts are identical in meaning only). Al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] and others made collections of them. But, as Juynboll has shown, even a recognised *mutawātir* tradition may not reflect recognised historical truth (*Muslim tradition*, ch. iii).

In the epistemology of *kalām* theology (and to some extent, philosophy, see e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 61), the idea of *tawātur* was extended to all reports on distant times or places and covered such propositions as "there is a city called Mecca" and "there has existed a king called Alexander". Most authors consider that knowledge based on a *mutawātir* report is "immediate" (*ḍarūrī*) just like senseperception, and not "acquired" (*muktasab*) by reasoning.

Al-Taftāzānī in his commentary on the *ʿAḳīda* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), 33-4, mentions two objections to the validity of *mutawātir* reports. The first is that Jews and Christians accept as *mutawātir* reports that are rejected by Muslims. To this objection, al-Taftāzānī simply replies that the possibility that these reports should be *mutawātir*, is excluded. The second objection is that the reports of every single reporter (*āḥād* [see khabar al-wāḥid]) represent an opinion only and that an accumulation of opinions cannot be said to afford certainty. To this, al-Taftāzānī replies that often plurality has a power of which singleness is devoid, e.g., a cord made of hair.

(b) In prosody, the term is applied to the rhyme in which only one moving letter intervenes between the last two quiescents. See also ḳāfiya, esp. at IV, 412b, top.

Bibliography: For (a), ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 11 ff.; *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, art. 16; Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳīda*, ed. W. Cureton, 1-2; Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī, *ʿUmda*, ed. Cureton, 1; Taftāzānī, commentary on Nasafī's *ʿAḳīda*, Istanbul

1313, 33 ff.; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 137; Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ed. Ṭāhā D̲j̲ābir al-ʿUlwānī, ii/1, n.p. 1400/1980, 323-84; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-d̲j̲unnat al-munāẓir*[2], Riyāḍ 1404/1984, i, 243-59; Suyūṭī, *al-Azhār al-mutanāt̲h̲ira fī 'l-ak̲h̲bār al-mutawātira*, Cairo 1302/1885; I. Goldziher, *Le livre d'Ibn Toumert*, 47 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, index, s.v.; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīt̲h̲ wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 147-52; Hasan Hanafi, *Les méthodes d'exégèse*, Cairo 1385/1965, 34-42; G.H.A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, index s.v.; Muh. Mustafa Azami, *Studies in Hadīth methodology and literature*, Indianapolis 1977, 42-3; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 96 ff.; A. Zysow, *The economy of certainty: an introduction to the typology of Islamic legal theory*, diss. Harvard 1984, unpubl., 11-24 and ff. (fundamental).

For (b), G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 303, 305; W. Wright, *Arabic grammar*[3], ii, 255.

(A.J. Wensinck-[W.F. Heinrichs])

MUṬAWWIF, the pilgrim's guide in Mecca. The word literally means one who leads the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]. The task of the *muṭawwif* is, however, by no means limited to assisting pilgrims from foreign lands, who entrust themselves to their guidance, to go through the ceremonies required at the circumambulation of the Kaʿba. On the contrary, they act as guides at the *saʿy* also and at all other ceremonies which are prescribed or only recommended for the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or *ʿumra* [*q.vv.*]. The *muṭawwifs* also cater very completely for the physical welfare of the pilgrims. As soon as the pilgrims arrive in D̲j̲idda or in Mecca, their agents are ready on the arrival of the steamers or airplanes to provide all the services they require from disembarkment to departure for Mecca. In Mecca, the *muṭawwifs* or members of their families and servants take charge of the pilgrims. During the whole of their stay they provide the pilgrims with lodging, service, food, purchases (necessary and unnecessary), attend them if they fall ill and in case of death take charge of what they leave behind them.

The *muṭawwifs* of course do not all this for nothing. They are appropriately paid for their trouble and see that, if the pilgrim is rich, their friends and relations also make something out of him. Of the money which they themselves receive, they have to hand over a considerable part in the form of fees, presents etc. to the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the gild and to the treasury, another reason for getting as much as possible out of those entrusted to their care. It is therefore no wonder that many pilgrims have complained bitterly about the covetousness of these particularly prominent representatives of the Meccan pilgrim industry. Under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd, the fees for guides were first fixed by a legal enactment of the Ḥid̲j̲āz government (*OM*, xii [1932], 249).

Reference has already been made to the fact that the *muṭawwifs* are organised in gilds; they are divided up into separate groups who sometimes have the right to exploit the pilgrims from a definite area only (e.g., Lower Egypt). All these groups together form the gild with a chief *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* officially recognised as its head. The gild is also very exclusive. "Wild" (*i.e.*, independent) guides (*d̲j̲arrārs*) have to be content with the scanty pickings left over for them by the organised *muṭawwifs*. On the rôle of the *muṭawwifs* in Mecca in recent, post-war decades, see makka. 3.

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(R. Paret)

MUṬAYR, a major camel-rearing Bedouin tribe of Arabia, now living in Saudi Arabia and Kuwayt, and counted among the *aṣīl* or "noble" tribes in local taxonomy. They were particularly prominent in the period of the Ik̲h̲wān movement of the 1920s when, under Fayṣal al-Duwīs̲h̲, they, with other Ik̲h̲wān tribes raided into ʿIrāḳī territory until Fayṣal's final surrender to the British at D̲j̲ahrā in 1930. Muṭayr, originally a tribe of central Nad̲j̲d and Ḥid̲j̲āz, are now divided into an eastern and a western section, the former being more prominent. The eastern section are often known as ʿIlwa, the western as Banū ʿAbdillāh. This nomenclature is, however, a simplification, as shown in the following listing of the main subsections and their location after Dickson: I. Dūs̲h̲ān, the ruling clan (singular Duwīs̲h̲), eastern; II. ʿIlwa, comprising Mwaha, D̲h̲uwi ʿAwn, D̲j̲iblān, all eastern; and III. Burayh, comprising Awlād Wāṣil, eastern, and Awlād ʿAlī and Banū ʿAbdillāh, both western.

Their original homeland, as shown by toponomy and tradition, is the volcanic uplands between Mecca and Medina (Doughty, ii, 366). They are first mentioned by Ibn Bis̲h̲r (64) in 1080/1669 in connection with the S̲h̲arīf Ḥamūd b. ʿAbd Allāh's expedition to Nad̲j̲d. During the 12th/18th century, with the help of the G̲h̲aṭān (Ḳaḥṭān) and in a long series of wars, they contested the ʿAniza (ʿAnaza) for the pasturages of central Nad̲j̲d (Burckhardt, 461) and finally managed to force them out northwards. They were both, nevertheless, superseded by the ʿUtayba, who remain to this day numerically the largest tribe of central Nad̲j̲d, although as late as 1287-8/1870-1 they are recorded as fighting the G̲h̲aṭān around ʿUnayza. Up till the early 12th/18th century, they occupied the desert between Ḳaṣīm and Medina. However, by the time of Doughty's visit in the 1870s they were already regularly migrating towards Kuwait in summer, this following the eclipse of the Banū K̲h̲ālid, the previous rulers of al-Aḥsā. In 1239/1823 with the help of the ʿAd̲j̲mān, they had defeated the Banū K̲h̲ālid in the ʿArma plateau. However, later in 1243/1827 they were allied with the latter against Turkī b. Suʿūd. Such quick changes of alliance characterised Bedouin political relationships in those times. By that time they can be seen to have moved the focus of their attention to the east. During the 13th/19th century they opposed the growing power of the Āl Suʿūd, sometimes allied with the Āl Ras̲h̲īd, sometimes with the Egyptians. But by the beginning of this century they had joined the Ik̲h̲wān movement and were the spearhead of Ibn Suʿūd's attacks into Ḥid̲j̲āz, D̲j̲abal S̲h̲ammar and Kuwayt territory. They were prominent in the ill-fated Ik̲h̲wān rebellion against Ibn Suʿūd, and Fayṣal al-Duwīs̲h̲ ended his days a prisoner of the latter after being handed over to him by the British in defiance of Bedouin rules of sanctuary.

The territory of the eastern Muṭayr centres on the Ṭuwāl, the "deep" wells of Muṭayr, Wabrā, Garʿa (Ḳarʿa), Luṣāfa, Lahāba, D̲z̲arya (Ḳarya) ʿIlyā and

Dzarya Siflā; extending south they embrace Khufaysa and ʿIrḳ Ṭuraybi, then west to Ḳayʿiyya and Arṭāwiyya, Burayda and ʿUnayza, then northeast along the Bāṭin to al-Ḥafar. They border the ʿAdjmān and ʿAwāzim on the east, the Subayʿ and Suhūl on the south, and the Ḥarb, Shammar and Ẓafīr on the west.

Their main traditional enemies in the days of intertribal raiding were the Shammar and Ẓafīr, the latter taking the brunt of their attacks into ʿIrāḳ in the Ikhwān period. They are counted Ahl al-Djunūb "southern Bedouin" like the ʿUtayba, Ḥarb and ʿAdjmān. In fact, they are the northernmost of these, the Shammar and Ẓafīr being Ahl al-Shimāl "northerners". Their dialect, of a central Nadjdī type, links them with some sections of Ḥarb and ʿUtayba, also west-central Nadjdī in origin and present location.

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MUṬAYYABŪN [see LAʿAḲAT AL-DAM].

MUʿTAZILA, the name of a religious movement founded at Baṣra, in the first half of the 2nd/8th century by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748 [*q.v.*]), subsequently becoming one of the most important theological schools of Islam.

The origin of this term—which has the sense of "those who separate themselves, who stand aside"—remains enigmatic. According to a traditional explanation (sometimes acknowledged by the Muʿtazila themselves), the word would have been applied to Wāṣil—or to his lieutenant, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. 144/761 [*q.v.*])—because on the question relating to the definition applicable to the Muslim guilty of a serious offence, the former (or the second) "would have separated himself" from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (or from Ḳatāda) (on this tradition and its variants, see W. M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 209-11). An explanation, more plainly hostile, propounded notably by Ibn al-Rāwandī (according to al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, 118, ll. 2-9, later by al-Ashʿarī, *K. al-Lumaʿ*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, § 184), is that, on the same question of the name to be given to the sinful Muslim—who should, according to Wāṣil, be described by the definition of *fāsiḳ*, an "intermediate rank" between that of *muʾmin* and that of *kāfir*—Wāṣil was opposed to the consensus of the Muslims for whom, in any circumstances, the sinful Muslim could not be other than "believing" or "disbelieving". To this, the Muʿtazila replied that, on the contrary, Wāṣil's intention was in fact to retain only that which, among Muslims, was the object of a consensus: while they differed as to whether the sinful Muslim should be termed *muʾmin* or *kāfir*, all, on the other hand, were agreed in defining him as *fāsiḳ* (*K. al-Intiṣār*, 118, ll. 10-19). In other words, on this question, Wāṣil was as unwilling to side with the Murdjiʾa (*q.v.*; partisans of the first solution) as with the Khāridjites (*q.v.*; partisans of the second); he chose to "stand aside" from this debate.

It is an explanation of this kind which today, in particular as a result of the studies undertaken by Nallino (*Sull'origine del nome dei Muʿtaziliti*, in *RSO*, vii [1916]), is generally accepted: *iʿtizāl* would designate a position of neutrality in the face of opposing factions. Nallino drew support for this argument from the fact that at the time of the first civil war, some of the Companions (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, etc.), who had chosen to side neither with ʿAlī nor with his adversaries, were for this reason called *muʿtazila*. He even drew the conclusion that the theological Muʿtazilism of Wāṣil and his successors was merely a continuation of this initial political Muʿtazilism; in reality, there does not seem to have been the least connection between one and the other. But, in its principle, this explanation is probably valid.

Little is known of the origins of the movement. It appears to be established that Wāṣil, originally a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] was indeed the sole founder, and this during the lifetime of the latter. It was only at the end of a relatively long period, and after the death of al-Ḥasan (110/728), that ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd—another disciple of al-Ḥasan, and a particularly eminent one—decided to join him. After the death of Wāṣil in 131/748, it was ʿAmr who took on the leadership of the group. It is hardly likely that at this early stage of the movement the Muʿtazilī doctrine, as it was to be formulated several decades later by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, was already fully developed. No doubt the theses defended here were essentially the same as those previously current in the milieu of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], to which al-Ḥasan belonged: rejection of the doctrine of predestination, affirmation of the absolute responsibility of every individual with regard to his transgressions which could not be in any sense the work of God. It will be noted that, on the question of the name to be applied to the sinful Muslim, al-Ḥasan seems to have accepted the notion of an "intermediate rank", although in the event he proposed *munāfiḳ* ("hypocrite" [*q.v.*]) in place of *fāsiḳ* ("malefactor" [*q.v.*]). Similarly, al-Ḥasan subscribed to the principle that every unrepentant sinner will suffer for ever the torments of Hell, an essential element of what was later to be called "the promise and the threat" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*).

Did the movement launched by Wāṣil also have political objectives? Nyberg believed so, on the basis of a singular interpretation of the *iʿtizāl* and of the doctrine of the "intermediate rank" (cf. *EI*[1], s.v. *Muʿtazila*, at III, 787-8). This, according to him, should in fact be interpreted as denoting a position of a political nature, characterised simultaneously by a declared hostility with regard to the Umayyads and a cautious attitude towards the Shīʿa, at least in consideration of its more radical elements. Now, Nyberg claimed, this position corresponded exactly to that of the ʿAbbāsid movement, to the extent that the doc-

trine of "intermediate rank" would be nothing other than "the theoretical encapsulation of the political programme of the ʿAbbāsids before their accession to power". This explains why, "for at least a century", Muʿtazilī theology "remained the official doctrine of the ʿAbbāsid court". This would also account for the fact that Wāṣil sent envoys to the different countries of the Muslim world; the object was to spread the propaganda of the ʿAbbāsids. This interpretation, as proved now, has no validity. Not only did the first Muʿtazila not support the ʿAbbāsid movement, but a large number of them participated in the insurrection of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] in 145/762 against al-Manṣūr (cf. J. van Ess, *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du muʿtazilisme*, 120-1). The "propaganda" organised by Wāṣil was, in all probability, of a purely religious nature (*ibid.*, 104-8). As for the supposed amicable relations between al-Manṣūr and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, this is probably an instance of a legend invented after the event (*ibid.*, 118-22). It was only on the accession of al-Maʾmūn that Muʿtazilism became, for a brief period, official doctrine.

Historical evolution. The author of the present article is not a historian, and therefore will not venture to describe the history of Muʿtazilism (which extends over a period of approximately five centuries) in detail and with reference to all its elements, doctrinal, political and social. On this subject, and in particular on the earliest periods, some very detailed and informative analyses have been compiled, in recent years, by J. van Ess. While inviting the reader to avail himself of these sources (see *Bibl.*), we confine ourselves here to a few succinct references.

The great age of Muʿtazilism is not limited, as is still all too often the general view, to the first ʿAbbāsid century. The revocation by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, in 234/848, of the decrees instituting the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] marks only the end of one period, that during which, for a period of some thirty years, the Muʿtazilī school enjoyed the favour of the caliphs of Baghdād. In fact, by the time this reversal took place, the Muʿtazila were established not only in the capital but also in numerous regions of the Islamic world, especially in Persia, where measures taken in Baghdād did not necessarily have an effect. Furthermore, although deprived of the patronage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, they subsequently found other princes or influential persons (under the Būyids, in particular) to support them. Better still: this first period, which we are quite willing to term the "heroic" period, or that of the "great ancestors", is not—in our view, at least—the most important. It was only at a later stage that there appeared, from the point of view of elaboration and systematisation of doctrine, what may be described as the "classical" period of Muʿtazilism, lasting approximately from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century to the middle of the 5th/11th century (in other words, until the arrival of the Saldjūḳids). It could almost be said, *mutatis mutandis*, that, in relation to persons such as Abū ʿAlī and Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī, the Muʿtazila of the first period correspond to the pre-Socratic philosophers in relation to Plato and Aristotle.

This difference between two periods of Muʿtazilism is very clearly felt within the school itself: thus Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd distinguishes systematically between *al-mutaḳaddimūn* (or *al-ḳudamāʾ*), "those of the earlier period", and *al-mutaʾakhkhirūn*, "those of the later period" (cf. *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, i, 7-8; iii, 288, l. 19; xi, 119, l. 17-18 and 120, l. 5). Mānkdīm, for his part, readily uses, to denote the first, the term *salaf*: *al-salaf min aṣḥābinā* (*Sharḥ*, 634, l. 10), *al-mashāyikh min al-salaf* (*ibid.*, 146, l. 11).

Furthermore, it is known that, very soon, the Muʿtazila constituted two separate schools, "those of al-Baṣra" and "those of Baghdād" (terms which, over the course of time, were to become purely conventional, having no association with specific geographical location). Taking into account the two periods mentioned above, there is thus a total of four groups of theologians, clearly distinguished, again, by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd: the "Baṣrans of the earlier period" (*ḳudamāʾ al-baṣriyyīn*) and "those of the later period", the "Baghdādīs of the earlier period" (*ḳudamāʾ al-baghdādiyyīn*) and "those of the later period".

Among the "Baṣrans" of the first period, the most significant figures are Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. *ca.* 200/915 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d. 201/816? [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. 227/841? [*q.v.*]), al-Naẓẓām (d. 221/836 [*q.v.*]), nephew and disciple of the preceding, Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād (d. 215/830 [*q.v.*]), Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī (d. between 227/842 and 232/847, cf. Gimaret-Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, 249 [*q.v.*]), the eminent writer al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of al-Naẓẓām, ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (d. *ca.* 250/864 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Shaḥḥām (d. after 257/871, cf. Gimaret-Monnot, *op. cit.*, 199), a disciple of Abu 'l-Hudhayl. Among the "Baghdādis" of the same period, it is appropriate to mention in particular Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 210/825 [*q.v.*]), founder of the school of Baghdād, Thumāma b. Ashras (d. 213/828? [*q.v.*]) and Abū Mūsā al-Murdār (d. 226/841 [*q.v.*]), disciples of Bishr, Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850 [*q.v.*]) and Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (d. 234/848 [*q.v.*]), disciples of Abū Mūsā, Abū Djaʿfar al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]), disciple of Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb.

The most characteristic feature of this first period is the extreme diversity of people and of doctrines; it is a case of a collection of distinguished individuals, of often "colourful" personalities, rather than continuous and homogeneous associations. On the human level, nothing could be more dissimilar, for example, than the two disciples of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir: Thumāma, courtier, personal friend of al-Maʾmūn, hedonist, and Abū Mūsā, ascetic, nicknamed the "monk" (*rāhib*) of the Muʿtazila, who denounced as infidels all those who sought the favour of princes. On the doctrinal level, divergencies are no less stark. Thus Ḍirār b. ʿAmr is distinguished from all the rest of the school by his affirmation that voluntary human acts are created by God, a thesis which associated him with Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] and as a result of which he was to be disowned by later generations of Muʿtazila (cited as such, among others, by Ibn al-Nadīm, he is explicitly challenged, in his turn, by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī in his *Maḳālāt*; furthermore, he does not appear in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār). Al-Naẓẓām radically rejects the atomist theory adopted by his uncle and master Abu 'l-Hudhayl, and thus is likewise isolated in relation to all the others. Al-Aṣamm also rejects the cosmology of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, but in his case, on a different point: he absolutely denies the existence of accidents, another fundamental element of this cosmology. The same al-Aṣamm also rejected the very thing that had characterised the *iʿtizāl* at the outset, this being the thesis of the "intermediate rank"! Another of the (theoretically) cardinal principles of Muʿtazilism, that which affirms the reality of the "threat" (in other words, of Hell in perpetuity for sinners), was rejected by an entire group of Murdjiʾa Muʿtazila, including Abū Shimr, Muways b. ʿImrān [*q.v.*] (two contemporaries of Abu 'l-Hudhayl), and later Muḥammad b. Shabīb [*q.v.*] (of the following

generation). The thesis supported by Abu 'l-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām, according to which God necessarily does for every man what is the most advantageous (*al-aṣlaḥ*) for him, including that relating to his future life, was contradicted by Bishr al-Muᶜtamir, author of a theory of *luṭf* which he was almost alone in supporting (with his disciple Djaᶜfar b. Ḥarb), and which stated on the contrary that God does not impart to all men the "grace" which would assure their well-being; paradoxically, in view of the fact that Bishr was the founder of the school of Baghdād, it was specifically the "Baghdādīs" who, later, were to be seen as partisans of the theory of *al-aṣlaḥ*. The doctrine of "generation" (*tawallud*), also supported by Bishr, (and, to a lesser extent, by Abu 'l-Hudhayl), according to which a man is capable of producing an act outside himself through the intermediary of another whom he himself produces, was rejected on the one hand by al-Naẓẓām, Muᶜammar, Thumāma, al-Djāḥiẓ, in the name of a concept of "nature" (*ṭabᶜ* or *ṭibāᶜ*), on the other by Ṣāliḥ known as Ḳubba [*q.v.*], in the name of an absolute divine arbitrariness.

Also present in this tableau are figures who adopted more or less eccentric positions. The asceticism preached by Abū Mūsā as well as by the two Djaᶜfars, his disciples, clearly takes, in some cases, the form of Ṣūfism: these are the *ṣūfiyyat al-Muᶜtazila*, including such notable figures as ᶜĪsā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī (d. 245/860), a disciple of Djaᶜfar b. Ḥarb, of whom Ibn al-Nadīm relates that he ultimately "became delirious" (*khulliṭa*), or Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥuṣrī, likewise charged with "delirium" and "innovation" by the author of the *Fihrist*, and whom ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, in his *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (ed. ᶜA. K. ᶜUthmān, Beirut 1966, i, 129), does not hesitate to place among the *zanādiḳa*. In the same vein attention may be drawn to two disciples of al-Naẓẓām, passed over in tactful silence in the majority of Muᶜtazilī *ṭabaḳāt*, namely Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ (or Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*]) and al-Faḍl al-Hadathī, whose theories (including in particular the affirmation of transmigration) evoke very directly those of certain Shīᶜī *ghulāt*. Finally, also to be counted among the Muᶜtazila—although absolutely disowned by them—are the two enigmatic personalities Ibn al-Rāwandī [*q.v.*], a disciple of ᶜĪsā b. al-Haytham, and Abū ᶜĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*].

Turning now to the second period, the landscape becomes altogether different. This time, genuine schools are established, around a coherent body of doctrine which may truly be called a "system". On the "Baṣran" side (in fact, both the persons named below spent almost their entire lives at ᶜAskar Mukram, in Khūzistān), appear the two dominant figures of Abū ᶜAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/933 [*q.v.*]) and of his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933 [*q.v.*]), "the two *shaykhs*", whose names appear repeatedly in the works of all the authors who quote their teaching, to such an extent that it is appropriate to speak of a "Djubbāʾī" school. Among the very numerous members of this school, worthy of mention are Abū ᶜAlī Ibn Khallād [*q.v.*], a disciple of Abū Hāshim; Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and Abū Isḥāḳ b. ᶜAyyāsh, both disciples of Ibn Khallād; the *ḳāḍī* ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the two preceding, friend and protégé of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ᶜAbbād (himself a disciple of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī); Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 426/1044, *q.v.* in Suppl.), Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mattawayh, all three disciples of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār. The "Baghdādī" school, for its part, is represented principally by Abu 'l-Ḥuṣayn al-Khayyāṭ (d. *ca.* 300/913 [*q.v.*]), described by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd as *shaykh al-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-Baghdādiyyīn* (*Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, xi, 120, l. 5); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/913 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the preceding (although described as a "Baghdādī" he lived most of his life in Khurāsān); Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938 [*q.v.*]); the grammarian ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of the last-named.

The opposition between the two schools is now much more decisive than in the preceding period. A famous work by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, fortunately preserved, reveals, in matters of cosmology and anthropology, "The questions on which the Baṣrans and the Baghdādis are opposed" (*al-Masāʾil fi 'l-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa 'l-Baghdādiyyīn*, ed. M. Ziyāda and R. al-Sayyid, Beirut 1979), where primary attention is given to the theses upheld on the one hand by Abū ᶜAlī and (especially) Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī, on the other by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī. It is in particular the theory of "states" (*aḥwāl*), conceived by Abū Hāshim, which was violently attacked from the "Baghdādī" side (especially by Ibn al-Ikshīd). It is true that, even among the "Baṣrans", this thesis was not unanimously accepted, far from it; some opposed it with the utmost vigour, including Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Ṣaymarī (d. 315/927)—although it should be said that al-Ṣaymarī was at least as much "Baghdādī" as "Baṣran"—and in particular, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. As a result, there was constituted in the very midst of the "Baṣran" school a sub-group of supporters of Abū Hāshim, known as *Bahshamiyya* (though comprising almost all of the "Djubbāʾīs" mentioned above).

The arrival of the Saldjūḳids marks, in general, the end of this second period (without there being any genuine relation of cause to effect), and, consequently, of the "Golden Age" of Muᶜtazilism. Nevertheless, the latter did not disappear.

On the one hand, Muᶜtazilīs as such continued to exist for a long time. Even in Baghdād, the forced recantation of Ibn ᶜAḳīl [*q.v.*], under pressure from Ḥanbalī circles, should not be invested with undue significance. Many Ḥanafīs were Muᶜtazilīs, and, as is known, the Saldjūḳid sultans favoured the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Consequently, throughout the last two centuries of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, a fair number of *ḳāḍīs*, in Baghdād as in Rayy, were avowed Muᶜtazilīs (cf. W. Madelung, *Religious schools and sects in medieval Islam*, London 1985, ii, 135-7). Among these, mention should be made of Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf al-Lamghānī (d. 606/1209), who was one of the masters of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (cf. *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ix, 192, ll. 10-11). In Khwārazm, where it was overtly supported by the local princes, Muᶜtazilism continued throughout this period as the dominant ideology (cf. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 115-16), to such an extent that outside this area *khwārazmī* was understood as a synonym of *muᶜtazilī* (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 155, ll. 7-10). Khwārazm was the birthplace of Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]), author of a famous Ḳurʾānic commentary entitled *al-Kashshāf*; it was also in Khwārazm that the young Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] had such violent arguments with the local Muᶜtazilīs that he was forced to leave the country. It appears that by this time the "Baghdādī" tendency had ceased to exist; according to al-Rāzī (*Iᶜtiḳādāt firaḳ al-Muslimīn*, ed. ᶜA. S. al-Nashshār, Cairo 1938, 45) the only survivors were the supporters of Abū Hāshim and those of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. But it was only after the Mongol conquest that Muᶜtazilism as such finally disappeared altogether.

On the other hand, Muᶜtazilī theses have not remained the exclusive property of the school bearing

this name. Other groups, within Islam and even outside Islam, have adopted and perpetuated them, to such an extent that they could be said to be still current at the present day.

Within Islam, these are the Shīᶜīs, Zaydīs and, later, Imāmīs. Already implicit, to some extent, in the teaching of al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), Muᶜtazilism was decisively adopted as much by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (d. 270/884 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Zaydī amirate of Ṭabaristān (his brother and successor, Muḥammad, employed as secretaries Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī, one of the Muᶜtazilī commentators of the Ḳurʾān), as by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 298/911 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Zaydī principality of the Yemen. Among the Yemenīs, it is the "Baghdādī" tendency which prevailed, while among the Zaydīs of the Caspian region, the Djubbāʾī doctrine was followed. The Imām al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh (d. 411/1020 [*q.v.*]) had been the pupil of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and of the *ḳāḍī* ᶜAbd al-Djabbār. One of the claimants to his succession, known by the curious name of Mānkdīm (or Mānakdīm) Shashdīw (d. 425/1034), is the author of the well-known paraphrase of the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār. (On all of the above, cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965.) This state of affairs had a particularly fortunate consequence, the preservation of quantities of Muᶜtazilī writings; it is principally in the Yemen (the Zaydī amirate of Persia having disappeared at the beginning of the 6th/12th century) that there have been recovered, in all or in part, the works of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh, etc.

On the Imāmī side, Muᶜtazilism first made an impact at the end of the 3rd/9th century, with the Banū Nawbakht [*q.v.*]: Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 311/924) and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā (d. *ca.* 310/923), the author of the *K. Firaḳ al-Shīᶜa*. It was initially short-lived; the theology of Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991 [*q.v.*]) affirmed, on the contrary, that God creates the actions of men and wills everything which comes into being (including evil). But Muᶜtazilī theses prevailed again, this time definitively, with the disciple of Ibn Bābawayh, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022 [*q.v.*]), upholding the theses of the "Baghdādīs", as is abundantly illustrated by his *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt* (cf. M. J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978). Then it was the turn of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1045 [*q.v.*]), a disciple of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, who, for his part, successfully championed the theses of the "Baṣrans". The Ḳurʾānic commentaries of Abū Djaᶜfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067 [*q.v.*]) and of al-Ṭabarsī (d. *ca.* 548/1155 [*q.v.*]) are overtly Muᶜtazilī commentaries, even more so than the *Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, and not their least interesting feature is the innumerable references made in them to the (now lost) *tafsīrs* of al-Djubbāʾī and al-Balkhī (the same observation applies, moreover, to the Ḳurʾānic commentary of the Zaydī theologian al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī (d. 494/1101 [*q.v.*]).

Finally, outside Islam, Muᶜtazilī thought has exerted a decisive influence, as is shown by the studies of G. Vajda, on the Jewish theologians living in Islamic countries: Rabbanites (like Saᶜadyā al-Fayyūmī, d. 330/942), and especially Karaites, notably Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (first third of the 5th/11th century), whose entire theological corpus is directly modelled on the work of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (cf. G. Vajda, *Le* kalām *dans la pensée religieuse juive du Moyen Age*, in *RHR* [1973]). The adoption of Muᶜtazilī theses by the Karaites had, moreover, the same beneficial consequence as that observed among the Zaydīs of the Yemen: the preservation (although in rather less significant proportions) of a quantity of Muᶜtazilī literature (often transcribed, in this instance, in Hebrew characters). It is thus, for example, that the Firkovitch Collection in the Public State Library of Leningrad contains, among others, numerous fragments—as yet unedited—of the *Mughnī* and the *Muḥīṭ* of ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (cf. A. Ya. Borisov, *Muᶜtazilitskiye rukopisi Gosudarstvennoy Publičnoy Biblioteki v Leningrade*, in *Bibliografiya Vostoka*, 8-9, 1935; cf. also H. Ben-Shammai, *A note on some Karaite copies of Muᶜtazilite writings*, in *BSOAS* [1974]).

After centuries of suppression or systematic misrepresentation in Sunnī Islam, Muᶜtazilism has been "rediscovered" at the beginning of the 14th/20th century, and since then a significant trend towards its rehabilitation has been observed, especially in Egypt. In the first instance, Aḥmad Amīn, in his *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (1936), devoted to it a chapter of some two hundred pages, where he shows that the Muᶜtazilīs were before all else men of religion, committed to the defence of Islam, and concludes with this unequivocal statement: "In my opinion, the demise of Muᶜtazilism was the greatest misfortune to have afflicted Muslims; they have committed a crime against themselves". Then, notably, Zuhdī Ḥasan Djār Allāh, whose book *al-Muᶜtazila* (Cairo 1947) is an eloquent plea in favour of the school, the author considering its historical elimination as a "victory of obscurantism" and the cause of the decadence of the Arabs (cf. R. Caspar, *Le renouveau du moᶜtazilisme*, in *MIDEO* [1957]). Again in the present day, because it affirms the primacy of reason and of free will, many Muslim thinkers continue to see in Muᶜtazilism (sometimes to an exaggerated extent) a symbol of intellectual liberty and modernity (cf. *inter alios*, Ch. Bouamrane, *Le problème de la liberté humaine dans la pensée musulmane, solution muᶜtazilite*, Paris 1978; ᶜĀdil al-ᶜAwā, *al-Muᶜtazila wa 'l-fikr al-ḥurr*, Damascus 1987).

Theses. This term will be understood here as applying exclusively to the theses characteristic of the Muᶜtazilīs, those by which they are recognised as such, and as a result of which their opponents—Sunnī theologians in particular—combatted them. There will thus be no discussion here of their cosmology, based (except in the case of al-Naẓẓām) on the principle of atomism [see DJUZʾ] and the distinction between substance and accident; elaborated, in all probability by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, this cosmology was to become, in effect, the common doctrine of all the *mutakallimūn*, Sunnī as well as Muᶜtazilī. Nor will there be reference to their theses regarding the Imāmate, their views on this subject also being (almost without exception) identical to those of the Sunnīs [see IMĀMA].

In his time, Abu 'l-Hudhayl had believed it possible to propound the distinctive theses of Muᶜtazilism in the form of "five principles" (*al-uṣūl al-khamsa*), these being (cf. among others al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 2254-6): 1. uniqueness of God (*al-tawḥīd*); 2. justice of God (*al-ᶜadl*); 3. "the promise and the threat" (*al-waᶜd wa 'l-waᶜīd*), by which, it will be recalled, it is understood that on account of the "threat" uttered against him in the Ḳurʾān, every Muslim guilty of a serious offence, who dies without repentance, will suffer for eternity the torments of Hell; 4. the theory of an "intermediate state" (*al-manzila bayna 'l-manzilatayn*) formulated by Wāṣil b. ᶜAṭāʾ, according to which the same sinful Muslim cannot here on earth be classed either as "believing"

(*muʾmin*) or as "disbelieving" (*kāfir*), but belongs to a separate category, that of the "malefactor" (*fāsiḳ*); 5. finally, the obligation laid upon every believer (in accordance with Ḳurʾān, iii, 104 and 110; vii, 157; ix, 71, etc.) to "command the good and forbid the evil" (*al-amr bi-'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), in other words, to intervene in public affairs to uphold the Law and oppose impiety.

Two centuries after the death of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, this scheme was still considered pertinent, since it constituted the basis of the best "manual" of Muʿtazilī theology currently known, the paraphrase by Mānkdīm Shashdīw (see above) of the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār. It is, however, difficult to be entirely satisfied with it. First, while the first four principles represent, or cover, the characteristic positions of the school, the same cannot be said of the fifth, particularly in view of the fact that in the course of their history the Muʿtazilīs showed little inclination to put it into practice (except perhaps at the very beginning); the politico-religious activism which it implies was to a much greater extent the prerogative of the Khāridjites, later of the Ḥanbalīs. Furthermore, there is an evident disproportion between, on the one hand, the third and fourth principles, which refer to particular, relatively secondary points of doctrine (the importance given to the theory of an "intermediate state" consists only in the fact that historically it was the first formulation) and, on the other, the first and second principles, which genuinely represent the two major theses of the Muʿtazilīs, as illustrated by the generic term *ahl al-ʿadl wa 'l-tawḥīd* which they themselves gladly embraced. It could even be considered that the third principle (the reality of the "promise" and the "threat") derives in fact from the second, the justice of God implying, on the one hand, that He rewards those who obey Him and punishes those who disobey Him, on the other and in parallel, that He accomplishes that which He has said He will do, since otherwise He would render Himself guilty of an untruth, which is an evil act. In the *Mughnī*, furthermore (according to Mānkdīm, *Sharḥ*, 122, ll. 14-15), ʿAbd al-Djabbār considered that the whole dogma depends on these two principles of *tawḥīd* and *ʿadl*; following him, Mānkdīm claims to show that in fact everything which does not derive from the one necessarily derives from the other (*ibid.*, 123, ll. 5-14). Finally—as is quite clear from the foregoing—the very terms *tawḥīd* and *ʿadl* are not entirely adequate. Under the first heading (which may be interpreted as meaning quite simply, initially, the affirmation of the absolute monotheism of Islam, as opposed to dualist theses or the Christian dogma of the Trinity) there figure a number of conceptions regarding the nature of God—that He is invisible, that the anthropomorphic expressions applied to Him by the Ḳurʾān are to be taken in a metaphorical sense, etc.—which, in fact, depend on an affirmation of transcendence rather than of divine uniqueness. As for "justice", as will be seen, this is to be understood as meaning not only that God is not "unjust" in the narrow sense of the word, but that in all things He necessarily does that which is (morally) good, and is exempt from any act that is (morally) bad. For these various reasons, the analysis which follows will be partly arranged according to headings other than the "five principles" set out above.

1. The nature of God and the divine attributes.

1. A primary thesis characteristic in this context is what could be called the *negation in God of "substantive attributes"*. Like all theologians, the Muʿtazila habitually describe God by means of His "attributes", or *ṣifāt*. By this term, following the example of the grammarians, they refer exclusively, for their part, to adjectives, such as "powerful" (*ḳādir*), "knowing" (*ʿālim*), "creating" (*khāliḳ*), "nourishing" (*rāziḳ*), etc., the word *ṣifa* here being nothing more than a direct synonym of *waṣf*, or even of *ism*. But the question is then posed: by virtue of what does God merit such qualifying adjectives? In the context of what may conventiently be called "attributes of the act" (*ṣifāt al-fiʿl*), i.e. adjectives which He merits on account of such-and-such an act accomplished by Him, such as *khāliḳ*, *rāziḳ*, *muthīb*, *muḥsin*, etc., it will be accepted without difficulty that such adjectives can be applied to Him on account of something which comes into being, an existent created by Him. But when approaching the "attributes of the essence" (*ṣifāt al-dhāt* or *al-nafs*), i.e. adjectives which are applied to him from all eternity, by the very fact of His nature as God, such as *ʿālim*, *ḳādir*, *ḥayy* (since it cannot be conceived that God has ever been not knowing, not powerful, not living), the question may be asked whether these other adjectives do not themselves imply, according to the same rule, "existents" which would be their reason for being, and which, through the fact that God merits these adjectives eternally, would necessarily be themselves eternal; in other words, God would be knowing from all eternity on account of the presence in Him of an eternal knowledge, etc. It is known that the Sunnī theologians—following the example, in particular, of Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.]—explicitly accepted this conclusion. The Ashʿarīs, for their part, affirm the existence in God of seven (or eight) eternal "entities" (*maʿānī*): knowledge, power, life, hearing, sight, will, word (and occasionally, duration), i.e. "substantives" by virtue of which God merits for all eternity the corresponding "adjectives". It is true that such a doctrine implies the formal acceptance of a plurality of eternals, which is apparently contrary to the principle of monotheism, of a God who is the sole uncreated One; the Sunnīs seek to avoid this difficulty by stating, following Ibn Kullāb (although this principle had previously been upheld by the Zaydī theologian Sulaymān b. Djarīr [*q.v.*]), that these "entities" are at the same time neither identical to God nor other than Him, just as between themselves they are neither identical nor other.

Reasoning in this fashion, it may be noted that the Sunnī theologians did nothing other than to apply without restriction two principles which the Muʿtazila also normally held to be true, and which they had possibly been the first to formulate: on the one hand, the principle that every adjective has a cause (*ʿilla*), a reason for being (such is the primary sense of the word *maʿnā*) which is nothing other than, precisely, the corresponding substantive; an object is "mobile" on account of the presence in it of an entity of "movement", "white" on account of the existence in it of an entity of "whiteness", etc.; on the other hand, there is the principle of the necessary "analogy of the invisible to the visible" (*ḳiyās al-ghāʾib ʿalā 'l-shāhid*), by virtue of which that which is true of the creature is likewise true of God; it is through analogy with man that we know that God is powerful, knowing and living. Hence, if Zayd is necessarily knowing on account of a knowledge (by virtue of the first principle), the same must inevitably apply to God (by virtue of the second principle). Such is the reasoning explicitly invoked, for example, by al-Bāḳillānī (*Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, § 335).

And such indeed was, apparently, the reasoning of

Abu 'l-Hudhayl who, for his part, accepted the statement that God is "knowing through a knowledge", "powerful through a power", etc. With, however, a significant difference; with the evident object of avoiding the conclusion to which adherents of this thesis habitually find themselves drawn, i.e. the admission of a plurality of eternals—in other words as an advocate of the principle of *tawḥīd*—he maintained that this knowledge by virtue of which God is knowing is nothing other than God himself. "God", he said, "is knowing through a knowledge identical to Himself (*huwa ᶜālimᵘⁿ bi-ᶜilmⁱⁿ huwa huwa*), powerful through a power identical to Himself, living through a life identical to Himself, and likewise he spoke of His hearing, His sight ... and of all the attributes of His essence" (al-Ashᶜarī, *Maḳālāt*, 165, ll. 5-7). This is a paradoxical thesis, which has the effect of simultaneously asserting and refuting the first of the two principles enunciated above, since, while basing each divine qualificative on the corresponding substantive, it removes all reality from this substantive by identifying it each time with the divine essence. This is no doubt the reason why this thesis did not have a following and why, instead of taking this artificial detour by way of entities that do not exist, the majority of the later Muᶜtazila, equally concerned to maintain the principle of divine uniqueness, preferred to declare directly that God is "knowing, powerful, living through Himself (*bi-nafsihi*), and not through a knowledge, a power and a life" (*Maḳālāt*, 164, ll. 13-14; cf. also al-Shahrastānī, *K. al-Milal*, ed. Badrān, Cairo 1947-55, 62, ll. 2-3). Such would also be the point of view of al-Djubbāʾī (cf. *Sharḥ*, 182, ll. 13-14; *Milal*, 122, ll. 3-4).

Between Muᶜtazilīs and Sunnīs, there are not only differing points of view, there is also a difference in vocabulary. As has been observed, for the Muᶜtazila, the word *ṣifāt*, used in reference to God, could denote nothing other than the adjectives ("powerful", "knowing", etc.) which are applied to Him. The Sunnīs, curiously (although the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] had previously used the term in this sense, cf. *Maḳālāt*, 222, ll. 1-5 and 369, ll. 1-3), normally understand by *ṣifāt* not the adjectives (for which they tend to reserve the term *awṣāf*) but the corresponding substantives, in other words, those eternal "entities" from which God derives the said adjectives. Whence, on the part of the Sunnīs, the assertion, astonishing at first sight, according to which the Muᶜtazila, since they deny the existence in God of such entities, "deny the *ṣifāt* (*op. cit.*, 483, ll. 2-7), whereas the Sunnīs, for their part "affirm the *ṣifāt*" (*ibid.*, 170, l. 12) and call themselves *aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt* (*ibid.*, 171, ll. 12 and 16) or *ṣifātiyya* (cf. *Milal*, 145, ll. 4-12).

The truth is that the simple solution proposed, among others, by al-Djubbāʾī did not eliminate all the problems. If the reason that God is, for all eternity, powerful, knowing, living, is nothing other than His very essence, then how is it to be explained that a unique, undifferentiated essence can give rise to distinct qualificatives? It is for this reason that Abū Hāshim, son of al-Djubbāʾī, was to propose a solution of compromise between pure and simple negation of the substantive attributes and their affirmation: the adjectives applied to God are not simple words applied directly to a pure and plain essence, they are each the expression of something other than the essence itself, which is a "state" (*ḥāl*) of this essence; there is in God, for all eternity, a "fact-of-being-powerful" (*kawnuhu ḳādirᵃⁿ*), a "fact-of-being-knowing", etc., which legitimise the corresponding adjectives. Without being veritable "existents" (this with the object of preserving the principle of divine uniqueness), these "states" are nevertheless ontologically "real" (*thābita*), and are thus capable of founding objectively, and independently of one another, the adjectives which express them [see ḤĀL in Suppl.]. But this thesis, as has been observed, was far from being a factor of unanimity among the Muᶜtazila, even among those of the "Djubbāʾī" line; while ᶜAbd al-Djabbār accepted it, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, on the other hand, vigorously opposed it.

2. Among these eternal essences, linked to the divine essence, the existence of which is affirmed by the Sunnī theologians, there are also the word of God and His will. Regarding the word, the Muᶜtazila do indeed uphold the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān [see KALĀM and ḲURʾĀN]. For the majority of them, the Ḳurʾān is, in the technical sense of the term, an accident (*ᶜaraḍ*); like every word, it is made up of "letters serially arranged and sounds separately articulated" (*ḥurūf manẓūma wa-aṣwāt muḳaṭṭaᶜa*), which God creates in one or other corporeal framework (*maḥall*). Regarding the will, the Djubbāʾīs propound a singular thesis; according to them, God wishes through wills that He creates and which are, again, in the nature of accidents, but which He could not create, they say, either in Himself (since God cannot be "a receptacle of casuals") nor in any body (since, henceforward, it is the body that would be wishing on account of these wills), and which therefore exist—in a manner contrary to the normal rule, concerning accidents—*lā fī maḥall* (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 265, n. 3). It might be thought that the same conclusion would apply to the word: once God has created a word in a certain body, it is this body that would be speaking as a result; but the Djubbāʾīs reply to this that a "speaker" is not "he in whom the word resides" (*man ḳāma bihi 'l-kalām*) but "he who produces the word" (*man faᶜala 'l-kalām*) (cf. *ibid.*, 267, and no. 13-14). As for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, following al-Naẓẓām, he unequivocally denied the existence of a divine will in the sense of a specific entity; when we say that God "wills" His own acts, this simply means that He creates them; when we say that He "wills" the acts of men, this means that He commands them (*ibid.*, 262-3).

3. As much as the absolute uniqueness of God, the Muᶜtazila stress His absolute transcendence. By this it is to be understood fundamentally that, for them, God is not a body, and therefore is not to be attributed with any of the properties of a body, such as being localised, moving about, having a form, etc. Two principal consequences are entailed. The first is that all anthropomorphic representations of God are to be rejected; furthermore, any Ḳurʾānic expression of this kind—the "hands" of God, His "eyes", His "face", His "side"—is to be understood only in a figurative sense: by the "hand" of God, His blessing (*niᶜma*) is meant, by His "eye", His knowledge (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 165, ll. 12-13; 195, ll. 13-15), by His "side", His command (*amr*) (*ibid.*, 218, ll. 46), by His "face", His very essence (*ibid.*, 521, l. 16). The second consequence is that God cannot be seen, in the literal sense of the term, either in this world or in the other, since only a body can be seen, all vision operating through contact between a ray (*shuᶜāᶜ*) emitted by the eye and the object that is seen (cf. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, iv, 57, ll. 10-11; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād*, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 96, ll. 2-13). The Ḳurʾān, moreover, states explicitly of God that "vision does not comprehend Him" (*lā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣāru*, vi, 103). It is true that it says elsewhere, regarding the elect on the Day of Resurrection: "faces, that day, will be resplen-

dent, looking at their Lord (*ilā rabbihā nāẓirat^un*)", LXXV, 22-3); but for the Muᶜtazila this second formula is to be interpreted as previously proposed by Mudjāhid (cf. the commentary of al-Ṭabarī): on the one hand, *naẓara* here signifies not "to look at" but "to wait"; on the other, the proper complement of *nāẓirat^un* is not *rabbihā*, but a word implied, this being *thawābi*, so that the true meaning of the formula is: "waiting for the reward of their Lord" (cf. *Sharḥ*, 245, ll. 4-5; al-Ashᶜarī, *Lumaᶜ*, § 78). As for the *ḥadīth* according to which the Prophet said to his Companions: "On the day of resurrection, you will see (*sa-tarawna*) your Lord as you see the moon, on a night of full moon", if the *ḥadīth* is authentic, which is doubtful (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 418, n. 40) the verb "to see" (*raʾā*) is to be understood here in a figurative sense (a type of which the Ḳurʾān provides many examples), that is, as a synonym of "to be acquainted with" (*ᶜalima*) (cf. *Mughnī*, iv, 231, ll. 4-17; *Sharḥ* 270, ll. 10-17).

It is necessary, however, to observe closely in what sense the Muᶜtazila understand this divine transcendence. Certainly, they adhere as firmly as members of any other school to the letter of the Ḳurʾānic formula stating that "nothing is of His likeness" (XLII, 11). But what they basically understand by this, once more, is that God can have none of the characteristics of a body as such; that He has neither form, nor colour, nor length, nor breadth, nor height, that He cannot be said to be either mobile or immobile, that He has neither parts, nor members, etc. (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 155-6). This does not mean that there is no resemblance, in any respect, between Him and His creatures. If such were the case, we would be unable to say anything of Him and we could only describe Him negatively. Now God, because He is just (cf. below), has made it possible for us to know Him, with a positive knowledge which, here below, is accessible to us only through reasoning. Consequently, it is on account of our experience of creatures, and on account of a necessary "analogy of the invisible to the visible" (*ḥaml al-ghāʾib ᶜalā ʾl-shāhid*) that we can know, first, that God exists (because we know that here below everything which comes into being implies that someone makes it come into being), subsequently that He merits certain adjectives: "powerful", because every agent (and God is known to us first as such, as creator) is necessarily powerful; "knowing", because He performs acts "skilfully executed" (*afᶜāl muḥkama*), or whoever is capable of producing such acts is necessarily knowing; and so forth. All the adjectives which we apply to God, we first become aware of them in this visible world (*fī ʾl-shāhid*), and it is in the same sense that we apply them to God as to man; just as what is proof for us is likewise proof for Him (cf. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, 281-2).

II. Concerning the justice of God, and the doctrine that He wills and does only that which is good.

The principle of the necessary justice of God is not only one of the characteristic dogmas of Muᶜtazila, it may be said without exaggeration to be their fundamental dogma. Even more than *ahl al-ᶜadl wa ʾl-tawḥīd*, they are and they call themselves, in brief, *ahl al-ᶜadl* (cf. *Mughnī*, iv, 139, l. 4; vii, 3, l. 15; viii, 3, l. 4; xiii, 4. l. 17: *Milal*, 57, l. 7).

While no Muslim theologian, of whatever persuasion, has ever asserted the contrary and described God as "unjust", it is the manner in which the Muᶜtazila conceive this necessary justice of God that characterises them. For one such as al-Ashᶜarī, God is necessarily just whatever He does; He would be so even if He acted in a contrary fashion. God, according to al-Ashᶜarī, is not subject to any rule; rules are applied only to us, on account of the Law which God has imposed upon us. For the Muᶜtazila, on the other hand (and here again there is a form of "analogy of the invisible to the visible"), God is subject, in this respect, to the same laws which apply to man; that which is just or unjust for us—i.e., that which our reason, for its part, tells us to be so—is the same for God. This is why, from the Muᶜtazilī point of view, the necessary justice of God is not only fact, it is for Him a permanent obligation; in the name of His justice, God is required to act in such-and-such a fashion, since otherwise He would be unjust. Whence arises the question which the Muᶜtazila were constantly debating (a question which, for al-Ashᶜarī, would be quite meaningless), which is whether God has the power to be unjust, or, in a broader sense, to act badly; this is a question with no satisfactory answer, since, whether the answer be affirmative or negative, either the justice of God, or his omnipotence, will be compromised.

The necessary justice of God first of all excludes any notion of predestination; it would be unjust on the part of God, say the Muᶜtazila, to decide in advance the fate of every man in the Hereafter and to ordain that one will be saved and another damned, without either having merited this by his actions. It is for humans to decide their future lot, according to whether they choose to believe or not to believe, to obey or to disobey the Law. God would be unjust if He Himself were to determine faith or disbelief, the fact that some are "well guided" and others "astray". It is true that the Ḳurʾān states that God "leads astray (*yuḍillu*) whom He wills and guides (*yahdī*) whom He wills" (XIV, 4; XVI, 93, etc.). But these terms can be interpreted otherwise than envisaged by the proponents of predestination. Either, by "to guide" it is to be understood that God "shows and makes clearly seen" where the truth is, in which case it will be said that He "guides" all men equally (otherwise He would be unjust). Or, if His "guidance" applies only to the believers, given that it can only intervene following the free choice which the latter have taken to believe, this could signify either that God "says and judges" that they are "well guided", or indeed (the interpretation preferred by al-Djubbāʾī) that in the other world, God will "guide" them on the road to Paradise, *hadā* having, in this context, the sense of "to reward" (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 260 ll. 9-10). Conversely, when the Ḳurʾān says that God "leads astray", this can only concern those who, of their own accord, have chosen "to go astray", and this means either that God "says and judges" that they are "astray" (*op. cit.*, 261, ll. 10-11) or (again the preference of al-Djubbāʾī) that in the Hereafter, he will "lead them astray" far from the road to Paradise in order to lead them to Hell, *aḍalla* consequently having the sense of "to punish" (*ibid.*, 262, ll. 1-4). As for those other Ḳurʾānic formulae where it is said that God has "set a seal" (*khatama, ṭabaᶜa*) on the hearts of the unbelievers, al-Djubbāʾī, for his part, took this quite literally, in the sense of a "mark" (*sima, ᶜalāma*) made by God on the hearts in question, so that on the Last Day the angels will be capable of distinguishing unbelievers from believers.

Not only must God leave to men the freedom of choosing between belief and disbelief, and thus deciding their future lot, but it is further necessary that He gives to all the same means of believing, that He offers them all the same "aid". Curiously, it was a Muᶜtazilī, Bishr b. al-Muᶜtamir, who expressed the

contrary notion that God, if He wished, could make all men believe (but He does not do so); that "He has available to Him a grace (*luṭf*) such that, if He produced it in one whom He knows ought not to believe, the latter would believe" (*Maḳālāt*, 246, ll. 3-4 and 573, ll. 9-11). This thesis, which only Dj̲aᶜfar b. Ḥarb subsequently took seriously, was rejected—quite logically—by all the rest of the school (*ibid.*, 247, ll. 3-14 and 574, ll. 4-7). The Dj̲ubbāʾīs did, indeed, retain the term, but distorted the sense. There does exist, according to them, a divine "grace", or rather "graces" of all kinds, such that, through them, men are led, or helped, to believe (thus the intelligence that God gives them, the "clear proofs" by which He makes Himself known to them, the prophets whom He sends to them, etc.); but there can be no question, as implied by the thesis of Bis̲h̲r, of seeing here a pure favour which God, arbitrarily, would grant to some and withhold from others; God, in the name of His justice, is bound to grant these "graces" to all equally, since otherwise it would have to be admitted that He deliberately wills the perdition (*fasād*) of those to whom He denies them, a notion that cannot be conceived (cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, xiii, 116 ff.).

This same justice of God likewise implies that men have control over their voluntary acts, in other words, they are themselves the producers of them; this principle contradicts the thesis of the "coercionists" (*al-mud̲j̲bira*), according to which these acts are created in them by God. Only such an autonomy of the human agent can justify the fact that in this world God imposes a law upon him, and that in the next he will be rewarded or punished according to whether he has observed it or not. Obligation and sanction can only be understood in reference to a responsible being; now, according to Muᶜtazilī thinking, the only one authentically responsible for an act is the one who is the author of it in the full sense of the term, who, therefore, "makes it to be" (*yuḥdit̲h̲uhu, yūd̲j̲iduhu*). To claim—as do the adherents of the theory of *kasb* [*q.v.*]—that man can be in some way the agent, or the one responsible for an act, without causing it to be, is meaningless.

While God does not create the voluntary human act, He does at least create in the man the power (*ḳudra, istiṭāᶜa*) corresponding to this act. But it could not be the case, as thought by these same adherents of *kasb*, of a power which only comes into being when the act is put into effect, which God would create simultaneously with this act. For the Muᶜtazila, the notion of power is linked to that of free choice (*ik̲h̲tiyār*), itself implied, once again, by the principle of divine justice. One who has power is recognised by the faculty which he has of "not choosing that for which he has power" (*Mug̲h̲nī*, viii, 188, l. 10). A typical formula of al-Dj̲ubbāʾī, as of his son Abū Hās̲h̲im, was that "whoever has the power of a thing can equally well do it or not do it" (*min ḥaḳḳi 'l-ḳādir ᶜalā 'l-s̲h̲ayʾ an yaṣiḥḥa an yafᶜalahu wa-an lā yafᶜalahu*, *ibid.*, ix, 73, ll. 8-10). In other words, every power is equally the power of an act and of its opposite (*ḳudratᵘⁿ ᶜalayh wa-ᶜalā ḍiddih*, *Maḳālāt*, 230, ll. 12-13). Hence, the power cannot be other than prior to the act; if it were concomitant with it, owing to the fact that it is at the same time the power of an act and of its opposite, its coming into being would entail the simultaneous realisation of opposites, which cannot be. On this question of the priority (or non-priority) of the power in relation to the act, Muᶜtazila and Sunnīs are opposed, the Ḳurʾān itself being invoked in support of both arguments (cf., for example, *Lumaᶜ*, ch. vi).

Naturally, it is the duty of God to create in us the powers necessary for the fulfilment of acts which His law imposes upon us. Any form of obligation to the impossible (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*) would be contrary to His justice. The powers in question are specifically among those "graces" which He is required to grant to all those subject to the Law.

Finally, in the next world, God must of necessity reward those who have merited His reward, and punish those who have merited His punishment. There is no doubt that He has the ability to pardon; the Ḳurʾān states that He "pardons whom He wills and punishes whom He wills (II, 284; III, 129, etc.). In fact, there is no possibility that He will pardon anyone who has not merited His pardon; pardon is only conceivable where there has previously been repentance on the part of the unbeliever or the sinner (*inna 'l-mag̲h̲fira bi-s̲h̲arṭi 'l-tawba*, says ᶜAbd al-Dj̲abbār, *Mutas̲h̲ābih al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ᶜA. Zarzūr, Cairo 1969, 596, l. 13). Similarly, only sinners who have already repented will be able, on the Day of Judgment, to benefit from the intercession of the Prophet (*S̲h̲arḥ*, 688, l. 3). Conversely, God is required to pardon the man who repents; "accepting repentance", so long as it is sincere, is for Him an obligation (*ḳabūl al-tawba wād̲j̲ib*; cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, xiv, 377, ll. 6 ff.). It is likewise out of the question that God will punish those who have not merited it, since "to punish someone when there has not been an offence (on his part) is injustice" (*S̲h̲arḥ*, 477, ll. 15-16). This applies in particular to young children (*aṭfāl*), irresponsible beings; it is inconceivable that God would punish the children of idolaters (*aṭfāl al-mus̲h̲rikīn*) for the sins of their fathers (*ibid.*, 477, l. 8). All suffering inflicted by God, in this world or in the next, must be merited; if such is not the case (thus in particular the sufferings experienced in this world by children and animals) God will be obliged to grant, either here below, or in the next world, a compensation (*ᶜiwaḍ*) commensurate with the suffering experienced (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 281-3).

Such are the manifold implications of the Muᶜtazilī principle of divine "justice", interpreted *stricto sensu*. But the Muᶜtazila, as already indicated, also understand this term in a much wider sense, as meaning that God only wills or does that which is (morally) good (*ḥasan*), and He is necessarily exempt from any act which is (morally) bad (*munazzah ᶜan kull ḳabīḥ*). These notions of good and bad are interpreted in the same way as the notion of "justice" in the narrow sense; it is always a question, for the Muᶜtazila, of that which we ourselves judge to be so, God, here too, being subject to the same rules which apply to us. There exists objective good and bad, acknowledged as such by every being endowed with reason. Thus, our reason makes us spontaneously recognise as acts bad in themselves injustice, deceit, ingratitude; all the more so is God aware of evil, since, by nature, He is omniscient. Moreover it cannot be imagined that He has the need to commit such acts, since, also by nature, He is devoid of need (*g̲h̲anī*). We are thus assured, according to al-Dj̲ubbāʾī, that God is incapable of doing evil, by virtue of the principle that anyone who recognises an act as bad, and does not need to commit it (and knows that he does not need, which is also the case), necessarily does not commit it (cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, vi/a, 207. ll. 1-7). It is true that according to the same principle, it could be supposed that God does not do good either, since He does not need to do it! Against such an objection, al-Dj̲ubbāʾī and his successors set out to show that a good act, even on the part of man, can be performed for the sake of its own goodness (*li-ḥusnih faḳaṭ*), without need on the part of its agent (*op. cit.*, 223, ll. 17 ff.).

The fact that God is exempt from any evil act im-

plies in particular that He is "wise" (*ḥakīm*) and not "foolish" (*safīh*). This means essentially that, of necessity, He acts for a certain motive, towards a certain end, since otherwise His action would be a "vain act" (*ʿabath*); now the vain act is, in itself, among the morally evil acts spontaneously acknowledged as such (*op. cit.*, 61, 9). Consequently, if God has created men and imposed a Law upon them, it is because He had a reason to do so, and the next task is to show, as is done by, among others, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, how God has been "wise" in creating His creatures (*wadjh al-ḥikma fī 'btidāʾihi 'l-khalḳ*), then in imposing obligation upon them (*wadjh al-ḥikma fi 'l-taklīf*) (*Mughnī*, xi, 58, l. 16 and 134, l. 1). What then is this end? It cannot be self-interest, since in this case too God is devoid of need. Nor could it be conceived that God has created men and imposed a Law upon them with the sole object of tormenting them, which would be pure injustice. Consequently, the only motive which could, in this respect, determine divine action is the benefit, the good (*ṣalāḥ*) of creatures. "All the Muʿtazila", according to al-Ashʿarī, "agree in saying that God has created men for their advantage (*li-yanfaʿahum*)" (*Maḳālāt*, 251, l. 4). Similarly, it is for their good that He has imposed a Law upon them, with the object of enabling them thereby to accede to the sublime form of happiness, which is the reward consecutive upon a pain endured (cf. *Mughnī*, xi, 387, l. 10 and 393, l. 2). Some Muʿtazilīs even considered that, from all points of view and in all circumstances, God does for men what is to their greatest advantage (*al-aṣlaḥ lahum*) (otherwise, if He were to deny them any advantage, this would imply that He is "avaricious", and avarice is a sin); thus Abu 'l-Hudhayl, al-Naẓẓām, and subsequently and in particular Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī and the "Baghdādīs", for whom God is obliged to do for men that which is to their greatest advantage both "in their future life and their terrestrial life" (*fī dīnihim wa-dunyāhum*), a principle applying to the poor as to the rich, to the sick as to the healthy (cf. al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt*, Nadjaf 1393/1973, 64, ll. 4-5; al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, 165, 1, ll. 12-14). The Djubbāʾīs do not go so far, and oppose on this point the theses of the *aṣḥāb al-aṣlaḥ* (cf. *Mughnī*, xiv, 56 ff.). But they agree with them as regards life in the Hereafter: for all Muʿtazilīs—with the minor exception of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and his few supporters—God necessarily does (i.e. has an obligation to do) for men *al-aṣlaḥ lahum fī dīnihim*; it cannot be conceived that He does not grant to them all that they need in order to fulfil the obligations which He imposes on them, in other words, all the "graces" (*alṭāf*) which He can bestow on them (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 247, ll. 5-8 and 248, ll. 1-3). God, in any event, could not will their "perdition". For this same reason, al-Djubbāʾī went so far as to say that God is obliged to keep an unbeliever alive, if He knows that, in this case, the latter will become a believer (cf. especially the commentary of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī on Ḳurʾān, VI, 27; it was on this last point, with regard to the notorious problem of the "three brothers", that al-Ashʿarī, originally a disciple of al-Djubbāʾī, broke with him; cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 313).

Finally, because He cannot will the perdition of men, it is not possible that God should will of them that which leads them thither, i.e. their disbelief and their sins. God wills of men only their good acts. (On the debate between Muʿtazilīs and Sunnīs on this issue, cf. Gimaret, in *SI*, xl and xli.)

III. The definition of faith and the lot of the sinful Muslim.

The point hardly needs stressing, since the Muʿtazila are clearly distinguished from the other schools only by the definition which, following Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ, they apply to the sinful Muslim (i.e. guilty of a serious offence, *ṣāḥib al-kabīra*). For them, as for the Ḥanbalīs and other *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, faith is not only adherence to the dogma of Islam but includes "works"; they most often define it as "the totality of acts of obedience (to God)" (*djamīʿ al-ṭāʿāt*), the only point of disagreement between them being as to whether acts which are simply recommended (*nawāfil*) constitute a part of this or not (cf. *Maḳālāt*, 266-9). This is why, according to them, if it is inappropriate to describe the sinful Muslim as *kāfir* (since this can only be said of one whose beliefs contradict the dogma of Islam, one, for example, who maintains that God is "the third of three"), it is likewise inappropriate to describe him as *muʾmin*, all the more so, according to al-Djubbāʾī, since on account of the Revelation, *muʾmin* has become a laudatory term (*ism al-madḥ*), whereas the sinner, on account of his sin, deserves only censure (cf. *Sharḥ*, 701, ll. 17ff.). This does not mean that, in the Hereafter, the sinful Muslim will not deserve just as much as the unbeliever to dwell for eternity in Hell (except that his punishment there will be less severe). As a result of this, it is said, al-Ashʿarī regarded the Muʿtazila as "effeminate Khāridjites" (*makhānīth al-khawāridj*), because, like the Khāridjites, they consign the sinful Muslim to eternal Hell, without daring however, like them, to describe him explicitly as "unbelieving". (In fact, as has been observed, not all were of this opinion; there were also, even during the "second period", Murdjiʾa Muʿtazila for whom the possibility existed that the punishment of sinners might not be permanent.)

IV. Muʿtazilī rationalism.

It is quite legitimate to consider the Muʿtazila as "rationalists". It is, however, necessary to show precisely what is to be understood by this term, and in what respect their rationalism is specific.

They are clearly not rationalists in the sense of those who claim to formulate a system solely by the exercise of reason, independent of all revelation. As has been well underlined by A. Amīn, the Muʿtazila are not philosophers (even though, in many regards, their speculations touch on philosophy), but theologians. Intimately involved in the internal debates of Islam, they reckon (just as their adversaries do!) to represent the true orthodoxy, in other words, what they consider, as Muslims, to be the correct interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic revelation.

But the Muʿtazila are incontestably rationalists, in the true sense of the term, in that they consider that certain awarenesses are accessible to man by means of his intelligence alone, in the absence of, or prior to, any revelation. First, in the strictly theological domain, they say that God can be known to us through reasoning; it is, furthermore, only in this fashion that here below we can know Him (and this is why, according to them, the first of the obligations laid upon man is specifically reasoning to know God). Not only does reason enable us to establish that God exists, in the capacity of a creator (since this world has begun to exist, and everything which begins to exist implies that someone has brought it into being), it also informs us concerning His nature: that He is powerful (because every agent is necessarily powerful), wise (in that He is the author of acts "skilfully executed"), living (because one who is powerful and wise is necessarily so), endowed with hearing and sight (because every living being free of disabilities is capable of perceiving); that He is not a body; that He is self-sufficient (*ghanī*); that He is just and cannot do or will anything other than what is good; etc. It is only

once it has been shown—by reasoning, again—that Muḥammad is authentically the Messenger of God (in that his credentials are proved by miracles), that the Ḳurʾānic revelation can be taken into account. This revelation can, in fact, only confirm that which reason has established; there can be no contradictions between one and the other. Such contradictions as there are are only apparent, and can be resolved by an appropriate interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the revealed text: this applies, as has been observed, to all the Ḳurʾānic formulae which could give the impression that God has a body similar to ours, that He is situated in a certain direction, that He can move from place to place, or that He can be seen, and to anything which apparently challenges the principle of divine justice. It is not, of course, the case that the revelation teaches us nothing that our reason has not already discovered: it is through the revelation that we know that God has imposed a Law upon men, that He will resurrect them, that He will reward and punish others. It remains true that all these facts, not demonstrable initially, must themselves correspond, according to their modalities, to the exigencies of reason, especially where the principle of *ᶜadl* is involved.

But the truth is that, on this point, the Muᶜtazila do not differ fundamentally from the rival theological schools. All, essentially, proceed in the same fashion, and it is in fact the entirety of *kalām* (i.e. the theology of the *mutakallimūn*) which should, by this reckoning, be termed "rationalist". The Muᶜtazila simply gave the example, opened the way (whether theology as a science was really born with them, as they claim, is a point which remains open to discussion). The Sunnī theologians also considered that the existence of God is known to us through reasoning, and by no other means. Thus the well-known argument first devised, it is said, by Abu 'l-Hudhayl (according to *Sharḥ*, 95, ll. 9-12), demonstrating the existence of God by means of the principle of the "adventitiousness" of substances (*ḥudūth al-djawāhir*), itself demonstrated by the adventitiousness of accidents, was adopted with alacrity by all Ashᶜarī and Māturīdī theologians. Just like the Muᶜtazila, the Sunnī theologians are at pains to interpret the Ḳurʾān in their own fashion, such that it accords with their doctrinal positions. It may certainly be reckoned that in a number of cases the Muᶜtazila do greater violence to the letter of the Ḳurʾānic text (for example in the interpretation of *hudā* and *iḍlāl*), but this is simply because the Ḳurʾān, in its literality, is in general supportive of Sunnī theses.

Something else which may legitimately be seen as an element of "rationalism" is the formulation by the Muᶜtazila of a substantial system for explaining the world and mankind which, essentially, owes nothing to the Ḳurʾān, but much—initially—to fragments of Greek philosophy, and later, and more significantly, to their own speculations: the conception of bodies as agglomerates of atoms, the distinction between substance and accident, the explanation of all phenomena belonging to the physical world through the inherence of accidents in the atoms of which bodies are constituted; then, in this context, the genuinely "philosophical" project seeking to define, for example, location and movement; to establish the cause of the immobility of the earth, the nature of fire, or whether such a thing as a void exists in the universe; to understand the modalities of perception through the eye and through the ear; to consider how to define man (*insān*); what is to be understood by *rūḥ* and *nafs*; what are the different forms of will, and whether desire and hope should be included among them; etc. For modern tastes, it is here, without doubt, that Muᶜtazilī literature appears at its most interesting and most original. But in this case also, such considerations have not remained exclusively characteristic of this school; the Sunnī theologians, as already mentioned, adopted them as a whole for their own purposes, and this may furthermore be seen as a characteristic of *kalām* in general. Possibly such matters simply hold, for the Muᶜtazila, a more important status; there seems little likelihood in finding, in all Sunnī theological literature, a work exclusively devoted to the "rules of substances and accidents", as is the case with the *Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-djawāhir wa 'l-aᶜrāḍ* of Ibn Mattawayh (partial, and seriously flawed edition by S. N. Luṭf and F. B. ᶜAwn, Cairo 1975). But it is sufficient to glance, for example, at what remains of the *Shāmil* of al-Djuwaynī to gain an impression of the interest taken by the latter in these issues.

On this point, as on the preceding, the rift is not between Muᶜtazila and Sunnīs taken as homogeneous wholes, but between those who accept the methods, problems and vocabulary of the *ᶜilm al-kalām* and those who reject them, such as the Ḥanbalīs in the first instance (which is not however true for the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaᶜlāʾ Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], as consummate a *mutakallim* as al-Djuwaynī) or those who, in the very midst of the Ashᶜarī school (including for example Abū Bakr al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*]), maintain loyalty to the inspiration of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*.

Where there is a rationalism exclusive to the Muᶜtazila, it is in the sphere of ethics. For them, as has been observed, man is also capable of knowing by his reason alone that which is morally good or evil. Spontaneously, they say, he recognises as evil acts injustice, deceit, ingratitude; and recognises as obligatory the deed of repaying a debt, keeping himself clear of harm (*dafᶜ al-ḍarar ᶜan nafsihi*), or showing thankfulness towards a benefactor (whereby all are obliged to adore God, the supreme Benefactor, adoration representing the highest form of thankfulness). In this context also, the revelation can only confirm that which our reason tells us. Of course, the latter is not sufficient to make us aware of everything that is evil (i.e. forbidden), nor everything that is obligatory; only the revealed Law can inform us that it is obligatory, for example, to perform a prayer to God, according to a certain ritual, five times a day, or that it is forbidden to eat and drink during the days of Ramaḍān. It could even be supposed that there is a contradiction here between revelation and reason, bearing in mind that, spontaneously, reason makes us recognise as evil (because arduous, therefore harmful) the exercise of the rituals of prayer, and conversely obligatory (because it removes harm) the act of eating and drinking when one is hungry or thirsty. But, in fact, reason understands without difficulty the necessity to undergo a minor harm, as a means of avoiding the major harm which is the punishment promised by God to those who disobey Him. In this manner, even the prescriptions of the Law have a rational basis; if our reason were capable of knowing by itself that the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of a certain act would earn the torments of Hell for all eternity, it would necessarily know, by itself, that the act in question is either evil or obligatory (cf. Gimaret-Monnot, 270-1).

On this last point, the Muᶜtazila are, for once, very clearly in disagreement with the Ashᶜarī theologians. For al-Ashᶜarī, the sole foundation of good and evil, in all respects, is the revealed Law; that which God commands is obligatory, that which He permits good, that which He forbids evil. If deceit is morally evil, it

is because God has declared it so; if He had declared it good, it would be good (cf. *Lumaʿ*, § 171). However, not all Sunnīs shared this opinion; in this respect, al-Māturīdī and a large number of his supporters maintained a position comparable to that of the Muʿtazila (see al-Māturīdī, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. F. Kholeif, Beirut 1970, 178, l. 16; al-Pazdawī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. Linss, Cairo 1383/1963, 207, ll. 9-13).

Bibliography: Over the past thirty years, with a quantity of new sources becoming available, studies relating to Muʿtazilism have progressed considerably, and given rise to a large number of publications, which cannot possibly be listed here in an exhaustive manner. A number of important references have already been indicated in the course of the article.

There does not yet exist a comprehensive study, taking account of recent gains in knowledge, of the history and doctrines of Muʿtazilism, with the exception of the substantial article by J. van Ess in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York 1987, x, 220-9. The works of Z. Djār Allāh (*al-Muʿtazila*, Cairo 1947) and A.N. Nader (*Le système philosophique des muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956) are out of date. The books by J. van Ess, *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du muʿtazilisme*, Paris 1984, and *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1991, relate only to the "first period" (as far as Ibn al-Rāwandī), and is in the form of a simple outline of what the author expects to develop, and eventually correct, in his *Geschichte der frühen islamischen Theologie*.

The most important sources concerning the history of Muʿtazilism are the works of *ṭabaḳātʿ* devoted to this school. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazilaʿ* drawn from the *K. al-Munya wa 'l-amal* of the Zaydī Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437) and published by S. Diwald-Wilzer (Beirut-Wiesbaden 1961) are a recasting (sometimes flawed) of those which figure in the *K. Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn* of al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī, themselves derived from a work of ʿAbd al-Djabbār entitled *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*. F. Sayyid published (posthumously) in Tunis in 1393/1974, under the same title, a volume comprising: 1. the chapter of the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī which concerns the Muʿtazila; 2. the entire text of the book of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (or the first ten *ṭabaḳāt*); and 3. the section of the *Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn* of al-Djushamī dealing with the later period (or *ṭabaḳāt* 11 and 12).

The very valuable chapter of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm on the Muʿtazila is almost entirely missing in the Flügel edition; it is to be found in the more recent edition of R. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971.

Regarding the study of doctrines, a fundamental source (for the "first period") remains the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī (2nd ed. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963). The chapter of the *Maḳālāt* of al-Balkhī, mentioned above, is remarkably succinct in this respect. The information given in the *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī is the object of substantial critical annotation in D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Louvain-Paris 1986 (see especially pp. 177-289).

On Djubbāʾī's theses, the most accessible source is the compendium already mentioned (and to which the present article refers under the abbreviation *Sharḥ*) by the Zaydī Imām Mānkdīm Shashdīw, which is a collection of lecture notes (*taʿlīḳ*) on the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār; this work, published under the same title of *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* by ʿA. K. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1965, was erroneously attributed by the latter to ʿAbd al-Djabbār himself (on this faulty attribution, see Gimaret, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xv [1979]). Of the enormous theological corpus of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, not all has been preserved; of the twenty volumes which it comprised, only fourteen figure in the Cairo edition (1960-5). For the missing sections, a substitute may be found in *al-Madjmūʿ fī 'l-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf* by Ibn Mattawayh, a paraphrase of the *Muḥīṭ* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (two volumes published, Beirut 1965 and 1981).

Among the works concerning ʿAbd al-Djabbār or the Djubbāʾī school in general, three deserve particular attention: G.F. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism, the ethics of ʿAbd al-Jabbâr*, Oxford 1971; J.R.T.M. Peters, *God's created speech, a study in the speculative theology of the Muʿtazilî Qâḍî l-Quḍât Abû l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbâr bn Aḥmad al-Hamaḏânî*, Leiden 1976; R.M. Frank, *Beings and their attributes, the teaching of the Basrian school of the Muʿtazila in the classical period*, Albany 1978.

It may be noted in conclusion that, as a result of the progress of studies since the inception of the new *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, some of the articles published in the earliest instalments are no longer up to date, and therefore it is recommended that, for the authors concerned, the more recent *Encyclopedia Iranica* (London 1985-) should also be consulted. This applies in particular to ʿAbd al-Djabbār and Abu 'l-Ḳāṣim al-Balkhī. (D. GIMARET)

AL-**MUʿTAZILA**, the name given by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, § 2226) to a group of four extremist Shīʿī (*ghulāt*) sub-sects. This same author divides the *ghulāt* into two categories each with four subdivisions: on one hand, the Muḥammadiyya [*q.v.*], also known as the Mīmiyya (sc. the initial of Muḥammad); and on the other, the Muʿtazila or ʿAlawiyya (and vars.). These last also deified Muḥammad and ʿAlī but invert the hierarchy and place ʿAlī first (whence their name of ʿAyniyya), make Muḥammad the envoy of his son-in-law and blame him for having preached in his own name; this is why they are further called Dhammiyya [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

AL-**MUʿTAZZ BI 'LLĀH**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 252-5/866-9, and son of the earlier caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] by his favourite slave concubine Ḳabīḥa.

The reign of al-Muʿtazz's predecessor, his cousin al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*], ended in strife and violence stirred up by the Turkish guards in Sāmarrā. Al-Mustaʿīn was forced to abdicate at Baghdād, and on 4 Muḥarram 252/25 January 866, al-Muʿtazz, having been brought out of jail, was hailed as caliph. The first part of the succession arrangements envisaged towards the end of his life by al-Mutawakkil, that his sons al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad should succeed after his other son al-Muntaṣir [*q.v.*], was thus realised; but the treacherous new caliph now proceeded to break his pledge of safety for the ex-caliph al-Mustaʿīn, having him murdered at al-Ḳāṭūl at Sāmarrā in Shawwāl 252/October-November 866, and he also killed his brother Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad after forcibly compelling him to renounce his succession rights. With the aid of his vizier and former secretary, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, he further succeeded in reducing the influence of the Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr—the former was killed by rebellious Turkish troops, clamouring for pay, in 253/867, and the latter killed by the caliph's own orders in the following year—and

he sent off the chief of the *barīd* system, Mūsā b. Bug̲h̲ā al-Kabīr, to Hamadān (253/867).

However, Turkish influence in the state revived in 255/869 under Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and Bāʾikbāk, whilst that of the Ṭāhirid governors and commanders of the guard in Bag̲h̲dād [see ṬĀHIRIDS] declined under Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, inferior in capability to his brother ʿUbayd Allāh, whose dismissal the suspicious caliph had procured. Ṣāliḥ was now able to set aside the vizier Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl. The clamour of the Turkish soldiery for more pay could not be satisfied by the caliph; and at the end of Rad̲j̲ab 255/mid-July 869, al-Muʿtazz was deposed by a combination of the Turks, the Farg̲h̲ānans and the Mag̲h̲āriba. He died of ill-treatment three days later (2 S̲h̲aʿbān 255/16 July 869) at the age of 24, and the Turks now raised to the throne al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ's son Muḥammad al-Muhtadī [*q.v.*].

The insecurity of al-Muʿtazz's four-and-a-half years' reign and his inability to master events in Bag̲h̲dād and Sāmarrā allowed the process of the attenuation of caliphal power in the provinces to proceed apace. His reign marks the beginning of what was in effect autonomy for Egypt under Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] (254/868); K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī revolts in al-D̲j̲azīra and the Mawṣil region; the opening phases of the Zand̲j̲ [*q.v.*] rebellion in the neighbourhood of Baṣra; ʿAlid outbreaks in the Ḥid̲j̲āz under the Ḥasanid Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf and in Ṭabaristān under the Zaydī al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*]; and above all, the advance into southern Persia of the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layt̲h̲ [*q.v.*], although it was not until after al-Muʿtazz's death that Yaʿḳūb penetrated through Fārs into ʿIrāḳ itself and almost overthrew the caliphate in Bag̲h̲dād [see DAYR AL-ʿĀḲŪL].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 593, 595, 603, 610-16; Ṭabarī, iii, 1394-1403, 1473, 1485 ff., 1502-4, 1507, 1542-1712, tr. G. Saliba, *The crisis of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1985, 2-3, 6-7, 34-165; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vii, 193, 273, 304-5, 364-79, 393-405 = §§ 2876, 2957, 2995, 3057-74, 3090-3108; idem, *Tanbīh*, 363-5, tr. 466-8; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, s.v.; *K. al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, 577-83; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ed. Beirut, vii, 95, 103-5, 112-13, 141 ff., 167-74, 178-84, 186-9, 195-8; Ibn S̲h̲ākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1283-9, ii, 185, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973-4, iii, 319-21; Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg, 332-5; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *K. al-ʿIbar*, iii, 287 ff.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 355, 374, 385 ff.; Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, new edn. by Weir, 529, 531, 534-9; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 171, 247, 311-13; E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, vi, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948, 233-48; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, i, 294-8; M. Forstner, *Al-Muʿtazz billāh (252/866-255/869). Die Krise des abbasidischen Kalifat im 3./9. Jahrhundert*, Germersheim 1976 (exhaustive study); H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986, 173-4. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MÜTEFERRIḲA (T.), the name of a corps of guards, who were especially attached to the person of the sultan at the Ottoman Turkish court. The name is also applied to a member of the guard. Their occupations were similar to those of the *Čawus̲h̲* [*q.v.*], not of military character, nor for court service only, but they were used for more or less important public or political missions. Like the *Čawus̲h̲*, the Müteferriḳa were a mounted guard. The name appears early, e.g., in a *wakfiyya* of 847/1443, one Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ is mentioned as being one. In later times there were two classes, the *gedikli* or *ziʿāmetli* Müteferriḳa, and the fiefless. Their chief was the *Müteferriḳa Ag̲h̲asî*. In course of time their number constantly increased; at the end of the 11th/17th century, the maximum was fixed at 120 (*GOR*², iii, 890, after Rās̲h̲id), but in the beginning of the 19th century, von Hammer gives the number 500 for the total. The Porte needed sometimes to lay stress on the importance of the office in order to make them acceptable as extraordinary envoys by foreign governments (*GOR*², iii, 929, after Rās̲h̲id).

Among those who occupied this rank was the well-known first Turkish Islamic printer Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.* and MAṬBAʿA. 2. In Turkey].

Although different explanations of the title *müteferriḳa* are given, the most probable interpretation is that these functionaries were not given a special duty but formed originally a corps used for "various matters". This is still the use of the word in modern Turkish.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii, 55, 105; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'État Présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, 338; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 428-31; M.Z. Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 637-8; *İA* art. s.v. (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (J.H. KRAMERS*)

MÜTEFERRIḲA, IBRĀHĪM [see IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA].

MUT̲H̲ALLAT̲H̲ (A.), also MUT̲H̲ALLAT̲H̲A, pl. always *mut̲h̲allat̲h̲āt*, triangle; it forms the first category of plane surfaces bounded by straight lines (*al-basāʾiṭ al-musaṭṭaḥa al-mustaḳīmat al-k̲h̲uṭūṭ* (cf. al-K̲h̲ʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 206). Following Euclid's Elements, i, Ὅρος 24-9, the Arab mathematicians classify triangles from two points of view: either according to the sides (*ḍilʿ*, pl. *aḍlāʿ*) into equilateral (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-mutasāwī 'l-aḍlāʿ*, in Euclid τρίγωνον ἰσόπλευρον), isosceles (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-mutasawi 'l-ḍilʿayn*, τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές), and scalene (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-mukhtalif al-aḍlāʿ*, τρίγωνον σκαληνόν), or according to the angles (*zāwiya*, pl. *zawāyā*), into right-angled (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-ḳāʾim al-zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον), obtuse-angled (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-munfarid̲j̲ al-zāwiya*, τρίγωνον ἀμβλυγώνιον) and acute-angled (*al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ al-ḥādd al-zāwiya* [*zawāyā*], τρίγωνον ὀξυγώνιον).

In the equilateral triangle, the base is called *al-ḳāʿida*, the apex *al-raʾs* and the sides *al-ḍilʿān* (see above); in the right-angled triangle the hypotenuse is called *al-ḳuṭr*, i.e., "diameter" (because the hypotenuse represents the diameter of the circle described around the right-angled triangle); for the two sides, the term *al-ḍilʿān* is generally used.

Misāḥat al-mut̲h̲allat̲h̲āt as a technical term means trigonometry (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 163a).

MUT̲H̲ALLAT̲H̲A (always with the feminine ending) is a technical term in astrology. Astrology divides the zodiacal circle (*minṭaḳa* [see MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪD̲J̲]) into four *mut̲h̲allat̲h̲āt* (Gr. τρίγωνα, Lat. *trigona*, *triquetra*), each of which includes three signs 120° apart. These "are situated together in the trigonal plane" (*tat̲h̲līt̲h̲*, Gr. τρίγωνον, Lat. *aspectus trinus*); the word *tat̲h̲līt̲h̲* itself is frequently found as a synonym of *mut̲h̲allat̲h̲a* which comes from the same root (*th-l-th*) (cf. Dozy, i, 162b).

In star nomenclature, Kawkab al-Mut̲h̲allat̲h̲ is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle (in Eratosthenes Δελτωτόν, in Ptolemy Τρίγωνον) which is adjoined in the east by Perseus, in the north by Andromeda, in the west by Pisces and in the south by Aries. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*) and al-Ṣūfī (ed. Schjellerup, 123), it consists of three stars of the

third magnitude and one of the fifth. The star at the apex (α Trianguli) is an astrolabe star and is called *Raʾs al-Muthallath*. The latter name is found in *Libros del saber de astronomia del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla* in the corrupted form *alcedeles*.

Bibliography: Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895; Codex Leidensis 399, 1. *Euclidis Elementa ex interpretatione al-Hadschdschadschii*, Copenhagen 1893-1932, i; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, *al-Kawākib wa 'l-ṣuwar* (*Description des étoiles fixes*), ed. H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874. (W. Hartner)

MUTHAMMAN (a.), "octagon, octagonal", describes in architecture plan figures and buildings of eight equal sides. The irregular octagon with four longer and four shorter sides—which may assume the shape of a square or rectangle with chamfered corners—was termed *muthamman baghdādī* ("Baghdādī octagon") in Mughal architecture, where it enjoyed a particular popularity.

With the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] or Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem (72/691-2) the octagon made an impressive entry into Islamic architecture and, thereafter—true to the commemorative character of the prototype, and because of the symbolism of the number eight, alluding to the eight stages of the Ḳurʾānic Paradise (for the latter point, see A. Daneshvari, *Medieval tomb towers of Iran*, Lexington, Ky. 1986, 27-30)—octagons were at all periods and in all regions of Islam preferably used for tombs and mausolea [see also maḳbara]. An interesting purely secular memorial octagon is the tower built by Akbar in 996/1588 on an ancient Buddhist mound now known as "Čawkhandī" at Sarnath near Benares; according to its inscription it was to commemorate a visit of his father Humāyūn. Octagonal plans were also popular for (garden) pavilions and pleasure houses; known or extant examples belong to Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid, Deccani, and, in particular, Mughal architecture [*q.v.*]. A special plan—often inscribed in the figure of a *muthamman baghdādī*—is here the *hasht bihisht* ("Eight Paradises") of eight rooms (four oblong) [open] axial porches and four usually double-storeyed corner rooms) arranged around a central (often octagonal) domed hall. Octagons played also an important role in religious and secular water architecture, such as cisterns, basins or wells, and their superstructures; an early and striking example is the fountain pavilion at Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*, fig. A] between 105-25/724-43 (for further examples, see ḥawḍ).

Octagons occur also—often as halves (*nīm muthamman*) or three-quarters of the full figure—as the shape of towers in a fortificatory context, which may also be adapted for residential purposes [see burdj, at I, 1323-4]. The shaft of minarets assumes often an eight-sided form, in particular in the lower stages [see manāra]. In the construction of domes, octagons were throughout Islamic architecture a favourite plan figure for transition zones and drums, suitable to effect the transition to the polygonal or round base line of the dome. Octagons were also one of the most frequently used figures in Islamic ornament.

At times, eight-sided figures were even used for large-scale architectural planning. Ḥiṣn Ḳādisiyya, near Sāmarrā, a vast, quasi-regular octagon (the sides of which vary from 612 to 623 m.), was probably an unfinished city built by Hārūn al-Rashīd in the 790s (A. Northedge, in K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, rev. and supplemented by J.W. Allan, Aldershot 1989, 279-80). Further examples are Shāh Djahān's no longer extant bazaar at Āgra (begun 1046/1637), which encircled a piazza (*čawk*) connecting the fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid; and the fortress palace of Shāhdjahānābād (1048-58/1639-48) at Dihlī [*q.v.*], a giant oblong *muthamman baghdādī* (the longer sides of which measure *ca.* 656 m., the shorter sides *ca.* 328 m. and the corner chamfers *ca.* 116 m.), but modified in the execution. Traditional courtyard building types of Islamic architecture may, at times, be given an octagonal shape. Noteworthy in particular are the Ḳapī Aghasī Medrese in Amasya [*q.v.*], Anatolia (894/1488); and Persian *kārwānsarāy*s of the Ṣafawid period (for which see khān, pl. xxviii; W. Kleiss and M.Y. Kiyānī, *Fihrist-i kārwānsarāhā-yi Īrān*, i, Tehran 1362, 14, 48 ff.).

The most outstanding contributions to the theme of the octagon in Islamic architecture were made by Indian tombs of the Dihlī Sultanate and, even more so, by mausolea of the Mughal period.

The Sultanate group attracts attention by adhering consistently over centuries to one clearly defined formula, first expressed in the Tughluḳ period. It is made up of an octagonal domed chamber surrounded by a lower octagonal ambulatory opening on each side into a tripartite arcade fashioned in the heavy membering of the Tughluḳ style. The building type can be traced back—via somewhat hypothetical Persian intermediary stages (for which see S.S. Blair, *The octagonal pavilion at Natanz*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 69-94) and the Ḳubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya at Sāmarrā, probably 248/862 (Creswell, *op. cit.*, 372-4) (which has, however, not three but only one opening in each of the outer faces) to the Dome of the Rock (minus its second outer closed ambulatory). The Indian series—which thus represents the most remarkable formal offspring of the first building of Islam—begins at Dihlī with the tomb of the Tughluḳ official Khān Djahān Maḳbūl Tilangānī (d. 770/1368-9) (A. Welch and H. Crane, *The Tughluqs, master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *Muqarnas*, i, fig. 7), was taken up again by the Sayyid rulers (tombs of Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, d. 838/1434-5 and of Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, d. 849/1445-6), and was maintained in the Lōdī period (tomb of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī, d. 923/1517; the tomb of ʿĀlam Khān [Mewātī?] at Tidjārā) was brought to its apogee in the Sūrī period (tombs of Ḥasan Khān Sūr, *ca.* 950/1543-4; of Shēr Shāh Sūr, 952/1545; of Bakhtiyār Khān, *ca.* 952/1545; all at Sasārām in Bihār; of ʿĪsā Khān Niyāzī, Dihlī, 954/1547-8), and was also adopted with some stylistic changes by the early Mughals (tomb of Ādam Khān at Mihrawlī, Dihlī, d. 969/1562) [see hind, at III, 442-3, 449]. After that, the building type was discontinued in funerary architecture but emerges instead—in a lighter trabeate idiom—in residential architecture (which in Mughal India is largely interchangeable with sepulchral architecture), a *čhatrī* may replace the sepulchral outer dome over the central chamber (Ḳūsh Khāna, Fatḥpūr Sikrī, 1570s; Čālīs Sutūn, Allāhābād Fort, *ca.* 991/1583 (not preserved); Shāh Burdj, Āgra Fort, completed 1046/1637). Finally, the type in its new lighter shape, is restored once more to sepulchral architecture in three of the subsidiary tombs of the Tādj Maḥall complex (1640s).

The most interesting and complex treatment of the octagon occurs, however, in the massive masonry tombs of the Mughals.

The standard type are variations on the regular or irregular octagonal tomb of Tīmūrid inspiration. The regular version has a central octagonal, square, or cruciform chamber and an arched niche in each of the eight outer faces (tombs of Shāh Ḳulī Khān, Nār-

nawl, 982/1574-5; of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Khān, Baroḍā, d. 991/1583; of Bahādur Khān, and of Husayn Khān (with double storeyed outer niches), both Bahlōlpūr, Akbar's period (S. Parihar, *Mughal monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*, New Delhi 1985, 30-2); of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad, Sarhind, 1014/1605-6; of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641) and of ʿAlī Mardān Khān (*ca.* 1060/1650), Lāhawr; of "Ṣādiḳ Khān" between Sikandra and Āgra, with an upper gallery; and of "Shaykh Čilli", Thānesar, both of Shāh Djahān's period. The irregular octagonal tomb has usually rectangular axial outer niches (*pīshṭāḳs*) communicating with the inner chamber and half octagonal niches (which may be double storeyed) in the shorter sides (Sabz Burdj, Nīlā Gunbad, Dihlī, both probably 1540s; tomb of "the Ustād", Nākodār, 1021/1612) representing thus an abbreviation of the *hasht bihisht* plan. Another distinct type, a Mughal invention occurring most frequently in Djahāngīr's period, is the octagonal version of the platform (*takhtgāh*) tomb which consists of an octagonal low platform (which may contain vaulted rooms) on which is placed in the centre an eight-sided domed sepulchral pavilion. In the periphery may be set other individual subsidiary structures such as gates, small mosques or pavilions (tombs of Ṣādiḳ Khān Harātī, Dhōlpūr, 1005-6/1596-7, which has no pavilion but an octagonal platform surrounded by a screen in the centre; of "Fīrūz Khān", Āgra; of "Tambulan Begam" in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād; of Muḥammad Wāsiṭ in the *dargāh* of Shāh Ḳāsim Sulaymānī at Čunār, all first third of the 17th century).
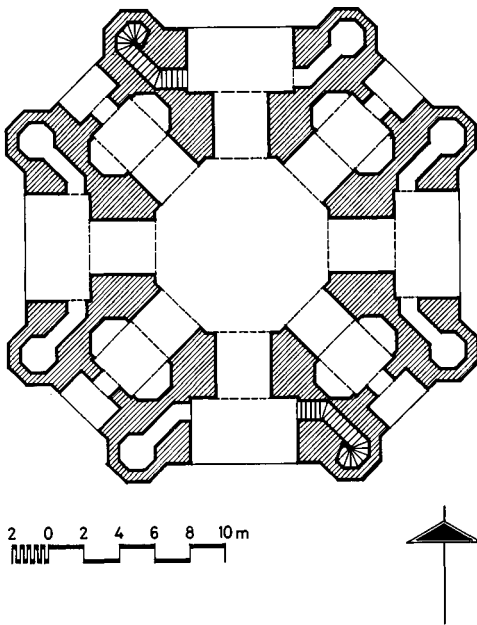
Fig. 1. Lahore, tomb "of Anārkalī", 1024/1615. Reconstructed ground plan.

The ultimate point of elaboration, perfecting the Tīmūrid-inspired tradition of consistent geometrical planning and intricate designs, is reached in three outstanding Mughal mausolea, all developed around a central octagonal domed chamber. Not only does the eight-sided Islamic tomb reach here its culmination but perhaps does also the treatment of the octagon in the general history of architecture altogether:

(1) The tomb of Humāyūn at Dihlī (970-8/1562-71); the main body of the tomb is raised on the figure of a radially-planned *hasht bihisht* inscribed in a *muthamman baghdādī*. The four corner units consist in turn of *hasht bihishts* echoing the spatial organisation of the main plan figure. The clear logic of the plan is reflected faithfully in the elevation; its structural components are brought into relief by the studied use of red sandstone highlightened with white marble.

(2) The tomb "of Anārkalī" at Lāhawr, completed 1024/1615 (Fig. 1); in the plan figure of an irregular octagon with half octagonal towers at its points is inscribed an octagonalised radial symmetrical *hasht bihisht* plan with two patterns of cross axes: a (+) that of the axial porches (*pīshṭāḳs*) and b (x) that of diagonally placed composite rooms. The originality of the invention can be shown by comparing it with masterpieces of western architecture: it is as if Michelangelo's last design for the San Giovanni de' Fiorentini church in Rome (1559) were inscribed in the outline of Frederick II's Castel del Monte in Apulia, South Italy (*ca.* 1240)!

(3) The Tādj Maḥall at Āgra (1041-52/1632-43); a perfectly balanced radially planned *hasht bihisht* is inscribed in a *muthamman baghdādī*, the two cross axes (+ and x) are further interconnected by an inner square ambulatory surrounding the central octagonal chamber.

Bibliography: There is as yet no monographic treatment of the octagon in Islamic architecture. Individual aspects are discussed in the works cited in the text. See, in addition, for the octagonal tombs of the Dihlī sultanate, R. Nath, *History of sultanate architecture*, New Delhi 1978, 84-95; C.B. Asher, *The mausoleum of Sher Shāh Sūrī*, in *Artibus Asiae*, xxxix/3-4 (1977), 273-98. For the Mughal tombs, see MUGHALS. 7. Architecture ; E. Koch, *Mughal architecture: an outline*, Munich 1991. (EBBA KOCH)

AL-MUTHANNĀ B. ḤĀRITHA, Arab tribal chieftain and hero of the early Islamic conquest of ʿIrāḳ. Al-Muthannā's tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was part of the Bakr b. Wāʾil group and had its home on the eastern desert fringes of southern ʿIrāḳ in the late 6th and early 7th centuries A.D. Although the leading clans of Shaybān had been involved in battles against the Persians before the rise of Islam—most notably the famous battle of Dhū Ḳār (*ca.* 611 A.D. [*q.v.*])—the same clans seem initially to have opposed the Muslim advance into ʿIrāḳ; al-Muthannā, on the other hand, was from the minor Shaybānī clan of Saʿd b. Murra, and it may be that the Muslims employed a divide-and-conquer tactic in dealing with Shaybān, winning in this case a minor chieftain to their side, with whose assistance they were able to overcome other parts of the tribe who remained aligned with the Persians.

The sources tell us nothing of al-Muthannā's early life, nor do they give us a consistent picture of how he came to join the Muslims. With the collapse of Sāsānid control in southern ʿIrāḳ, al-Muthannā, along with other tribal chiefs such as al-Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī al-ʿIdjlī, appears to have engaged in raiding settled land. But the sources disagree on whether al-Muthannā's raids were undertaken independent of the régime in Medina, or whether they were carried out with Medina's blessings or even on its orders. A few accounts in late authors (Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghāba*, Ibn Ḥadjar's *Iṣāba*) portray al-Muthannā as part of a delegation of Shaybān tribesmen who came to the Prophet, and others have him coming to Medina early in Abū Bakr's caliphate (or even com-

ing at both times); in either case, he is said to have been authorised by the Prophet or caliph to undertake raids against the Persians. But these accounts may be later efforts to portray his raids in ʿIrāḳ as part of a master plan for the Islamic conquests emanating from Medina, rather than as independent action on the part of al-Mut͟hannā. Against such a centralised view we may note that several accounts suggest that al-Mut͟hannā was unknown to Abū Bakr when his raiding was brought to the caliph's attention. Ibn Saʿd's account of the S͟haybān delegation to the Prophet makes no mention of al-Mut͟hannā, and the accounts in the *Usd al-g͟hāba* mention al-Mut͟hannā in the delegations but make another figure the leading character in the negotiations, suggesting that al-Mut͟hannā's name may have been added later to existing accounts.

It seems likely, then, that al-Mut͟hannā's first raids on ʿIrāḳ were made on his own initiative. He must have been persuaded to join the Muslims some time during the *Ridda*, however, before the arrival of the first Muslim army sent from Medina to ʿIrāḳ headed by K͟hālid b. al-Walīd (early 12/spring 633), for during the wars of the *Ridda*, al-Mut͟hannā is mentioned among those sent by the Muslim commander al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to prevent the defeated supporters of the rebel al-Ḥuṭam of al-Baḥrayn from fleeing to the island of Dārīn in the Persian Gulf in 11/632-3 (al-Tabarī, i, 1971).

Al-Mut͟hannā played an important role in the initial phases of the conquest of southern and central ʿIrāḳ after the arrival of the first Muslim armies sent there by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb. Although the narrative sources contain many apparent contradictions and anomalies in reporting al-Mut͟hannā's exploits, the general outlines of their presentation can be summarised as follows. Al-Mut͟hannā served as a subordinate commander under K͟hālid b. al-Walīd during the Muslim conquest of al-Ḥīra and nearby localities (Ullays, etc.). He also appears to have led some raids across the Euphrates into the *Sawād*, both during the period of K͟hālid's command and later. When K͟hālid received Abū Bakr's order to reinforce the Muslims in Syria in early 13/spring 634, he took with him half of the Muslim forces in ʿIrāḳ and left al-Mut͟hannā in command of the remaining half. Al-Mut͟hannā may have come to Medina at this time to plead with Abū Bakr for reinforcements to confront the Persians. Subsequently, the caliph ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb dispatched an army led by Abū ʿUbayd al-T͟haḳafī, who became the new supreme commander in ʿIrāḳ. This army was, however, destroyed by the Persians at the Battle of the Bridge (13 or 14/634-6); in the accounts of this battle, al-Mut͟hannā is described as having played a key role in protecting the defeated Muslims' rear so that they could repair a pontoon bridge and make an orderly retreat across it, thus saving countless lives among the Muslim forces. Al-Mut͟hannā is generally reported to have received wounds at the Battle of the Bridge from which he died months later. In the meanwhile, however, he is said to have launched numerous raids into the *Sawād*. Some versions claim that al-Mut͟hannā defeated a large Sāsānid army in a major pitched battle at a place called Buwayb, in the *Sawād*, an exploit that is presented in some sources as erasing the defeat at the Bridge. His death seems to have occurred just before the arrival in ʿIrāḳ of the next major Muslim army, led by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, which was to be responsible for the decisive conquest of ʿIrāḳ from the Persians. His death probably occurred, then, in 14/635-6 or 15/636-7.

The many inconsistencies or traces of apparent hyperbole in the narratives on which the aforegoing summary is based must lead us to question the historicity of numerous episodes in which al-Mut͟hannā is said to have been involved. For example, some accounts claim that al-Mut͟hannā raided far afield from his home territory near al-Ḥīra—to Ṣiffīn far up the Euphrates, Takrīt on the upper Tigris, and deep into the *Sawād* as far as the future site of Bag͟hdād (a claim rejected already by al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 246). Similarly, the many reports of al-Mut͟hannā's early raiding include a number that describe him as having engaged and defeated a Persian commander named D̲jābān, but the site of this encounter is variously said to have been Ullays (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2018), al-Namāriḳ (*ibid.*, i, 2163), Nahr al-Dam (al-Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 242), or Tustar (*ibid.*, 245-6). According to the reports of Sayf b. ʿUmar, the commander of a troop of reinforcements sent to ʿIrāḳ after the débâcle at the Bridge, D̲jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bad̲jalī, willingly accepted al-Mut͟hannā as commander and served under him at the battle of Buwayb; but according to Ibn Isḥāḳ, D̲jarīr refused to subordinate himself to al-Mut͟hannā. In the accounts of the Battle of Buwayb and elsewhere, al-Mut͟hannā's role is sometimes described in terms that seem to be seriously exaggerated; at Buwayb, for example, he engages in heroics while nursing fatal wounds suffered at the Bridge, and in other instances, where he is portrayed as negotiating with high-ranking Persian commanders, he responds with such finesse that the reports have the tone of purely literary inventions. These aspects of the traditional narratives lead us to question whether a major battle (rather than occasional small skirmishes and raids?) even took place at Buwayb.

Resolving these problems must await a fully detailed re-examination of the development of the accounts about al-Mut͟hannā's campaign. On the other hand, in the present writer's opinion it must be accepted as certain that al-Mut͟hannā was a historical figure, and that he played a significant role in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ; it is merely that historiographical difficulties for the moment make unclear the exact scope of his activities.

With the rise of a specifically ʿIrāḳī strain of Arab nationalism following the creation of the independent state of ʿIrāḳ in the 20th century, the figure of al-Mut͟hannā b. Ḥārit͟ha has become a symbol of ʿIrāḳī national pride. For this reason, public and private monuments and institutions are sometimes named after him in modern ʿIrāḳ. Noteworthy among these was the nationalist club of the 1930s and 1940s, the Nādī al-Mut͟hannā.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 56-9; vii/2, 120-1; Ibn Aʿt͟ham al-Kūfī, ed. M.A. K͟hān, Ḥaydarābād, Dcn. 1968, i, 88 ff.; Ibn Ḥubays͟h, *Kitāb D͟hikr al-g͟hazawāt al-ḍāmina...*, ms. Leiden Or. 343, fols. 125b ff.; Ibn Ḥad̲jar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, s.v. "al-Mut͟hannā b. Ḥārit͟ha"; Ibn al-At͟hīr, *Usd al-g͟hāba*, iv, 299-300, iv, 408-9 (on Mafrūḳ b. ʿAmr al-S͟haybānī); J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 23, 37-44, 68-70; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/2 and iii, below; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; ʿImād Aḥmad al-D̲jawāhirī, *Nādī al-Mut͟hannā wa wād̲jihāt al-tad̲jammuʿ al-ḳawmī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ, 1934-1942*, Bag͟hdād 1984.

(F.M. DONNER)

MUṬĪʿ B. **IYĀS** AL-KINĀNĪ, a minor poet of Kūfa who lived in the last years of the Umayyads and the first ones of the ʿAbbāsids, making him a *muk͟haḍram* [*q.v.*] *al-dawlatayn*.

G.E. von Grunebaum (*Three Arabic poets of the early*

Abbasid age, in *Orientalia*, Rome) brought together, in the first part of his study (xvii/2 [1948], 167-204) 77 poetical fragments attributed to al-Muṭīʿ and also provided an exemplary critical study of the materials given by the biographers, anthologists and other authors of *adab* works, concerning this poet, whose personality is difficult to establish despite an image which appears superficially to be of perfect clarity but which reveals itself on closer examination as equivocal and strained.

His grandfather, or some more distant ancestor, was called Salmā b. Nawfal, and it happens that Ibn al-Kalbī, in his *Djamhara* (Tab. 43) terminates the line to which the poet belongs with this person. His father Iyās b. Muslim was sent by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān with the contingent meant to provide aid for al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf in his struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr, and then settled at Kūfa, and there is no reason to doubt his Arab lineage. Von Grunebaum in fact wrongly interpreted a passage of the *Aghānī* (xii, 96 = ed. Beirut, xiii, 309) and noted that, according to another tradition, Muṭīʿ was the son of a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī called Muḥammad b. Sālim, when in reality the text says that the poet had amorous relations with a certain Muḥammad b. Sālim, who was the son of a *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl; he mourned his death in a fragment which has been preserved (no. XXIII; metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-dū*).

Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, born in Kūfa at an unknown date, which must however have been in the first decade of the 2nd century/third decade of the 8th century, seems to have attempted very early to take up the career of a professional poet, whilst at the same time leading a dissolute life to which he owes, in great part, his place in literary history. The first episode marking his career—so far as we at present know—is the dedicating of a panegyric to the prince al-Ghamr b. Yazīd (d. 132/750; see Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970, no. 287), which is said to have brought him 10,000 *dirhams* (fragment III; metre *kāmil muraffal*, rhyme *-āʾih*), but it is not known when this event took place, the Umayyad hardly ever having left Damascus except to command a summer expedition (*ṣāʾifa*) against Byzantium. It is not impossible that this prince recommended Muṭīʿ to his brother al-Walīd b. Yazīd (caliph from Rabīʿ I 125 to 28 Djumādā II 126/February 743 to 17 April 744 [*q.v.*]) or else caused to intervene in his favour the singer Ḥakam al-Wādī (on whom see the index to al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj*). This last was a *mawlā* of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik who set to music several of Muṭīʿ's poems, notably nos. V (metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ābā*), XXXIII (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-rī*), LXXI (metre *khafīf*, rhyme *-ānī*) and especially LXXII (metre *radjaz*, rhyme *-ānū*), Muṭīʿ being said to have attracted the attention of al-Walīd, perhaps at a moment when he had not yet achieved the throne. Whatever the case, the latter is said to have brought Muṭīʿ to Ruṣāfa by the horses of the postal service, but other versions have also been put forward. It is said that Muṭīʿ remained with the caliph until the latter's death, after which he returned to Kūfa. He is then found in the entourage of the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], who rebelled at Kūfa in 127/744 and was put to death by Abū Muslim in 129/747 or in 131. There is nothing to prevent us from thinking that his anti-conformism could go as far as filling him with sympathy for a partisan of the ʿAlids who was in open revolt against the Umayyad régime which he had nevertheless served until the moment when it was on the point of disintegrating. He must have remained in Kūfa in the first years of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, since we see him frequenting the salon of Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, governor of the town in 132/750. In the reign of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]), since he was attached to the caliph's son al-Djaʿfar (d. before 158/775), on whom he exercised a pernicious influence, he is said to have been given the office, according to a very dubious tradition, of levying the *ṣadaḳa* at Baṣra, in order to get him away from the young prince. He attracted the latter's anger for having favoured the designation as heir presumptive, in 141/758-9, of the future al-Mahdī, who, moreover, much appreciated his poetry. It is known that he travelled to Rayy in 145/762, to the presence of Salm b. Ḳutayba (d. 159/776; see the index to the *Murūdj*). Subsequently, no outstanding events seem to have been recorded until his death in Djumādā I 169/November 785 at Baṣra.

Muṭīʿ b. Iyās probably owes the survival of his memory less to his poetic talent than to his membership of a group of individuals connected with *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]. According to what is given in the *Aghānī* (xii, 89 = ed. Beirut, xiii, 296), his daughter, a victim of the hunting down of the Manichaeans, confessed before al-Rashīd that her father had taught her that religion, but that she had renounced it. This affirmation would confirm the accusation brought against Muṭīʿ and his companions of Manichaeism. He is said to have himself written books defending the dualists, but his "Manichaeism"—insofar as the term can be applied to him—was certainly only a façade and consisted of a conduct contrary to the morality of Islam, a nonconformism characteristic of the upper levels of society at that time, a complete indifference to religious precepts, and the current practices of drunkenness, homosexuality and debauchery in general. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, in no way shocked by happenings of this kind which were quite rife in a certain stratum of society, sums up in three words Muṭīʿ's nature, and describes him as *ẓarīf*, *khalīʿ* and *mādjin*, terms whose meaning, difficult to render precisely, corresponds substantially to a person of refinement (= witty, depraved and libertine).

This poet is rarely cited by himself, since he was inseparable, in the minds of the contemporaries and, by *taḳlīd*, of the succeeding generations, from the group of his friends, of the same stamp, "who formed, it might be said, one soul" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 447-8) and amongst whom may be distinguished the three Ḥammāds (ʿAdjrad, al-Rāwiya and Ibn al-Zibriḳān), Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb and Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, to mention only the best-known. In sifting through the lists appearing in the sources, G. Vajda (*Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii [1937], 137-229) did justice to the accusations of *zandaḳa* brought against these rather pretentious individuals, who flaunted a scepticism which went as far as atheism.

As for Muṭīʿ's work, is it certainly varied and probably touched on all the poetical genres cultivated at that time, but it would be imprudent to make a definite pronouncement, given that his *dīwān* has not been preserved. Of the 77 fragments gathered together by Von Grunebaum, 71 are certainly by this poet, comprising 391 verses out of 412, which can only represent a small proportion of his total production, estimated by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 162 = ed. Cairo, 230) at about a hundred leaves. Among these fragments, 4 are panegyrics (notably of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*]), 5 are *marthiyas* [*q.v.*] of his companion in debauchery Yaḥyā b. Ziyād (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 467-8), to whom he addressed several other pieces of

verse in various circumstances, a dozen are more or less obscene satires, 3 offend by their vulgarity, some 24 concern love and women (especially *ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA]) and some 8 are recitals of drinking sessions. It is perhaps astonishing to learn that the poem which was most admired (no. 71; metre *k͟hafīf*, rhyme *-ānī*) is an address to the Two Palm Trees of Ḥulwān, begging them to console him for his separation from "the *dihḳān*'s daughter" left behind at Rayy, and threatening them with a gloomy destiny (*naḥs*) of being likewise separated. These verses are not only frequently cited, but the Two Palms of Ḥulwān became a motif dealt with on several occasions by other poets; the story goes, moreover, that al-Manṣūr and then al-Mahdī had the plan of cutting them down, but changed their minds, not wanting to be the instrument of the *naḥs* announced by Muṭīʿ. In total, the fragments preserved simply reveal a poet who was certainly a debauchee, but neither more or less of this than his contemporaries.

In regard to poetic form, one would hardly expect frequent usage of the *ṭawīl* and *basīṭ* metres (5 and 7 times, respectively) in poetry as light as that of Muṭīʿ, which requires less majestic metres. One nevertheless notes a remarkable variety of metres used, since out of the 16 known, 13 are used in these fragments alone; out of these, 12 are used between one and nine times, but the thirteenth, *k͟hafīf*, is clearly dominant, with 19 attestations. As a whole, the language is simple, somewhat scabrous in some poems but with an unexpectedness in some others, especially when sincere feeling is expressed.

Bibliography: The essential study is that of Von Grunebaum, cited in the article, and the main biographical source is *Ag͟hānī*, xii, 87 ff. (= ed. Beirut, xiii, 274-336). Among other works which can usefully be consulted are: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 38; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 390-1; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 447-52 and index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 770-1; Ibn K͟hallikān, i, 166, tr. de Slane, i, 474; Marzubānī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, 480; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1325, i, 99-100; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 318-21; al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī, *Taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād*, xiii, 225; S͟hābus͟htī, *Diyārāt*, 159-66; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 58-63; Bag͟hdādī, *K͟hizāna*, iv, 286. Of modern studies, see Brockelmann, I², 71-2, S I, 108; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 280-4; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 368-9; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1934), xvii (1935); Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīt͟h al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 182-212; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, viii, 161-2; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, xii, 296; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 467, ix, 288.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-MUṬĪʿ LI ʾLLĀH, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM AL-FAḌL, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 334-63/946-74, son of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] by a Ṣaḳlabī slave concubine called Mas͟hʿala, brother of al-Rāḍī and of al-Muttaḳī [*q.vv.*].

Al-Muṭīʿ was a bitter enemy of al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*] and therefore went into hiding on the latter's accession, and after Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had become the real ruler, al-Muṭīʿ is said to have taken refuge with him and incited him against al-Mustakfī. After the deposition of the latter in D̲j̲umādā II or S͟haʿbān 334/January or March 946) al-Muṭīʿ was recognised as caliph. His reign marks a very unfortunate period in the history of the ʿAbbāsids. The caliph himself had not the slightest authority; the power was in the hands of Muʿizz al-Dawla and after his death (356/967) in those of his son ʿIzz al-Dīn Bak͟htiyār [*q.v.*]. The Fāṭimids were growing more and more powerful, and until 344/955 the Sāmānids also declined to recognise al-Muṭīʿ as the legitimate suzerain. The Ḥamdānids were weakened by their wars with the Būyids and the Fāṭimids. In Bag͟hdād, the Sunnīs and S͟hīʿīs were fighting one another and several S͟hīʿī usages were introduced by the Būyids, who had ʿAlid sympathies. At last the weak and sickly caliph, incapacitated by a paralytic stroke, was forced by the Turks to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṭāʾiʿ (13 D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 363/5 August 974). Al-Muṭīʿ died in Muḥarram 364/September-October 974 in Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl.

The character of al-Muṭīʿ hardly emerges from the exiguous mentions of him by historians of the period such as Miskawayh, events in Bag͟hdād being dominated by the activities of Muʿizz al-Dawla and ʿIzz al-Dawla Bak͟htiyār. On his succession to power there, Muʿizz al-Dawla assigned the caliph 2,000 *dirhams* a day for living expenses, but chose for him all his household officials; the chroniclers regard al-Muṭīʿ's reign as the lowest ebb of the caliphate before events began to revive somewhat under his eventual successors al-Ḳāʾim and al-Ḳādir [*q.vv.*]. Rivals to al-Muṭīʿ for the caliphate from the progeny of the preceding caliph al-Mustakfī and his brother ʿĪsā led risings in Ad͟harbāyd͟jān (349/960) and ʿIrāḳ (357/968), but the protection of the Būyids enabled al-Muṭīʿ to survive as ruler for nineteen years, a long reign compared with those of his immediate predecessors, and to preserve the ʿAbbāsid caliphate permanently in the line of al-Muḳtadir.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

MUṬLAḲ (A.), passive participle of form IV verb *ṭ-l-ḳ*, "to loose the bond (*ḳayd*) of an animal, so as to let it free" (e.g. Muslim, *D̲j̲ihād*, trad. 46; Abū Dāwūd, *D̲j̲ihād*, *bāb* 100). The term is also applied to the loosening of the bowstring (al-Buk͟hārī, *D̲j̲ihād*, *bāb* 170), of the garments, the hair, etc. Thence the common meaning absolute, as opposed to restricted (*muḳayyad*), and further the accusative *muṭlaḳ^{an}* "absolutely". The use of the term is so widely diffused that a few examples only can be given.

In grammar, the term *mafʿūl muṭlaḳ* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i.e., a verbal noun (either *maṣdar* or *ism al-marra* [noun of a single instance] or *ism al-nawʿ* [noun of manner]) derived, mostly, from the verb of the sentence and put in the accusative to serve as an object, even if the verb is intransitive. The verbal noun may be used alone, often for emphasis, or modified by an adjective or a genitive; it may itself be governed by an elative. The following basic types result: *ḳaʿada ḳuʿūd^{an}* ("he sat down for good" [emphasis]); *ḳuʿūd^{an} sarīʿ^{an}* ("quickly"), *ḳuʿūd^{a} sāʾil^{in}* ("like a beggar"), *ḳaʿdat^{an}*, *ḳaʿdatayn^{i}*, *t͟halāt͟h^{a} ḳaʿadāt^{in}* ("once", "twice", "three times"), *kiʿdat^{an} ʿad͟jībat^{an}* ("in a strange manner") and *aswaʾa ḳiʿdat^{in}* ("in the worst manner").

In the doctrine of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the term is applied to the *mud͟jtahids* of the heroic age, the founders of the *mad͟hhabs* who are called *mud͟jtahid muṭlaḳ*, an epithet which none after them has borne [see IDJTIHĀD].

In dogmatics, the term is applied to existence, so

that *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* denotes Allāh as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense.

In ontology, the term is also applied to existence (*wudjūd*) in connection with the question of the nature of the latter. Here *al-wudjūd al-muṭlaḳ* is opposed to *al-wudjūd al-maḥmūl li 'l-mawḍūʿ* (see MANṬIḲ).

In other contexts, the term has the meaning "general" as opposed to *khāṣṣ*; cf. the definition in al-Djurdjānī's *Taʿrīfāt*: *muṭlaḳ* denotes the one without specification. Cf. further al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms*.

On the meaning of *rawī muṭlaḳ* in prosody, see ḲĀFIYA.

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MUṬRĀN [see KHALĪL MUṬRĀN].

AL-**MUTTAḲĪ LI 'LLĀH**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM, ʿAbbāsid caliph, reigned 329-33/940-4, son of al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] and a slave-girl named Khalūb.

At the age of 26 on 21 Rabīʿ I 329/24 Dec. 940 he succeeded his half-brother al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*]; by this time the caliphate had sunk so low that five days passed after the death of al-Rāḍī before steps were taken to choose his successor. Al-Muttaḳī at once confirmed the *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* Bedjkem [*q.v.* in *EI*¹] in office; after his death however, in Radjab 324/April 941, the Turks and Daylamīs in the army began to quarrel with one another. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ] seized the capital but could only hold it a few weeks. He was driven out by the Daylamī chief Kūrtigīn who, however, was soon overthrown by Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*]. When Abū ʿAbd Allāh sent his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn with an army against Baghdād, the caliph and Ibn Rāʾiḳ escaped to al-Mawṣil to the Ḥamdānids (Djumādā II 330/February-March 942). After the assassination of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, the Ḥamdānid Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan was appointed *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* and received the honorific title of Nāṣir al-Dawla, his daughter ʿUlayya marrying the caliph's son. The occupation of Baghdād offered him no difficulty; the Turkish general Tuzun rebelled a little later and Nāṣir al-Dawla had to evacuate the capital which was entered by Tuzun in Ramaḍān 331/June 943 as *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*. Al-Muttaḳī soon found himself forced to seek the protection of the Ḥamdānids again and at the beginning of the following year (autumn 943) he fled to al-Mawṣil. Then he settled in al-Raḳḳa, but when Tuzun made peace with Nāṣir al-Dawla, al-Muttaḳī appealed for help to the Ikhshīdid of Egypt Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*]; the latter came to al-Raḳḳa in Radjab 332/March 944; the negotiations however were unsuccessful and finally the caliph put his trust in Tuzun, who, after assuring him of his loyalty by the most sacred oaths, had him blinded (19 Ṣafar 333/11 October 944). Al-Muttaḳī was then declared to have been deposed. He died in Shaʿbān 357/July 968.

Al-Muttaḳī was famed for his piety, proclaiming that his boon-companion was the Ḳurʾān. At his accession, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad continued as vizier, as he had functioned in the previous reign, but there then followed a series of ephemeral viziers, ending with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Muḳla, son of the famed vizier of al-Muḳtadir and al-Ḳāhir [see IBN MUḲLA]. The veteran statesman ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] also acted as judge of *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] during the early part of the reign. But in fact, as the historians note, the vizierate as an effective office ceased to exist at this time, all power in the state lying with first Bedjkem and then Tuzun.

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(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-**MUTTAḲĪ** AL-**HINDĪ**, author of several works in Arabic, whose full name was ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḲĀḌĪ KHĀN AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-ḲĀDIRĪ, was born at Burhānpūr in Gudjarāt of a respectable family of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*]. He first joined the Čishtī order, as a disciple of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Shaykh Bādjan at Burhānpūr, and afterwards went to Multān where he read with Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaḳī, after whom he is called al-Muttaḳī. He spent the remaining portion of his Indian life at Aḥmadābād during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, but left India for Mecca after Humāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh in 941/1534. He spent his last days in Mecca, where he lived for thirty years more, during which he read with Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī and others and entered the Ḳādirī and Shādhilī orders. His high spiritual life and learning led many people to become his *murīd* (spiritual disciple). He died a highly respected saint and scholar in Mecca 975/1567 at the age of ninety. He is the author of some twenty works including the following:

1. *al-Burhān fī ʿalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zamān*, an account of the Mahdī and of his coming at the end of the world;
2. *al-Burhān al-djalī fī maʿrifat al-walī*;
3. *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ʿalāmāt Mahdī ākhir al-zamān*;
4. *Djawāmiʿ al-kalim fi 'l-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-ḥikam*, a collection of sentences on morals;
5. *Hidāyat rabbī ʿinda faḳad al-murabbī*;
6. *al-Ḥikam*;
7. *Kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afʿāl*, a combined edition of al-Suyūṭī's *Djāmiʿ al-masānīd* or *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* or *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, newly arranged according to chapters (printed Ḥaydarābād 1312);
8. *al-Mawāhib al-ʿaliyya fī djamʿ al-ḥikam al-Ḳurʾāniyya wa 'l-ḥadīthiyya*;
9. *Mahhadj al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aḳwāl wa 'l-afʿāl*, an abridgement of al-Suyūṭī's well-known alphabetically arranged work *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* containing a collection of traditions from authentic sources, newly-arranged according to chapters together with a supplement;
10. *Mukhtaṣar al-Nihāya*, an abridgement of Madjd al Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's dictionary of traditions entitled *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*;

11. *Niʿam al-miʿyār wa 'l-miḳyās li-maʿrifat marātib al-nās*, a short tract on the classification of mankind. For a full list, see Brockelmann, II², 503-4, S II, 518-19.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, 249; Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-mardjān*, 43; Faḳīr Muḥammad al-Lahawrī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, 382; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan al-Kannawdjī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, 895; Rieu, *Persian cat.*, 356.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUWĀḌAʿA (A.).

1. In Islamic law, this means the rescission of a sale or transaction (synonym, *mutāraka*); see for lexical aspects of the term, *LA*¹, x, 282; *TA*¹, v, 535; Freytag, *Lexicon*, iv, 476.

2. In mediaeval Eastern Islamic administrative usage, it denotes the contract of service of officials, in accordance with the term's further meaning of "the laying down of conditions for an agreement with some one". We possess the texts of two *muwāḍaʿas* made by early Ghaznavid viziers with their sovereign: one made by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī [*q.v.*] with Sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] on his appointment in 422/1031, and the other by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Shīrāzī with the same master in 431/1040. In both cases, the ministers in question feared interference from other officials in their own spheres of duty and recrimination from the ruler, hence were concerned to define and delimit their duties and responsibilities (Sayf al-Dīn ʿUḳaylī, *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, 179-85; Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ḳāsim Ghanī and ʿA.A. Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945; cf. M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 130-2, and C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 62-3, 74, 230.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also M.Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, ii, 587-8.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**MUWAFFAḲ**, ṬALḤA B. DJAʿFAR, normally known by his *kunya*, Abū Aḥmad, son of the caliph al-Mutawwakil and a slave girl Umm Isḥāḳ, regent and virtual ruler of the caliphate during the time of al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*]. As a young man he witnessed the murder of his father by the Turkish military leaders in 247/861. In 251/865 his brother al-Muʿtazz, then caliph in Sāmarrāʾ, chose him as his army commander against their cousin al-Mustaʿīn and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in Baghdād. It was probably at this time that he developed the links with the Turkish army which were to be the foundations of his success. When al-Muʿtazz attempted to curb the power of the Turkish generals, Abū Aḥmad distanced himself from the caliph and went into exile while maintaining close relations with them. The death of al-Muhtadī in 256/870 left Abū Aḥmad, who hastily returned from Mecca, and his chief lieutenant Mūsā b. Bughā in effective control although his brother al-Muʿtamid was nominally caliph.

Abū Aḥmad was governor of ʿIrāḳ and Arabia until 261/875 when he took over responsibility for the east as well and was given a place in the succession after al-Muʿtamid's son al-Mufawwaḍ. He became the chief ʿAbbasid military commander and set about restoring the power of the caliphate. He was dependent on his contacts among the Turkish military, notably Mūsā b. Bughā and, after his death in 264/877, on Kayghalagh and Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, but they remained subordinate to him and never challenged his authority. He also had his own *wazīrs*, Sulaymān b. Wahb, Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad and Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul. Al-Muʿtamid was effectively confined to Sāmarrāʾ, especially after his attempted escape to Egypt in 269/882, while al-Muwaffaḳ effectively ruled from Baghdād.

The first major challenge he faced was from the Ṣaffārids. From 255/869 Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth had been trying to assert his power in Fārs, but was opposed by a local adventurer Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī and al-Muwaffaḳ. In 262/876 there was a final trial of strength when Yaʿḳūb invaded ʿIrāḳ but was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ and Mūsā b. Bughā at Dayr al-ʿĀḳūl [*q.v.*]. This victory left al-Muwaffaḳ and his commanders free to turn their attentions to the Zandj of southern ʿIrāḳ. This rebellion had begun in 255/869, but it was not until 266/879 that al-Muwaffaḳ and his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [see AL-MUʿTAḌID] began a systematic campaign against them. After four years of careful amphibious warfare, the rebellion was finally extinguished in 270/883.

After the end of the Zandj rebellion, al-Muwaffaḳ was much less active. In 271/884-5 he was content to send his son to oppose Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] in southern Palestine. In 276/889 he left Baghdād for al-Djibāl, apparently in search of money, and only returned in 278/891 when he was already mortally ill. Relations between him and his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had deteriorated; in 275/889 he had him arrested, but they were reconciled just before his death in Ṣafar 278/June 891.

Bibliography: 1. Texts. Ṭabarī, iii, 1459-61, 1555-2147; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 619-24; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 38-112 = §§ 3153-3240. 2. Studies. W. Hellige, *Die Regentschaft al-Muwaffaqs*, Berlin 1936; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg 1948; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60; A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Paris 1976; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London 1986.

(H. KENNEDY)

AL-**MUWAḤḤIDŪN**, the name given to the adherents of the reformist movement of which the principal element was the divine unicity, *tawḥīd*; the promulgators of this doctrine ruled during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries over the empire which they had founded in North Africa and in Spain. From this Arabic term is derived the name "Almohads" by which they are designated in western literature.

The origins of the Almohad movement. For the life and works of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart, founder of the movement and originator of the Almohad doctrine, see the article devoted to him. This study will be confined to elements of this initial phase of Almohad history which bear directly on subsequent events, or to aspects of the Almohad doctrine which have come to light since the composition of the above-mentioned article.

As regards the origins of the movement, the publication of numerous chronicles from shortly after the Almohad period, a more assiduous reading of the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the Almohad doctrine and new studies of the subject, have recently illustrated in a more precise fashion the importance of the Berber context in the elaboration of this doctrine and, above all, in the political development of the movement, which did not begin with the return of Ibn Tūmart from the East to the Maghrib (510/1116 or 511/1117), but rather with his return to his Berber origins among the Maṣmūda in 517/1123. The mission of the Mahdī, initially proclaimed as an effort aimed at moral reform, was transformed into a political movement seeking the overthrow of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] after he took up residence at Tinmallal (Tinmel), an isolated village in

the Atlas mountains. The influence of the Berber setting is also illustrated by the fact that the political organisation of the movement evolved simultaneously with the written formulation of the doctrine within Berber circles and by the revelation of the existence of Khāridjite-Ibāḍī notions among the Berbers of the region where Ibn Tūmart was born (D. Urvoy, *La pensée d'Ibn Tūmart* in *BEO*, xxvii [1974], 19-44). According to al-Marrākushī, Ibn Tūmart, on arriving in Tinmallal, began by teaching religious knowledge to the Berbers and composed for them an *ʿaḳīda* in their own language. Subsequently, the *Murshida* was written, again for the benefit of the Berbers and in their language. Both of these exist today in Arabic. The fact that a version of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* [see MĀLIK B. ANAS], attributed to Ibn Bukayr and transmitted by Ibn Tūmart to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, his disciple, exists today in copies of the very highest quality produced in 590/1193 for the third Almohad caliph, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, suggests that the works of the Mahdī were originally composed under the influence of and for the needs of the Berbers. The Arabic versions of these works which we possess today were probably written some time after ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's death, for al-Manṣūr, responsible for a reform of the doctrine (J. Schacht, *Deux éditions inconnues du* "*Muwaṭṭāʾ*", in *Studi orientalistici in onore de Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, ii, Rome 1956, 477-92). The composition in Berber of the *ʿaḳīda* is in accordance with the replacement of *khaṭībs* and *imāms* in the mosques by religious functionaries capable of pronouncing the *tawḥīd* in Berber, and the increased value given to "Berber matters" by the assimilation of the Mahdī to the Prophet. These elements suggest that the origins of the movement are to be associated with the social, religious and intellectual tensions which stirred the parties, ethnic groups and communities of Morocco in this period, and attention should be given to the question posed by W. Montgomery Watt, whether opposition to Mālikism does not rather reflect the aspiration of the Berbers to assert themselves in relation to the Arabs (*Philosophy and social structure in Almohad Spain*, in *IQ*, viii [1964], 46-51). The chroniclers record a period of political stability and economic prosperity under the Almoravids, but, as was often the case in mediaeval North Africa, social discord was expressed in terms drawn from the religious context (M. Shatzmiller, *The legacy of the Andalusian Berbers in the 14th century Maghreb: its role in the formation of Maghrebi historical identity and historiography*, in *Relaciones de la Peninsula Ibérica con el Maghreb*, Madrid 1988, 205-31).

The foundation of an empire. The military occupation of North Africa and Spain by the Almohads did not begin until after the death of Ibn Tūmart (524/1130). The occupation of Morocco was a lengthy process, lasting over a period of some twenty years from the first abortive offensive against Marrakech in 523/1129 until its capture in 542/1147. A coalition of the Maṣmūda tribes, established under Ibn Tūmart, embarked on military campaigns supervised by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*]. Chosen as his successor by the Mahdī during his lifetime, in spite of his Zanāta origins, he was proclaimed caliph in 524/1130. In their war against the Almoravids, the Almohads adopted the tactic of staying constantly in the shelter of the mountains and avoiding confrontation in open country. The conquest of Morocco was of a brutal nature. The massacres and the persecutions of the civilian population led Ibn Taymiyya to accuse the Almohads of having killed thousands of good Muslims, the fact that they were Mālikīs being no excuse. Frequent revolts by tribes and towns against the "Almohad pact" provoked immediate military reprisals. The intolerant nature of the Almohad occupation was reinforced by a "purge" (*tamyīz*) among the Muwaḥḥidūn themselves (A. Merad, *ʿAbd al-Muʾmin et la conquête d'Afrique du Nord, 1130-1163*, in *AIEO*, xv [1957], 110-63).

After establishing his rule in Marrakech (542-5/1147-50), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin spent two years in the port of Salé, building up a large army. Instead of taking the short crossing in the direction of Spain, the Almohad army marched towards the central Maghrib. In this region, as well as in Ifrīḳiya, the towns and the countryside were in a parlous political and material state. Invasions of nomadic Arab tribes arriving from the direction of Egypt had crippled economic and social structures, thus facilitating the Norman Christian offensive against the coastal cities of the Mediterranean. The Almohad conquest was therefore rapid and easy: Algiers, Bougie, the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād and Constantine were taken in 547/1152. In 554/1159, the city of Tunis, seized from the Ifrīḳiyans, Mahdiyya, Sfax and Tripoli seized from the Normans, were the last conquests leading to the creation, for the first time in North Africa, of a single state, ruled by the Almohads.

The Almohad empire attained its highest point of material and cultural success under the three successors of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 558/1163): Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84), Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99) and Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1213) [*q.vv.*], in spite of having to devote unrelenting military efforts to retaining the territories conquered in the Maghrib. The Almohad army was invincible. Consisting of Berber troops of the Maṣmūda and Zanāta tribes, it was complemented by a large and powerful fleet, which played a decisive role in maritime engagements. Naval dockyards were established in the ports of the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn tried to obtain the support of this fleet at the time of the siege of Acre in 585/1189, an appeal refused by al-Manṣūr (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au calife almohade*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 279-304). According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Manṣūr subsequently changed his mind and sent the Egyptian sultan 190 ships. In Spain, the temporary halt of the Reconquista coincided with the arrival of the Almohads and the independence, probably precarious, of towns and regions which took advantage of the weakness of the Almoravids to cast off their yoke. The Almohad military intervention in Spain began under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, but Almohad authority was never completely established in that country. Almohad sovereignty was first recognised by the cities of Cadiz and Jerez in 541/1146, a recognition followed by the intervention of Almohad troops and the capture of Seville in 542/1147. In 545/1150, a delegation of *amīrs* from Spain came to Salé at the invitation of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to offer official recognition of Almohad authority. It was during the reign of his son, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, that the major Almohad military involvement in Spain took place. An initial offensive had the object of occupying eastern Spain (568/1172) and of wresting the cities of Valencia, Jaen and Murcia from the hands of their chieftains. It was in 591/1195, at Alarcos [see AL-ARAK] that the decisive victory of the Almohads over Castile took place. In North Africa, meanwhile, an Almohad military effort was required in the direction of Ifrīḳiya which was threatened by princes of the Almoravid family, the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. With the aid of their fleet, a remnant of the former Almoravid fleet, they succeeded in establishing themselves in the Balearic Islands,

a base from which they extended their power over Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib. During this period of intense military activity, the Almohads, always aware of the need to reinforce their ranks with new recruits, decided, in 583/1187, to transfer nomadic Arab tribes to Morocco by force. There was thus introduced into the land a factor which disrupted the delicate equilibrium between nomads and sedentary dwellers, between cities and the countryside. The increase in the number of nomads interfered with the habitual life-style of the Berber tribes and forced them to change their routes in quest of new pastures. This action unleashed the process of the formation of the Marīnid power [see MARĪNIDS], which was to replace that of the Almohads some fifty years later. Although the army of the fourth Almohad caliph, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, liberated the eastern region of the Maghrib and the Balearic Islands from the hold of the Banū Ghāniya in 602/1205, it was unable to sustain resistance in Spain, where the defeat of Alarcos had contributed to the formation of a powerful coalition of Spanish kings and knights, inspired by the call to crusade issued by the bishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada. The defeat of the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212 [see AL-ʿIḲĀB]) not only loosened their hold on Spanish towns and rural areas, it also marked the end of the first period of Almohad ascendancy and the beginning of its decline.

The military weakness which characterised the second period of the political history of the Almohads was accompanied by anarchy, rebellions of towns, defection of allies and, finally, repudiation of the Almohad doctrine by the caliph al-Maʾmūn. The rulers of this second phase succeeded one another at a rate accelerated by the weakening of central authority and the decline in the personal status of the dynasty. Sometimes acclaimed as caliphs in Spain but rejected by the Almohad *shaykh*s of Morocco, sometimes supported by the Arab tribes but not recognised by the city-dwellers, eight Almohad caliphs, all of the Muʾminid family, are mentioned by the chroniclers: Yūsuf b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir (610-20/1213-23), Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Makhlūʿ (621/1224), Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀdil (621-4/1224-6), Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir al-Muʿtaṣim bi-llāh (624-33/1227-35), contemporary with Abu ʾl-ʿUlā Idrīs al-Maʾmūn (624-30/1227-32), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (630-40/1232-42), Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Saʿīd (640-6/1242-8), Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Murtaḍā (646-65/1248-66), Abū Dabbūs al-Wāthiḳ bi-llāh (665-8/1266-9). Despite political instability and the collapse of political and administrative structures, the city of Marrakesh remained a centre of artistic life and of vigorous intellectual activity during the second phase of Almohad history. The regions situated at the extremities of the empire, which had been the last to submit to the Almohads, were also the first to detach themselves. Almohad policy, which consisted in appointing a member of the family as independent governor in the towns and the regions, supplied with troops and a high degree of financial independence, had encouraged and accelerated this process of fragmentation. In 627/1229-30, the Ḥafṣid governor of Ifrīḳiya had declared the independence of his province, to be followed in 637/1239 by the chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, ruler of Tlemcen and of the central Maghrib. A campaign of resistance led by the deposed caliph Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir had cut off the south from its capital of Sidjilmāssa [*q.v.*], an important post of trans-Saharan trade. In Morocco, the Marīnids, nomadic Zanāta tribes of the plains, began during this period to take control of towns situated at a distance from the centre of Almohad power and ultimately eliminated the Almohads with the conquest of Marrakesh (668/1269) and of Tinmallal, cradle of the *Tawḥīd* and of the Muwaḥḥidūn (676/1276).

Organisation. A number of political, monetary, literary, artistic, architectural and even titulary innovations came into being under the Almohads, and survived them to a certain extent. The first innovation was the structuring of the Almohad community on hierarchical principles, which took place with the arrival of Ibn Tūmart in Tinmallel. The new order placed at the head of the community a group of persons related to the Mahdī, his "house", constituting a supreme inner council. At the second level there were two committees, one of ten relatives of the Mahdī, the other of fifty tribal representatives. The Maṣmūda tribes themselves were arranged in descending order and, in the community as a whole, a categorisation according to profession was instituted (*muḥtasibūn, sakkākūn, muʾadhdhinūn*). The various units of the army were also described in terms of organisation, social customs and institutions of the Berbers. This form of organisation also illustrates the concern to honour the first loyal adherents of the Mahdī, both individuals and tribes, by assimilating them into the Islamic tradition. According to another interpretation, the Almohad hierarchy was the embodiment of a philosophical principle cherished by Ibn Tūmart, as by al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd. It is a fact nevertheless that the Almohad hierarchy has not been mentioned by the chroniclers as existing beyond this initial phase in the formation of the community, and that it never genuinely took root. Besides the Council of Fifty, an established part of the caliph's retinue throughout the Almohad period, the other structures initiated at Tinmallal were abandoned. With the accession of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the Almohad government adopted more traditional patterns. By naming his son Muḥammad heir-presumptive, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin inaugurated the Muʾminid dynasty, which remained in power until the end of the Almohad empire. In addition to the title of *khalīfa*, the Almohad sovereigns also bore that of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, a novelty perpetuated by the Ḥafṣids, who inherited the Almohad structures, and, periodically, by the Marīnids. The administrative machine of the Almohad state was not particularly sophisticated. As Ibn Khaldūn indicates, the Almohads were barely civilised at the outset, and the protocol of the court was not properly established until the end, with the predominance of Andalusian personnel. In response to the administrative requirements of an army, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin needed teams of trained staff which he personally organised at the court. These functionaries had undergone religious studies but were also skilled swimmers, archers and horsemen. A stratum of such officials was sent out into the provinces, headed by a governor descended from the Muʾminid family who was assisted by an Almohad *shaykh*.

The administration of the Almohad caliph's court at Marrakesh was initially dominated by a *kātib*, personal secretary, who, at the outset, performed the functions of a *wazīr*. Later, the title *wazīr*, which denoted a function considered by Ibn Khaldūn as comparable to that of the *ḥādjib*, did not appear under the Almohads. The office of *ṣāḥib al-ashghāl* was of considerable importance in the Almohad administration of the court, since the holder of this title was responsible for the collection of taxes and other revenues as well as for expenditure, and supervised the other officials of the capital and of the provinces. Like him, the *ḥākim*, chief of police, was an Almohad *shaykh*. The

official religious policy of the Almohad sovereigns, starting with the Mahdī and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, was to replace Mālikism with the new doctrine, at the expense of existing religious institutions and functionaries. The most renowned victim of this policy was the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] of Ceuta, a Mālikī writer and leading protégé of the Murābiṭūn, who was exiled to Marrakesh after the rebellion of his city and dismissed from his functions. The Mahdī had not, however, undertaken a revision of the judicial code or produced manuals codifying the practices of everyday life according to the new doctrine. Thus Mālikī law continued to regulate the lives of Maghribis, and Mālikī jurists in the Maghrib, and especially in Spain, continued to practise their functions unhindered. The Almohads also continued to appoint *ḳāḍīs* and retained the post of *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa*, an office frequently held by Andalusians. At least three of the latter were known Mālikīs (see the list of names of Almohad *wazīrs*, *kātibs* and *ḳāḍīs* in Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, Appendix ii).

Monetary reform. The Almohads changed the design and the weight of the coinage, and these new dimensions remained the norm in later dynasties. Almohad gold *dīnārs* measured 19 to 22 mm. in diameter and weighed 2.4 g. The inscription took the form of a square *naskhī* script. The Almohads also struck double *dīnārs* as well as fractions of *dīnārs* to facilitate transactions in gold coinage. It was also under the Almohads that the square *dirham* made its appearance, to remain the standard form of silver money. Like the Almoravids, the Almohads made no use of copper coinage. No money seems to have been coined in the lifetime of the Mahdī, but his name, as well as that of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his descendants, always features in the inscription, except for the brief period of the reign of al-Maʾmūn, who had repudiated the Almohad doctrine. Usually, dates are not stamped on the coins, and the names of mints seldom appear. The quality of the metal used and the standard of workmanship were both excellent, and mints were in operation in the following towns: Bidjāya, Tadgha, Tūnis, Salā, Fās, Marrākush, Miknās, Ishbīliya, Djayyān, Ḳurṭuba, Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ, Tilimsān and Sidjilmāssa. The Almohad period also saw the appearance in North Africa of millarés, silver coins struck by the Christians after the pattern of the Almohad *dirhams* and exported to Muslim countries (A. Bel, *Contribution à l'étude des dirhems de l'époque almohade d'après un groupe important de ces monnaies récemment découvert à Tlemcen*, in *Hespéris*, xvi [1933], 1-68).

Relations with Christians and Jews. On the arrival of the Almohads, the only Christian presence in Morocco consisted of the militia, incorporated into the Almohad army with their commander, son of the famous Reverter, Count of Barcelona. In the early stages the Almohad Christian militia, like the Almoravid one before it, was recruited for the most part among prisoners taken into slavery. From 625/1227 onward, it was constituted of free men who enlisted of their own accord, mostly Castilians, but also some Catalans, recruited in Spain by the Almohads and then sent to Morocco. In 626/1228, al-Maʾmūn, preparing in Spain for the conquest of Morocco, had recruited 500 Christian knights (not 12,000, the figure put forward by Ibn Abī Zarʿ in the *Ḳirṭās*). Either at the request of the Spanish king, or on his own initiative, al-Maʾmūn had undertaken the construction of a church in Marrakesh to enable the soldiers to practice their faith. An exchange of letters between the Popes Innocent III (1198), Honorius III (1226), Gregory IX (1233) and Innocent IV (1245) and the Almohad caliphs, on the subject of the ransom of prisoners and the sending of missionaries in the very ill-founded hope of stimulating conversion, has been preserved. Five Franciscan friars minor, arriving as missionaries in 1220 in Marrakesh, and seven others who came in 1227 to Ceuta, were put to death by the Almohads (E. Tisserand and G. Wiet, *Lettre de l'Almohade al-Murtaḍā au Pape Innocent IV*, in *Hespéris*, vi [1926], 27-53). The military success of the Almohads and the extension of their empire were observed with great interest in Christian Spain. The ecclesiastical authorities, eager to show sympathy towards Islamic theology with a view to the eventual conversion of the Muslims, entrusted the translation of the creed of Ibn Tūmart to Mark of Toledo, already known for his translation of Arabic texts, including one of the Ḳurʾān (M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, *Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart*, in *al-And.*, xvi [1951], 99-140, xvii [1952], 1-56).

Numerous indigenous Jewish communities, augmented by immigrants from Spain, lived in all the towns, great and small, of the Almohad empire. A first wave of persecutions was unleashed upon them in the initial phase of the conquest (536-43/1141-8). Letters of Jewish merchants originally from this region, discovered recently in the Geniza of Cairo, confirm the fact that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin offered the Jews a choice between conversion to Islam and death. Massacres of Jews were perpetrated at Sidjilmāssa, Marrakesh and Fez (D. Corcos, *L'attitude des Almohades envers les Juifs*, in *Zion* [Jerusalem 1967], 137-60, in Hebrew). These measures forced a large number of Jews to leave their country for Christian Spain, Sicily, Italy and the Middle East. This was in particular the case of the future physician and philosopher Maimonides [see IBN MAYMŪN], who had left his native city, Cordova, for Fez in 544/1149 or thereabouts, then, in 560/1165, emigrated to Palestine before finally settling in Cairo. It was in this city that Maimonides was accused of having abjured the Islam to which he had been converted in the Maghrib. In fact, the similarity, in philosophical terms, between the Almohad and Jewish creeds explains how a temporary conversion could be envisaged by the Jews. A second wave of persecutions of Jews and converts was instigated by the caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, who compelled them, according to al-Marrākushī, to wear distinctive signs, clothing of absurd appearance and of different colours, and destroyed their synagogues. The period of the reign of al-Manṣūr, which also saw the temporary imprisonment of Ibn Rushd and the burning of his books, ended with the temporary disappearance of the Jewish communities of Morocco, an absence which was to last until the end of the 7th/13th century.

Economic life. Surveys of agronomy composed in Spain during the Almoravid period reveal, on the part of the farmers, an intimate knowledge of the land, of fertilisers and of methods of cultivation. The diffusion of a large number of new plants, combined with an effective system of irrigation, contributed to the development of a prosperous agricultural sector. The almanac of Ibn al-Bannāʾ, born in Marrakesh towards the end of the Almohad period, gives the impression that knowledge of agronomy in the Maghrib, although less advanced than in Spain, was well-established. The system of land ownership in Spain was not subject to interference on the part of the Almohads, but in North Africa, to facilitate the collection of taxes and the distribution of *iḳṭāʿs* to the Arab and Berber tribes, the Almohads introduced a land reform, bringing the allocation of land under a single system. The author of the *Ḳirṭās* relates that this novel-

ty, dating back to 554/1159, was instituted by ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin, who had imposed *kharādj* on arable land. As for urban industries, the structures of craft and manufacture common to Muslim cities were maintained under the Almohads. The dimensions of industrial production are illustrated by a list of the manufacturing establishments and workshops of the city of Fez during the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir, a monarch who had a particular commitment to this city: 3,490 weaving-shops, 27 soap manufacturers, 86 tanneries, 116 dye-works, 12 forges, 11 glassworks, 472 water-mills, 135 factories making construction materials, 1,170 bakeries, 400 paper-mills, 180 potteries, 9,082 shops selling various wares and 2 mints. The same list, probably compiled for purposes of taxation, also provides information on other establishments: 89,236 housing-units, 17,040 private homes, 93 public baths and 42 other baths, 80 public fountains, 785 mosques, 467 inns. The beginning of the Almohad period coincided with the great expansion of European commerce in the direction of North Africa. Peace and trade treaties preserved in European archives show that from 1150 onward agreements were signed between the Almohads and various cities of Europe. These agreements, intended to guarantee the security of commerce, became increasingly precise. They outlawed piracy and guaranteed the good-will of the authorities towards traders and their merchandise. The Pisans, always regarded with favour in Ifrīḳiya, were present in Tunis in the period of ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin, who signed two peace treaties with Pisa (1133 and 1166) and a trade treaty with it (1157). Two further treaties with Pisa (1186 and 1189) regularised trade with Ceuta, Oran, Bougie, Tunis and Spain. The republic of Genoa had concluded numerous treaties between 1155 and 1164 to regulate commerce with the cities of Tripoli, Ceuta, Tunis, Salé and Bougie. Marseilles signed an agreement for the wine trade with Ceuta, Oran, Bougie and Tunis in 1228. In 1181, a treaty was signed between the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Balearics under the princes of the Banū Ghāniya. In 1184 the latter signed a peace and trade treaty with Pisa and, in 1188, with Genoa. Morocco saw the first contacts with a view to commercial penetration from the direction of Catalonia. Contacts were limited to the Mediterranean ports, since piracy, a particular scourge on the Atlantic coast, made commercial relations there more difficult [see ḲURṢĀN]. During the 7th/13th century Italians, Provençals and Catalans were in evidence at Ceuta, which negotiated regular contacts with Barcelona in 1227 and with Montpellier in 1233. Other small ports to the east of Ceuta were visited and, to the west, Tangiers, from where coral was exported towards Europe. Trade with Salé was boosted by gold originating from the western Sudan, and penetration by the Castilians towards the interior of Morocco is recorded at a later date. A larger number of the treaties dating from the latter stages of the Almohad period was signed with Tunis, when the Ḥafṣid dynasty was on the point of declaring itself independent from the Almohad state. Products exported at the end of the 6th/12th century from Morocco and sold in Flanders originated from Fez (wax, leather, furs), from Marrakesh (cumin, sugar), from Sidjilmāssa (dates, white alum), from Bougie (leather) and from Tunis (wax, lead sulphate).

Cultural life. The appearance and expansion of Ṣūfism in North Africa and the development of philosophy under the Almohads was often confronted by the intellectual and religious intolerance characteristic of the Almohad movement in its early stages. This spiritual renewal was linked to the intellectual tensions created by the Almohad movement. Justification for the new liberalism was found in an application of the Ghazālian theology, open to philosophy, which dominated the thinking of Ibn Tūmart. The rationalism of Almohadism and, in particular, its attitude towards the attributes of the divinity allowed these two movements to co-exist. The two great philosophers of the age, Ibn Ṭufayl (*ca.* 499-581/1105-85 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Rushd (520-80/1126-84 [*q.v.*]) lived and wrote at Marrakesh under the patronage of the sultans Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf and his son Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb. Another Andalusian, the Ṣūfī philosopher Ibn Sabᶜīn (d. 668 or 669/1270 [*q.v.*]), lived at Ceuta, where he wrote his reply to philosophical questions posed by Frederick II, king of Sicily, to the Almohad caliph ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd. The Almohad caliphs were no longer opposed to the diffusion of Ṣūfism. The two central figures of Maghribi Ṣūfism, Abū Madyan and Ibn Mashīsh [*q.vv.*] were protected by the Almohads, and a large number of saints, a hundred at least, were interred at Marrakesh during the Almohad period. A significant corpus of literary production made its appearance, in the domains of poetry, history, geography and sciences, often with the encouragement and participation of the sovereign.

Creativity in the traditional literary channels benefited broadly from the effects of the demographic displacement and from more regular contacts between regions created by the Almohad occupation. The arrival of the Andalusians in North Africa contributed to literary activity in general, while their influence was particularly apparent in the functions which they occupied in the Almohad administration and at the court.

The study of monuments and the archaeological excavations conducted since the beginning of this century, most of all in Morocco, by H. Terrasse, H. Basset, J. Meunié, G. Deverdun, J. Caillé and A. Hainaut, have brought to light the principal features of the remarkable Almohad architecture. The major period of monumental construction was limited to the first fifty years, an era of prosperity corresponding to the reigns of the first four sovereigns. The monuments—mosques at Taza, Marrakesh, Tinmallal, Seville, Rabat, Fez; citadels and fortresses at Marrakesh and Rabat; fortifications at Rabat—are still partially in existence today, although the Almohad palaces, the construction of which is described by the chroniclers, have not survived. Almohad architecture combines a puritan simplicity of décor with extraordinary dimensions for the walls and, especially, the minarets. The use of ashlar, dressed stone, brick and wood in construction reveals that in the field of design, as in other areas, the Almohads adopted Hispano-Moorish techniques of construction and had them applied by craftsmen from Spain. At the same time, they retained oriental motifs and techniques as well as local influences. Almohad urbanism, especially visible in the capital Marrakesh but also present at Fez and at Seville, was realised by a series of works of enlargement, management of water, construction of reservoirs and gardens under ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin, and crowned by an administrative centre constructed under Abū Yūsuf Yaᶜḳūb.

The decline. The Almohad historical experience, with exceptional grandeur on the one hand and dismal decadence on the other, has deeply affected mediaeval and modern Maghribī historiography and thought. In his *Muḳaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn reveals the extent to which his historical vision was inspired by the

Almohad phenomenon: a large number of his sociological and political theories are illustrated by examples drawn from Almohad history (Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie mérinide. Ibn Khaldun et ses contemporains*, Leiden 1982, 54-65). For modern historians, the Almohad decline needs to be clearly separated from that of the doctrine, even though the process of their disappearance unfolded simultaneously. R. Le Tourneau and A. Merad see the submission of the state to the Muʾminid dynasty as the principal cause of its disintegration. The appropriation of political power and material benefits in the interests of a dynasty had alienated the Berbers and deprived Berber society of its initial strength. H. Terrasse and Ch.-A. Julien consider Maghribī unity, realised for the first and last time under the Almohads, as a moment of glory, aborted by "the individualism of the Berbers" and "the anarchy of the Arabs". For A. Laroui, Almohad prosperity was built on the riches of an empire, but riches which the Almohads, centred on Morocco, did not themselves produce, and this accounts for their failure. In Spain, the collapse of the Almohad régime was owed to different circumstances. There the opposition of the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ* was accompanied by general antagonism. The Almohads did not have in Spain the support of the Berber masses which had provided their power-base in North Africa, and the régime was seen as a foreign military occupation. The disappearance of the doctrine is explained by the fact that it never genuinely took root. Almohadism provided neither a corpus of judicial works which could have replaced the Mālikī judicial system nor a response to the spiritual needs of the Muslim community, needs demonstrated by the triumph of Ṣūfism in the same period. In Spain, Almohadism was useful to those who felt the need to approach religion through logic. But those who were capable of harmonising the rational theology developed by Ibn Rushd with Almohad doctrine constituted a tiny minority. Almohadism only affected the circles in which the movement was born and it remained marginal throughout the duration of the Almohad state, while Mālikism continued to be the dominant force.

Bibliography: Documentation concerning the Almohads is very rich in contemporary and later sources, as well as in studies which cannot possibly be listed here in full. A special place in the gamut of contemporary sources is occupied by the fragments published by E. Lévi-Provençal: in the collection *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, manuscript fragments from the 1919 "legajo" of Arabic material in the Escorial (Paris 1928), the *Memoirs* of al-Baydhaḳ, companion of the Mahdī, as well as extracts from the *Kitāb al-Ansāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, have been published; publication of these texts enabled G.S. Colin to study the influence of the Berber language on the spoken and written Arabic of the period (*Sur l'arabe marocain de l'époque almohade*, in *Hespéris*, x [1930], 104-20). Also published by Lévi-Provençal is a collection of letters sent by the Almohad administration (*Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941). The chronicle of Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt (d. 549/1198), *Taʾrīkh al-mann bi 'l-imāma*, ed. A. Tazi, Beirut 1965, is essential for events occurring in Spain during the 6th/12th century. For North Africa and the early years of the Almohads, one available source is the chronicle of al-Marrākushī, composed in Egypt in 621/1224, *al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, Leiden 1847, French tr., *Histoire des Almohades*, Algiers 1893. Among the chroniclers of the 7th/13th century, the recent discovery and publication of part of the chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, court secretary during the last years of the Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā, *Naẓm al-djumān*, ed. M.A. Makki, Tetuan, undated (1964?) provides a detailed account of events as far as the year 533/1138. Fragments of this chronicle have been published by E. Lévi-Provençal under the title *Fragments de chronique almohade anonyme*, in 1925 and 1930. The authors of the 8th/14th century, the century of the great Maghribī historians, supply the best overall view of Almohad history. The most important of these, Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 712/1312), *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī 'khtiṣār akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, iii, ed. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan 1960, supplies useful information regarding both the reign of the Almohads in Spain and the transfer of power into the hands of the Marīnids, subjects otherwise poorly documented; Ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. 726/1326), *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, Uppsala 1834, 110-84, and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 810/1406), *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1959, vi, 464-551, French tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, ii, 161-257. In the 9th/15th century, the anonymous chronicle *Kitāb al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-marrākushiyya*, ed. I.S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, contains further unpublished information.

Secondary studies concentrate on political history, while the absence of a survey regarding the society and economy of this important period is sorely felt: two monographs, by A. Huici Miranda, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1956-9, and R. Le Tourneau, *The Almohad movement in North Africa in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, Princeton 1969, as well as chapters in the general history of Morocco and the Maghrib, H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 261-367; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, 92-131; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb: un essai de synthèse*, Paris 1970, 162-185, Eng. tr. *The history of the Maghrib*, Princeton 1977, 174-200. On communities within the Almohad empire, A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghaniya, derniers representants de l'empire almoravide et leur lutte contre l'empire almohade*, Paris 1903; P. de Cénival, *L'Église chrétienne de Marrakech au XIII^e siècle*, in *Hespéris*, vii (1927), 69-83; and, on the Jews, H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews in North Africa*, Leiden 1974, i, 123-39. As regards Almohad doctrine and the thought of Ibn Tūmart, a revision of Goldziher's study has been presented by R. Brunschvig in two articles: *Sur la doctrine du Mahdi Ibn Tūmart*, in *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume*, Jerusalem 1958, ii, 1-13, and *Encore sur la doctrine du Mahdī*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xii (1970), 33-40; see also Le Tourneau, *Sur la disparition de la doctrine almohade*, in *SI*, xxx (1970), 193-201. The organisation and hierarchy of the Almohads are described and analysed by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in the introduction to his translation of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Paris 1927, pp. ix-lxviii, and J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, 85-111; the monetary reform, by A. Prieto y Vives, *La reforma numismatica de los almohades*, in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid 1915 11-115, and the coinage by H. Hazard, *The numismatic history of late medieval North Africa*, New York 1952, 64-8, 143-58, 263-73. On commerce, M.L. de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce*, Paris 1866, ii; A.-E. Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis depuis le XII^e siècle*, Paris 1929; Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1966, 157-61. On aspects

of material and cultural life, especially with regard to the city of Marrakesh, G. Deverdun and M.B. Abdeslem, *Deux taḥbīs almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xli (1954), 411-25, and G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, 151-301; on Fez under the Almohads, details are to be found in Djaznāʾī, *Zahrat al-ās*, text and French tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1923. On Almohad monuments, numerous studies exist, foremost among these being *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, Paris 1932, by H. Basset and H. Terrasse (mosques of Tinmallal and Marrakesh), with an analysis of techniques of construction and decoration. A study of recent excavations in the mosque of Tinmallal: J. Hassar-Benslimane, C. Ewert, A. Touri, J.-P. Wisshak, *Tinmal 1981*, in *Madrider Mitteilungen*, xxiii (Mainz 1982). Also by H. Terrasse, *La mosquée des Andalous à Fès*, Paris 1942, and *La grande mosquée de Taza*, Paris 1943, and by J. Caillé, *La mosquée de Hassan à Rabat*, Paris 1954. (M. Shatzmiller)

AL-**MUWAḲḲAR**, a place in the desert fringes of the early Islamic region of the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], in what is now Jordan, some 22 km./14 miles southeast of ʿAmmān and 16 km./10 miles northeast of the Umayyad palace of Mshattā or Mushattā [*q.v.*].

Visible there are the remains of an Umayyad settlement. These include traces of a palace, a tower which may have been part of a mosque, and signs of an extensive irrigation system in the form of sites of three dams nearby plus a fine stone-lined cistern, still much used by Bedouins of the Banū Ṣakhr for watering their herds. When this cistern was being cleaned out in the 1940s, a column and capital were found, the latter with an inscription ascribing the construction work there to one ʿAbd Allāh b. Salīm for the caliph Yazīd [II] (101-5/720-4); the column has gradation marks to show the depth of water (see R.W. Hamilton and L.A. Mayer, *Some eight-century capitals from al Muwaqqar*, etc., in *QDAP*, xii [1946], 63-74; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, *Dirāsāt fī taʾrīkh al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1972, 110-11; the capital is now in the ʿAmmān Museum). According to al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, Riyāḍ 1394/1974, 334, al-Muwaḳḳar lay in the territory of the Banū Salīḥ [*q.v.*]. The site may well have been a Byzantine one, on the *limes* facing the desert Arabs, but was certainly a favoured haunt of the Umayyad caliphs, as attested in contemporary poetry (see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-51, iii, 1280; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, v, 226; A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, 283, and the references there to the *Aghānī*). From a verse by Abū Nukhayla al-Ḥimmānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] praising the caliph al-Saffāḥ (*Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, xviii, 150 = ed. Dār al-Kutub, xx, 415), it appears that the early ʿAbbāsids destroyed al-Muwaḳḳar together with others of the Umayyads' desert residences.

There was also, apparently, another al-Muwaḳḳar in Yemen; see al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, 124, 249.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Musil, *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra*, Vienna 1907, i, 27 ff., 174; Gertrude L. Bell, *Syria, the Desert and the Sown*², London 1908, 52-4; H. Lammens, *La "bādia" et la "ḥīra" sous les Omayyades. Le problème de Mśattā*, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 338-45; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 197; G. Lankester Harding, *The antiquities of Jordan*², London 1967, 162. (C.E. Bosworth)

MUWAḲḲIT [see MĪḲĀT].

MUWALLAD (A.), a word belonging to the vocabulary of stock-breeders and designating the product of a crossing (*tawlīd*) of two different animal breeds, thus a hybrid, of mixed blood. It is hardly surprising that it was extended to humans from the time when the feeling arose that the purity of the Arab race had been altered following the conquests, the influx of elements of other stocks and mixed marriages. In a more limited sense, *muwallad* designates a cross-breed, half-caste or even, as Dozy states (*Suppl.*, s.v.) "one who, without being of Arab origin, has been born among the Arabs and received an Arabic education". (Ed.)

1. In Muslim Spain. In al-Andalus, the *muwalladūn* constituted a particular category of the population, but it is notable that neither the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* nor the *Vocabulista* contain this word, which Pedro de Alcala translated as *adoptado*. *Muwallad* has given to Spanish *muladí* and, according to Eguilaz (an opinion rejected by Dozy), *mulato*. The mediaeval Latin transcription was *mollites*.

The occupation, in 92/711, of the Iberian peninsula by Berber-Arab troops encouraged the appearance of neo-Muslims: *musālima* or *asālima*. More precisely still, *aslamī* was used to designate the ex-Christian convert, whereas the term *islāmī* was reserved for the former Jew. Probably due to the fact that, in historical terms, it is statistically more exact to speak of the occupation of al-Andalus than of the conquest, the majority of the population were covered by a pact (*muʿāhid*) that was far superior to that of "vanquished people", a circumstance which implies the minor importance of the number of those who "submitted", susceptible of being transformed into *mawālī* [*q.v.*], a fact confirmed by the *Wathāʾiḳ* of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] which stated that "in al-Andalus the *walāʾ* of conversion is not considered identical to that of manumission (*walāʾ al-iʿtāḳ*)". The clientage of conversion does not entail personal connections or socio-economic obligations and its members are clients not of an individual but of the whole community. The judicial authorities only register this clientage (of conversion) in the case where the individual comes to reside "in a land where it is effective". Consequently, al-Andalus was to have a slightly different evolution from the rest of the Arabo-Muslim empire, for it did not experience the problems provoked by the incorporation of the *mawālī* of the old Sāsānid empire. For Muslim Spain, the question presents itself differently, sc. in terms of *muwalladūn*.

This word, often badly translated (from an ethnocentric angle) as "renegades", designated the descendants of non-Arab neo-Muslims, brought up in the Islamic religion by their recently-converted parents. Thus they are the members of the second generation (the sons) and, by extension, those of the third generation (the grandsons). It should be noted—contrary to a current Hispano-nationalist presumption—that the sons of an Arab father and indigenous mother did not feel themselves to be and were not regarded as *muwallads*. Since the sire was Arab, the offspring was also Arab. This explains why a family of mixed stock (such as the Sevillian Banū Ḥadjdjādj, descendants in the maternal line, through Sara the Goth, of Witiza the penultimate Visigothic monarch) might be the chiefs of the Lakhmid group and upholders of the "hard" Arab policy of exterminating *muwalladūn* and local Christians. It is thus time to accept that Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was "Arab" and to stop setting him up as a prototype of a group that he in no way represented.

These *muwalladūn* sometimes kept Roman "family names": Banū Angelino, B. Sabanico, B. al-Longo, B. al-Ḳabṭurno, B. Kūmis, B. Ḳārlo, B. Ḳārlumān, B. Martīn, B. Gharsiya, Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*], etc.

The *musālima*, imperfectly integrated, were not in a

position to claim the effectiveness of their theoretical assimilation (they had to appear not to be seeking their socio-political and economic advancement; furthermore, their conversion was invalid if it had been motivated "by the attraction of a reward"). However, their descendants, being born into Islam, were no longer open to such criticisms and could freely claim the complete assimilation to which they had the right. When this did not take place, the *muwalladūn* felt themselves discriminated against (the Arabs called them *banu 'l-ḥamrā'*, *banu 'l-ʿabīd* or the vile rabble (*al-adhall*), and they reacted violently.

This reaction developed the name of an ideology, that of Muslim egalitarianism. It should be stressed that no example is known of a *muwallad* movement advocating a return to Christianity (the rumour, true or false, of the conversion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] alienated from him all his Muslim allies). Their culture and language were Arabic. It is notable that the leaders of this indigenous party expressed themselves in Arabic, and examples of preserved Romanisms are only exceptionally attributed to them. When the Toledan Ghirbīb b. ʿAbd Allāh instigated his fellow citizens against the Cordovan state, he did so in Arabic verse. The political model in no way envisaged the re-establishment of a Visigothic state, but the setting up of an autonomous Islamic unit.

The 3rd/9th century saw the rise of the *muwalladūn*. Whether as auxiliaries of the government (ʿAmrūs in Toledo, Saragossa and Tudela), as collaborating "seigneurs" (the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] in the Upper March [see THAGHR]) or, on the other hand, as dissidents. There are the Toledan rebellions which resulted in the battle of Wādī Salīṭ (240/854), the uprising of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Djillīḳī (261/875), who founded his "capital", Badajoz; Saʿdūn al-Surunbākī at Monsalud, Ibn al-Shāliya at Somontin, Daysam b. Isḥāḳ at Murcia and Lorca and, above all, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn at Malaga, Granada and Jaen. The local *muwalladūn* were regarded as a danger to Arab sovereignty, by the Ḳaysī Yaḥyā b. Suḳāla at Elvira and by Kurayb b. Khaldūn at Seville, who attempted to eliminate them. These indigenous Muslims could form a "maritime republic" as did those of Mariyat Badjdjāna [*q.v.*] or call for Christian assistance (that of Ordoño requested by the Toledans and of Alphonso III of Leon by Ibn al-Djillīḳī).

They were a group (*ḳawm*) still very close to the autochthonous non-Muslims, and we frequently see them uniting against the Arabs. The texts provide quite numerous references to these alliances: *al-muwalladūn wa 'l-naṣārā*, *al-musālima wa 'l-naṣārā*, *muwallad wa-asālimat al-dhimma*, *al-muwalladūn wa 'l-ʿadjam*, etc. They were organised, and their bard (*shāʿir al-muwalladīn*), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAblī, was the champion of their cause (*al-muḥāmī ʿan*). In opposition to him was al-Asadī, *shāʿir al-ʿArab al-ḳā'im fīhā maḳām al-ʿAblī fī 'l-muwalladīn*, whom he rivalled in *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*], each exciting his own people (*ḳawm*). We know that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Talīd (d. 295/908) was *shadīd al-ʿaṣabiyya li 'l-muwalladīn*. But it is curious that there was no Andalusian *shuʿūbiyya* [*q.v.*] except at a late date and not of a "national" character, for its rare representatives only plagiarise the old Persian clichés.

This "party" of indigenous Muslims, so important throughout the 3rd/9th century, disappeared when the group was accepted and integrated into Andalusian society, a phase which may be dated during the first half of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*]. This movement, one of the principal factors of instability from 181/797 to 320/932, was to be so totally effaced that when, after the *Fitna* [*q.v.*], al-Andalus was divided up under the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* [*q.v.*], certain *taïfas* would claim to be Arab, while others regarded themselves as Berbers or slaves, but none as *muwallad*.

Bibliography: *al-Akhbār al-madjmūʿa*; *Fatḥ al-Andalūs*; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, iii, v; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*; F. Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*.

(P. CHALMETA)

2. In Arabic language and literature. Here it refers to any word, linguistic form, or literary feature that is not found in the classical *ʿarabiyya* of pre- and early Islamic times nor the literature written in it, thus: "post-classical". The term is partly due to a semantic extension of the word *muwallad* meaning "not of pure Arab (Bedouin) stock" (see above) from denoting people to characterising their language, and partly based on a figurative understanding of the literal meaning: "s.th. that is produced by making s.th. else give birth to it", thus "a word newly derived from a known root" or "a poetic motif extracted from a known motif".

In the study of language *muwallad* may characterise a word (e.g., virtually all technical terminology of the sciences in Islam is *muwallad*) or any other linguistic phenomenon such as phonetic changes (e.g., *bidāya* for *badā'a* from root *b-d-'*). For the classification of loanwords as *muwallad* see MUʿARRAB.

In literary studies, *muwallad* may refer (a) to poets of the "post-classical" era (already in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 71: *wa-min khuṭabā' al-amṣār wa-shuʿarā'ihim wa-'l-muwalladīn minhum Bashshār al-Aʿmā*, i, 74: *shuʿarā' al-muwalladīn*, again mentioning Bashshār and others). As such, *muwalladūn* is often synonymous with *muḥdathūn* [*q.v.*], although the latter is sometimes restricted in use to the early generation of "modern" poets with *muwallad* referring to the later generations. It refers (b) to "new poetic motifs extracted from old ones" (*al-maʿānī al-muwallada*, cf. al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, i, 6, here used with a negative connotation!). Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*] gives a brief description of the mechanism of *tawlīd*, in wich he states that it stands midway between *ikhtirāʿ* "original invention" and *sariḳa* "plagiarism" (*ʿUmda*, i, 263-5). Finally, the term is used (c) to denote non-classical proverbs (*mathal* [*q.v.*]) in the great collections of proverbs such as al-Maydānī's *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo ⁴1375/1956; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, i, Cairo 1380/1961; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al Ḥamīd, i, Cairo 1383/1963; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Badīʿ al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf, Cairo ²n.d., 207-11; Tahānawīf, *Kashshāf*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, s.v.; Ḥilmī Khalīl: *al-Muwallad fī 'l-ʿarabiyya*, Beirut ²1405/1985.

(W.F. HEINRICHS)

MUWĀRABA, (A.), verbal noun from the form III *wāraba*, meaning "to use stratagems, to trick", also has two rare significations, each distant from the other and apparently not reducible to a common root.

In the first place, *muwāraba* denotes in rhetoric the ability to remedy a gaffe or an offensive phrase by repeating the expression in an attenuated form, if not radically modified, or else by trying to make the person addressed believe that he has not properly understood what has been said to him (see Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 123-4; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.).

Secondly, the same term appears in the *K. al-*

Mug͟hrib fī d͟hikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Mag͟hrib of al-Bakrī (ed.-tr. de Slane, 3rd ed. Paris 1965, Ar. text 106, tr. 201) with a quite separate and special sense, since it denotes at that time (5th/11th century) a usage widespread among the great Berber tribe of northwestern Morocco, the G͟humāra [*q.v.*] and particularly flattering, the author states, for "their wives' amour propre. At the moment when a man who has just married a virgin is about to consummate the marriage, the young men of the locality clandestinely carry off the recently-married woman and hold her far from her husband for a month or even more; then they bring her back. It often happens that the same woman is carried off several times in succession, especially when she is distinguished by her beauty. The more she is sought out in this way, the happier she is."

The custom described here does not seem to have been attested elsewhere, but it is difficult not to see a link with the Kabyle *ləmwarba/ləmbʷarba*, in which the agglutination of the Arabic definite article *l-* shows the origin of this term, which must have been equally used in Arabic. The noun is the *maṣdar* of the verb *wareb*, which means, notably, in the Kabyle forms of speech, "sleep away from home (of a man); to leave any dwelling or place either after an agreement with the subject or with a third party" (J.-M. Dallet, *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*, Paris 1982, 873), but this meaning applied to a man is totally secondary, since the *ləmwarba* is basically concerned with women and consists for them in returning to their parents, in leaving the conjugal home without having been divorced (Dallet, *loc. cit.*). One thus learns, in effect, that in Kabylia, a husband had the power, without having to pronounce the divorce formula, to send back his wife, who is then *tamwarəbt/t͟hamwarəbt͟h*; she could be brought back again without any other formalities if her parents and she herself were agreable about this, provided that the return of the wife had not been provoked by some grave fault, such as adultery. In this last case, the wife was ignominiously expelled, sometimes with a shaven head, and there was no longer for her any question of returning to her husband, her return in that case being equivalent to having been divorced (see A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, 2nd ed., Paris 1893, 181).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(CH. PELLAT)

MUWAS͟HS͟HAḤ (A.) (*muwas͟hs͟haḥ* or *muwas͟hs͟haḥa*, pl. *muwas͟hs͟haḥāt*), name of a certain genre of stanzaic poetry, which according to indigenous tradition developed in al-Andalus towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. It is reckoned among the seven post-classical genres of poetry in Arabic [see KĀN WA-KĀN].

Structure. The *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* has a particular rhyme scheme and a special final part (*k͟hard͟ja*). The main body of the poem is always composed in Classical Arabic, while the language of the final part is mostly non-Classical (vernacular Arabic or Romance mixed with vernacular Arabic to a larger or lesser extent [macaronic]; very rarely pure Romance). The stanzas of a poem are all built alike and show a regular alternation of two elements: at the beginning we have lines that rhyme with each other, the rhyme changing from one stanza to the next ("separate rhymes"); they arc followed by lines whose rhyme scheme remains the same throughout the poem ("common rhymes"). The number of stanzas, in the vast majority of poems, is five; rarely one encounters poems with four, six, or seven stanzas. The first stanza is mostly, but not always, preceded by two or more introductory lines (*maṭlaʿ*) which, with regard to rhyme scheme and metre, always exactly correspond with the lines having common rhyme. The number of lines with separate rhyme is mostly three or four, whereas the number of lines with common rhyme is two, three, and quite often also more; the latter may be of different length and are often quite short. The common-rhyme lines of the last stanza are almost always identical with the *k͟hard͟ja*. The rhyme schemes of two simple types of *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* are the following:

muwas͟hs͟haḥ with *maṭlaʿ*	*muwas͟hs͟haḥ* without *maṭlaʿ*
.... *a* .... *b*	
...... *c*	..... *a*
...... *c*	..... *a*
...... *c*	..... *a*
.... *a* .... *b*	..... *b* ..... *b*
...... *d*	..... *c*
...... *d*	..... *c*
...... *d*	..... *c*
.... *a* .... *b*	..... *b* ..... *b*

The lines with separate rhymes are sometimes divided into two (more rarely three or four) segments. The segments of a line may be of equal or different length. The ends of corresponding segments within a stanza usually rhyme.

..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*
....*d*..*e*
....*d*..*e*
....*d*..*e*
..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*
....*f*..*g*
....*f*..*g*
....*f*..*g*
..*a*..*b*..*c*..*a*

Poems with exceedingly complicated and even irregular rhyme schemes may be encountered. The *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* in the following example has eight common-rhyme lines and the separate-rhyme lines have two parts: *abcdefcd ghghgh abcdefcd*, *ijijij abcdefcd*, *klklkl abcdefcd*, etc.

Name and terminology. Different explanations have been proposed for the name *muwas͟hs͟haḥ*. The ancient indigenous philologists, followed by J. Ribera and S.M. Stern, derive it from *wis͟hāḥ*, "an ornament worn by women (consisting of) two series of pearls and jewels strung or put together in regular order, which two series are disposed contrariwise, one of them being turned over the other" (cf. Lane, s.v.). A *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* would thus be a poem in which the rhymes alternate in the manner of a *wis͟hāḥ*. According to I. ʿAbbās, however, the basic meaning of *al-muwas͟hs͟haḥ* would be "that which is characterised by a colour different from its normal colour (or by striped pattern), or an embroidered or ornamented garment"; the transposition would thus find its explanation in the comparability of the ornamentation of the material consisting of regularly recurring stripes and the lines of the poems (cf. *Taʾrīk͟h al-adab al-andalusī*, 220 f.). The *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* poet is called *was͟hs͟hāḥ*; composing such poems is termed *taws͟hīḥ* (this term is also used as a synonym of *muwas͟hs͟haḥ*). A *muwas͟hs͟haḥ* with introductory lines (*maṭlaʿ*) is called "complete" (*tāmm*), one without *maṭlaʿ*, "bald" (*aḳraʿ*). The terminology for the various parts of a poem is not homogeneous. The one most commonly used today is found in Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī-Ibn K͟haldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 390 ff.): stanza = *bayt*; separate-rhyme lines in each stanza = *g͟huṣn*; common-rhyme lines = *simṭ*. Ibn Sanāʾ

al-Mulk, however, uses the term *bayt* instead of *ghuṣn* and *ḳufl* instead of *simṭ*. While Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk has no specific term for "stanza", later the term *dawr* is commonly found in this meaning (cf. *Dīwān* of Ibn al-ʿArabī). The *khardja* (but not the *maṭlaʿ*!) is also called *markaz*.

Themes. One should differentiate between the theme of the poem's main body and that of the *khardja*. With regard to the former, the *muwashshaḥs* are for the most part love poems and panegyrics. Wine poems are also quite common (with the drinking scene often set against the backdrop of a description of nature). Among the love poems those dealing with unrequited love and the distant beloved are preponderant. The panegyrical *muwashshaḥs* mostly begin, as do panegyrical *ḳaṣīdas*, with an amatory prelude (*nasīb*). The existence of *muwashshaḥs* with the theme of ascetism and renunciation of the world (so-called *mukaffirāt*) is attested to by the theorist Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (38). These poems are said always to have been *muʿāraḍas* of secular models. Thematically the *muwashshaḥ* does not differ from *ḳaṣīd* poetry. To be sure, certain themes of the *ḳaṣīd*, such as lampoon (*hidjāʾ*), dirge (*rithāʾ*), and the hunt (*ṭard*), do not occur in the *muwashshaḥ* of the early period. Beginning with the 7th/13th century—possibly even earlier—the *muwashshaḥ* was used by Ṣūfī poets (e.g., Ibn al-ʿArabī) for their purposes. Such mystical *muwashshaḥs*, which continue, as it were, the tradition of the *mukaffirāt*, are often *muʿāraḍas* of secular models.

The *khardja* is a—real or fictitious—quotation, often of a song (or a part thereof). The quotation is put into the mouth of either a person (the honoree, the beloved, a girl in love, the poet himself) or an animal (e.g. a dove) or, finally, a personified thing or concept (e.g. love, a battle). The transition from the poem's main body to the *khardja* in the last stanza is effected by formulae such as "I sang, said; he/she/it sang, said." In a remarkably high number of *khardjas* composed in Romance, the quotation is introduced by a third person feminine singular. As to content, the *khardja* often represents a condensation, a focusing of the gist of the *muwashshaḥ*. "The *khardja* is the seasoning of the *muwashshaḥ*, its salt and its sugar..." (Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, 32). The Romance and macaronic *khardjas* express with particular frequency feelings of separation on the part of the girl for her absent lover. Occasionally the girl in such cases directs her lament to her mother, whom she may address as "mamma". In addition, however, one also encounters coquettish and almost obscene utterances. *Khardjas* of erotic content can also be found in panegyric *muwashshaḥs*: as these mostly start with a *nasīb* (see above), they exhibit a double change of themes: (love - praise - love). Different *muwashshaḥs* may share the same *khardja*, since the poets as well as the critics consider it legitimate to take these quotations over from other poems.

Khardja research. Although the majority of *khardjas* are in vernacular Arabic and, consequently, those written, completely or partially, in Romance form a small minority (8% according to Jones, of which 8% of these, i.e. two or three only, are in pure Romance), the latter have attracted an enormous amount of attention among scholars. Together with the prosody of Hispano-Arabic poetry, they form without doubt one of the most controversial issues in the study of Arabic literature. The existence of Romance *khardjas* has been noticed by earlier scholars, but S.M. Stern must be considered the first who made them generally known and who put *khardja* research on a firm basis. In his article *Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥs hispano-hébraïques*, in *And.*, xiii (1948), 290-346, he had presented 20 Romance *khardjas* that were characteristically culled from Hebrew *muwashshaḥs* (on this, cf. below). Soon thereafter, however, Stern also discovered the first Romance *khardja* in an Arabic *muwashshaḥ* (and published it, *ibid.*, xiv [1949], 214-18). E. García Gómez followed with *Veinticuatro Jarŷas romances en muwaššaḥas árabes* (*ibid.*, xvii [1952], 57-125). Whereas Stern had always proffered as a mere hypothesis the suggestion that the Romance *khardjas* might be pre-existing *Frauenlieder* related to the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* and simply quoted by Arab (and Hebrew) poets in their *muwashshaḥs* (cf. Stern, 58 ff.), certain Romance and German scholars (D. Alonso, R. Menéndez Pidal, Th. Frings, L. Spitzer), rather considered the *khardjas* as proof for the existence of a pre-literary "Mozarabic" *Frauenlyrik* in al-Andalus. The *khardjas* would thus be the oldest extant Romance secular poetry. Criticism of this opinion was first voiced by the Romance scholar H. Lausberg. According to him, the *khardjas* have been composed by the Arab poets themselves "als agudeza- und pathoshaltige Inhaltsgipfel" of the *muwashshaḥs* (in *Arch. f.d. Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, cxcii [1955] 208-90). A further development of this approach was offered by W. Ross. That the poets themselves had pieced together the *khardjas* was, according to Ross, proven by the fact that these lines are written in a mixed language and reflect the milieu and the universe of motifs characteristic of the mixed Andalusian culture of the 11th and 12th centuries (*ibid.*, cxciii [1956], 129-38). This latter opinion, though dormant for some time, has been resuscitated, with a slight shift in emphasis, during the last few years. This happened under the impact of the severe arbitrariness and partial untenability so often characteristic of the decipherment and/or reconstruction of the *khardjas*. Especially García Gómez' book *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco* (Madrid 1965, 2nd ed. Barcelona 1975) met with criticism in this regard. Today, while one side continues to believe that the *khardjas* are "if not authentic popular songs from Muslim Spain, then at least poems of a popular type" (J.T. Monroe, in *Islam: past influence and present challenge*, ed. A.T. Welch and P. Cachia, Edinburgh 1979, 168), the other side is convinced that "there are no cases where the readings are sufficiently certain to justify the assertion that, when taken together, such Romance words constitute a poem in Romance" (R. Hitchcock, in *La Corónica*, xiii [1985], 243). A solid basis for further research is A. Jones' *Romance kharjas* (see *Bibl.*), which contains facsimile reproductions, from the manuscripts, of the analysed *khardjas*.

Prosody. The prosody of the *muwashshaḥ* is as controversial as the nature of the Romance *khardjas*. While Spanish scholars (J. Ribera, E. García Gómez) and lately also American ones (J.T. Monroe, D. Swiatlo) have opined that the prosody of the *muwashshaḥ*, under the influence of Romance poetry, had at least originally been stress-syllabic, non-Spanish European and Arab scholars are mostly convinced that we are dealing here with quantitative metres (first proposed by M. Hartmann; also S.M. Stern, H. Ritter, W. Hoenerbach, T.J. Gorton, A. Jones, J.D. Latham, G. Schoeler, I. ʿAbbās, S. Ghāzī). To be sure, alongside the unchanged Khalīlian metres (*ramal*, e.g., occurs rather often, also *khafīf*, *mudjtathth*, as well as others), there occur, according to this opinion, also modified Khalīlian metres and combinations of feet that do not exist in the Classical *ḳaṣīd* poetry in the same way. It has, therefore, been called an extended or expanded *ʿarūḍ*. The indubitable fact that there is a strong relationship between the *ʿarūḍ* system

and the prosody of the Hispano-Arabic stanzaic poetry (*muwashshaḥ* as well as *zadjal*) has recently led one scholar to propose something like a compromise solution (F. Corriente, in *JAL*, xiii [1982], 76-82, and *JAL*, xvii [1986], 34-49). According to this, the metres of *muwashshaḥ* (and *zadjal*) represent an Andalusian adaptation of *ʿarūḍ*, in the sense that the long quantity of syllables in Classical Arabic prosody is replaced by their stress. The proponent of this hypothesis has to concede, however, that the (allegedly) stressed syllables are almost always graphically long and the unstressed syllables very often graphically short, so that his metrical determinations often do not materially differ from those of the adherents of the quantitative theory. (For a critique of his theory, cf. G. Schoeler, in *BiOr*, xl [1983], cols. 311-32, and A. Jones, in *JSS*, xxvii [1982], 128-30.) At any rate, it is undeniable that practically all *muwashshaḥ*s known to date have metres that display a regular alternation of long and short syllables (thus also J.T. Monroe, in *La Corónica*, x [1981-2], 124). Though rarely, even *kāmil* and *wāfir*, which are heterosyllabic metres, occur. Admittedly, one has to allow for certain poetical licences, all of which by the way have their place in Classical Arabic prosody, especially in *radjaz* (e.g. a less strict handling of *hamza*; *ishbāʿ*, i.e. the lengthening of short syllables; and, vice-versa, the shortening of long syllables, especially in end position). Finally, one should notice that the *aghṣān* and the *asmāṭ* of a poem often have different metres.

Music. The *muwashshaḥ* is a poem meant for musical recitation. This does not mean that a tune was immediately composed for each *muwashshaḥ*. Many *muwashshaḥ*s may very likely never have been sung. From later Hebrew sources (cf. Stern, 26-7) we learn about a specific way of performing the *muwashshaḥ*. Here a chorus would repeat the *maṭlaʿ*, after it had first been sung by a soloist, repeating it after each stanza *aa AA bbbb aa AA*, *cccc aa AA*, etc.). This manner of performance is also indicated in the *Dīwān* of al-Shushtarī by the often-encountered refrain-like repetition of the *maṭlaʿ* after each stanza. About the music itself we know nothing for sure, since contemporary sources are lacking. All attempts at reconstruction are purely hypothetic. They are either based on concerts (*nawbas*) of North African urban singers who, until very recently, had Andalusian *muwashshaḥ*s in their repertoire, or else on mediaeval European-Iberian songs, transmitted with musical notation, which in their formal structure resemble Hispano-Arabic stanzaic poetry and have possibly been influenced by the latter (*Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso el Sabio). Two recent works may nevertheless be cited here: D. Wulstan, in *JAOS*, cii (1982), 247-64, and L.J. Plenckers, in *The challenge of the Middle East*, ed. I.A. El-Sheikh *et alii*, Amsterdam 1982, 91-111.

Origin. Ibn Bassām, in the article on Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ in his *K. al-Dhakhīra*, has preserved an old indigenous tradition on the origin of the genre (ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 468 ff.). According to it, the inventor is said to have been a certain Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (or Ḥammūd) al-Ḳabrī. (According to a similar report, going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥidjārī (d. 584/1188) and quoted by Ibn Saʿīd-Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 390), he is alleged to have been Muḳaddam b. Muʿāfā al-Ḳabrī [*q.v.*], a court poet of the Umayyad ʿAbd Allāh (*regn.* 275-300/888-912).) Muḥammad al-Ḳabrī is said to have taken "vernacular and non-Arabic phrases" (*al-lafẓ al-ʿāmmī wa 'l-ʿadjamī*) which he called *markaz* (= *khardja*) and to have built the *muwashshaḥ* upon it. (Because of the terminology, which is difficult to interpret, no-one has up till now succeeded in understanding the report clearly in every detail.) Ibn Bassām continues that, according to another version, the inventor of the *muwashshaḥ* had been Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]), the author of the *K. al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*; other poets, cited by name, then carried on the further development up to the full-fledged *muwashshaḥ* (with segmented lines). Since M. Hartmann, European scholars have been of the opinion that the *muwashshaḥ* has been developed from the *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*], an older, simpler stanzaic genre of poetry (thus García Gómez, S.M. Stern (with reservations), A. Jones, explicitly G. Schoeler). Others assume an origin independent of the *musammaṭ* (I. ʿAbbās, J.T. Monroe). It is, however, difficult to deny a connection between the two stanzaic genres. Both the *musammaṭ* and the *muwashshaḥ* stanza are divided into lines with separate rhyme and lines with common rhyme (*simṭ*, from which *musammaṭ*). In both cases, there exists a type with *maṭlaʿ* and one without. The basic form of the *musammaṭ* shows the rhyme scheme (*aaa a*) *bbb a, ccc a, ddd a*, etc. (cf. the specimen *apud* Abū Hiffān, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, ed. ʿA.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1953, 57-8; an example for a *musammaṭ* with a *maṭlaʿ*, rhyme scheme *aa bbbb a, cccc a*, is adduced by Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 179). The further development toward the *muwashshaḥ* may have consisted in the inventor's first replacing the last *simṭ* of the *musammaṭ* (only one line in all types!) by the *khardja* (consisting of two or more lines), which was found or created by him, and then, for the sake of symmetry, assimilating all the remaining *asmāṭ* to the rhyme (and metre) of the *khardja*. The close connection between *musammaṭ* and *muwashshaḥ* is also proven by a recently-made discovery: in Ibn Bishrī's anthology of *muwashshaḥāt*, *ʿUddat al-djalīs*, we find a *muwashshaḥ* with the rhyme scheme *aaaa b, cccc b* (no. 164), which has, as can be seen, only one *simṭ* and could thus be classified as a *musammaṭ* (cf. Jones, *op. cit.*, 11, 24). The convention of closing a poem with a quotation existed already long before the origin of the *muwashshaḥ*; numerous wine poems in Abū Nuwās (all, to be sure, in *ḳaṣīd* form) end with the poet putting the last line or hemistich into the mouth of a singer or songstress; in one case he lets a *mudjūniyya* end in a Persian quotation (ms. Fatih 3775, fol. 101a; cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1964, 214-15, 430).

The great Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* poets. The first poet of whom *muwashshaḥs* are extant is ʿUbāda Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ (d. after 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) from the period of the petty kings. Further important *washshāḥūn* from this period are Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113 [*q.v.*]) and Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda al-Ḳazzāz (on whom see S.M. Stern, in *al-Andalus*, xv [1950], 79-109). The acme of this development is considered to be the time of the Almoravids, in which flourished Ibn Baḳī (d. 545/1150-51 [*q.v.*]), possibly the most famous *muwashshaḥ* poet of all; al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 525/1130-31 [*q.v.*]; and the philosopher Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1139 [*q.v.*]). In the era of the Almohads the most important representative of the genre is the physician Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr (d. 595/1198-99 [*q.v.*]); for the later period may be mentioned Ibn Sahl al-Isrāʾīlī (d. 649/1251 [*q.v.*]), Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375 [*q.v.*]), who also compiled a collection of *muwashshaḥs* entitled *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ*, and Ibn Zamrak (d. after 795/1393 [*q.v.*]). Among the mystical and religious poets who used the *muwashshaḥ* for their own purposes one may mention, in addition to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see above), Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Djudhāmī (7th/13th century; on him, see S.M. Stern, *op. cit.*, 86-8), who composed "love

poems" addressed to the Prophet (mostly *muʿāraḍas* on well-known secular *muwashshaḥs*), and the most famous of them all, al-Shushtarī (d. 668/1269); on him, see Brockelmann, I, 274, S I, 483-4; Stern, *op. cit.*, 89-91). In his *Dīwān*, consisting exclusively of mystical poems, one encounters, in addition to *zadjals*, also *muwashshaḥs*, often difficult to distinguish from the former.

Diffusion. Originating in Spain, the *muwashshaḥ* soon conquered the rest of the Arab countries. Via North Africa where, however, remarkably few indigenous *washshāḥūn* can be found (if one excludes Andalusian immigrants) it reached Egypt, Yemen and the Orient. A collection of *muwashshaḥs*, entitled *Dār al-ṭirāz*, whose introduction contains the well-known poetics of the genre, was compiled by the Egyptian Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211 [*q.v.*]). In the second part of this work, he presents *muwashshaḥs* of his own (35 specimens). While his *Dīwān* does not yet contain any *muwashshaḥs*, such can be found, together with *ḳaṣīdas*, in many later collections of poetry, e.g. those of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 750/1349) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731 [*q.v.*]). In North African cities, popular musicians have until recently been using *muwashshaḥs*, among them a considerable number of classical Andalusian ones, as libretti for their concerts (*nawbas*).

Imitations and later survivals. In the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳuzmān (d. 555/1160 [*q.v.*]), which consists exclusively of *zadjals*, a large number of these poems show the formal structure of *muwashshaḥs* (so-called *muwashshaḥ*-like *zadjals*). Several of them are *muʿāraḍas* of older *muwashshaḥs* (cf. Stern, *op. cit.*, 171-85). Already, much earlier, Spanish Hebrew poets had imitated the Arabic *muwashshaḥ* and composed secular as well as liturgical *muwashshaḥs* in the Hebrew language. Some specimens date back to the 5th/11th century. The most famous Hebrew *washshāḥūn* are Moshē b. ʿEzra (d. 1135), Yĕhuda Halevi (d. 1140) and Abraham b. ʿEzra (d. 1165). Very often their poems are *muʿāraḍas* of well-known Arabic *muwashshaḥs*. Yĕhuda Halevi, e.g., who was born in Tudela, imitates his compatriot al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī. The importance of the Hebrew *muwashshaḥs* lies not least in the fact that they contain the most readily legible and highest-quality *khardjas* in Romance. The earliest Provençal Troubadour, William of Aquitaine (d. 1127), who flourished at about the same time as the above-mentioned Hebrew *muwashshaḥ* poets, uses stanzaic forms that closely resemble the *muwashshaḥ* (several times the rhyme scheme *aaa bab*, *ccc bcb*, *ddd bdb*, etc., is found in his poetry). This fact is one of the main arguments of the so-called "Arabic theory" which proposes to explain the genesis of Provençal poetry, at least in part, through Arabic influence. The revival of *muwashshaḥs* and other mediaeval Arabic stanzaic forms played an important role at the beginning of modern Arabic literature in the 19th century. The old stanzaic forms were used not only in original poetic efforts but also in the translation of Western poetry (cf. S. Moreh, *Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970*, Leiden 1976, 11 ff.).

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the article): the classical *muwashshaḥ* anthologies are: Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, ed. Dj. Rikābī, Damascus 1949, ²1977; Ṣafadī, *Tawshīʿ al-tawshīḥ*, ed. A.H. Muṭlaḳ, Beirut 1966; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ*, ed. H. Nādjī and M. Māḍūr, Tunis 1967; Ibn Bishrī, *ʿUddat al-djalīs*, ed. A. Jones,Cambridge 1992. An English translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's anthology of Andalusian *muwashshaḥs* is contained in L.F. Compton, *Andalusian lyrical poetry and old Spanish love songs: The muwashshaḥ and its khardja*, New York 1976. A modern anthology of Andalusian *muwashshaḥs* is Sayyid Ghāzī, *Dīwān al-muwashshaḥāt al-Andalusiyya*, 2 vols., Alexandria 1979. The important passage containing the indigenous tradition about the origin of the *muwashshaḥ* is found in Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, Beirut 1975, 468-70. On Arabic stanzaic poetry in general and on the *muwashshaḥ* in particular (form, content, origin, poets, etc.), see M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht. I. Das Muwaššaḥ*, Weimar 1897; S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974 (fundamental); I. ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-Andalusī: ʿaṣr al-ṭawāʾif wa 'l- murābiṭīn*, Beirut ⁵1978, 216-51; G. Schoeler, *Die hispano-arabische Strophendichtung: Entstehung und Beziehung zur Troubadourlyrik*, in *La Signification du bas Moyen-Age...* Actes du 8me Congrès de l'UEAI, Aix-en-Provence 1976, 243-66; idem, *Muwaššaḥ und Zağal*, in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, ed. W. Heinrichs, Wiesbaden 1990, 440-64. On the aesthetics of the *muwashshaḥ*, see J.T. Monroe, *The Muwashshaḥāt*, in *Collected studies in honour of A. Castro's eightieth year*, ed. M.P. Hornik, Oxford 1965, 335-71; V. Cantarino, *Lyrical traditions in Andalusian muwashshahas*, in *Comparative Literature*, xxi (1969), 213-31; A. Jones, *Final taḍmīn in the poems of Abū Nuwās*, in *Felix Arabicus, luminosus britannicus. Essays in honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his eightieth birthday*, ed. A. Jones, Reading 1991, 61-93 (on oriental influences on the *khardjas*). An indispensable work of reference for all *khardja* studies is R. Hitchcock, *The Khardjas: a critical bibliography*, London 1977, new edition planned. The corpus of Romance *khardjas* is published in the following works: K. Heger, *Die bisher veröffentlichten Ḥarğas und ihre Deutungen*, Tübingen 1960; J.M. Sola-Solé, *Corpus de poesía mozárabe (las ḥarğa-s andalusíes)*, Barcelona 1973; A. Jones, *Romance kharjas in Andalusian Arabic Muwaššaḥ poetry*, Oxford 1988 (fundamental). A corpus of Arabic *khardjas* is published by Monroe and Swiatlo, *Ninety-three Arabic Ḥarğas in Hebrew Muwaššaḥs*, in *JAOS*, xcvii (1977), 141-63. Up-to-date reports on *khardja* studies: S. Armistead, *Some recent development in kharja scholarship*, in *La Corónica*, viii (1979-80), 199-203; Hitchcock, *The fate of the kharjas: a survey of recent publication*, in *British Soc. for Middle Eastern Studies Bull.*, xii (1985), 172-90; Armistead, *A brief history of kharja studies*, in *Hispania*, lxx (1987), 8-16; M. Frenk, *Las jarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica*, Mexico 1975. On the prosody of the *muwashshaḥ*, see Jones, *Romance scansion and the Muwaššaḥāt*, in *JAL*, xi (1980), 36-55; Monroe, *¿Pedir peras al olmo?* in *La Corónica*, x (1981-2), 121-47; J.D. Latham, *New light on the scansion of an old Andalusian Muwaššaḥ*, in *JSS*, xxvii (1982), 61-75.

(G. Schoeler)

MUWĀṬIN (A.), the modern Arabic word for "citizen", in the legal sense of the term (meaning "one holding the citizenship or nationality of a sovereign state"). It was coined around the turn of the 20th century from *waṭan*—initially a place of residence and, by extension, a country or *patrie*.

Until the 20th century, there existed no Arabic expression for citizen. The usual term indicating the status of members of the political community was *raʿiyya* [*q.v.*], or its plural form *raʿāyā*, a collective noun best translated as "subjects", with an emphasis on submission to the ruler and also implying the pastoral duties of the ruler. In the 19th century, the

latter expression, traditionally common in Islamic contexts, was extended to include both subjects and citizens of states in the West as well. Only towards the end of the century did writers of Arabic begin to feel uncomfortable with identifying citizens as *raᶜiyya* and turned to look for another term.

Like "citizen", *muwāṭin* signifies relation to a place rather than subjection to a ruler. Yet the term seems to carry an import somewhat different from that which is connoted by "citizen". Whereas the latter, having evolved from the Latin *civis* (a member of the *civitas*), has always implied civic status and rights, relation to a *waṭan* has not. What initially characterised a *muwāṭin* was his being a fellow-member of the fatherland, a compatriot (cf. *muᶜāṣir*, "contemporary"), as distinct from an *adjnabī*, a foreigner. Such a relation, while capable of evoking powerful emotions, carried no necessary civic or political implications. These came to be attached to the term only in recent years, with the gradual adoption in Arab countries of the ideas of individual political rights. Nowadays, while its equivalence with "citizen" in the strict legal sense is universally accepted, the extent of political rights which the word connotes by implication differ from one Arabic-speaking country to another, according to their respective political realities.

Bibliography: For the modern legal use of *muwāṭin* and related terms, see Shams al-Dīn al-Wakīl, *al-Mūdjaz fi 'l-djinsiyya wa-markaz al-adjānib*, Alexandria 1966, esp. 60 ff. See also ḤURRIYYA.

(A. AYALON)

AL-**MUWAYLIḤĪ**, the name of a well-to-do family of silk merchants which traced its ancestry back to the town of Muwayliḥ on the Red Sea coast of Arabia. Two of its members, father and son, became famous at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

1. IBRĀHĪM, Egyptian political journalist and writer (1844-1906).

When his father died in 1865, he and his younger brother, ᶜAbd al-Salām, took over the administration of the family business. In the same year, a long association between Ibrāhīm and the Egyptian Khedive Ismāᶜīl [*q.v.*] began when the latter gave him positions in the Council of Merchants and in the Court of First Instance. In 1868 Ibrāhīm helped found a publishing house, the first of many such initiatives throughout his career, but in 1872 he suffered a financial setback when he lost the entire family fortune in speculation on the newly-established Stock Exchange. Once again, the Khedive appears to have played a role by rescuing him from financial ruin. In 1879 Ismāᶜīl was forced to abdicate and go into exile. Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī followed him to Italy as tutor to his children and continued to publish newspapers, most notably *al-Ittiḥād*, whose critical commentaries aroused the ire of the Ottoman sultan. Joined by his son, Muḥammad [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm travelled in 1884 to Paris, where he is said to have assisted Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ᶜAbduh [*q.vv.*] in producing their influential newspaper, *al-ᶜUrwa al-wuthkā*. While in France, he himself published a further issue of *al-Ittiḥād* which was so critical of Ottoman foreign policy that his expulsion from France was engineered by the Ottoman authorities. Via Brussels, the two al-Muwayliḥīs travelled to London. There Ibrāhīm changed his tack somewhat, writing articles attacking the policy of the British government of Gladstone and supporting the Ottoman sultan. As a result, Ibrāhīm was invited to Istanbul and, after some initial diffidence, accepted the offer.

In Istanbul, Ibrāhīm was given a formal appointment on the Education Council and made the acquaintance of Münīf Pasha [*q.v.*], the Minister of Education, a contact that provided both Ibrāhīm and his son with an entrée to the famous Fātiḥ Library and its collection of manuscripts. But much of Ibrāhīm's time was taken up with continuing involvement in political intrigue, both local and international. He managed to capture a great deal of the flavour of the political atmosphere in Istanbul in his famous work, *Mā hunālik*, a series of articles first published in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Mukaṭṭam* (beginning with no. 1903 of 20 January 1895), under the pseudonym *Aḥad al-ᶜUthmāniyyīn al-afāḍil* ("an Ottoman worthy"). Besides describing the governmental structure and court protocol in Istanbul, the series went into great detail about the operations of the secret police and every possible aspect of bribery and intrigue. Ibrāhīm returned to Egypt in 1895 and published his articles in book form in the following year, but the work was immediately banned and all copies were ordered sent to Istanbul.

On 14 April 1898, Ibrāhīm began publishing his most famous newspaper, *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark*, which Muḥammad Kurd ᶜAlī in his *al-Mudhakkirāt* ("Memoirs", 1948-51) termed "the best weekly". Both he and his son Muḥammad contributed articles, including commentary on current events, political and social issues, and extracts from works of literature transcribed from the manuscripts in the Fātiḥ Library. The repute of the newspaper reached its height during the publication (November 1898-December 1900) of Muḥammad's series of episodes, *Fatra min al-zaman*, which, after much revision, were published as *Ḥadīth ᶜĪsā ibn Hishām* (1907). During the publication of Muḥammad's episodes, Ibrāhīm also contributed to the genre, with a series of nine episodes entitled *Mirʾāt al-ᶜālam aw Ḥadīth Mūsā ibn ᶜIṣām* (June-July 1899, June-September 1900). As Ibrāhīm resumed his career as political consultant to the Khedive, Muḥammad seems to have gradually taken over the editorial functions at the newspaper. Under his control, the pungent critical articles that had so contributed to the paper's reputation diminished in both quality and number; original articles were replaced by lengthy quotations from Western sources and advertisements. The newspaper ceased publication on 15 August 1903. Ibrāhīm continued to publish articles in newspapers and even founded yet another newspaper named *al-Mishkāt* in 1905. However, he fell gravely ill in December of that year and died on 29 January 1906.

According to Muḥammad Kurd ᶜAlī, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī was "the greatest writer of his day and a man who could write entertainingly on the dullest subject". Kurd ᶜAlī goes on to disapprove of the way in which Ibrāhīm misquoted their professor, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, but suggested that "some higher authority was behind Ibrāhīm Bey". Incisive critic, brilliant stylist in the traditional mode, and inveterate political schemer, such is the picture of Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī that emerges from a reading of contemporary accounts, one that is often embellished by many apocryphal tales, the dissemination of which he himself often provoked and encouraged.

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2. Muḥammad, son of the preceding, journalist and author of *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* (1858?-1930).

The date of his birth is a subject of debate: if 1858, then only fourteen years separate father and son; if 1868, then Muḥammad would have begun to work as a clerk in 1882 at the age of fourteen. The more public early part of his life is inextricably bound up with that of his father, a career that involved contacts with many influential men of Egypt at the time and political activity on both the local and international levels. When the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] was forced to abdicate and go into exile in 1879, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī joined him in Italy. Muḥammad, nominally in the care of his uncle, ʿAbd al-Salām, in fact left on his own during the turmoil that preceded the ʿUrābī Revolt of 1882, was arrested for distributing a leaflet written by his father, and condemned to death. However, the sentence was commuted to exile, and Muḥammad joined his father in Italy.

Both al-Muwayliḥīs now participated in the flurry of political activity surrounding the exiled Khedive and, in particular, his complex relationships with his homeland and the Ottoman Sultan. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad were heavily involved in newspaper publication, most notably *al-Ittiḥād* (see 1. above). Eventually, Ibrāhīm was invited to the Ottoman capital, and when, after sending his son, Muḥammad, to assess the situation, he had assured himself of the Sultan's good intentions, he himself moved to Istanbul in 1885. Both al-Muwayliḥīs were now given access to the Fātiḥ Library, where Muḥammad in particular was able to transcribe a number of famous works of Arabic literature, including those of his favourite poet Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*], that were later published on the pages of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark*.

In 1887 Muḥammad left his father in Istanbul and returned to Egypt. He resumed his career as a journalist, producing articles for a number of newspapers; in *al-Mukaṭṭam*, for example, he wrote —using a variety of pseudonyms (such as "an Egyptian who knows his country" and "*al-Badīʿ*")— about a number of political issues of the time, most especially the Nationalist Party. It was during this period that Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī made the acquaintance of the Englishman Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who had been so closely involved in the defence of Aḥmad ʿUrābī after the collapse of the 1882 revolt. He also gained an entrée into the circle of Princess Nāzlī Fāḍil, the niece of the ex-Khedive Ismāʿīl, a côterie that brought together a remarkable group of figures concerned with the reform of Egyptian political and intellectual life, including Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Saʿd and Aḥmad Fatḥī Zaghlūl, Ḳāsim Amīn, Muṣṭafā Fahmī, ʿAlī Yūsuf and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. In 1895, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī returned to Egypt. In the following year, *Mā hunālik* was published. On 14 April 1898, there appeared the first issue of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* edited by Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (although the former gradually relinquished editorial control to his son). Most of the articles were written by the al-Muwayliḥīs themselves and discussed current political and social issues in a forthright and often sarcastic manner. It was in this newspaper that Muḥammad's most famous work initially appeared in the form of a series of articles under the heading *Fatra min al-zaman*. They were an immediate success; at the instigation of colleagues and friends, they were substantially revised and published as *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* in 1907. The work has gone through at least nine editions since then; in 1927, it was adopted as a school text, a process that regrettably led to the exclusion of several of its more critical chapters or sections and the addition of a second, less significant section describing a visit to Paris. It was also in *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* that Muḥammad's other two major publications first appeared: *Naḳd Dīwān Shawḳī*, a pedantic and somewhat personal series of articles criticising the collected poetry of Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*], and *ʿIlādj al-nafs*, a collection of philosophical essays published posthumously in 1932.

Within the development of modern Arabic prose narrative, the significance of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* lies in its function as a bridge between the classical genres and the emerging tradition of modern Arabic fiction: the former evidenced by the evocation of the *maḳāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] both through the use of a similarly named narrator, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, and the beginning of each episode in the newspaper with a passage of extremely polished *sadjʿ* (rhyming prose); the latter through the accurate and sarcastically critical portrait of Egyptian society during the British occupation. The excursions of ʿĪsā and his companion, the Pasha, through the byways of the Egyptian legal system and later, as observers of a provincial *ʿumda* and his venal companions, through the seedier parts of a rapidly westernising Cairo, provided a vivid and powerful social commentary that stood in marked contrast to the philosophical and romantic-historical focus of the incipient and imported novel genre in Arabic at this period. While Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's work was clearly neo-classical in form and style, and while his views were mostly conservative, *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* focussed relentlessly on the foibles of Egyptian society, and, by so doing, paved the way for the emergence of later works which formed the beginnings of the novel genre in Arabic.

The final issue of *Miṣbāḥ al-Shark* (15 August 1903) notes that publication would have to be temporarily suspended due to the editor's illness, but no further issues appeared. Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī gradually withdrew from society, something that some writers attribute to a public scandal (the so-called *ʿĀmm al-Kaff* ("Year of the Slap") in which he found himself embroiled in 1902). Following the death of his father in January 1906, he rarely appeared in public, although between 1910 and 1914 he did serve as Director of the Waḳf Administration. The rest of his life was spent in retirement, from which he would only emerge periodically as a name in a newspaper in order to express his views about topics that aroused his ire. His last published article (in *al-Ahrām*, 30 December 1921) is typical: under the title *Ṣawt min al-ʿuzla* ("Voice from Retirement") he gave his reasons for retiring, and proceeded to express his feelings about the second expulsion of Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] from Egypt. A few weeks after finishing the editorial work on *ʿIlādj al-nafs* ("Cure for the Soul"), he died in Ḥulwān on 28 February 1930.

Bibliography (in addition to that in 1. above): R. Allen, *Al-Muwayliḥī's Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn*

Hisham. A study of Egypt during the British occupation, Albany 1974; idem, *Poetry and poetic criticism at the turn of the century*, in *Studies in Modern Arabic literature*, ed. R. C. Ostle, Warminster 1975, 7-17; idem, *Some new al-Muwailiḥī materials or the unpublished* Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, in *Humaniora Islamica*, ii (1974), 139-180; Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Hawārī, *Naḳd al-mudjtamaʿ fī Ḥadī̲th̲ ʿĪsā ibn Hi̲sh̲ām li ʾl-Muwayliḥī*, Cairo 1981; H. Pérès, *Essai sur les éditions successives du* Ḥadīṯ ʿĪsā ibn Hišām *de Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 233-58; idem, *Origines d'un roman célèbre de la littérature arabe moderne:* Ḥadīṯ ʿĪsā bn Hišām, in *BEO*, x (1944), 101 ff. (R.M.A. Allen)

MUWAYS b. **ʿIMRĀN** b. D̲j̲umayʿ b. Ziyād al-Baṣrī, Abū ʿImrān, eminent *mawlā* of Baṣrā who lived in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

His name is considerably distorted in the sources and in studies, such that the variants encountered include Mūsā (by confusion with Mūsā b. ʿImrān = Moses), Muʾnis, Mawīs, etc.; furthermore, his name would not feature in history at all were it not that al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ [*q.v.*] mentions him quite frequently and that he participated in the movement of politico-religious ideas which developed at Baṣra in the 2nd and 3rd/8th-9th centuries. It is understood that he was wealthy, but it is not known whether he engaged in a lucrative occupation; seeing that he employed a secretary (see al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 52, tr. Pellat, 85), it is possible that he held an administrative function or traded profitably on the basis of inherited or acquired wealth; alternatively, this assistant may have been involved in the management of the revenues which he earned from an estate called Ziyādānᵘ (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 362; Yāḳūt, i, 645, s.v. al-Baṣra, ii, 964, s.v. Ziyādān), which had been bequeathed to his ancestor Ziyād, *mawlā* of the Banu ʾl-Hud̲j̲aym, who was also the maternal grandfather of the grammarian and Ḳurʾān reader ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-T̲h̲aḳafī (d. 149/766 [*q.v.*]) and of his brother Ḥād̲j̲ib.

Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, whom he had helped out of an awkward situation in his youth with a gift of 50 *dīnārs* (al-Murtaḍā, *Muʿtazila*, 38) and with whom he did not cease to maintain excellent relations, seems to have regarded him with a deep sense of gratitude, for he always speaks of him with respect and does not fail to eulogise his qualities (see, e.g., on his sincerity, *Ḥayawān*, v, 468). There is no doubt that Muways was a generous patron, and others named as having been beneficiaries of his largesse include Abū Nuwās (see Ibn Manẓūr, *Ak̲h̲bār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, i, 227), al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Beirut, vii, 180; Mūsā b. ʿImrān) and Muḥammad b. Yasīr, who did not hesitate to ask him for the gift of a mule (al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 292-3).

He seems to have brought together in his salon various Baṣran personalities, and it is not impossible that al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ made at his home the acquaintance of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], who is presented as being the mentor of both men. Muways is in any case a striking example of the lack of clarity prevailing in his time regarding the specificality of each of the theological sects and schools which the heresiographers have subsequently taken pains to distinguish one from another and regarding the adherence of militants to a particular one of them. He is, in fact, generally counted among the Murd̲j̲iʾa [*q.v.*], but, while al-Bag̲h̲dādī (*Farḳ*, 190) lists three possible combinations among the latter: *ird̲j̲āʾ* with *ḳadar*, *ird̲j̲āʾ* with *d̲j̲abr* and pure *ird̲j̲āʾ*, al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (in the margins of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 186) adds the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī-Murd̲j̲iʾa and includes Muways among the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], before making him (i, 190) one of the Murd̲j̲iʾī followers of Abū T̲h̲awbān (the T̲h̲awbāniyya); al-Murtaḍā (*Muʿtazila*, 38) calls him a Muʿtazilī and notes his adherence to the school of al-Naẓẓām, although, for al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ (*Intiṣār*, ed.-tr. Nader, 93/145), he is one of those whom the Muʿtazila prefer not to attach to their group, after Ibn al-Rāwandī has mentioned him among the theologians who agree with the Muʿtazila regarding the principles of divine unicity (*al-tawḥīd*) and justice (*al-ʿadl*), but differ from them regarding the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [*q.v.*]; he must equally have disagreed with their doctrine concerning "the promise and the threat" (*al-waʿd wa ʾl-waʿīd*).

From all these contradictory data, it may be concluded that Muways was not sufficiently sectarian to involve himself specifically with any of the schools mentioned or to embrace exclusively its doctrine, which must in any case have been still imprecise. If he sought the company of Abu ʾl-Hud̲h̲ayl [*q.v.*] or al-Naẓẓām, he could quite well have fashioned for himself an eclectic system which, while borrowing elements from the most moderate K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī sect, that of the Ṣufriyya, as well as from the Murd̲j̲iʾa, constituted a tendency towards agreement with the Muʿtazila. Whatever the true position, all these speculations seem to a large extent superfluous, since Muways never committed his theological preferences to writing and was probably content with expressing his opinions in the course of discussions in which he took part; hence arise, no doubt, the inconsistencies which have been noted.

Bibliography: To the references cited, add D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān*, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, indices; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 259; Ṭabarī, iii, 943; Pellat, *Milieu*, index; J. van Ess, *Muwais b. ʿImrān*, in *Recherches d'Islamologie...*, Louvain n.d., 337-58.

(Ch. Pellat)

al-**MUẒAFFAR**, the honorific *laḳab* by which the second of the ʿĀmirid dictators of Muslim Spain is best known, the son of the celebrated al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Maʿāfirī. He was invested with the office of *ḥād̲j̲ib* by the caliph Hi̲sh̲ām II, on the death of his father, on 28 Ramaḍān 392/10 Aug. 1002, and ruled as absolute master the territory of al-Andalus until his death from angina as he was setting out on an expedition against Castille on 16 Ṣafar 399/20 Oct. 1008.

The relatively short period of the *ḥid̲j̲āba* of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar was, until quite recently, almost unknown for lack of documents, and in his *Histoire* Dozy had to pass it over almost in silence, in spite of his importance in the history of the early 11th century in Spain. It has been possible to fill this gap, thanks to the discovery of accounts of the ḥād̲j̲ibate of al-Muẓaffar in the *D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra* of Ibn Bassām and the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī and the chapter devoted to him by Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb in his *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*. The result is the discovery that the septennium of ʿAbd al-Malik was for Muslim Spain a period of peace and prosperity, a regular golden age, just on the eve of the first upheavals which preceded the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate; the chroniclers compare this period to the first week of a marriage (*sābiʿ al-ʿarūs*; cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 626-7).

Al-Manṣūr had actually left his son and successor an empire not only completely pacified and solidly organised but also enjoying an economic prosperity hitherto unprecedented. ʿAbd al-Malik aimed at following scrupulously the line of conduct laid down for him in his father's last wishes: to preserve and justify the popularity of the ʿĀmirid régime by peace

at home and the continual harassing of the Christian foe beyond the marches (*thughūr*). Every year of Muẓaffar's rule was therefore marked by a summer expedition (*ṣā'ifa*) or a winter one (*shātiya*); in 393/1003 he led his armies against Catalonia (*bilād al-Ifrandj*), laid waste the country round Barcelona and destroyed 35 strongholds before returning to Cordova; in 395/1005, an expedition was led against Castile by the *ḥādjib*; in the following year his objective was the town of Pampeluna [see BANBALŪNA], which he seems to have approached but not reached; in 397/1007 took place, against Catalonia, the expedition known as the "victorious" (*ghazāt al-naṣr*): ʿAbd al-Malik forced his way into Clunia and carried off a vast booty. This triumph earned for him from the nominal sovereign the title of "Victor" (*al-Muẓaffar*) which henceforth replaced his previous *laḳab* of Sayf al-Dawla. In the course of the winter of 398/1007-8, there was an expedition which ended in the capture of a castle of San-Martin which has not been identified. The last expedition undertaken by him as mentioned above came to nothing, but at least enabled him to die like his father on the way to wage war on the infidel.

At home, al-Muẓaffar maintained intact the strong administrative organisation which dated from the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] and which al-Manṣūr had maintained intact, while removing from it the representatives of the Arab aristocracy. On his accession to office, he won the good graces of the Cordovans by reducing taxes by a sixth. He was easily able to dispose of several conspiracies against him. He left to his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol a heritage which the latter might easily have preserved if he had not at once exasperated his subjects against him by displaying a hateful partiality and attempting to arrogate to himself the caliphate completely.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, iv, 58-66 (with an extract from the history of the ʿĀmirids by Ibn Ḥayyān); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, 3-37, and tr. in the new edition by the same of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* of R. Dozy, Leiden 1932, iii, 185-214; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iʿmāl al-iʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 97-104; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (*Analectes*), ed. Leiden, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv; M.M. Antuña, *El canciller de Córdoba Almodáfar*, in *Religion y Cultura*, xiv (1931), 321-30, xvii (1932), 5-16; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 273-90 and index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**MUẒAFFAR**, AL-MALIK, TAḲĪ 'L-DĪN ʿUMAR b. Nūr al-Dawla Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb, born 534/1139, nephew and army commander of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin), one of the leading military and administrative personalities of the 12th century. He was the founder of the branch of the Ayyūbids which ruled in Ḥamāt from 574/1178 until 742/1341.

Only two years younger than Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], he became the latter's personal adviser and one of his most capable army commanders. Already in 565/1169 Taḳī 'l-Dīn proved his military competence when he put a successful end to the siege of Damietta by the Franks, two months after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had taken over power in Egypt. During the latter's vizierate, Taḳī 'l-Dīn advised him for instance in Alexandria in 567/1172 in the question of developing and realising a strategy for Egypt and the North African coast as far as Barḳa. Later, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was to go back on the plan to expand his power towards Ifrīḳiya under his own leadership or that of Taḳī 'l-Dīn. The latter also advised his uncle to rebel openly against the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*], a plan which was prudently foiled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's father Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.

It was only after Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174 that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn assumed full power. Henceforth he entrusted Taḳī 'l-Dīn with important commands, and finally with key positions in his domains. In 571/1175-6 Taḳī 'l-Dīn was governor of Damascus, and as such, accompanied by his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], still a child at the time, he assisted Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn during his campaigns in Syria. Meanwhile, two of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's *mamlūks*, Ḳarāḳūsh and Naṣr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, were on campaigns of conquest in North Africa, which lasted until 582/1186. The actual exploitation of the sources does not permit to decide to what extent Taḳī 'l-Dīn himself wanted to make conquests in Ifrīḳiya at the expenses of the Almohads but could not pursue them as he wished because of other commitments. The chronicle of his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr is reticent on answering this question (*Miḍmār*, 34-8, 53-7, 68-72, 164-8, 292-4, 309-30. The report for the year 578/1182 is missing in the *Miḍmār*).

In 573/1177 Taḳī 'l-Dīn was present at the battle of Ramla [*q.v.*], ill-fated for the Muslims. He bravely resisted the Franks, but lost his youngest son Aḥmad (*Kāmil*, xi, 442), which made him into an implacable hater of the Christians, if Abū Shāma's words are to be believed (*Rawḍatayn*, i, 673-4). Taḳī 'l-Dīn's eldest son Shāhanshāh, favoured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, had been a prisoner of the Templars for seven years, until he was set free against a high ransom and the liberation of all the Templars taken prisoner. In 574/1178 Taḳī 'l-Dīn received from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn his first dominions in northern Syria, among which were the frontier town of Ḥamāt and its surrounding places, strategically important with respect to Aleppo, then still in Zangid hands, and to Antioch which was in the hands of the Franks. In 575/1179 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn turned Taḳī 'l-Dīn's tactical competence to his advantage when he, following the other's advice, did not negotiate with the Franks about the surrender of the fortress of Bayt al-Aḥzān; instead, with the money provided for the surrender (100,000 dīnārs), he mustered troops (*Miḍmār*, 24-31). As so often before, Taḳī 'l-Dīn, during the arduous siege and capture of the fortress, showed unusual courage, bravery, urge to attack and loyalty to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He almost died of an injury sustained at this occasion. Shortly before, he had won his greatest victory in the main strategic task entrusted to him, namely to defend the northern frontier of the Ayyūbid realm against the Franks of Antioch and the Rūm Saldjūḳs in Anatolia. With 1,000 men only, he had succeeded in defeating near Ḥiṣn Raʿbān the Rūm Saldjūḳ Ḳilīdj Arslān II [*q.v.*] who was at the head of 20,000 men (Ibn al-Athīr, xi 458).

The *Miḍmār* (43, 60, 93, 95, 105, 106, 110-12, 136, 143, 151, 153) mentions Taḳī 'l-Dīn's military assistance to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the following circumstances: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's campaign against Shāh Arman b. Leon, king of Lesser Armenia (576/1180-1); his return to Ḥamāt; the preparation in 577/1181-2 of the campaign against Karak [*q.v.*], occupied by the Templars, and his taking part in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fruitless siege of the fortress in 578/1182; the march of the sultan's army to Damascus; the siege of Tiberias and Baysān [*q.v.*]; the campaigns against al-Ruhā (Edessa) and al-Raḳḳa in al-Djazīra; the siege of al-Mawṣil and the conquest of Naṣībīn; the march against Sindjār, on which his son accompanied him, and the return to Ḥarrān via Ḥamāt after the conquest of the town; the siege of Āmid in 579/1183; the surrender of Aleppo to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; the return to

Ḥamāt and the campaigns against Baysān and Karak.

After all these military exploits, Taḳī 'l-Dīn was entrusted with the vice-regency of Egypt in Shaʿbān 579/October-November 1183 (*Miḍmār*, 154-8: *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] and context; *Barḳ*, 233-5; *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 51-3: investiture of the *wilāya* [*q.v.*]). He also received several *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] (his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr, who accompanied him, reports on their revenues, see *Miḍmār*, 154-5). He was also responsible for the education of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son and designated successor al-Malik al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], who was in Cairo. Yet problems arose between tutor and ward. One after the other was summoned to Damascus (*Mufarridj*, iii, 308-9 contains several of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's messages to Taḳī 'l-Dīn regarding Egypt). Disappointed and full of bitterness, Taḳī 'l-Dīn considered whether he should not join his *mamlūk*s in North Africa instead of keeping unconditional loyalty to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He arrived in Damascus in 582/1186, where the sultan redistributed crown properties and the most important leading functions. Taḳī al-Dīn complied with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's plans and, as compensation for Egypt, he received in northern Syria and al-Djazīra as his possessions Manbidj, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, the former Artuḳid town of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and Kafar Ṭāb (*Mufarridj*, ii, 177-8, 180-2).

The regions under Ayyūbid control were now connected and directly in the hands of one and the same dynasty. Eastward they stretched beyond the Euphrates. It was in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's interest to control and secure this area, so extremely important for recruiting and supplying troops. Al-Mawṣil still was in the hands of a latently hostile vassal, and there was the hidden danger of the Ildeñizids [*q.v.*], of the Rūm Saldjūḳs and, last but not least, of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*] who, like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself, was engaged in an expansive policy in northern Mesopotamia.

At the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] in 583/1187, Taḳī 'l-Dīn commanded the right wing, and in the same year the victory of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] and the conquest of Tibnīn and siege of Tyre occurred (*Rawḍatayn*, ii, 119; *Fatḥ*, 73-4; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 541-2). In acknowledgement of this loyalty, Taḳī 'l-Dīn was given the ports of Djabala and al-Lādhiḳīya [*q.v.*] which had been reconquered from the Crusaders (Ibn Shaddād, *Sīra*, 89, 94). Thus Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had put into Taḳī 'l-Dīn's hands all the resources and communications which he needed himself for his campaigns against the Crusaders in northern Syria. Taḳī 'l-Dīn had become the most powerful member of the dynasty in that region and in al-Djazīra. His position of power was only equalled by that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], the vicegerent of Egypt.

The advance of the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's army induced Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to send Taḳī 'l-Dīn to the north in order to watch the Crusaders. Between Djumādā I and Shawwāl 587/June-November 1190, Taḳī 'l-Dīn impeded their advance by brief skirmishes. The situation, at first favourable to him, changed when the siege of ʿAkkā, started by the Franks in 585/1189 as a seemingly hopeless enterprise, dragged on for more than two years. This siege took Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn unaware and unprepared, for ʿAkkā, conquered by the sultan in 583/1187, counted as one of the richest and best-fortified towns of the former kingdom of Jerusalem. In political and economic respects, it had since long outdone Jerusalem, and therefore this siege became a matter of power and prestige for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. This is probably the reason why contemporary Ayyūbid and pro-Ayyūbid historiographers impute the fault which had led to the loss of this town, not only to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, but also to Taḳī 'l-Dīn, who had been absent at the strategically decisive phase; he thus became the scapegoat.

The Muslim defence of the town was indeed unsuccessful because the troops so urgently requested from al-Djazīra failed to arrive. According to the historiographers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's secretary ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Abū Shāma [*q.vv.*] in the first place—and also including Ibn al-Athīr who, though being anti-Ayyūbid, relies in this respect on al-Iṣfahānī's *Fatḥ*—it was mainly Taḳī 'l-Dīn's fault that the troops requested did not appear; he thus caused Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's defeat (*Fatḥ*, 322, 358, 402-3; *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 186). But they overlooked—or did not want or else not dare to see—that Taḳī 'l-Dīn's reasons for staying away were altogether different from those of the vassals of al-Djazīra, namely the Zangids of al-Mawṣil, of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and of Sindjār, as well as of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökbüri of Irbil, and that these reasons cannot be connected.

However, it still requires investigation whether Taḳī 'l-Dīn, loyal until then, instead of recruiting troops in the Artuḳid states of Āmid (Diyār Bakr) and Mārdīn [*q.vv.*], as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had ordered him, attacked the vassals there in order to enlarge, against the sultan's will, his own sphere of influence while disregarding the cause of the *djihād*. It is certain that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Ṣafar 587/February 1191, before his nephew and comrade-in-arms struck camp in Syria, entreated him to have the troops arrive in time and not to permit that any event whatsoever occur in the region of Diyār Bakr during his mission, which was not without danger (*Fatḥ*, 322-3). A final conclusion, perhaps with new data, may be reached after all the letters of the Ayyūbid and ʿAbbāsid state chancelleries, now spread all over the world, have been taken into account.

Taḳī 'l-Dīn probably lost control of his enterprise when he tried to penetrate into the unstable and potentially hostile region of the Artuḳid vassals, who in the preceding year had refused military service, and tried to find means for financing the troops destined for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by distributing Artuḳid land property as *iḳṭāʿ*. He first conquered the towns of Suwaydāʾ and Ḥānī (*Fatḥ*, 290), possibly while marching on Mayyāfāriḳīn, but then had to defend the latter town against the ruler of Khilāṭ (*Mirʾāt*, fol. 245b. This passage is lacking in the Ḥaydarābād edition), to lay siege to Khilāṭ (*Fatḥ*, 402-3, 405); different version in *Kāmil*, xii, 62-3) and, as a result of this, to attack Malāzgird, 40 km. north of Khilāṭ. The Artuḳid and Ayyūbid troops were thus tied up. The outcome was catastrophic. Taḳī 'l-Dīn died during the siege of Malāzgird on 19 Ramaḍān 587/11 October 1191 (*Fatḥ*, 401-2; *Mufarridj*, ii, 375-9; *Nawādir*, 197-8; *Kāmil*, xii, 63).

It seems that the troops from al-Mawṣil, Sindjār and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar were also tied up, independently of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's situation. Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar was besieged by a local ruler; Gökbüri, for reasons of his own, was not in a position either to send troops to ʿAkkā. These reasons were probably the collapse of Saldjūḳ power in Persia and the attempts at expansion in northern Mesopotamia by the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. The disaster of Taḳī 'l-Dīn's expedition in al-Djazīra forced Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to enter into negotiations with the Crusaders. Taḳī 'l-Dīn's troops accepted his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad [*q.v.*] as his successor.

It is not easy to assess Taḳī 'l-Dīn's personality. He was certainly brave, courageous, daring and

impulsive, and as harsh against non-Muslims as pious in practising the *sharīʿa*. In Alexandria he studied *ḥadīth* with famous traditionists (*Takmila*, i, no. 150). His important foundations (*waḳf*) in Cairo, in Fayyūm and in al-Ruhā (*Wafayāt*, iii, 456, no. 501) were famous. He had the lower and upper town of Ḥamāt, his residence, walled and the citadel on a hill near the curve of the Orontes fortified. He wrote poetry (quoted in *Mirʾāt*, fols. 245b-246b), and his *dīwān* was appreciated by Ibn al-Dawādārī and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (*Kanz al-durar*, vii, 91; *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 84).

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(ANGELIKA HARTMANN)

AL-MUẒAFFAR B. ʿALĪ, commander (*ḥādjib*) high in the service of the local ruler of the Baṭāʾiḥ [*q.v.*] or marsh lands of lower ʿIrāḳ, ʿImrān b. Shāhīn [*q.v.*], and then petty ruler there during the second half of the 4th/10th century. After ʿImrān's death in 369/979, al-Muẓaffar set aside his sons and set up a grandson, a minor called Abu 'l-Maʿālī (373/983-4). He himself in practice exercised all power, although he set up further puppet rulers of the line of ʿImrān until his own death in 376/986-7, after which al-Muẓaffar was succeeded in the Baṭāʾiḥ by a nephew under the title of Muhadhdhib al-Dawla as tributary to the Būyid ruler of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ Sharaf al-Dawla b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, ix, 30-1, 50.

(ED.)

MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN SHĀH ḲADJĀR, Shāh of Persia, the fifth ruler of the dynasty, was born at Tehran on 25 March 1853, and was the fourth son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*]. His mother was Shukūh al-Salṭana, a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Mīrzā and a granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Two older sons of Nāṣir al-Dīn were appointed *walī ʿahd* before Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Muʿīn al-Dīn being the first in 1849. On his death on 6 November 1856, Muḥammad Ḳāsim received the title, but he too died as a child on 29 June 1858. It was then that Muẓaffar al-Dīn became *walī ʿahd*. (The designation of Muḥammad Ḳāsim was rather unusual, for his mother was not a Ḳādjār princess.) At the age of twelve Muẓaffar al-Dīn was appointed Governor of Ādharbāydjān. It was believed, for a time, that his elder half-brother Masʿūd Mīrzā (Ẓill al-Sulṭān) or a younger one, Kāmrān Mīrzā (Nāʾib al-Salṭana) might be tempted to contest Muẓaffar al-Dīn's succession, but no challenge was forthcoming when Nāṣir al-Dīn was assassinated on 1 May 1896. Muẓaffar al-Dīn was crowned in Tehran on 8 June 1896, and he died there after suffering much illness on 6 January 1907. He was married several times. The wife who gave birth to his heir Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] on 21 June 1872 was Umm al-Khāḳān. She was the daughter of Muḥammad Taḳī Khān (Amīr Kabīr) and ʿIzzat al-Dawla, a sister of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh; but Muẓaffar al-Dīn had divorced her before he became Shāh. On his death he left at least five more sons and twelve daughters.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign was not a happy or auspicious one. When he came to the throne Persia was in a very difficult situation. The country was the focus of intense and growing rivalry between Britain and Russia, central government control over the outlying provinces was weak, and less and less tax revenue was reaching the Treasury. Corruption and venality were widespread in both central and provincial government. The army had fallen into serious decay, and the only effective and reliable body of men was the Cossack Brigade which had been established by Nāṣir al-Dīn in 1878. Soldiers from that force escorted Muẓaffar al-Dīn from Tabrīz to Tehran on his father's assassination, and their role in maintaining a minimal degree of law and order in the capital was crucial, but during Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign the number of men in the Cossack Brigade never exceeded 1,800. Little sustained and effective administrative, economic or educational reform had been achieved, and a small, but steadily growing, number of Persians were beginning to realize the extent of their country's backwardness and to call for change.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's character and personality were ill-suited to the tasks of governing so troubled, and potentially turbulent, a country. He was by nature shy, timid and vacillating. He was also sentimental and inclined to be rather superstitious. Several people who knew Muẓaffar al-Dīn well remarked upon "his nervous disposition", and this was in no way reduced by the manner of his father's death. Muẓaffar al-Dīn suffered poor health from an early age, and his sense of hypochondria was well-founded. His most serious illnes was a recurrent kidney infection, but he also suffered from several other conditions, including a weak heart. Despite this, he shared the love of many of his ancestors for riding and hunting and was a good shot. His education was largely traditional, and he had a great fondness for classical Persian poetry and a great love for Persian gardens. As a youth at Tabrīz he had had some European tutors, and while he learned French he was never very confident using that language.

When Muẓaffar al-Dīn ascended the throne he rapidly became aware of the depleted state of the Treasury, and in 1897 he accepted one of the Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam's (Amīn al-Dawla) schemes for administrative reform, namely, the employment of Belgian officials to re-organise and run the country's Customs service. The first of those experts arrived in March 1898 (see

A. Destrée, *Les fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse 1898-1915*, Tehran-Liège 1976). The reforms introduced were certainly effective, but they were also unpopular. The central government soon began to receive greater income, but the merchants gained little benefit from the higher dues which they now had to pay, while members of the religious classes objected to Christians levying taxes on Muslims. For many Persians, the growing number of Belgians in the country, and the wider range of tasks which they began to undertake, were further evidence of their country's unwelcome subservience to foreign powers. Even the efforts of the Belgians could not meet the government's need for more money and two substantial loans were raised from Russia in January 1900 and April 1902. These further strengthened the view of many Persians that the S̲h̲āh was prepared to sell their country to foreign powers.

Some of the money raised by the Customs reform, and the two loans, was used to make good serious arrears in pay which were owed to some members of the army, but much of the money was also used for the payment of inflated pensions to corrupt officials. One of the other sources of wasteful expenditure was the responsibility of the S̲h̲āh, for Muẓaffar al-Dīn had, like his father, developed a fondness for visiting Europe; he made three journeys there in 1900, 1902 and 1905. While there were medical reasons for these visits, they were, nevertheless, extravagant and expensive; they also gave the S̲h̲āh opportunity to indulge both his curiosity in mechanical inventions, and his sometimes lavish generosity. The first journey, but not apparently the others, resulted in a travel diary similar to the two produced by his father, *Safarnāma-yi Mubārak-i S̲h̲āhans̲h̲āhī* (first edition Tehran 1901, several later editions, Tehran and elsewhere; see G.M. Wickens, *Shah Muzaffar al-Din's European tour, A.D. 1900*, in E. Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran: political, social and cultural change, 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983, 34-47).

Muẓaffar al-Dīn's first journey was supposed to include time in England, but the sudden death of one of Queen Victoria's children meant that part of the journey had to be abandoned. When the S̲h̲āh did reach England in August 1902, the visit was marred by King Edward's refusal to bestow the Order of the Garter on the Persian monarch (see Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English, episodes in Anglo-Persian history*, London 1985, ch. 14). In February of the following year, a special British envoy, Lord Downe, conferred that honour on the S̲h̲āh in Tehran. The timetable of the 1902 European visit was drawn up to meet Muẓaffar al-Dīn's express wish not to be in France on the 14th of July.

Between his second and third visits to Europe, Persia experienced a severe epidemic of cholera (see R.M. Burrell, *The 1904 epidemic of cholera in Persia: some aspects of Qajar society*, in *BSOAS*, li/2 [1988], 258-70). When the disease reached Tehran in late June 1904, Muẓaffar al-Dīn quickly left the city for a camp in the hills near Ṭāliḳān. After cases of cholera were confirmed in the vicinity of that camp, Muẓaffar al-Dīn immediately sought to flee the country; and it was only under intense pressure from the Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam and his two British doctors that the S̲h̲āh was persuaded that such a course of action was likely to be as politically dangerous to his tenure of the throne as it was medically unnecessary, and the scheme was abandoned. The outbreak of cholera also meant that many Belgian officials, as well as British ones along the Persian Gulf coast, were active in trying to enforce measures which would limit the spread of the epidemic, and this too increased their unpopularity with many Persians.

As well as raising foreign loans and increasing the revenues from the Customs administration, Muẓaffar al-Dīn's government also had resort to another economic device used by his father, the sale of commercial concessions to foreign entrepreneurs. Some of these brought little benefit to Persia, but it should be remembered that it was Muẓaffar al-Dīn who, on 28 May 1901, signed a petroleum exploration concession with William Knox d'Arcy which later led to the emergence of the country's oil industry.

There is clear evidence that the standard of provincial government in Persia declined during the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn. In Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, the *walī ʿahd* governed in a very rapacious and greedy manner, as did his half-brother, S̲h̲uʿāʿ al-Salṭana, who held the governorship of Fārs on several occasions (that province had ten changes of governorship between 1896 and 1907). By 1905 it was difficult for the government to find officials who were willing to take up administrative posts in turbulent provinces such as Luristān and ʿArabistān. Further evidence of growing unrest and lawlessness is provided by a series of anti-Bābī attacks in several provinces.

It was against this background that the events of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905 and 1906 unfolded (for their sequence, see DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān). The initial demands for administrative, economic and military reforms could have been met by an active and vigorous S̲h̲āh and they need not have involved any serious challenge to the monarchy's claim to absolute power. But as has been noted, to expect such a response from an ailing and fearful Muẓaffar al-Dīn was to expect too much. By the summer of 1906, some Persians were beginning to demand that Persia should have an elected Parliament and a written Constitution. The speed of political events in Tehran in the latter months of 1906 was remarkable. The rush to create a Parliament and to enact the *Ḳānūn-i Asāsī* (the Fundamental Law) was influenced by fears on the part of the "Constitutionalists" about the deteriorating health of the S̲h̲āh and the likelihood that his successor Muḥammad ʿAlī would quickly seek to reassert the authority of the monarchy. Both anxieties were to prove well-founded. Muẓaffar al-Dīn died barely a week after he had signed the Fundamental Law on 30 December 1906, and the new S̲h̲āh quickly showed himself to be a man more akin in character and temperament to his grandfather than his father.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the Bibls. to DUSTŪR. iv. Īrān; ḤUKŪMA. ii. Persia; and ḲĀD̲J̲ĀR. (R.M. BURRELL)

MUẒAFFAR S̲H̲ĀH [see GUD̲J̲ARĀT].

MUẒAFFAR S̲H̲AMS BALK̲H̲Ī, mediaeval Indian Ṣūfī master.

Born of a family from Balk̲h̲ in Afg̲h̲ānistān, the date of his birth is unknown, but may have been in the decade of the 720s/1320s. After an education in Dihlī, he joined his father in Bihār S̲h̲arīf. His intellectual disposition led him to become a disciple of S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Aḥmad Manērī (d. 782/1381) [see MAK̲H̲DŪM AL-MULK]) instead of Aḥmad Čarmpūs̲h̲, his father's poetically-inclined but less well-educated guide. Muẓaffar was sent back to Dihlī again for further studies, and then the Tug̲h̲luḳid Sultan Fīrūz S̲h̲āh appointed him lecturer in the royal *madrasa*. After a conversion experience, he returned to Bihār, where S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Manērī continued his spiritual formation. He reached the stage when he felt liberated from all worldly attachments, except from his wife, but exclaimed to his guide that he would divorce her.

Approving of the sentiment, but not of the idea, Sharaf al-Dīn announced that his training was complete.

Muẓaffar was incapable of staying in one place. He journeyed far and wide, spending time in Mecca and eventually dying at Aden in 803/1400. He received more than 200 letters from his spiritual guide Sharaf al-Dīn, of which only 28 are extant (as *maktūbāt-i djawābī*, in Sharaf al-Dīn, *Sih ṣadī maktūbāt*, Lahore n.d., 301-31). There is an extant, though unpublished collection of Muẓaffar's own letters (mss. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Pers. no. 2619, and Acc. no. 1859/2 (181 letters in each ms.); a third ms. in the private library of Balkhī Ṣāḥib, Patna), and a small *dīwān* (ed. Patna 1959). His compendious commentary on Raḍī al-Dīn Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* (see Brockelmann, I², 443, S I, 613-14) has not come to light. Although he was the chief successor to Sharaf al-Dīn Manērī, he is more remembered as an intellectual than as a spiritual guide. He was succeeded in this latter role by his nephew Ḥusayn.

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MUẒAFFARIDS, one of the successor dynasties which arose in Kirmān, Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam following the disintegration of the Īlkhānid empire. Their ancestor, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ḥādjdjī, was allegedly a member of an Arab family from Khʷāf, in Khurāsān, who during the Mongol advance had migrated to Yazd and entered the service of its *atabeg*. His grandson Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar was entrusted with the towns of Maybud and Nadūshan; but he was subsequently presented to the Īlkhān, receiving the office of *yasaʾul* or chamberlain, then the command of a thousand (*hazāra*), and later still the task of guarding the roads from Ardistān to Kirmānshāh and from Harāt (not to be confused with the famous city in Khurāsān) to Marwast and Abarḳūh. In 707/1307-8 the hostility of the great *wazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] obliged him to return to Yazd.

His son, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who inherited Sharaf al-Dīn's offices in 713/1314, was the real founder of the dynasty. In 718/1318-19 he collaborated with the Īndjūid [*q.v.*] Kay Khusraw b. Maḥmūd Shāh in the overthrow of the last *atabeg* of Yazd, Ḥādjdjī Shāh b. Yūsuf Shāh, and in 719/1319-20 was recognised as governor of Yazd by the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd. After Abū Saʿīd's death in 736/1335, and the outbreak of conflict between the great *amīrs*, he repulsed an attempt on Yazd by the Īndjūids and gave his allegiance to the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] warlord Pīr Ḥusayn. Rewarded with the governorship of Kirmān, Mubāriz al-Dīn in 740/1339-40 wrested the province from its ruler, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Burhān; the latter briefly recovered it with the aid of the Kartid [*q.v.*] *malik* of Herat, but was definitively expelled in Djumādā II 741/November-December 1340. Bam was occupied a few years later following a protracted siege, and Mubāriz al-Dīn was able also to levy tribute on the rulers of Hurmuz, although he had to compete with the Īndjūids.

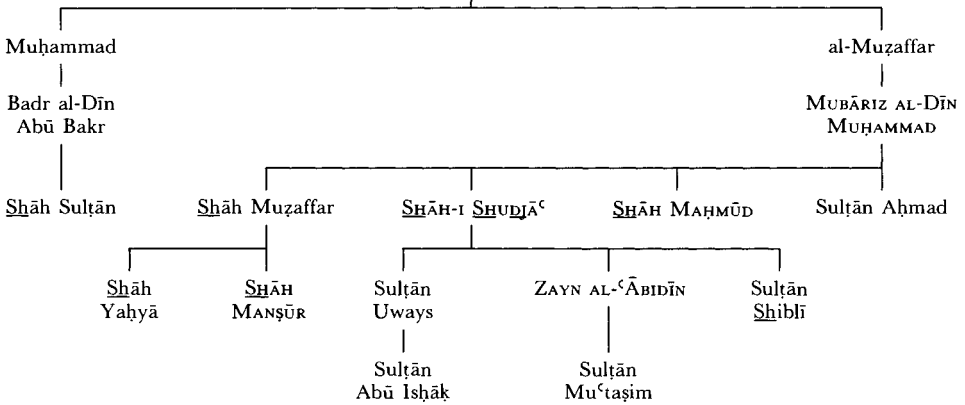
During the first half of his reign, Mubāriz al-Dīn was faced with repeated bids by the Īndjūid Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ on Kirmān and Yazd. He had, however, gained the upper hand by 754/1353, when he took Shīrāz from his rival. In 757/1356 Iṣfahān in turn fell to the Muẓaffarid forces, and Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ was captured and put to death. Prior to this, in 755/1354, Mubāriz al-Dīn's army had suppressed the principality of Shabānkāra in western Fārs. But his efforts further to expand his dominions by profiting from the overthrow of the Čūbānids by the Golden Horde were unsuccessful. Invading Ādharbāydjān in 758/1357, he defeated the Golden Horde general Akhīčūḳ, but was soon compelled to abandon the region to the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*]. His favour towards a grandson, Shāh Yaḥyā, caused friction with his sons, who in conjunction with their cousin Shāh Sulṭān deposed and blinded him on his return to Iṣfahān in Ramaḍān 759/August 1358. He died in Rabīʿ I 765/December 1363-January 1364.

Already under Mubāriz al-Dīn, the Muẓaffarid dominions were parcelled out as appanages for various princes of the dynasty. His eldest son, Shāh Muẓaffar, who predeceased him in 754/1353, is found in charge of Yazd (Kutubī, 26), and after the capture of Shīrāz, which became the capital, Kirmān was granted to the second son, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ (for the correct form of the name, see J. Aubin, *La fin de l'état sarbadâr du Khorassan*, in *JA*, cclxii [1974], 101-2, n. 32). After Mubāriz al-Dīn's deposition, this practice was retained, but led to constant internecine strife. Initially Shāh-i Shudjāʿ became the head of the dynasty, with his residence at Shīrāz, while of his two younger brothers Shāh Maḥmūd ruled in Iṣfahān and Abarḳūh and Sulṭān Aḥmad held Kirmān; their nephew Shāh Yaḥyā was shortly installed in Yazd. But in 765/1363-4 Shāh Maḥmūd rebelled, repulsed Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's punitive campaign against Iṣfahān, and with the aid of Shāh Yaḥyā and the Djalāyirids drove his brother from Shīrāz. Not until the end of 767/late summer of 1366 was Shāh-i Shudjāʿ, who had meanwhile seized Kirmān, able to reoccupy the city. In 768/1366-7 the threat to move on Iṣfahān secured Shāh Maḥmūd's recognition of his sovereignty, but the conflict continued to surface thereafter, and at the time of his death on 9 Shawwāl 776/13 March 1375 Shāh Maḥmūd was host to Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's son Sulṭān Uways, who had rebelled against his father. Despite the existence of a party within the city which favoured Sulṭān Uways, Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was able to take over Iṣfahān without a struggle.

This was perhaps the pinnacle of his success. Like his father, he endeavoured to conquer north-western Iran, briefly occupying Tabrīz, Ḳarābāgh, Arrān and Nakhčiwān [*q.vv.*] in 776/1375 on the death of the Djalāyirid ruler Shaykh Uways, before the onset of winter obliged him to retreat to Fārs. Nor was he yet free from difficulties with his kinsmen. An attempt to chastise Shāh Yaḥyā in Yazd misfired when the prince commanding the expedition, Shāh Yaḥyā's brother Shāh Manṣūr, went over to the enemy, and Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had to go in person to bring his nephew to heel. Not long afterwards, Shāh Manṣūr, who sought help from the Djalāyirids, was established in Shushtar, whence he attacked Shāh-i Shudjāʿ's ally, the ruler of Lur-i Buzurg [*q.v.*]. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had just returned from an unsuccessful campaign against Shāh Manṣūr when he died on 22 Shaʿbān 786/9 October 1384.

Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had appointed his son Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn as his successor in Shīrāz and had compensated his brother Sulṭān Aḥmad with the renewed grant of Kirmān. But Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was destined to enjoy his inheritance for only a brief space. First, Shāh Yaḥyā made himself master of Iṣfahān at the in-

THE MUZAFFARID DYNASTY

- Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Ḥādjdjī
  - Muḥammad
    - Badr al-Dīn Abū Bakr
      - Shāh Sulṭān
  - al-Muẓaffar
    - MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD
      - Shāh Muẓaffar
        - Shāh Yaḥyā
        - SHĀH MANṢŪR
      - SHĀH-I SHUDJĀʿ
        - Sulṭān Uways
          - Sulṭān Abū Isḥāḳ
        - ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN
          - Sulṭān Muʿtaṣim
        - Sulṭān Shiblī
      - SHĀH MAḤMŪD
      - Sulṭān Aḥmad

(Capitals indicate those who acted as paramount rulers from Shīrāz, the principal city)

vitation of its populace and even tried to take Shīrāz also. He was shortly expelled from Iṣfahān, however, and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn put his own governor in the city. A far more formidable threat was posed by the Čaghatays of Transoxiana under Tīmūr-i Lang [*q.v.*], to whom the dying Shāh-i Shudjāʿ had written a conciliatory letter and whose sovereignty was in 787/1385-6 recognised by Sulṭān Aḥmad in Kirmān. On Tīmūr's first invasion of southern Iran in 789/1387, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn fled towards ʿIrāḳ, only to be captured by Shāh Manṣūr and incarcerated at Shushtar. Tīmūr replaced him in Shīrāz with Shāh Yaḥyā, while Sulṭān Aḥmad and Sulṭān Abū Isḥāḳ ruled in Kirmān and Sīrdjān respectively as the conqueror's subordinates. These arrangements were overturned by Shāh Manṣūr; he took advantage of Tīmūr's withdrawal to advance from Shushtar and wrest Shīrāz from Shāh Yaḥyā, who fled once more to Yazd. Shāh Manṣūr's aggressive activities soon provoked a coalition against him, consisting of Sulṭān Aḥmad, Shāh Yaḥyā and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who had meanwhile escaped from prison and ensconced himself in Iṣfahān. But the allies were unable to act in concert, and their defeat in Ṣafar 793/January-February 1391 permitted Shāh Manṣūr to occupy Iṣfahān and blind Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. Shāh Manṣūr's efforts to construct an alliance against Tīmūr were unavailing. He spent his last months devastating his relatives' territory, and at length fell fighting against Tīmūr's forces in 795/1392-3. The other members of the dynasty had been well received by the conqueror, but in Radjab 795/May 1393 an order was issued for their execution; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Sulṭān Shiblī were spared in view of their blindness and taken to Samarḳand. Of the Muẓaffarid territories, Fārs and Iṣfahān became the principality of Tīmūr's son ʿUmar Shaykh, and Kirmān was conferred on the *amīr* Edigü Barlās. Later, in the confusion following Tīmūr's death, a son of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn named Sulṭān Muʿtaṣim attempted to seize Iṣfahān, but was killed in 810/1407-8 or 812/1409-10 (Faṣīḥ-i Khʷāfī, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. M. Farrukh, Tehran, 1339 sh./1960, iii, 184, 197).

The Muẓaffarids took pains to display an unimpeachable orthodoxy. Mubāriz al-Dīn acquired a reputation for dour enforcement of public morals, and during his conflict with the Īndjūids sought a legitimate basis for his power. In 755/1354 he did homage (*bayʿat*) to the representative of the puppet ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo, al-Muʿtaḍid, whose name he inserted in the *khuṭba* and on the coinage, and received a diploma of investiture; it is possible that he had previously negotiated with a scion of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in India, though our sole source for this episode, Faryūmadī's continuation of Shabānkāraʾī's *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363 *sh.*/1984, 316), may be confused. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ in turn obtained a diploma from Cairo in 770/1368-9.

Cultural life flourished under the Muẓaffarids. Khʷādjū Kirmānī [*q.v.*] dedicated to Mubāriz al-Dīn his *Gawhar-nāma*. Shāh-i Shudjāʿ was himself a man of talent who composed verse, and was the patron of poets, notably Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], and scholars such as al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]. Yet if the Muẓaffarid era appears as a golden age for men of letters, it is difficult to reject the comment by Tīmūr's biographer Shāmī (i, 135), admittedly a hostile witness, on the damage done to the agrarian economy of southern Iran by the princes' incessant feuds.

Bibliography: The main primary source is Maḥmūd Kutubī, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1335 *sh.*/1956, superseding the text appended to the GMS edition of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*. The earlier part of Kutubī's work is an abridgement of Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī's florid *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* (goes down to 767/1365-6), ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1326 *sh.*/1947 (vol. i only, to 754/1353), and Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge ms. McLean 198 (Browne, *Supplement*, no. 1277). See also Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336 *sh.*/1957, 180-96; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's section on the dynasty in his *Madjmūʿa*, B.N. Paris, ms. Supp. pers. 2046 (Blochet, no. 2284), fols. 50b-95a; and for the end of the dynasty, Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-56, i, 131-5, and Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. M.M. Ilahdad, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 607-20. The principal secondary sources are H.R. Roemer, in *Cambridge History of Iran*. vi. *The Timurid and Safavid periods*, Cambridge 1986, 11-16, 59-64; Ḥusayn-ḳulī Sutūda, *Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, i, Tehran 1346 *sh.*/1967. See also S. Album, *Power and legitimacy: the*

coinage of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar at Yazd and Kirman, in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, ii (1974), 157-71; and for relations with Hurmuz, J. Aubin, *Les princes d'Ormuz du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1953), 107-111. (P. Jackson)

MUẒAFFARPUR, a town in northern Bihār State of the Indian Union (lat. 26° 7′ N., 85° 24″ E.), and also the name of a District of which it is the administrative centre; the District covers the ancient region of Tirhut between the Ganges and the southern border of Nepal. The region was attacked in the 8th/14th century by the Muslim rulers of Bengal; in the next century it passed to the Sharḳī rulers of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], and then to Sikandar Lōdī of Dihlī. The town of Muẓaffarpur enshrines the name of its founder, the Emperor Akbar's commander Muẓaffar Khān, *dīwān* or head of revenue and finance [see DĪWĀN. v] and then governor of Bengal and Bihār in the later 10th/16th century, and under the Mughals Tirhut was a *sarkar* of the *ṣūba* of Bihār. Under British rule, there was some unrest around Muẓaffarpur during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8; during this same century it became a great centre for indigo growing.

The town was, until the creation in 1912 of the province of Bihār and Orissa, within Bengal. In 1951 the population of the District was 10% Muslim. The town had in 1971 a population of 127,045, and is now the seat of the University of Bihār.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 93-107; *Bihar District gazetteers. Muzaffarpur*, Patna 1958. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-**MUZANĪ**, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā (in the *Fihrist*, Ibrahīm), a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, the "champion" of the Shāfiʿi school of law, was born in 175/791-2 and lived in Egypt. Although he compiled a celebrated compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) of the writings and lectures of his teacher, he was an independent thinker, who differed from his master on many points but not on the fundamentals (*uṣūl*), as the *Mukhtaṣar* eloquently shows (for example, his master's views are bluntly described as wrong: iv, 26; v, 20; etc.). There is even mention of a special *madhhab* of al-Muzanī (al-Subkī, i, 243; al-Nawawī); in this connection reference may be made to the work of Ibn Suraydj (d. 305/917-18), *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Muzanī wa 'l-Shāfiʿī* (*Fihrist*, 213). His pupils spread al-Shāfiʿī's teaching in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ, and in Khurāsān; among others who attended his lectures was al-Ṭaḥawī, later a Ḥanafī (d. 321/933). The Mālikīs and Ẓāhirīs also conducted disputations with al-Muzanī (*Fihrist*, 201, 218). He died in Miṣr on Thursday, 24 Ramaḍān 264/29 May 878 (so in Ibn Khallikān, quoting Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīkh*; the statements in the *Fihrist*, Wednesday, 29 Rabīʿ I, and in al-Masʿūdī, Thursday 24 Rabīʿ I, cannot be right, as the days of the week do not fit) and was buried near the *turba* of al-Shāfiʿī in the cemetery of al-Ḳarāfa at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam Hills.

His principal work, which al-Nawawī (4) still regards as one of the five most important Shāfiʿī works, is the already mentioned *Mukhtaṣar*; according to the *Fihrist*, there were two editions of it: a larger which had fallen into oblivion by the time of the *Fihrist*, and a smaller which was much read and annotated. *Pace* Heffening's statement in *EI*¹ art. s.v., concerning the longer edition, this no longer exists, according to Sezgin. A version which offers a better text without these additions is given in the Gotha ms., Pertsch, *Katalog*, no. 938 (corresponding to the printed text, i, 3-iii, 254). Of the shorter version, which may be the same as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mukhtaṣar* mentioned in al-Shīrāzī, Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Taghrībirdī, there exists only a fragment in the Berlin ms. Landberg 561 (corresponding to the printed texts, iii, 64-79, but very much abbreviated) and in a commentary (not the work itself, as Ahlwardt, no. 4,442 says) which belongs at the earliest to the 5th/11th century. It has not so far been possible to identify it with one of the numerous commentaries mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 11,628.

His other works, which have not survived, were, according to Ibn Khallikān and al-Subkī: 1. *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (also mentioned in Ibn Taghribirdī; quoted in the Landberg ms. 561, fols. 5b and 20b); 2. *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (also in Ibn Taghrībirdī); these two works do not appear to be the same as the two editions of the *Mukhtaṣar*, as Wüstenfeld thought; 3. *al-Manthūr*; 4. *al-Masāʾil al-muʿtabara*; 5. *al-Targhīb fī 'l-ʿilm* (according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 2,934); 6. *Kitāb al-Wathāʾiḳ* (also *Fihrist* and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 14,174) perhaps identical with the book mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 47, on the *shurūṭ*. Al-Subkī (i, 245) also had seen: 7. *Kitāb al-ʿAḳārib* (also Ḥ. Khalīfa, no. 10,315) in which al-Muzanī propounded 40 questions and which was handed down by al-Anmāṭī (d. 288-901); al-Subkī gives a few quotations; 8. *Kitāb Nihāyat al-ikhtiṣār* (?lost), a very brief work giving for the most part al-Muzanī's own views; quotations are given by al-Subkī.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 56; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 212; Shīrazī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, no. 120 (in ms.); Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, GMS facs. ed., fol. 527a; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb* ed. Wüstenfeld, 775; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i, 71; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo, i, 238-47; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 40; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el-Shāfiʿī*, no. 30 (*Abh. GW Gött.*, xxxvi); R. Brunschvig, *Le livre de l'ordre et de la défense*, in *BEO*, xi (1945-6), 145-96 [sc. *K. al-Amr wa 'l-nahy*, presumably from *al-Masāʾil al-muʿtabara*]; Brockelmann, I², 190-1, S I, 305; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1928, col. 1741; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 492-3. (W. Heffening*)

MUZĀRAʿA (A.), a legal term denoting a lease of agricultural land with profit-sharing. In this widespread type of verbal or written contract the owner of the land arranges with a husbandman (*ʿāmil*) for the latter to have the use of his land for a specified period, during which the husbandman sows, tends and harvests an agricultural crop. The seed may be provided by either the landowner or the husbandman. When the crop is harvested the two parties to the contract divide the proceeds in agreed shares, the share of the landowner constituting the rent (*udjra*) for the lease of his land.

To comply with the requirements of the *sharīʿa*, the *muzāraʿa* must meet eight conditions: (1) the contracting parties must be of sound mind, but need not be free or of legal majority; (2) the location of the land must be certain (*maʿlūm*), and suitable for tillage during the period of the contract; (3) free access to the land must be allowed to the husbandman; (4) the period of the *muzāraʿa* must be stipulated, and must be long enough for one crop (if the crop has not matured at the expiry of the period stipulated, the husbandman is entitled to a wage until the maturity of the crop, deductible from the share of the landowner); (5) the contract must specify whether the landowner or the husbandman is to provide the seed; (6) the share of the profits accruing to the party who has not supplied the seeds must be specified; (7) the type and species of the seed must be specified; and (8) the shares in the produce must be unallocated (*shāʾiʿ*), *i.e.*, neither party to the contract may take his profits from the

produce from one particular area of the leased land. Unilateral cancellation (*faskh*) of this contract is permitted to the provider of the seeds up to the time they are actually sown; otherwise cancellation may occur (as in any other *idjāra*) (1) through the death of one of the contracting parties (unless the immature crop is still in the ground, in which case the contract persists Until it is mature: the heirs of one party cannot force the other to clear the land until the crop has ripened); or (2) through legitimate excuse (*ʿudhr*), *e.g.*, if a judge orders the sale of the land to pay a debt.

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MUZĀWADJA (A.), paronomasia, a play on words consisting in the "coupling" (root *z-w-dj*) of two terms which are similar in external form or in meaning and linked by the conjunction *wa-*. For example: (*bayna-hum*) *hardj wa-mardj* "between them there are disagreements", where the two elements have an independent existence; the same applies, in particular, to the formulas used to express totality: *al-kabīr wa 'l-saghīr*, *al-kathīr wa 'l-ḳalīl*, *al-sahl wa 'l-waʿr*, etc., or additionally, expressions such as *al-ghanīma wa 'l-iyāb* "booty and return (safe and sound)".

Every writer concerned with stylistic expression may take advantage of this procedure and enrich as he pleases the arsenal of clichés at his disposal; as a whole, these go back to the period when Arabic was an exclusively oral and hence expressive language. But even in dialect, where a more vivid use of *muzāwadja* might be expected, the puns thus formed seem rather formalised. L. Brunot (see *Bibl.*) has listed about a hundred examples among which there are some which derive from the classical language, such as (*dār l-ʿərs b-əl-ʿoẓọ̄r w-əl bọ̄ẓọ̄r* "he held an extravagant marriage ceremony", corresponding to the expression *ʿudjaruh wa-budjaruh* "his apparent and hidden faults", in which each of the elements has preserved a valid meaning and may be employed separately, unlike the terms of the dialectal expression, which have lost their original sense. In addition, the "tandem" formed by *muzāwadja*, while being fundamentally an intensive form, sometimes possesses a form totally different from the sum of its components. Thus *lā səbt wā-lā ḥadd* "neither Saturday nor Sunday" = "without a pause"; *b-əl-ḥmāl wa-əž-žmāl* "with the loads and the camels" = "in great quantity". This is also the case, for example, with *maʿṭọ̄ṣ-mənṭọ̄ṣ* (*mən bābāh*) "he is the spitting image (of his father)" (lit. sneezed on).

But here, we are confronted with a particular form of *muzāwadja* known as *itbāʿ*. This figure of speech is essentially constituted by the repetition of a qualifying term to which there is added a metaplasm, i.e., the deliberate alteration of a radical consonant, usually the first, but never the third. The phenomenon is very well described by al-ʿAskarī (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 194) with regard to repetition: "When the Arabs introduce a qualificative (*ṣifa*) and wish to reinforce it (*tawkīd*), they are unwilling to repeat it purely and simply; therefore they change one letter (*ḥarf*) and place the word thus formed after the first. For example, they say *ʿaṭshān naṭshan* ("very thirsty"); not wishing to repeat *ʿaṭshān*, they replace the *ʿayn* with a *nūn*. Similarly, *ḥasan basan* ("wonderfully attractive"), *shayṭān layṭān* ("a veritable demon"), etc. The first element of the new lexical unity is called *matbūʿ* or *mutbaʿ*, and the second *tābiʿ*; sometimes the group is strengthened by a third, as in *ḥasan-basan-ḳasan*; only the first has a genuine existence, but *basan* has, curiously, given birth to a denominative verb, *absana* "to be fair of face".

In principle, a true *itbāʿ* must obey three conditions: (1) It should be performed by simple juxtaposition, without a conjunctive particle; (2) It is characterised by a second element formed by a modification of R¹; and (3), it is denied independent existence in the Arabic lexicon.

The first condition poses no difficulty, since the presence of a particle transfers the couplet into the category of *muzāwadja* examined above. The phoneme replacing R¹ is a labial (*b* or *m*), a nasal (*n*) or a liquid (*l*) in 80% of cases. It happens sometimes that the metaplasm (R¹ > R'¹) points to a second radical which already exists, as in *fāḍiḥ-māḍiḥ* "one who abuses with his slanders", so long as this "root" does not itself derive from a *tābiʿ* detached from its *matbūʿ*. In this respect, an interesting example is presented by *djāʾiʿ-nāʾiʿ* "very hungry", which the *LA* discusses at length, concluding, erroneously, that the word *nūʿ* is independent. In fact, this is a true case of *itbāʿ*, but *nāʾiʿ* has been taken for the second term of a couplet quite naturally expressing thirst after hunger; once detached, this *tābiʿ*, considered as meaning "to be thirsty", has given rise to a substantive, which also figures in a *muzāwadja*: *al-djūʿ wa 'l-nūʿ* "hunger and thirst", and even to a verb *nāʿa/yanūʿ* "to be thirsty".

Finally, two qualificatives which have at least R³ in common and possess similar or complementary senses give the impression of constituting an *itbāʿ* since, being not contradictory and mutually exclusive, they are simply juxtaposed: *mudjarrab-mudarrab* "very experienced", *djāmiʿ-māniʿ* "of unassailable thoroughness", *shāʾiʿ-dhāʾiʿ* "of public notoriety". These are not true cases of *itbāʿ*.

Bibliography: Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, Beirut 1383/1964, 270; idem, *K. al-Itbāʿ wa 'l-muzāwadja*, ed. R. Brünnow, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 225-48; ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 194; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī, *K. al-Itbāʿ*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1380/1961; Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., i, 244-51 (who cites Ibn Fāris, *Itbāʿ*, Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, al-Kisāʾī, al-Ḳālī, Thaʿlab, Ibn Durayd, *al-Djamhara*, etc., and gives a certain number of examples); M. Grünert, *Die Alliteration im Alt-Arabischen*, Vienna 1888; A. Fischer, *Ausdrücke per merismum im Arabischen*, in *Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig 1924, 46-58; L. Brunot, *La* muzāwadja *dans les dialectes citadins du Maroc*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 251-82; Ch. Pellat, *Un fait d'expressivité en arabe, l'*itbāʿ, in *Arabica*, iv/2 (1957), 131-49. (Ch. Pellat)

Muzāwadja is also a technical term in rhetoric, again denoting "coupling", but of two themes conveying comparable effects by means of two parallel expressions, as in these verses of al-Buḥturī (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1329, 317):

idha ḥtarabat yawman fa-fāḍat dimāʾuhā tadhakkarati l-ḳurbā fa-fāḍat dumūʿuhā.

"When (the knights) fight one day and *their blood* flows freely,

they remember their kinsmen and *their tears* flow freely".

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī al-Khaṭīb, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, Cairo 1322, 354; Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304, 435; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, 87. (M. Bencheneb)

MUZAYNA, an Arab tribe. They were reckoned by the genealogists among the sons of ʿAmr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha, of ʿAdnān; the *nisba* is Muzanī. At the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, when Muzayna first becomes visible to the historian, it resided south of Medina and consisted predominantly of poor nomads; some members of the tribe may have resided in small villages in the area. It seems fair to assume that they were dependent on Medina for market goods and, perhaps, occasional employment as herdsmen or labourers. An anecdote about the Prophet reflects Muzayna's close ties with Medina, and with the Prophet. According to it, the latter assigned residences (*manāzil*) and places of prayer (*masādjid*) to every clan of the nomads (*al-ʿarab*) except for Muzayna; when they came to ask him why, he said, "My place of prayer is your place of prayer; you are my nomads (*badw*) and I am your settlement (*ḥaḍar*)". This suggests that the Muzayna were seen as virtual nomadic extensions of the population of Medina itself. The tribe had some famous poets, notably Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and his son Kaʿb during the *Djāhiliyya* and Maʿn b. Aws in the early Islamic era; their poetry was favoured by the caliph Muʿāwiya.

Muzayna evidently embraced Islam and allied itself with the Prophet from the beginning of his consolidation of control over Medina. The sources mention individuals of Muzayna as participants on the Muslim side at the battles of Badr and Uḥud, and they played a major role in later campaigns of the Prophet such as Ḥudaybiya, Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca and Ḥunayn. At the conquest of Mecca (A.H. 8), Muzayna is said to have contributed 1,300 warriors (or, according to Ibn Hishām, 1,003) out of a total of 10,000 troops, in any case one of the largest single tribal contingents; only the Anṣār, with 4,000, and Djuhayna, with 1,400 (but al-Wāḳidī says only 800) contributed more. At Ḥunayn, according to al-Wāḳidī, the Muzayna tribesmen were led under three separate banners. Some members of the tribe, such as Maʿḳil b. Sinān, were granted a tract of land (*ḳaṭīʿa*) by the Prophet. Although it offered significant backing to the Prophet and may have been numerous, however, Muzayna does not appear to have been particularly powerful; it is difficult to get a clear idea of its clan structure from surviving information, and no major clans or clan leaders are prominent during the life of the Prophet or in later events.

Muzayna remained loyal to Medina during the *ridda*, and helped Abū Bakr defend Medina against other local tribes who tried to overcome it after the death of the Prophet. With the Islamic conquests, some members of the tribe campaigned outside Arabia in the Muslim armies. Most prominent were those who participated in the conquest of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. There al-Nuʿmān (b. ʿAmr) b. Muḳarrin, his brother (?) Suwayd, Maʿḳil b. Yasār, Bishr b. al-Muḥaffiz, and others are mentioned in Khālid b. al-Walīd's first raids in ʿIrāḳ, at the decisive battle of al-Ḳādisiyya, at the conquest of al-Madāʾin, in the conquest of southern ʿIrāḳ, at the battle of Nihāwand (especially al-Nuʿmān and his brothers), and at Hamadhān, Rayy, Ḳūmis, Ṭabaristān, and Djurdjān. During the conquest era, some Muzanīs were appointed to district governorships (e.g. of Kaskar or of Djundayshāpur) by the caliph ʿUmar.

Following the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, colonies of Muzayna tribesmen took root in Baṣra and Kūfa. Maʿḳil b. Yasār settled in Baṣra, and the Maʿḳil canal constructed there by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān is said to have been named after him; in the late first century, Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī was a somewhat prominent figure in the town's religious life. Other than these details, however, little information has survived on the Muzayna in Baṣra. As for Kūfa, Sayf b. ʿUmar's account of the original settlement of the town states that Muzayna was allocated a quarter along one of the camp's roads; they were apparently reckoned part of the *ahl al-ʿāliya*, who in Kūfa were called the quarter of Medina. Some Muzayna tribesmen came from Kūfa to back ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib before the battle of the Camel (A.H. 36), and in A.H. 65 thirty Muzanīs from Kūfa were among the "Penitents" (*tawwābūn*) who fought to the death in remorse for their failure to support al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Incidental mentions of the Muzayna quarter during the rebellion of al-Mukhtār (A.H. 66) and of Shabīb (A.H. 76) suggest that they lived on the edge of Kūfa or a little apart from other settlements of the town. Thereafter, we read nothing more of the Muzayna of Kufa; presumably they were assimilated to other groups in the vicinity.

Muzayna appears to have taken no significant part in the conquest of Syria, but some may have been recruited under ʿUthmān to help garrison Egypt. Later, a few prominent Muzanīs (especially the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī [d. 264/878]) were active in Egypt; but the Muzanīs of Egypt were always a small group, far outnumbered by the South Arabian immigrants (Khawlān, Tudjīb, Ḥaḍramawt, Maʿāfir, etc.). A settlement of Muzayna tribesmen in Spain, at Baena, *ca.* 60 km southeast of Cordova, may have come from Egypt, or may have come directly from the Ḥidjāz.

The majority of Muzayna appears to have remained for centuries near its home territories in the Ḥidjāz following the rise of Islam. Reports of the severe drought of A.H. 18, by which they were hard hit, reveals that Muzayna was still living near Medina and that the tribe still seems to have consisted mainly of nomads. Some Muzanīs, along with other local tribesmen, participated in the siege of ʿUthmān in Medina at the beginning of the first civil war. In A.H. 145, the Medinans and some local nomadic tribes, including Muzayna, backed the rebellion in the Ḥidjāz of the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] "the Pure Soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyya*), and a number of Muzanīs were taken hostage by the government. The 4th/10th century geographers mention some places south of Medina, and several farther to the east and north-east along the pilgrim road from ʿIrāḳ, as being in Muzayna territory or as being settlements (*manāzil*) of Muzayna, and Muzayna also appears to have made up part of the population of Medina at this time. Increasingly, however, former Muzayna settlements south of Medina were taken over by the Ṭālibids or by the South Arabian tribe of Ḥarb, which entered the area beginning in the later 3rd/9th century. Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī (d. 685/1286-7) states that in his day, the region just south of Medina was no longer Muzayna territory. Like many other tribes between Mecca and Medina, Muzayna joined the Ḥarb tribal coalition; unlike many others, however, Muzayna preserved its old name and its identity as a separate group or clan within Ḥarb. In the latter 10th/16th or first half of the 11th/17th century, a significant part of Muzayna-Ḥarb migrated northwards from the Ḥidjāz into Sinai, where they joined the ʿUḳaylāt and Ṣawāliḥa tribes to form the Ṭawara confederation. Muzayna's territories lay in the southern part of Sinai, where they

lived from the produce of the few oases (Nabk, Dhahab) and from sparse flocks, as well as from transport services. The remainder of the Ḥarb-Muzayna left the area near Medina during the early 19th century, making their way to Wādī al-Rima and Ḳaṣīm in central Arabia, particularly during the wars between Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha and the Wahhābīs in 1815-16.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Wāḳidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Oxford 1966, index; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, Cairo 1967, 320; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv A, 21, 99; *ibid.*, v, 99; Hamdānī, 130, 176, 179; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Reisülküttap 598, Istanbul, fols. 813-28; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 312, 314; Samʿānī, 420; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAmmān 1982, 471; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, ii, Leipzig 1943, 156-60, 319, 365-8, 375, iii, Wiesbaden 1952, 10, 63 (indispensable, particularly on the later centuries); W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, Tafel 88, ii, 10-11, ii, 439; E. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim conquest of Arabia*, Beirut and Toronto 1972, index; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index and appendices, for references to Muzanīs during the conquest; ʿAbdulwāḥid Dhanūn Ṭāhā, *The Muslim conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 56, 130; M. Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, index. For a study of the Sinai Muzayna (Mzeina) in recent years, see Smadar Lavie, *The poetics of military occupation: Mzeina allegories of Bedouin identity under Israeli and Egyptian rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990, with references to other accounts of the Muzayna in the later 20th century.

(F.M. Donner)

al-**MUZDALIFA**, a place roughly halfway between Minā and ʿArafat where the pilgrims returning from ʿArafat spend the night between 9 and 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, after performing the two evening *ṣalāt*s. On the next morning they set off before sunrise and climb up through the valley of Muḥassir to Minā. Other names for this place are *al-Mashʿar al-ḥarām*, from sūra II, 194, and Djamʿ (cf. *Laylat Djamʿ*: Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 129, l. 6); but Djamʿ, according to another statement, comprises the whole stretch between ʿArafat and Minā, both included, so that *Yawm Djamʿ* (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vi, 30 l. 11) is explained as the day of ʿArafat and *Ayyām Djamʿ* as the days of Minā. The rites associated with the night of Muzdalifa go back to the old pagan period, which the Arabs themselves recognise when they make Ḳuṣayy introduce the kindling of the sacred fire in this night and say that guiding of the departure for Minā is a privilege of the family of Adwān.

The sacred place in Muzdalifa was the hill of Ḳuzaḥ [see ḳawṣ ḳuzaḥ]. Even after Muḥammad, in deliberate contrast to the pagan practice, had declared all Muzdalifa to be *mawḳif* [see ḥadjdj, i], this hill retained its ancient sanctity. According to Azraḳī, there was a thick round tower upon it on which the Muzdalifa fire was kindled; in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd it was a fire of wood; later, it was illuminated with wax-candles. In the Muslim period, a mosque was built about 400 yards from the tower, of which al-Azraḳī gives a detailed description, while al-Muḳaddasī speaks of a place of prayer, a public fountain and a minaret. Burton also mentions a high isolated tower at Muzdalifa, but the illumination in the night of Muzdalifa now takes place on the mosque.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 77; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 41; ii/1, 125, 129; Ṭabarī, i, 1105, 1755; Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 36, 130, 411 ff., 415 ff.; *BGA*, i, 17; ii, 24; iii, 76-7; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 243-4, 509-10; Yāḳūt, iv, 519; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, 412-13; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1856, iii; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 154-8; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 81-2, 120; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 157.

(F. Buhl)

MUZDAWIDJ (a.), a technical term of philology, rhetoric and prosody.

It means among philologists the use of two terms in which the form of one is changed to make it resemble that of the other. For example, in this *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, Cairo 1313, ii, 246): *irdjiʿna maʾzūrāt ghayr maʾdjūrāt*, "return home laden with sin and not with rewards", the word *mawzūrāt* from the root *w-z-r* has been changed into *maʾzūrāt* to give it the same form as *maʾdjūrāt*. It is similar in the phrases (cf. *LA*, xix, 353): *ghadiyyāt wa-ʿashiyyāt*, *ghudayyānāt wa-ʿushayyānāt*, *bi 'l-ghadāyā wa 'l-ashāyā* "mornings and evenings" in which the form of the first word has been adapted to that of the second.

The *muzdawidj*, among rhetoricians, consists in establishing a kind of alliteration between two adjacent words having the same form, the same metrical quantity and the same rhyme (*rawī*); e.g., in this verse of the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 22): *wa-djiʾtuka min Sabaʾin bi-nabaʾin* "I have brought thee news from Sabaʾ" where we have the resemblance between *Sabaʾin* and *nabaʾin*. We may give as another example this *ḥadīth* (Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1911, iv, 291 under *h-y-n*): *al-muʾminūn haynūn laynūn* "Believers are peacable and mild in character" and the phrase (cf. xvii, 280, 331) *hayn layn, hayyin layyin* (cf. muzāwadja).

The object of the *muzdawidj* among poets is to make the hemistichs of a poem rhyme together two by two. As a rule, it is used in didactic *urdjūzas* (like the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik); Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, however, in his *Kashkūl* (Cairo 1302) has used it with the *wāfir* and *ramal* metres (76, 78, 83). In Persian and Turkish, it is called *mathnawī* [*q.v.*]. The court astronomer of the caliph al-Manṣūr, al-Fazārī, composed several didactic *urdjūzas*, some of which at least displayed the rhyme scheme *aaa bbb ccc* etc. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Ifrād al-maḳāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, 142-4, he imitated in this the Indian star tables, which were written in the poetic form *shulūk* (*śloka*). Yāḳūt, who quotes the opening of al-Fazārī's *zīdj* poem (*Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, xvii, 118-19), calls it a *muzdawidja*, but adds at the end that it consists of repetitions of "three verses" (*thalāthat akfāl*). There is a kind of poem in the *radjaz* metre (and sometimes some verses follow strictly the *sarīʿ* metre) called *muzdawidjāt* (a collection of them was published in Cairo in 1299); they consist of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth ones have a common rhyme. Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistichs, the first three rhyming together and the fourth rhyming jointly, as in *al-Iʿlām bi-muthallath al-kalām* of Ibn Mālik (Cairo 1329) and *Nayl al-arab fī muthallathāt al-ʿArab* of Ḥasan Ḳuwaydir al-Khalīlī (Būlāḳ 1301). The *ḳaṣīda muzdawidja* was also used for narrative, often historical, poems; the earliest are by Abān b. Lāḥiḳī, ʿAlī b. al-Djahm, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Constantinople 1307, 142; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Constantinople 1317, i, 199, 672; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musul.*, Paris 1873, 375; G.E. von Grunebaum, *On the origin*

and early development of Arabic muzdawij *poetry*, in *JNES*, iii/1 (1944), 9-13; J.T. Monroe, *The historical Arjūza of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, a tenth-century Hispano-Arabic epic poem*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971), 67-95.

(M. BENCHENEB*)

MYSORE [see MAHISUR].

MYSTICISM [see TAṢAWWUF].

MYTILENE [see MIDILLI].

MZĀB (MZĀB), a region of the Algerian Sahara which currently corresponds to the *wilāya* of Ghardaia (Ghardāya). It extends over an area of approximately 8,000 km², between latitudes 32° and 33° 20′ N. and longitudes 0° 4′ and 2° 30′E. It has the appearance of a vast stony plain, declining in altitude from 700 m. in the west to 300 m. in the east, intersected by deep and tortuous valleys, whence its name of Chebka (*shabka* = network) of the Mzab. This enormous expanse, travelled by the nomadic tribes of the Chaanba, Mekhadma, Said Otba (Shʿāmba, Mkhādma, Saʿīd ʿUtba), contains five centres of sedentary population. First of all there is the Pentapolis, the heart of the Mzab, with its five cities founded by the Ibāḍīs [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century which are strung out along the valley of the wadi Mzab over a distance of some 12 km, from east to west: El Ateuf, Bou Noura, Beni Isguen, Melika and Ghardaia (al-ʿAṭf, Bū Nūra, Bni Isgen, Mlīka, Ghardāya). Situated on the meridian of Algiers, it lies 500 km from the latter as the crow flies (600 km by road). In the 11th/17th century, two new ksour (sing. ksar, *ḳaṣr*, pl. *ḳuṣūr*) were founded: Guerrara (Garāra), 85 km to the north-east, then Berriane (Barryān), 40 km to the north of the Pentapolis. The ksar of Metlīlī, 25 km to the south, is a Chaanba fiefdom, closely linked to the Pentapolis. Daya Ben Dahoua (Ḍāyat Ibn (?) Daḥwa) has been developed since the beginning of the 20th century; its palm-groves, cultivated by the Mdabih (Mdābiḥ), grow luxuriantly at a distance of 8 km upstream from Ghardaia. Finally, the most recently established, the oasis of Zelfana, is a site for the sedentarisation of nomads around an area irrigated by deep artesian wells.

The climate of the Mzab is arid with very little rainfall: an annual average of 60 mm over 50 years, with extreme values of 1 mm, recorded in 1895, and of 176 mm. in 1923. Temperatures are mild in winter (11° being the December-January average), although frost sometimes occurs, and even snow in exceptional circumstances. In summer, they rise to an average of 34° C. for July, with a maximum of 50°. The daily amplitude can then be in excess of 20°. The dryness of the atmosphere and the intensity of evaporation prevent the growth of any vegetation other than a variety of coarse grass (*ʿishb*) which flourishes briefly after rainfall, a few tufts in the base of the wadis, and, especially, irrigated crops in the oases. All life is thus dependent on hydraulic resources. These are the flood-waters of the wadis which, diverted by dams, directly irrigate the date palm plantations and add to the subterranean water-level. In former times, the waters of the wadi Mzab (the name is linked by popular etymology to the Arabic *mīzāb* "gutter"), the wadi Nsa or the wadi Metlili used to flow to distances between a 100 and 200 km before disappearing, but the retention-dams constructed for the benefit of the date palm plantations, to encourage filtration and the building up of subterranean stocks, have tapped considerable volumes of water. The subterranean level is reached by wells to a depth of 20 to 30 m, the height of the water varying considerably according to time of year and place. On the other hand, limestone rocks dating from the Cretaceous period contain water-bearing levels, of the type known as "Albian"; the ceiling is at a depth of 400 m in the Pentapolis, supplying water at a depth of 80 m, which implies pumping onto the surface. In Guerrara and Zelfana this water flows naturally, under strong pressure, which ought to facilitate the irrigation of vast areas, but it is also very hot (45° to 55°) and full of impurities causing sealing or furring-up, which poses formidable problems of exploitation.

The Mzab makes its first appearance in history with the Arab conquest. The Khāridjites, many of them Ibāḍīs, fleeing from persecution on the part of the Umayyads as well as on that of the supporters of ʿAlī, arrived in the Maghrib, founded communities in the Djabal Nefūsa [*q.v.*], in Wadi Rīgh and in Wadi Mya, and probably within a fairly short time converted certain Berber tribes of the Mzab, in particular the ancestors of the Saʿīd ʿUtba, currently Mālikīs, whose nomadic itineraries linked Wadi Mya, Mzab and Sersou, where Tāhart [*q.v.*] was for a century-and-a-half the capital of the Ibāḍī kingdom of the Rustamids [*q.v.*]. In 296/909, the last Rustamid *imām* took refuge at Isedraten (Sedrata), a confederation of ksour founded at the end of the 1st/7th century, probably some eight km from what is currently Ouargla (Wārgla < Wārgilān). But the prosperity of the Wadi Mya attracted too much envy: an entrepôt and a northern gateway to the desert, dealing in gold, slaves, cereals, leather and dates, the oasis was too accessible to outside interference, to such an extent that from the beginning of the 5th/11th century the Ibāḍīs began to establish new communities, in the heart of the labyrinth of the Chebka, among their "Beni-Moçab" (Bni Muṣʿab) co-religionists. Tajnint/El Ateuf was founded in 402/1012, At Bounour/Bou Noura in 437/1046 or 440/1048, At Tisjen/Beni Isguen in 440/1048 or 445/1053 and Taghardayt/Ghardaia in 445/1053 or 478/1085. Regarding At Amlight/Melika, the sources are more contradictory: a first ksar was constructed at the base of the slope, around 442/1050; having been destroyed, it was rebuilt on the summit, either in the 6th/12th or the 7th/13th century. In the 11th/17th century, the *djamāʿa* of Ghardaia decided to prohibit any new construction upstream in the valley of the wadi Mzab, to protect its date palm groves from the damage caused by lack of flood-water, such damage having already been inflicted on the trees of Melika and El Ateuf (the groves of Beni Isguen and of Bou Noura, in the neighbouring valleys, were less affected). Under the pressure of demographic growth, it became necessary to found new settlements further afield: Lagara/Guerrara, in 1630, in the valley of the wadi Zegrir and Berriane in 1090/1679 in that of the wadi Nsa. Isedraten was destroyed in 467/1075, and the majority of its inhabitants reached the Mzab, the others taking refuge at Ouargla.

The population of the Pentapolis was estimated in 1896 at 18,892 inhabitants; in 1954, the number had risen to 25,541; and in 1966, to 46,630, to which should be added the 40,975 inhabitants of the other towns of the Mzab. In the census of 1987, the *wilāya* of Ghardaia comprised 216,140 residents, including 35,351 for Guerrara and 21,361 for Berriane. To the 111,350 of the Pentapolis (Ghardaia: 62,251, Beni Isguen-Melika: 21,744, Bou Noura: 18,642, El-Ateuf: 8,713), may be added the Daya ben Dahoua (5,621), which gives a total of 116,691 inhabitants for the valley of the Mzab. Metlili has a further 23,616 residents, Zelfana, 4,345, and four other small settlements, including Sebseb, accommodate a few thousand more. This spectacular demographic increase, by

no means untypical of northern Algeria, has shattered the ancient urban structures. The five ksour, formerly enclosed within their ramparts, are now linked by a virtually continuous strip of urban construction, extending from upstream of Ghardaia to Bou Noura, El Ateuf remaining, for the time being, outside this urban proliferation.

However, the Mzab has been able to preserve its originality, architectural as well as religious, despite the temptations of modernity. The houses of the ksour are often redesigned internally to respond to modern requirements of comfort, and while some have the appearance of somewhat inhospitable blocks of concrete, many have retained their traditional outward aspect, totally integrated into the hierarchical pyramid which rises towards the mosque. The more modern suburbs which have been developed at their feet are composed of villas or town-houses of the European type, with a garage or even a shop on the ground floor, and often with the addition of an extra storey, family resources permitting. More or less rectangular axes are imposed on these new suburbs, but any centrality of symbolic hierarchy is absent from them. The most coveted ones encroach upon the date palm groves, where the vast gardens, formerly affording summer residences for the wealthy, are increasingly threatened by modern housing needs.

The Mzabite Confederation which links the Pentapolis, Berriane and Guerrara, demonstrates the cohesion of this heterodox Berber society. Although Berber-speaking Ibāḍīs represent only about 60% of the population of the Mzab, they remain the dominant elements. The Mālikīs, formerly sedentary or nomadic Arabs tolerated only in peripheral sectors, have been reinforced by migrants from the north, temporary or permanent, providing administrative services and industrial manpower. But Ibāḍī society, whether confined within its ramparts or, apparently, more accessible in the new suburbs, remains in fact closed to them.

Social constraints, such as were described by M. Mercier in 1932, have evolved little, and the fundamentalist drive which has overtaken the whole of Algeria has done nothing to diminish the austerity of the "desert puritans". However, while the situation of women (see A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927) has changed little, except materially (electricity, running water, gas and household appliances), the field of activity open to men has expanded considerably. The ancient and strictly-codified exile of Mzabite grocers in the north having been vigorously opposed but not brought to an end during the Socialist period, the traditional spirit of enterprise has been applied to new sectors. The two largest industrial units, the plaster-works and the tube factory of Noumerate (an industrial zone situated 20 km. south of Ghardaia, near the airfield), as well as the central distribution of electricity and gas, are dependent on the state. But private investment finances long-distance commerce—a Mzabite tradition—as well as the transportation and manufacture of consumer goods: principally textiles (carpets, linen, canvas, woollens, hosiery, including Algeria's first establishment for the production of socks, at Guerrara), and also plastics and metals, while the construction industry is particularly buoyant. The various trades benefit from a skilled and inexpensive workforce, while the local reinvestment of profits also supports the maintenance of the date palm grove, which following the agrarian revolution and the suppression of the *k͟hamāsa* [see MUZĀRAʿA] had often been neglected.

The date palm groves of the ksour have often been considered as a luxury. They are in fact a necessity, not only for the production of food, since they could never claim to feed the entire population of the valley, but for other vital purposes. The only vegetation in this world of stones, they provide shade and shelter for fragrant gardens, the summer residences of the wealthy and places of recreation for city-dwellers fleeing the pressure and the stifling alleyways of the town. Furthermore, the date-production of the more recently established plantations, such as those of Daia ben Dahoua or Zelfana, is by no means negligible, and vegetables and fruit (lemons, pomegranates, medlars or figs) are much prized locally. In 1987, 4,266 farmers were counted among the sedentary population, and 955 farmers or stock-breeders among the nomads of the *wilāya*, i.e., close to 13% of the working population.

Thus the Ibāḍī society of the Mzab, which has sought to preserve its religious and consequently its social identity by means of a radical retreat into an arid and inaccessible desert, has succeeded in finding the means of survival in organised and lucrative commercial activity. Despite its isolation and the absence of any local resources other than energy (the gas of Hassi R'mel = Ḥāsī Rmel), it has shown remarkable aptitude in adapting to the contemporary industrial world. But demographic and urban expansion threatens the unity of its population and of its architecture—the jewel of the Sahara—while rising standards of living, new material needs and the influence of the media threaten its religious cohesion and the traditional structures which provided its former vitality.

Bibliography: Of the general references given by M. Mercier in his article in *EI*[1] Suppl., the following are the main ones which should be noted: Duveyrier, *L'oued Mzab et le chemin de Metlili*, in *Bull. Soc. Geogr.* (1876); A. de Calassanti Motylinski, *Guerara depuis sa fondation*, Algiers 1884; idem, *Notes historiques sur le Mzab*, Algiers 1889; J. Brunhes, *Les oasis du Souf et de Mzab*, in *La Géographie* (1902); M. Mercier, *La civilisation urbaine au Mzab*, Algiers 1932. To these should be added: R. Josse, *Croissance urbaine au Sahara: Ghardaïa*, in *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, no. 89 (Bordeaux 1970), 46-72; B. Benyoucef, *Le processus d'urbanisation et les transformations sociales au M'zab*, thesis, Paris IV 1983, unpubl.; J. Bisson, *L'industrie, la ville, la palmeraie au désert*, in *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 99 (1983), 5-29; idem, *Villes du Sahara algérien*, in *ibid.*, no. 100, 25-41; J. Lethielleux, *Ouargla, cité saharienne, des origines au début du XX*[e] *siècle*, Paris 1983; S. Faath, *Die Banû Mîzâb, eine religiose Minderheit in Algerien zwischen Isolation und Integration*, Scheesel 1985.

(M. ROUVILLOIS-BRIGOL)

The Berber dialect of the Mzab (*tagawbant*/*tamazig͟ht*) has been the object of several studies which are old, but by no means out-of-date, if the requirement is for concrete information and not theorising. In the first place there is the monograph of R. Basset, *Étude sur la zenatia du Mzab, de Ouargla et de l'Oued Rir'*, Paris 1893, followed by Lounis, *Grammaire mozabite*, Algiers 1897; E. Masqueray, *Comparaison d'un vocabulaire du dialecte des Zenaga avec le vocabulaire correspondant des Chawia et des Beni Mzab*, in *Missions scientifiques*, v (1878), 473-533; J. Biarney, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924, 165-265; from 1946 onward, the *Fichier de Documentation Berbère* has recorded the results of research carried out in the Mzab.

It is worth noting that the *ʿAḳīda* which provides the

basis of the religious education of the Ibāḍīs of the Mzab, of Djarba and of the Djabal Nafūsa has been written down in Berber and in Arabic letters, then translated into Arabic (see Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mémoires*... Algiers 1905, 505-45). But it is Arabic which the Mzabites used for their religious or historical books, which constitute the greater part of their written literature (see Motylinski, *Les livres de la secte abadhite*, Algiers 1885; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 64-7); worth mentioning in particular are the *Kitāb al-Sīra wa-akhbār al-aʾimma* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ (5th/11th century [*q.v.*]), tr. E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879; the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh* of al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), supplemented by the *K. al-Djawāhir* of al-Barrādī (8th/14th century [*q.v.*]); the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī, Cairo undated. A work dedicated to Ḳurʾānic exegesis is the *Kitāb al-Nayl (al-Nīl) wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl* of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1808 at Beni Isguen), which has been given a lengthy (8 vols.) commentary by ʿAṭfiyāsh (1820-1914 [*q.v.*]) in his *Sharḥ K. al-Nīl wa-shifāʾ al-ʿalīl*, Cairo 1305-43 (see also the list of his works in the article devoted to him in *EI*²).

The individuality of the legislation of the Mzabites has, for its part, attracted the attention of scholars, including the following: Zeys, *Législation mozabite*, Algiers 1886; M. Morand, *Les qanouns du Mzab*, Algiers 1910; M. Mercier, *Étude sur le waqf abadhite*, Algiers 1927.

A French protectorate since 1853, the Mzab was annexed in 1882, and the rules of administration which had been in force there were not retained. In each town there were two *djamāʿas*: the *ḥalḳa* of the *iʿazzaben* or of the *ṭolba* (from a pl* *ṭulabāʾ*) and the *djamāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*. The first had the primary function of determining, in *ittifāḳāt*, the scale of corporal or other punishments executed by the *djamāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*, which became, before the independence of Algeria (1962), the essential organ of municipal administration. (M. Mercier*)

N

NAʿĀM (a.) (singular *-a*, pl. *-āt*, *naʿāʾim*) collective noun designating the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) without any distinction of sex.

The only representative of the family of struthionids, of the sub-class of ratities or runners, the ostrich, sometimes called "ostrich-camel" (Greek στρουθο-κάμηλος, Persian *ushturmurgh* "camel-bird", Turkish *devekushu* "camel-bird"), at present lives only in equatorial and southern Africa, although some were still alive in the deserts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Arabia until the first quarter of our century; it is said that it was from the most ancient times familiar to the Arab nomads of these countries, as it was to the Berber tribes of the Maghrib and to the Touareg (in Tamashek, *enhel* pl. *inhal*, fem. *tanhelt* pl. *tinhal*). In Mesopotamia, where the sub-species *Str. cam. syriacus* was known, the Sumero-Akkadian tablets mention it generally (Sumerian *gha-shir-mushen*, Akkadian *lurmu*). The Bedouins had the leisure to observe in detail this large biped with the silhouette of a camel, and its inability to fly caused it not to be regarded as a bird but as a near neighbour of the camel family. An abundant terminology (some fifty adjectives) defined, among the people of the desert, the external characteristics, bearing and habits of the ostrich whose plumage, meat and eggs were quite sought after; fixed by the poets of the tribes, this linguistic baggage was preserved in the works of the Arabic-speaking lexicographers, encyclopaedists and naturalists (see *Bibl.*). The sexual dimorphism of the ostrich was much noted by numerous epithets applied to each sex according to its characteristics. The male (*salḳaʿ*), larger and stronger than the female, is commonly called *ẓalīm* (pl. *ẓulmān*, *ẓilmān*, *aẓlima*) "oppressed", for, according to the Bedouin fable, his ears were cut short when he was attempting to have horns; despite such an explanation, it seems that one should see in *ẓalīm* an intensive with the meaning of "very dark", an attribute of its plumage, similarly as with its other adjectives *asḥam* and *ghayhab*. As it takes its turn sitting on the eggs, as well as the three or four females of its harem, it is surnamed *abu 'l-bayḍ* "father of the eggs" and *abū thalāthīn* "father of thirty [eggs]", as a parallel to the sitting hen, who is *umm al-bayḍ* and *umm thalāthīn* "mother of the eggs", "mother of thirty [eggs]". In the mating season, the male becomes *khāḍib* "red-thighed", for the skin of his thighs and his beak takes on a coral hue; the female always remains *ramdāʾ* or *rabdāʾ* "grey" or *hird* "yellowish" due to her ashen plumage, whereas the male is *akhradj* "mottled black and white" and *akhṣaf* (same meaning). One of the most striking characteristics of the ostrich's anatomy is its long, thin and bare neck, which earned it the names *hayḳ*, *haykam*, *ṣaʿl*, *akhdaʿ*, *askaf*, *asṭaʿ*, *ʿaslaḳ* and, for the female, *khayṭāʾ*; a group of ostriches also used to be called *banāt al-hayḳ* "long-necked ones". The smallness of the flat head with the sparse, wiry hair of the ostrich and the hardness of its skull were also described by the words *ṣuntuʿ* and *ṣiʿwann*, while it is called *aḍdjam* due to its strong beak, elongated like the muzzle of a camel and often slightly curved. The absence of an external ear, common to all birds, led the Bedouins to believe that the ostrich did not have ears and was consequently *maṣlūm*, *muṣallam*, and totally lacking in the sense of hearing (*asakk*); it supplemented this, according to them, with its faculty of sight and a very subtle sense of smell, hence the simile *ashamm min al-naʿāma* "with a better sense of smell than the ostrich". As a means of defence and safeguard, the ostrich only has at its disposal the rapidity of its flight (*zadjadj*), always with its face to the wind, being able to equal the swiftness of a horse spurred into a triple gallop; this aptitude for running has caused many adjectives with the same meaning to be attributed to it, which today have fallen out of use, such as *djafl*, *idjfīl*, *mudjfil*, *arʿash*, *raʿshana*, *zafzaf*, *zafūf*, *hizaff*, *hāliʿ*, *hizrūḳ*, *hadadjdadj*, *ʿasannadj*, *dhiʿlib*, *khafaydad*, *niḳniḳ*, *ṭimm*, *wadjdj* and *safannadj*, most of them quadriliteral words and proper to each particular tribe. Many of them were also applied to the camelids, a fact establishing the constant relationship between ostrich and camel. Both have feet with a flat sole (*khuff*) and very hard horny nails (*mansim*). On their upper feet the young female camel and young

female ostrich have the attribute of *ḳalūṣ* in common. The young ostrich is not lacking in descriptive titles, the most current being *raʾl*, *ḥiḳl*, *d̲j̲aʿwal*, *ḥamak*; in common with the young camel he is described as *ḥaffān* up to one year, and his trembling walk (*hadad̲j̲ān*) is that of the old man. A whole group of young ostriches are defined as *ḥatak*, *ḥars̲h̲af* and *ḥiskil*, while a flock of adults is called *k̲h̲ayṭ*, *k̲h̲ayṭā*, *daysakā* and *rafaḍ*. The ostrich emits sounds, and the cry of the male (*ʿirār*) has a different tone from that (*zimār*) of the female; from the latter, al-Ḥarīrī [*q.v.*], speaking of the ostrich, derived the name *al-zammāra* "flautist" (32nd *maḳāma*, Cairo 1929, 345). In the mating season, the male ostrich, like the camel, has a high-pitched voice (*had̲j̲hād̲j̲*), making different raucous sounds with its complex shrill cry (*naḳʿ*), when it is frightened. Despite being oviparous (*ḍahūl*), the female ostrich does not make a nest; she is content to scratch and flatten in the sand a shallow hole (*udḥī*, *idḥī*, *udḥuwwa*, *udḥiyya*, *madḥā*, *balad*) which is sufficient to accommodate her clutch (*tūm*) of six to eight eggs in general. As several females of the same male pool their eggs in the same breeding place for security and to make it easier to sit on them, the Bedouins used to attribute this behaviour to the stupidity (*k̲h̲urḳ*) of this large bird, which seemed to desert its own eggs for those of others and which, in the hottest hours, going to forage, left it to the sun's heat to take care of the incubation, when "this simpleton" of a male did not take its turn; for them, one could not be *aḥmaḳ min naʿāma* "stupider than an ostrich" or *as̲h̲rad min naʿāma* "more cowardly than an ostrich" or *ad̲h̲all min bayḍat al-balad* "viler than the egg [of an ostrich abandoned] in the sand". Besides, to the credulous and superstitious spirit of the nomads, the ostrich was the mount of the demon ogre (*g̲h̲ūl* [*q.v.*]) of the desert, the terror of travellers. Further, the mania of the ostrich for swallowing indiscriminately all kinds of small objects made them believe that it digested without difficulty stones, metals and even the glowing cinders of a hearth, all being rejected (*ifd̲j̲ād̲j̲*) with its dung (*ṣawm*). Added to these beliefs is the tale according to which the hunted ostrich believes that it screens itself entirely from the view of its pursuer by hiding only its head behind some rugged ground.

At all times, the plumage of the ostrich was, for man, a coveted object; the most sought after was that of a large male (*hiḳab*, *hid̲j̲af*) with black and white contrasted (*ak̲h̲ṣaf*) plumage, which could be compared with a thick-pile carpet (*k̲h̲aml*, *k̲h̲amāla*, *k̲h̲amīla*) due to its fineness, brilliance and softness. Headdresses and princely ornaments, full-dress military uniforms, streamers and banners and, finally, fantasies of Western feminine fashion of "La Belle Époque", when the plumage industry flourished, all paid such tribute to the species of struthionids that it led almost to its disappearance; acclimatisation, domestication and organised breeding have saved it from extinction. Arab authors on hunting such as Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im [*q.v.*], al-Asadī and Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] mention, in their treatises, the different methods used in hunting the ostrich. Of these, the most widespread was by pursuit (*ṭarad*); it needed resourceful, swift mounts, specially trained for this race with the support of greyhounds (*salūḳiyya*). It was this kind of hunting that was practised in the Algerian Sahara, to the south of Laghouat, in the middle of the last century by General A. Margueritte; his detailed and spirited account is enough for us to imagine the atmosphere of the Arabs' cavalcades in pursuit of the ostrich, since the pre-Islamic period, of which there is an echo in some ancient poems. In the Middle Ages, the ostrich was also hunted with the coursing of the saker falcon; al-Asadī devotes a chapter to this flight which was practised in the middle of summer. It required five saker falcons got ready and trained upon an artificial ostrich made of gathered sticks baited in places for catching the birds; one of the falcons had to seize its head, two the neck and two the thighs. The assistance of one or two greyhounds was necessary in order to carry back the prey once it was bound. The secret of success was to force the ostrich, by a skilful manœuvre of the beaters, not to flee face to the wind, and the falcons had to be launched into flight as soon as the fleeing bird was in sight; at the same time, the supporting dogs set off on course as fast as their legs would carry them, closely followed by the falconers at full speed. A less supporting and less tiring method, that of the herdsmen without mounts, was to accustom a flock of ostriches to the sight of black rags hooked on sticks fixed in the sand and whose periphery was copiously sprinkled with something that ostriches like. Seeing them fond of the bait and familiarised with the black rags, the hunter himself dressed in black, would take up an immobile position in the midst of this set-up and, armed with a club, could easily knock out the imprudent birds who came within his reach. Another procedure for capturing them was to light, not far from a flock of ostriches, a large brazier; the sight of the flames stupefied the creatures and suppressed for a moment their instinct for flight, which allowed the hunter to approach them without trouble and seize them.

As game, the meat of the ostrich is recognised, in Islamic law, as being licit consumption, but it does not seem, according to the authors, that the Arabs appreciated it as much as that of the large, wild quadrupeds. As for the Mag̲h̲rib, al-ʿUmarī (8th/14th century) and then Leo Africanus (9th/15th century) report that the population of Constantine freely captured young ostriches in large numbers in order to fatten them and put them on the spit. Among the Touaregs, the nobles abstained from eating the meat of the ostrich, but the *img̲h̲ad* and slaves were fond of it, as were the sedentary people of the towns of the Sudan who bought it from the nomads. In the 10th/16th century, al-Maḥallī further mentions in his *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (*apud* E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 171) the abundance of ostriches and their eggs between Fās and Tlemcen. This remark confirms the interest shown, even from the prehistoric period, in ostrich eggs. The deposits in the sand of collective clutches, which could reach thirty eggs and more, were assiduously visited; a single egg constituted a substantial dish for several people, its weight equivalent to two dozen hens' eggs. To outwit the distrust of the sitting birds, the collector would content himself with lifting one or two eggs at a time, at the time when they were going to forage. The empty shells (*tarīka*, pl. *tarāʾik*) after the hatching of the chicks and those that were emptied (*ḳayḍ*) for the consumption of their contents, were carefully recovered and fashioned to serve many uses (receptacles, oil lamps, braising pans, etc.). Introduced in the mosques at first as a decorative element, these shells became the subject, in the late Middle Ages, of an export trade to the Christian countries. The early Church had made the egg a symbol of the Resurrection, and each religious building was set on possessing among its treasures one of these enormous and uncommon ostrich eggs, often mounted in an art object and set with precious metals; the first that arrived in Western Europe were taken, in the naive popular imagination, for those of the fabulous gryphon.

In the East, ancient therapeutic lore accorded specific properties to certain anatomical parts of the ostrich; al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī mention some of them to us. It is known that the gall, considered to be a violent poison, became an efficacious antidote for every other mortal poison, and, prepared as an eye lotion, constituted a beneficial remedy for blindness. On the other hand, the marrow of the long bones could, by absorption, cure consumption. The melted fat, used as an unguent, reabsorbed tumours, while the dung (*ṣawm*) burnt and ground into powder healed ulcers. The roasted meat facilitated the elimination of wind, bad mixtures of humours, warts and itching. Some fragments of ostrich egg shell thrown into the water of a cooking pot on a fire had, it seemed, the property of accelerating boiling considerably. Even more extraordinary, indeed magical, was the fact that the blade of a sword or dagger made of iron, having stayed in the ostrich's gizzard, was unalterable and unbreakable. Finally, a scrap of ostrich skin cut in the shape of a fish floated as soon as it was plunged into a bottle of vinegar. Until quite recent times, the people of the Sahara held in high esteem the marrow of the ostrich bone for, inserted into the ear afflicted with deafness, it woud restore hearing to it. Likewise, melted ostrich fat, a sovereign remedy against rheumatism, was also sold in Agadès by the litre in the last century; it was used, moreover, in the composition of cosmetics for women and served, in cooking, for frying. The extremely resistant tendons of the ostrich provided an excellent thread for shoemaking, for strong bow strings and for staunch binding cords. The ostrich skins plucked of their feathers were tanned to make saddlebags and ornaments of harnesses.

The Arab authors do not tell us explicitly if the ostrich was anywhere tamed and kept in captivity, without going as far as a reasoned and methodical programme of rearing, as it practised today in the South African countries. However, two short pieces of information seem to make allusion to it. The first is from al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 333), who writes: "People sometimes keep the ostrich in their homes and it is very harmful there, for, often, catching sight of the ears of the servant-girl or little girl wearing earrings with precious stones or pearl, it catches them in its beak in order to swallow them, and ears get torn! Often also it notices the jewel attached to the chest of a little boy or girl and strikes it with its beak, being able to cause serious injuries to the child." The second piece of information comes from the *Kitāb al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra* attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ (Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat in *Arabica*, i [1954], 159), according to which the ostrich figured among the imports from Arabia along with thoroughbred horses and camels. There is no way of knowing if the author means to speak of the import of feathers or young ostriches that would have been reared in captivity. It is certain that the ostrich was abundant in Arabia in Islamic times. Indeed, Ḳurʾānic legislation required of the pilgrim in a state of ritual taboo an expiatory fine if he killed an ostrich in the sacred territory or elsewhere; this fine was fixed at the sacrifice of a head of cattle (*badana*) or, in default of this, the distribution of alms in corn to the value of the sacrifice animal, a specified measure (*mudd*) for a poor man, or finally, at a fast of as many days as he would have had measures of corn. In the same conditions, the destruction of an ostrich egg entailed for the pilgrim responsible a reparation in kind according to the estimated value (*ḳīma*) of this egg at the time of the offence.

Such legislation has no longer in practice any justification, due to the fact of the total disappearance of the great running bird of the Near East, whom the poets voluntarily take as a model to boast of the speed and endurance of their mount. In current language, the ostrich has given rise to some metaphors applicable to certain human characters. Thus, of one who devotes himself whole-heartedly to an occupation, it was said *rakiba djanāḥ naʿāma* "he rode the wing of an ostrich", in allusion to the rapid but useless beating of its wings when it runs. The man who says one thing at one time and another thing at another time, did nothing but "join together the moufflon and the ostrich" (*djamaʿa 'l-urwī wa 'l-naʿāma*) because of the profound difference of their respective living areas, mountains and deserts. In the Tunisian South, among the Marāzig, the memory of the ostrich is preserved in this image: *ar-rabdā téled wu-ẓ-ẓelīm irabbī* "the female ostrich brings into the world and the male rears (the young ostrich)", when someone faces the consequences of the acts of others (G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marāzig*, Paris 1958, sub *ẓ-l-m*).

In botany, the name ostrich is given to three plants. The first, *al-naʿām*, a nettle, is the pellitory of Judaea (*Parietaria judaïca*). The second, called *kiththāʾ al-naʿām* "the ostrich's cucumber", its real name being *al-ḥanẓal*, is the colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*), of whose fruits the ostrich is particularly fond. Finally, *ḥabb al-naʿām* "ostrich berries" designates the red fruit of the sarsaparilla or thorny bindweed (*Smilax bona nox*) of the liliaceae family.

In astronomy, the twentieth lunar house, composed of eight stars of the zodiacal constellation of Sagittarius (*al-Ḳaws*) bears the name *al-Naʿāʾim* "the Ostriches". These eight stars are devided into two groups of four: (a) *al-Naʿāʾim al-wārida* "the incoming ostriches" (because they are situated in the Milky Way) with γ, δ, ε, η Sagittarii; and (b) *al-Naʿāʾim al-ṣādira* "the outgoing ostriches" with φ,σ, τ, ζ Sagittarii. Still in the Milky Way and in the same constellation are to be found *al-Ẓalīmān*ⁱ "the two male ostriches", *al-Ẓalīm al-shimālī* "the northern male" or μ Sagittarii, and *al-Ẓalīm al-djanūbī* "the southern male" or λ Sagittarii that is also called *Rāʿī al-Naʿāʾim* "the ostrich herder". The heliacal rising of the *Naʿāʾim* takes place in mid-December and corresponds to the period of extreme cold; several rhymed sayings note its rigorousness for the flocks and their shepherds (see Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés*). Finally, the twenty-first lunar house, *al-Balda* "the nesting place", is also called *al-Udḥī* "the nesting place of the ostrich eggs".

Below the zodiac, in the constellation of the Whale, the stars η, θ, ζ, τ, υ Ceti, situated in the middle of the body of the cetacean, are called *al-Naʿāmāt* "the Ostriches", while, in the constellation of Eridan, the star α Eridani bears the name *al-Ẓalīm* "the male ostrich" and the star group ζ, ρ, η, τ^1, τ^5 Eridani with ε Ceti and π Ceti form the *Udḥī al-Naʿām* "the nesting place of the ostriches"; the numerous small stars surrounding this group constitute *al-Ḳayḍ* "the clutch [of the ostriches]". Between α *Eridani* and α *Piscis australis*, the numerous small stars are called *al-Riʾāl* "the young ostriches".

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Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* (in the margins of Damīrī), ii, 292; al-Lūs (E. Allouse), *al-Ṭuyūr al-ʿIrāḳiyya*, Baghdād 1960, i, 86; Ṣaʿīdī, *al-Ifṣāḥ fī fiḳh al-lugha*, Cairo 1929, 401-3; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Paris 1927, 6, 104; Maḥallī, *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, see E. Fagnan, *Extraits...* 2. Studies and other sources: A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *Annales I.E.O.* (1951), 160; P. Bourgoin, *Animaux de chasse d'Afrique*, Paris 1955, 192; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafsides*, Paris 1947, ii, 227; F.O. Cave and J.D. Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955, 52; R.D. Echécopar and F. Hüe, *Les oiseaux du nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1964, 17-18; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, 18, 171; E.-F. Gautier, *Le Sahara peut-il être vaincu?*, ch. *L'autruche algérienne*, Acad. Sc. Coloniales, iv, Paris 1929; L. Joubin and A. Robin, *Les animaux*, ed. Larousse (Histoire naturelle illustrée), Paris 1923, 271-2; P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudâma*, Beirut 1950, 79; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 112-15; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896, i, 78; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touaregs*, Paris 1951, 141-58; A. Margueritte, *Chasses de l'Algérie*[3], Paris 1884, 51-107; R. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Arabia*, London 1954, 573-5; L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 59-64; Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés*, anwāʾ *et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 26-7; A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1973, 165-6; F. Viré, Ibn Manglī, *De la chasse*, tr. (*Uns al-malā bi-waḥsh al-falā*), Paris 1984, 175-7; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie. Das tierkundliche Wissen in der arabisch-islamischen Literatur*, Berlin 1990, s.n. *Strauß -naʿām(a)*. (F. Viré)

al-**NABARĀWĪ**, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī, Egyptian jurist and grammarian. He was born and lived most of his life in Banhā, and died in 1859 in Cairo, aged about seventy. He was the author of two treatises on *ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, and *bayān*, and a number of commentaries: (1) on Ibn Hishām's *Ḳaṭr al-nadā* on grammar; (2) on the *Sharḥ al-khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, al-Iḳnāʿ fī ḥall alfāẓ Abī Shudjāʿ* on *fiḳh*, Būlāḳ 1289/1872; (3) on al-Suyūṭī's *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, entitled *Ḳurrat al-ʿayn wa-nuzhat al-fuʾād*; (4) on the *Sharḥ al-Shabshīrī li 'l-arbaʿīn* of al-Nawawī, entitled *ʿArūs al-afrāḥ* on *ḥadīth*, Būlāḳ 1291/1874; (5) on the *Sharḥ al-Sibṭ ʿalā 'l-manẓūma al-raḥbiyya* entitled *Farāʾid al-farāʾid al-durriyya*, Cairo 1293/1876; and (6) on Ibn ʿAḳīl's *Sharḥ al-Alfiyya*.

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NABĀT (a.), plants. Mediaeval Islamic interest in plants may roughly be divided into four categories: (a) philological-literary; (b) practical; (c) theoretical-philosophical; and (d) general.

(a) Philological-literary. Bedouin knowledge of desert life included that of desert vegetation, and this found its way into Bedouin poetry. The *nasīb* and *raḥīl* parts of the *ḳaṣīda* contain numerous references to plants, shrubs and trees (e.g. the mention of *ayhuḳān* (wild rocket) and tamarisk in Labīd's *Muʿallaḳa*). A certain amount of botanical lore is also found in proverbs, such as "whiter than truffles"; "like the showering of rain on the *ʿarfadj*". Further, the Ḳurʾān mentions a number of plants, like the lotus (sūra LIII, 14); *yaqṭīn*, probably a kind of Cucurbitacea (XXXVII, 144-6); the olive tree (XXIV, 35); and the date-palm (XIX, 25).

This material found its way into the works of the early lexicographers, who often devoted complete monographs to plants such as the vine and the date palm. Many of those early philological works are lost, such as that of Abū ʿAmr Isḥāḳ b. Mirār al-Shaybānī (d. *ca.* 205/820); al-Kilābī (d. *ca.* 204/820); Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/844); al-Bāhilī (d. 231/845); and Ibn as-Sikkīt (d. 243/857). Their work, however, is extensively quoted in later works, among others by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī and Ibn Sīda. Well-known in this field is al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*], who wrote a—in its present version probably incomplete, cf. the quotations in Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī—*K. al-Nabāt wa 'l-shadjar*, ed. A. Haffner, Beirut 1899; also in Haffner and L. Cheikho, *Dix traités de philologie arabe, 2e ed. revue et corrigée*, Beirut 1914, 17-62. Two chapters on plants are found in the lexicological work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī, *K. al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*: ch. 12, on trees; ch. 14, on the date palm (ed. Ramadan Abd el-Tawab, diss. Munich 1962, unpubl.). Abū Ḥātim as-Sidjistānī (d. *ca.* 250/864 [*q.v.*]) wrote several monographs on different species, among them one on the date palm (ed. Bartolomeo Lagumina, *Il libro della Palma di 'Abu Hatim as-Sigistani*, in *Atti R. Acc. Lincei*, cclxxxvii [1890], Ser. IV Mem. Cl. di sc. mor., viii/1, Rome 1891, 5-41). Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī [*q.v.*] wrote a *Kitāb al-Nabāt* characterised as "the most comprehensive and methodically most superior work of this philologically-orientated botany" (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 66). His information is based on older written sources, on oral information from Bedouins, and, occasionally, on personal observation. The book consisted of two sections, one being an alphabetical inventory of plant names (and thus the first alphabetically-ordered specialised dictionary), the second one containing monographs on plants used for specific practical purposes (kindling; dyeing; bow-making); there also is a very interesting chapter on mushrooms "and similar plants" (to the latter belong the parasitic broomrapes (*Balanophoraceae*)). The chapter (included in Lewin's edition, see below) gives important information on the gathering, use, and growth of a number of mushrooms. Abū Ḥanīfa's work was long considered lost, but subsequently parts of it were discovered in different libraries. Together with the quotations extracted from later authors, they led to several partial editions: B. Lewin, *The Book of Plants of Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnāwarī, Part of the alphabetical section (alif-zāy). Edited from the unique MS. in the Library of the University of Istanbul, with an introduction, notes, indices, and a vocabulary of selected words*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953; idem, *The Book of Plants. Part of the monograph section*, Wiesbaden 1974; and Muhammad Hamidullah, *Le dictionnaire botanique d'Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī (Kitāb an-Nabāt, de sīn à yāʾ) reconstitué d'après les citations des ouvrages postérieurs*, Cairo 1973. The contents and sources of al-Dīnawarī's book are discussed in T. Bauer, *Das Pflanzenbuch des Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnāwarī*, Wiesbaden 1988. The author observes that Abū Ḥanīfa had in mind a scope far beyond a mere botanical dictionary: he intended to describe all the aspects of Bedouin life which had a botanical component. The book also includes a survey of the complicated textual history of the *K. al-Nabāt*. Ibn Sīdā (d. 458/1066) dealt with plants extensively in his *K. al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo 1316-21, 17 vols. The botanical section starts at the end of the 10th volume and goes on till the beginning of the 12th volume.

To eliminate doubt about the correct meaning of a botanical term, the philologists describe the plant, in-

cluding the names of its different parts as well as the synonyms which refer to it, among these the name which the plant carries during its different stages of growth. Literary sources, especially Bedouin poets, are quoted extensively.

As for systematics, there is no attempt in our modern sense; such classifications as are made serve to arrange the material in a more or less accessible way. Here, all kinds of different systems may be encountered, ranging from the simple alphabetical order to divisions according to practical use; divisions in trees, flowers, and garden vegetables; in trees (*s͟had͟jar*, including shrubs) and plants, with a further subdivision of the latter group; trees may also be subdivided according to the edible qualities of the skins and kernels of their fruit, as by al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, Cairo ed., ii, Contents). Given this approach, no systematic description which took into account a set number of unambiguous characteristics was developed. Greek influence can be discerned in occasional attempts at binary nomenclature, such as for instance the adding of *barrī* to wild varieties.

Extensive references to plants and flowers are not only found in the Bedouin poetry, as earlier mentioned, but also in later poetry, especially in the genres called *rawḍiyyāt, rabīʿiyyāt* and *zahriyyāt*, i.e. garden, spring and flower poems. See H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique, au XI^e siècle*, Paris 1953, 161-201; G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die zahrīyāt, rabīʿīyāt und rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanawbarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv-, und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut 1974.

(b) Practical. This category includes:

1. Agriculture (*filāḥa* [*q.v.*]). There are a number of works on this subject in Arabic (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 427-51, Sezgin, *GAS*, iv, 303-46), one of them being the much-discussed, so-called *Nabataean agriculture* of Ibn Waḥs͟hiyya [*q.v.*]. The discussion, which has gone on for more than a century, is summarised in Sezgin, *op. cit.*, 318-29. Muslim Spain was especially proficient in this field. Latin sources in some form may have been accessible in this region (Sezgin, *op. cit.*, 108-9). A description of the agricultural situation in Islamic Spain is given by Th. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the early Middle Ages, comparative perspectives on social and cultural formation*, Princeton 1979, 51-109. The material provided by the authors in this field is to a large extent included in later compilations such as Ibn al-ʿAwwām's [see FILĀḤĀ. II] *K. al-filāḥā*, which offers descriptions of all the economically-exploited plants (including roses and other garden plants), as well as instructions about their culture, such as preparing the soil, planting, watering; different techniques of grafting, including a method of cutting a plant off at the root, leaving intact the root system, and then embedding the seed of a plant of a different species in the remaining stump; avoiding certain combinations of plants which tended to have a damaging effect on each other, such as palms and junipers, and combining others that furthered each other's growth.

A certain overlap between the literary and the practical genres is found in texts such as a *maḳāma* on palm-protection (*s͟hirāḥa*), written *ca.* 1800 in Ḥaḍramawt, edited by R.B. Serjeant, in *JNES*, xl (1981), 307-22, and Ibn Luyūn's (d. 750/1349) *urd͟jūza* on agriculture, *K. Ibdāʾ al-malāḥa wa-inhāʾ al-rad͟jāḥa fī uṣūl ṣināʿat al-filāḥa*, ed. and tr. J. Eguaras, Granada 1975.

2. Pharmacology. Islamic pharmacology [see ADWIYA], of which knowledge of plants was an important part, largely worked along the lines set out by Dioscorides (1st century B.C. [see DIYŪSKŪRĪDĪS]), whose *Materia medica* was translated into Arabic (via Syriac) in the 3rd/9th century. Several illustrated copies of this translation are known to have existed; on the (mainly botanical) illustrations of the copy in the Leiden University Library see M.M. Sadek, *The Leiden Dioscorides. A study of an Arabic illuminated manuscript of Dioscorides'* De Materia Medica *with special reference to the Vienna and Pierpont Morgan Codices*, diss. New York 1969, unpubl.; idem, *The Arabic* Materia Medica *of Dioscorides*, Quebec City 1983. See also A. Dietrich (ed.), *Dioscurides triumphans: ein anonymer arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. n. Chr.) zur Materia medica: arabischer Text nebst kommentierter deutscher Übersetzung*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1988. The Persian tradition was also of some importance in pharmacology, as can be inferred from the Persian names of a number of plants and drugs (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 88-9).

For a survey of the field, see Ullmann, *Med.*, 257-320, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iv; also M. Levey, *Early Arabic pharmacology, an introduction based on ancient and medieval sources*, Leiden 1973 (the subject is treated rather superficially, but the work contains illustrative translations from source material). A recent study of a pharmacological text, the *Aḳrābād͟hīn* of al-Ḳalānisī (*ca.* 1200), was made by J. Feldmann (1986, Beiruter Texte und Studien 35). Among the mediaeval authors, special mention should be made of al-G͟hāfiḳī [*q.v.* in Supplement] (*flor.* probably in the first half of the 6th/12th century), *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, and of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]), *al-D͟jāmiʿ al-kabīr li-ḳuwā al-adwiya wa 'l-ag͟hd͟hiya*, who are considered as the great authorities in this field; their plant descriptions quote intensively from older sources. For botanical descriptions, al-Bīrūnī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Ṣaydana* deserves attention. It contains elaborate plant descriptions in which the author often refers to Dioscorides, but also gives many details of his own. The latter include, for instance, botanical details such as the question whether flowering is axillary or otherwise; shape, colour and structure of flowers, leaves, tubers and roots; smell and taste; manner of growing; habitat; comparison with other plants which may easily be confused with them; etc.

Modern pharmacological tradition still remains to a large extent continuous with the past. Modern herbalists consult the handbooks of the mediaeval authorities, even though using the results of modern chemistry to give a scientific basis to the traditional practices. A number of studies on herbalists' practices in modern Middle Eastern and North African countries have recently appeared, which include inventories of plants used by these herbalists. These studies have appeared in *Studia Islamica* (Tokyo University), no. 2 (1976), Miki, *Index of the Arab herbalists' materials*; no. 8 (1979), Miki, Honda, Ahmed, *Herb drugs and herbalists in the Arab Middle East*; no. 19 (1982), Miki, Honda, Bellakhdar, *Herb drugs and herbalists in the Maghreb*; no. 27 (1986), Baser, Honda, Miki, *Herb drugs and herbalists in Turkey*, and no. 28 (1986) Ushmanghani, Honda, Miki, *Herb drugs and herbalists in Pakistan*. See further H. Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhandler und seine Ware. Beitrag zur Terminologie und volkstümlichern Gebrauch traditioneller arabischer Materia medica*, Wiesbaden 1977 (31-145 about plants). Pharmacological literature, too, gives many interesting details about plants, but no fixed set of characteristics is described. The authors generally add the quality of the plant according to humoral principles (dry, cold) and mention its medical use. In this genre of works illuminated mss. such as the above-mentioned

Dioscorides mss. are found. Some information about the actual practice of botanical illustration is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 219, who reports the botanical observations of al-Ṣūrī (7th/13th century, a pupil of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī). When going out botanising, al-Ṣūrī took along a painter, whom he made draw the plants in their different stages of development; he also registered such details as colour and size of leaves, branches and roots. The attitude which some Islamic scholars took towards botanical illustrations (lawful) as opposed to zoological ones (unlawful) is noteworthy; about a remark of this kind in al-ʿUmarī's (d. 749/1349) *Mamālik al-abṣār*, which has only botanical, not zoological, illustrations, see B. Farès, *Un herbier arabe illustré du XIV^e siècle*, in *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam E. Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 86.

(c) Philosophical-theoretical. A very interesting part of mediaeval Islamic botany is found in the work of scholars who discuss botanical problems of a more general nature. Such discussions may also be found in a theological context, where they serve as proof of God's wisdom, for instance in al-G͟hazālī's (d. 505/1111) *al-Ḥikma fī 'l-mak͟hlūḳāt* (ed. Cairo 1934), in which he describes creation, from the heavens down to the plants (not the minerals, as one might expect). Another example is Ibn al-Nafīs's minute description of how the different parts of plants develop from the seed (*al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya/Theologus Autodidacticus*, ed. and tr. M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, Oxford 1968, 42). Most important, however, in this respect are the natural philosophers, who discuss subjects such as the place of plants on the scale of living beings (transitional forms between the animal and the vegetable worlds, between the vegetable and mineral world, are discussed); the concept of species, and the measure in which species were fixed or variable; reproduction, including spontaneous and artificial generation, the latter belonging to the field of magic and alchemy; the measure of sensibility of plants; and the function of their different parts.

These topics were already discussed by the Greek philosophers. Theophrastus's *De causis plantarum* was reportedly translated by Ibn Bakkūs͟h in the 4th/10th century, but the translation—if it was ever completed—seems to have disappeared at an early date; no quotations from it are known. Of Aristotle's lost book on plants, the Arabic tradition, just as the older Middle Eastern one, only possessed Nicolaus Damascenus's (b. 40 B.C.) commentary (also lost in the original, but preserved in Syriac and in subsequent Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and even Byzantine Greek (made from the Latin) versions). The Semitico-Latin translations of Nicolaus were published by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs and E.L.J. Poortman, *Nicolaus Damascenus* De Plantis. *Five translations* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks deel 139, Amsterdam etc. 1989). In this commentary parts of Theophrastus have been incorporated. It is noteworthy that the mediaeval Arabic version contains elements which are alien to Aristotle's thought, such as a reference to astrological influence on the growth of plants (ed. Drossaart Lulofs, 184). It had considerable influence on Arabic philosophers such as the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja and Ibn al-Ṭayyib [*q.vv.*]; the latter wrote a compendium which closely follows the text (included in Drossaart Lulofs' ed.). The work is also quoted in the botanical section of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī's *K. al-Ifāda*, which contains an interesting description of the banana tree.

Special attention should be paid to the concepts of natural philosophy found in the work of Balīnūs (Pseudo-Apollonios of Tyana; 1st century A.D.; see BALĪNŪS). Book IV of his *K. Sirr al-k͟haliḳa* or *K. al-ʿIlal* (ed. Weisser, Aleppo 1979; tr. idem, *Das* Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung *von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*, Berlin-New York 1980) deals with plants. It gives a theory for the development of the vegetable kingdom, based on the author's theory of the four elements. Noteworthy is his insistence on the importance of the airy element in the generation of plants, whereas Aristotle, according to Nicolaus (ed. Drossaart Lulofs, 172) admits here only earthy, watery and fiery powers. Balīnūs also discusses the intermediate forms: corals are of mineral substance, but have a vegetable spirit. A parallel is drawn between the five main divisions of the vegetable kingdom (grasses; aromatic plants; corn; large, non-fruiting trees; fruiting trees) and a similar division in the animal kingdom. The dependence of D͟jābir b. Ḥayyān's [*q.v.*] natural philosophy on Balīnūs has been analysed by Paul Kraus (*Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1943, 270-303).

The theory of these philosophers concerning the generation and the diversity of plants is largely based on some form of elemental theory, sometimes mixed with astrological influences; from here to the artificial production of plants (not to be confused with artificial pollination, as was practised in date-palm culture), as described in the D͟jābir b. Ḥayyān corpus (in the *K. al-Tad͟jmīʿ*, see Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, i, *Textes choisis*, Paris-Cairo 1935, 380 ff.) is but a step. In this context, Ibn Waḥshiyya's strange recipes (see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 76) are not as outlandish as they may seem at first sight, and do in fact fit in with generally accepted ideas about the possible artificial generation of, for instance, banana trees (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag͟hdādī, *Ifāda*, Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *Filāḥa*). Related to this is the question of the variability of species (denied by the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 77) but considered possible by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja (Ullmann, *Nat.*, 80 n. 5); Ibn Sīnā points out that the variation of species depends partly on geographical location: cabbages, transported into different regions, change their appearance (*Ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo 1970, 404); it also depends on geographical location whether a palm shoot develops into a date- or a coconut-palm.

(d) General. This category includes the botanical information offered by geographers, who describe the flora, especially the commercially relevant plants, of the countries they are dealing with (material exhaustively collected by A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle. III. Le milieu naturel*, Paris 1980, 391-483). Their information has occasionally found its way even into fictional travel literature: the fifth voyage of Sindbad the Sailor contains a description of the pepper plant, which has a large leaf protecting the flower against sunshine and rain, and bends aside when protection is no longer needed. The information found in the botanical sections of the encyclopaedic works, abundant in the period after 1200, is also of a general nature. These sections compile literary-philological as well as practical information from older sources and thus sometimes preserve material that is otherwise lost. An interesting botanical section is found, for instance, in Ibn al-At͟hīr's (7th/13th century; this is an otherwise unknown Ibn al-At͟hīr) *Tuḥfat al-ʿad͟jāʾib* (for mss., see Ullmann, *Nat.*, 37; two more mss. in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub).

Identification. It is often extremely difficult to discover the botanical identity of plants mentioned in

mediaeval sources. Of invaluable help in this respect is I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i-iv, Vienna-Leipzig 1924-34, repr. Hildesheim 1967; idem, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig 1881, repr. Hildesheim 1971. Both works take into account Arabic source material. The modern dictionary of E. Ghaleb, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, 3 vols., Beirut 1965-6, is useful but should be used with caution in respect to mediaeval sources. M.M. al-Dumyāṭī has gathered the plant names from the *Tādj al-ʿarūs* into a small dictionary which also provides English and scientific names (*Muʿdjam asmāʾ al-nabāt al-wārida fī Tādj al-ʿarūs li 'l-Zabīdī*, Cairo 1965). Muḥ. Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn's *Muʿdjam al-nabāt wa 'l-zirāʿa*, Baghdād 1986, collects the botanical material from 58 classical sources, but without giving modern equivalents of plant names. There is also Ismāʿīl Zāhidī, *Wāzha-nāma-yi giyāhī. Nām-i ʿilmī-yi giyāhān*, Tehran 1337/1958, giving English, French, German, Arabic and Persian equivalents.

Bibliography: Given in the article. An exhaustive bibliography of literature before 1970 is found in the surveys of M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970 (257-321 on pharmacology); idem, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972 (62-95, 427-51). For the period of the first four centuries of Islam, see the relevant volumes of F. Sezgin's *GAS*, esp. iii, *Medizin, Pharmazie*, and iv, *Botanik, Agrikultur*. In the field of modern botany, a large number of studies on North Africa and the Middle East have appeared. Floras of the different regions are published both by Western and local botanical institutions, e.g. V. and G. Tackholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, Cairo 1941-69; V. Tackholm, *Students' flora of Egypt*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1974; A. Parsa, *Flore de l'Iran*, Tehran 1951-60 (includes an index of local names); R. Maire, *Flore de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952-67; K.-H. Rechinger, *Flora Iranica*, Graz 1963- [in Latin]; P. Davis *et alii*, *Flora of Turkey and the East Aegean Islands*, Edinburgh 1965-88, 10 vols.; E. Nasir and S.I. Ali, *Flora of West Pakistan*, Rawalpindi 1970- ; D. Heller and C. C. Heyn, *Conspectus florae orientalis*, Leiden 1980- ; S.I. Ali and S.M.H. Jafri, *Flora of Libya*, Tripoli 1975- (145 families published so far); M. Zohary, *Flora Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1966-86 (very good illustrations); J. Léonard, *Contribution à l'étude de la flore et de la végétation des déserts d'Iran*, Jardin Botanique National de Belgique, 1981- . For lexicological aspects, see I. Hauenschild, *Türksprachige Volksnamen für Kräuter und Stauden mit den deutschen, englischen und russischen Bezeichnungen*, Wiesbaden 1989. Valuable information on the vegetation of Middle Eastern countries can also be found in the *Beihefte* of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Of Reihe A (*Naturwissenschaften*), Wiesbaden 1977- , vols. i-iii, v-viii, x-xi, xv, xx, xxii, xxiv-xxv, xxx deal with vegetation aspects. (Remke Kruk)

NABATAEANS [see nabaṭ]

NABAṬ or Nabīṭ (coll.), Nabaṭī (sing.), Anbāṭ (pl.), the name given by the Arabs to the Nabataeans, amongst whom they distinguished the Nabaṭ al-Sham (i.e. of Syria), installed at Petra towards the end of the Hellenistic imperial era and at the beginning of the Roman one, and the Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ (i.e. of ʿIrāḳ).

[The Editors of the *EI* have decided to retain unchanged the following two articles, despite the inevitable overlappings in their present forms.]

1. The Nabaṭ al-Shām. The Arabic term, occurring in Aramaic inscriptions, *nbṭ/nbṭw*, appears very often in the royal titulature of the Nabataeans of Petra in the expression "king of Nabataea" (*mlk nbṭw*). In other contexts, it is clear that *nbṭ* represents an ethnic designation, rather than a geographical region. At Petra, it appears also as a anthroponym, indicating that it probably represents an eponym, which Greek transcriptions suggest was vocalised as *Nabaṭu*. The root **nbṭ* is well known from ancient Semitic languages, attested in both Akkadian *nabāṭu* ("light up, shine, radiate") and in Amorite ("to shine, appear, look") for the illumination of planetary bodies, metallic objects or the human face. In Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew, *nbṭ* appears almost entirely in *Hiphʿil* with the meaning "to look at, gaze". Nebaṭ is also the name of the father of Jeroboam I, the first king of Israel (I Kings xi, 26). In pre-Islamic Arabic, *nbṭ* is attested as a personal name in Safaitic, Minaic and Sabaic. In the South Arabian onomasticon, it appears also with theophoric elements and in other associations: *nbṭʾl*, *nbṭʿly*, *nbṭkrb*, *nbṭm* and *nbṭyfʿ* are attested in Minaic, Qatabanian or Sabaic. The verb *nbṭ* also occurs in Sabaic texts with the meaning "to dig [a well] down to water"; cf. Arabic *nabaṭa* "to gush out".

The relation of nbṭ *to* nbyt. It remains disputed whether the "Nabataeans" (*nbṭw*) are to be equated with the Aramaean tribe of *Nabayat/Nabaiati* known from Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts from the reign of Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) amd the *Nᵉbāyôt* of the Hebrew Bible, who appear in the biblical geneaologies as the eldest son of Ishmael and brother of Qedar (Gen. xxv, 13). The correspondence of the terms is indicated by the Jewish Targums (for Gen. xxv, 13; I Chron. i, 29; Isa. lx, 7; Ezek. xxvii, 21), and was widely accepted among scholars until J. Starcky argued that the transformation of a *taw* to a *ṭeth* and the loss of the *yodh* made any relationship of the terms highly unlikely. Discovery of several pre-Islamic Thamudic texts on Djabal Ghunaym near Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] that mention a "war against Nabayāt (*ḍr nbyt*)" was considered the *coup-de-grâce* to the theory that the same people were involved, since the Arabic spelling contained neither a *yodh* nor a *ṭeth*. As a result, it was assumed that the *-ati/-ôt/-at* ending of NBYT represented an inflectional suffix. This linguistic argument is not as convincing as it may appear, since the Semitic root *NBY is poorly attested in pre-Islamic Arabic, whereas *NBT is fairly common. It then remains possible that the *y* is not part of the root and has another linguistic explanation. As for the transformation of a final *t* to a *ṭ*, this shift is attested elsewhere in Semitic languages and provides no real obstacle in equating the terms. Nor is Starcky's argument persuasive that the Nabayat/Nᵉbayot were Aramaeans, not Arabs. The names of Natnu and his son Nuḫuru, the kings of the Nebayat in the Assyrian chronicles, are both well represented in the Pre-Islamic Arabic onomasticon.

Of some importance for deciding this issue is the vexed question of the homeland of the Nabataeans. Starcky assumed an origin in South Arabia, but neither the Nabataean pantheon nor their material culture contains any vestiges of South Arabia as their native land. In contrast, Knauf argues the Nabaṭu originally constituted one of the Arab clans of the Qedarite tribal confederation that dominated North Arabia in the 8th-5th centuries B.C. During this time, it is argued, they formed part of the indigenous population of Edom, whereas the Nabayat or Nebayot are placed in the region of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. But other possibilities seem more likely. Of importance in this regard is Diem's observation that the Arabic orthography contained in the Nabataean onomasticon

employs that used in Aramaic of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian period, such as the *-w* suffix in *nbṭw*, which represents the *-u* of the nominative case. These elements embedded in the Arabic dialect of the Nabataeans suggest they arose in the Syrian-Mesopotamian sphere, providing credence for Milik's view that the Nabataeans migrated from the area of the al-Hufūf [*q.v.*] district of north-east Arabia. If this is the case, the equation of the Nabayat with the Nabaṭ or Nabataeans remains feasible, in spite of the linguistic difficulties.

Although no author of a Nabataean Aramaic inscription uses the political or ethnic term *nbṭ* as a self-designation, such references are contained in other Aramaic and Arabic dialects, as well as in Greek. At Palmyra in A.D. 132, a cavalryman probably serving in the Palmyrene cavalry stationed at Ana on the Euphrates, designates himself as "the Nabataean, the Rawāḥaean" (*nbṭyʾ rwḥy*[ʾ], *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, ii, 3973 = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, no. 285). The tribe of Rawāḥ is known from Safaitic (*CIS*, v, 5162) and Nabataean (*RES*, no. 2065) texts from the vicinity of Umm al-Djimāl in the southern Ḥawrān. At Nemāra, a cavalryman named Mushammar from the III Cyrenaica legion identifies himself as a descendant from the *geno(s) Nabas*, *i.e.* a Nabataean (*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, iii, 1257). Finally, a Safaitic text from the *ḥarra* in Jordan indicates he is "Dārib b. Ḳayn the Nabataean" (V. Clark, *A study of new Safaitic inscriptions from Jordan*, Ph.D. diss., Melbourne, unpubl., no.661, *hnbṭy*). All of these texts are from the northern frontier of the Nabataean realm and date to the period after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom by Rome in A.D. 106. Other references to the NBṬ are from South Arabia and more difficult to interpret. A Sabaean text from Nadjrān [*q.v.*] records a confrontation at a place named NBṬ (Philby-Tritton) or with the people called NBṬ (Beeston, Jamme). Another Sabaean text is dated to the "year 316 (of the era) of NBṬ" (*RES* 4196), one of several co-existing chronological computations used in the region. If the beginning of this era is set in the 1st century A.D., approximately in A.D. 62 (± 15 years) according to J. Pirenne, this text is to be dated to the late 4th century A.D. Just before the dawn of Islam, "Nabataean" merchants (the *nabīṭ* or *anbāṭ*) from Syria were active in Medina (al-Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, iii, 989, 1,051; Ibn Hishām, 911) where there was a *sūḳ al-nabaṭ* (al-Waḳidī, *Maghāzī*, i, 395). But the *al-anbāṭ* or *an-nabaṭ* of Syria and ʿIrāḳ of the same period appear to be Aramaic-speaking "soil-tillers" and "hired workers", not the descendants of the Nabataeans (as Nöldeke realised) (see 2. below).

Bibliography: For the references to *nbṭ* in Semitic texts, see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1972, 697; I. Gelb, *Computer-aided analysis of Amorite*, Assyriological Studies 21, Chicago 1979, 332; J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean dialect*, Harvard Semitic Studies 25, Chico. Calif., 1982, 290; G.L. Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971. For analysis of the onomasticon, see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods: an onomastic study*, Jerusalem 1977, and in *ZDMG*, cxxxi (1981), 42-84. On the *nbyt/nbṭ* problem, see J. Starcky, *Pétra et la Nabatène*, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vii (1966), 900-3 (fundamental). For the Djabal Ghunaym texts [Tay 11, 13, 15], see F.V. Winnett and W.L. Reed, *Ancient records from North Arabia*, Toronto 1970, 99-101; E.C. Broome, *Nabaiati, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: the linguistic problem*, in *JSS* xviii (1973) 1-16 (unconvincing). Most important is the orthographical analysis of W. Diem, *Die nabatäischen Inschriften und die Frage der Kasusflexion im Altarabischen*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiii (1973) 227-37; I. Ephʿal, *The ancient Arabs: nomads on the borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th centuries B.C.*, Jerusalem-Leiden 1982, 221-3; M: Abu Taleb, *Nabayati, Nebayot, Nabayat, and Nabaṭu: the linguistic problem revisited*, in *Dirasat*, xi/4 (Amman 1984) 3-11; E.A. Knauf, *Ismael: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1985; idem, *Nabataean origins*, in *Arabian studies in honor of Mahmoud Ghul*, Wiesbaden 1989, 56-61 (arguing against any association of the terms). In contrast, J.T. Milik, *Origines des Nabatéens*, in *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan*, i, Amman 1982, 261-5, and D.F. Graf, *The origin of the Nabataeans*, in *Aram*, ii (1990), support the equation of NBYT/NBṬ. Sabaean references: A. Jamme, *Un déserte nabatéen devant Naǧrān*, in *Cahiers de Byrsa*, vi (1956), 165-71 [with earlier bibliography]; J. Pirenne, *A palaeographical chronology of the Sabaean-dated inscriptions with reference to several eras*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vii (1973), 118-30. See also S.K. Hamarneh, *The role of the Nabateans in the Islamic conquests*, in *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan*, i, Amman 1982, 347-9; K. Schmitt-Korte, *An early Christian record of the Nabataeans: the Maslum inscription (ca. 350 AD)*, in *Aram*, ii/1-2 (1990), 123-42; A. Negev, *Personal names in the Nabatean realm* (= *Qedem*, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, 32), Jerusalem 1991.

(D.F. Graf)

2. The Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ.

In Arabic, the root *n-b-ṭ* supplies various meanings, including the following: to gush forth (in reference to water), to dig to obtain water (form IV), to extract (products from the land); to explain, draw a conclusion from a text, from a law, etc. (form X), while in Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian), it signifies "to shine" (moon, stars), "to make resplendent" (in connection with the god Nabū). Cf. *LA*, ed. Dār Bayrut, iii, 568; W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ii, 697; *The Assyrian dictionary*, Chicago 1980, ii/1, 22-4.

As an ethnic term, Nabaṭū denotes two groups of different origin: in an Aramaic text of Ḥegrā (*CIS*, ii, 199; other references, see G. Cantineau, *Le nabaṭéen*, ii, 123), Nabaṭu is named alongside Shalamu, the Salamians, whom Stephen of Byzantium associates with the Nabataeans (cf. J. Starcky, *Pétra et les Nabaṭéens*, in Pirot, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, suppl. vii, Paris 1966, cols. 886-1018, where an excellent study of the question is to be found). For relations between the Nabaṭaeans and the Arab tribes of the North, cf. D.F. Graf, *Rome and the Saracens: reassessing the nomadic menace*, in T. Fahd *et alii*, *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, 241-400.

In an Akkadian text, cited in Luckenbill, *Ancient records*, ii, no. 274, Nabaṭu denotes an "Aramaean" tribe living in Mesopotamia (cf. J. Starcky, *loc. cit.*, col. 903).

Numerous explanations have been suggested for this name (cf. E.C. Broome, *Nabiati, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: the linguistic problem*, in *JSS*, xviii [1973], 1-16), but none of them covers both the areas involved. In fact, what we have here are homonyms referring to two groups, one of them inhabiting northern Arabia and the other Mesopotamia. The former group is of Arab origin, as is attested by the personal names of its kings (cd. Th. Nöldeke, *Die Namen der arabischen Nation*

und Sprache, in *ZDMG*, xxv [1871], 122-3; an interpretation shared by J. Starcky, *loc. cit.*, but *contra* E.M. Quatremère, *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, in *JA*, xv (1835), 5-55, 97-137, 209-271, who claimed that these people were Aramaeans; this view was repeated by Glaser, *Skizze*, ii; Hommel, *Die altismaelitische Überlieferung*, 202). These Arabs spoke a western Aramaic dialect very close to what was to become the Arabic of the earliest inscriptions. Imperial Aramaic, which had become the language of Persia, was still, at the end of the Greco-Roman period, the official language of the Near and Middle East.

The second group is of Aramaean origin, and spoke an eastern Aramaic dialect, close to Mandaean, from which Syriac was derived, the language in which the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* was composed, i.e., *al-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*, as is stated by the translator Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*].

The Arabs distinguish between these two groups: they called the first Nabaṭ al-Shām and the second Nabaṭ al-ʿIrāḳ. On the first, we find in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.vv. Salʿ and Wādī Mūsā, the two names designating Petra and its valley (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 218, n. 5), without any reference to the Nabaṭaeans. Dusares (Dhu 'l-Sharā), a god venerated by the Nabataeans and the Dawsites, was part of the Meccan pantheon (on this divinity, see Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 71-5); Yāḳūt mentions him (s.v. Sharā) without any reference to the Nabataeans. The only information which seems to refer to Nabataea, then under Byzantine domination, is the assertion that the descendants of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], the reformer of the cult at Mecca and the rallier of the Ḳurayshites, were Nabataeans (*kawm mutanabbiṭūn*; cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 121 ff.). In the long article which the author of the *LA* devotes to the root *n-b-ṭ*, there is a single reference to the Nabaṭ al-Shām, of whom Ibn Abī Awfā says: "We used to pay the Nabataeans (*nabīṭ*) of Shām in advance for their merchandise".

On the second, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ii, 93 = § 520), speaking of the Assyrian kings (*aththūriyyūn*) says that "the inhabitants of Nineveh (were) of those whom we have called Nabataeans (*Nabīṭ*) and Syriac-speaking people (*Suryāniyyūn*); they are", he emphasises, "of the same race and they speak the same language". Speaking of the kings of Babylon (ii, 95 ff. = §§ 522 ff.), he says: "These are the Nabataeans (*Nabaṭ*) and others, known by the name of Chaldaeans (*Kaldāniyyun*)... It is they," he adds, "who erected the buildings, founded the cities, established the administrative divisions, dug the canals, planted the trees, sank the wells, worked the land" (ii, 100 = § 527). Further on, speaking of the Seleucids (*Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif*), he informs us that "the Ardawān (the Artabanids, last kings of the Parthian dynasty) were kings of the Nabataeans (*mulūk al-Nabaṭ*); they reigned in ʿIrāḳ, from the vicinity of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, Saḳī 'l-Furāt, al-Djāmiʿayn, Sūrā, Aḥmad Ābād and Nars, as far as Ḥinnabā and Tall Fakhār and the whole of this region" (ii, 134 = § 558). It was Ardashīr I (226-41) who killed the last Parthian, Artaban IV (in 224), in a duel on the bank of the Tigris and seized his crown (ii, 135, 161 = §§ 539, 585). Al-Ṭabarī (i, 737-8), speaking of the Ardawāniyyūn, Seleucid kings, says that "they reigned between Niffar [*q.v.*] (the ancient Nippur), in the Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, and al-Ubulla and the fringes of the desert. They were at war with the Aramaeans who reigned in Babylonia and as far as the region of Mawṣil. These Aramaeans," he says, "are the Nabataeans of Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ".

For Ibn Khaldūn, in his *Muḳaddima*, the Nabataeans were the native inhabitants of Mesopotamia before the Islamic conquest of ʿIrāḳ (i, 7). Assyrians, Babylonians and Chaldaeans are called Nabataeans (iii, 128); they were renowned for their magical practices (iii, 125) and for their expertise in agricultural matters, an expertise recorded in the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (iii, 120). Speaking of their language, he says that it is the writing system of the Nabataeans and the Chaldaeans (iii, 244 and 283).

This, then, is a summary of what was known by Arab historians concerning the Nabataeans. Besides the confusion between Nabataeans of ʿIrāḳ and Nabataeans of Shām, there was the confusion between Assyrians, Aramaeans, Ardawānites, Djarāmiḳa and Ninevites (Aththūrians), who are, according to al-Masʿūdī (*K. al-Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897, 131 ff.) Chaldaean tribes. He speaks of Nabataean Chaldaeans (127), of Aramaean Nabataeans (114) and of Nabataeans or Syrians (265), while acknowledging the antiquity of the Nabataeans who dominated Babylonia following the period of the legendary Nimrūd or Namrūd [*q.v.*] (59). He associates them with the Persians in the divisions of inhabited land (49) and makes them their neighbours, as were the Greeks and the Romans (247). It was, in short, a powerful nation which ruled ʿIrāḳ in the distant past and whose period of domination was brought to an end by the Sāsānids (152).

Of this nation, certain reminiscences survive in folkloristic Arabic accounts. The author of the *LA*, mentioned above, collected several of them. For the Arabs, the Nabīṭ, Nabaṭ or Anbāṭ constitute a nation (*djīl*) inhabiting the Sawād, the Sawād al-ʿIrāḳ, i.e., the cultivated plains of Lower Mesopotamia, and the marshes between the two ʿIrāḳs, i.e., the two cities of Baṣra and Kufā. The denomination of Nabaṭ does not necessarily indicate an ethnic origin; this may be deduced from the following saying of Ayyūb b. al-Ḳirriyya, "The inhabitants of ʿUmān are "Nabaṭised" (*istanbaṭū*) Arabs and those of al-Baḥrayn are "Arabised" (*istaʿrabū*) Nabataeans (*Nabīṭ*). To become "Nabataean" was to practise agriculture and everything associated with it, in particular the quest for subterranean water, as opposed to the pastoral or military life. The caliph ʿUmar b, al-Khaṭṭāb is alleged to have said, "Become "Maʿaddites" (*tamaʿdadū*) and not "Nabataeans" (*lā tastanbiṭū*), in other words, "Imitate Maʿadd [*q.v.*] and not the Nabataeans", the meaning of this being "become nomads Bedouins, and not farmers". He is furthermore supposed to have said "Do not become city-dwellers (*lā tanabbaṭū fī 'l-madāʾin*)", in other words, "Imitate the Nabataeans neither in abode, nor in sedentary living, nor in possession [of land]". Caravan trading also seems to have been one of the occupations of the Nabataeans; in fact, the remark is attributed to ʿAlī: "Whosoever enquires into our genealogy [will find that] we are Nabataeans, originally from Kūthā (Yāḳūt, iv, 488; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 215; on Kūthā (the homeland of Abraham), see *ibid.* and art. s.v.). The same origin is asserted by Ibn ʿAbbās, who says: "We, the Ḳurayshites, we are Nabataeans originally from Kūthā-Rabbā", the town where Abraham was born and where the Nabataeans lived (*LA. loc. cit.*).

Regarding the expertise of the Nabataeans in matters of commerce and the exploitation of the earth, an assessment made by ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib, concerning Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, in reply to a question posed by the caliph ʿUmar, gives an impression of this: "Arab in his talents (*hibwatihi*), Nabataean in the levying of taxes (*djibwatihi*)"; meaning that he was as

skilful and as ingenious as the Nabataeans in such matters as the levying of taxes and exploitation of the land. They were, adds the author of the *LA*, "the inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ and its masters (*arbābuhā*)".

A forgotten nation, the Nabataeans of ʿIrāḳ have returned to the attention of scholarship through the efforts of orientalists who, from E.M. Quatremère, in 1835, to M. Plessner in 1929, have applied themselves to study of the *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, an agricultural treatise of controversial origin (for the history of this dispute, see IBN WAḤSHIYYA). The title of this compilation is not original; it was given to it by the translator, Ibn Waḥshiyya, the former title having been *K. Iflāḥ al-arḍ wa-iṣlāḥ al-zarʿ wa 'l-shadjar wa 'l-thimār wa-dafʿ al-āfāt ʿanhā* ("Book of cultivation of the land, the care of cereals, vegetables and crops, and their protection"). In the body of the text, the name Nabaṭ is used in the translator's glosses; the farmers in question are called, according to the manuscripts, Kaldāniyyūn, Kasdāniyyun or Kardāniyyūn. The first of these names was applied to nomads related to the Aramaeans, the Kaldu, who dominated Lower Mesopotamia in the mid-9th century B.C. (cf. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens*, Paris 1949, 24, 73). Thus on the ethnic level, Chaldaeans and Aramaeans are neatly distinguished. There are references, in the inscriptions, to "land of Kaldu" and to "land of Aramu" (*ibid.*, 76 and *passim.*). As for Kardaeans and Kasdaeans, these are probably dialectical modifications. Ancient nomenclature, compared with what has survived, shows many examples of this kind (cf. Melid for Malaṭiya, Gurgum for Djurmuḳ; the inhabitants of the latter, the Djarāmiḳa, are frequently mentioned in the *K. al-Filāḥa*). On this point, a useful reference is *La Toponymie antique*, in *Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique*, iv, Leiden 1977).

The book is written in "the ancient Syriac language" (*al-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*). Eastern Aramaic, which is the language in question here, was current "throughout Mesopotamia, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf." It was established, at the outset of the Christian era, in literary texts and inscriptions, in three dialects: Judaeo-Babylonian, Mandaean and Syriac (Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, 101; F. Rosenthal, *An Aramaic handbook*, Wiesbaden 1967, i, 1-2 and ii, 1-2). The basic text of the book, developed and embellished by the three compilers (Saghrīth, Yanbūshād and Ḳuthāmā) must have been written in Syriac; originally it would have consisted of long extracts, intermingled in some cases and arranged consecutively in others, from quoted *auctores*. It may be added that Syriac, the language of Edessa, an intellectual metropolis situated within the great loop of the Euphrates not far from the ancient Kharan (Ḥarrān), in a region Aramaicised since the end of the second millenium B.C., had been promoted from the status of a dialect to that of a classical language in the Church of Edessa, and later in the Christian communities of Mesopotamia and Syria. It served as the vehicle for an immense corpus of literature, most of it as yet unpublished. The origin of Syriac was in one of those "eastern" Aramaic dialects spoken by the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia.

The contents of the *Kitab al-Filāḥa* are very rich; it is comparable with that of Greek and Latin geographical writing and, on certain points, much more detailed. The author of the present article has described it at length in *Matériaux pour l'histoire d'agriculture en Irak: al-Filāḥa n-nabaṭiyya*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i, 6. 6/1, Leiden 1977, 276-377, and a critical edition in three volumes has been prepared for publication by the French Institute for Arabic Studies of Damascus.

Finally, let us glance at the religious concepts and magical data revealed in this work, in the course of long digressions. These data represent only a minute proportion of the whole, but their impact was so great throughout the Middle Ages that the *K. al-Filāḥa* was considered a treatise on magic and classified as such. An Andalusian author, Ibn al-Raḳḳām, purged it of all religious and magical references and another, the Ps.-Madjrītī, used the same data in his well-known work entitled *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933), translated into Latin under the title *Picatrix* (ed. M. Plessner, London 1962).

As for the particular character of this material, it may be deduced that the central principle is a variety of solar "theology", where the Moon appears sometimes as subordinate to the Sun, sometimes as an independent divinity. "In fact, sometimes the Sun appears as a unique source of knowledge and revelation, and the other planets, in particular the Moon (as 'god' of fertility) and Saturn (as 'god' of agriculture) serve as intermediaries between him and mankind, sometimes each of the seven planets reveals directly to mankind the knowledge that relates to its own domain" (cf. T. Fahd, *Données religieuses de l'Agriculture nabaṭéenne*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. iii, 1 (1977), 362-6). We therefore have here a theology where "revelation" plays a pivotal role, a theology with three levels: rational level (*logos*), civic level (*nomos*) and mythic level (*mythos*), a division of theological knowledge which characterises the end of paganism (cf. P. Hadot, *La fin du paganisme*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, Paris 1972, 81 ff.). Three major socio-religious groups, clearly defined and differentiated by doctrinal and social disagreements, are opposed on the topic of "messengers" granted astral revelations.

For the Ḳukaeans, known from the Syriac authors, whose leader was Ḳuthāmā, author of the third edition of the *K. al-Filāḥa*, a Kasdaean born at Sūrā and a major landowner, and for the Sethians, disciples of Seth, son of Adam, well-known to historians of gnosticism, it is the revelations made to Adam by the Moon and conveyed in the "Books of Adam" which form the basis of their doctrines. Their disagreements concern the origin, the nature and the modalities of the inspiration (*waḥy*) of Adam (see details in our article mentioned above). For the Messians, disciples of Māsa al-Sūrānī, a "sophist", a native of Sūrā and a landowner, like Ḳūthāmā, whose writings are quoted extensively in the *K. al-Filāḥa*, it was Jupiter who made revelations to Adam. If it could be established that the context in which this compilation was composed was that of Babylonian gnosis, the sectarian group involved would be that of the "followers of Messos to whom, with Seth (the Allogene), Nicotheus, Zostrian and Zoroaster, certain sectarians, such as Adelphius and Aquilinus, opposed by Porphyrus and Amelius, attributed revelations" (cf. J. Doresse, *La Gnose*, in *Histoire des Religions*, ii, 376).

Historically, Sethians, Ḳukaeans and Messians flourished in Mesopotamia during the 2nd century A.D., a period shortly preceding the transfer of power from the hands of the Arsacids to those of the Sāsānids. It is not impossible that this is the political change to which reference is made in the *K. al-Filāḥa*, disguised by the fictitious allusions to Kasdaeans and Canaanites. It may be concluded from this that the work was compiled in an environment where Hellenistic and Roman paganism had a tendency to survive. There is, furthermore, no involvement here of either Judaism or Christianity. The last great upsurge of paganism in ʿIrāḳ was that inspired by Julian the Apostate (d. in Mesopotamia in 363 A.D.). From Apollonius of Tyana (d. 97 A.D.) to Julian the

Apostate, by way of Philostratus (d. 247), author of the legendary *Life of Apollonius*, paganism enjoyed numerous revivals, especially with the Ḥarranians.

Bibliography: Besides the sources and studies mentioned in the text, see, in particular, for the latter section: T. Fahd, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'Agriculture en Irak: al-Filāḥa n-nabaṭiyya*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i, 6, 6/1: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, Leiden-Cologne 1977, 176-377 (cf. 376, for a list of our studies devoted to this work); idem, *Données religieuses de l'Agriculture nabatéenne*, in *ZDMG*, Suppl. iii, 1 (1977), 362-6. See also J.M. Fiey, *Les «Nabaṭ» de Kaskar-Wāsiṭ dans les premier siècles de l'Islam*, in *MUSJ*, li (1990), 51-87. (T. Fahd)

NABAṬĪ (a.), the name given to the popular vernacular poetry of Arabia. Opinions differ regarding its origin and nomenclature. One view is that it is the direct descendant of Classical Arabic but termed *Nabaṭī* to indicate that it does not conform strictly to the rules of literary Arabic. Another view, one hardly to be taken seriously, holds that *Nabaṭī* poetry is older than Classical Arabic, was colloquial in origin, and flourished under the dynasty of al-Anbāṭ, i.e., the Nabataeans, who ruled in Petra until 105 A.D. and who were said to be originally nomads from the Mecca area [see nabaṭ. 1]. Whatever its precise origins, *al-shiʿr al-nabaṭī* constituted until recently an unbroken link with a poetic tradition created by the particular socio-economic and linguistic conditions of tribal central Arabia, in which poetry had a political as well as a social function. The poet incited his listeners to war by the power of his verse and shaped their conduct by appealing to traditional Bedouin values such as honour and generosity. In pre-modern Arabia, poetry was well-suited to mobilise public opinion, since it was the most popular medium of expression and the most effective channel of communication. The increasing isolation of Arabia after the early period of Islam led to the development and—in the eyes of most mediaeval Arab scholars—the "corruption" of this vernacular poetic variety away from literary Arabic. However, in spite of linguistic differences, *Nabaṭī* poetry and Classical Arabic poetry share many prosodic, thematic, and functional similarities. In the 19th century, early (although unreliable) compilations of *Nabaṭī* poetry appeared, edited by Western orientalists; but it was not until the mid-20th century that definitive collections were published by al-Faradj (1952) and al-Ḥātam (1968), the former being based on the notebooks of devotees of this type of poetry at the court of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd.

Nabaṭī poems vary in length from a few lines to 100 or more verses which are divided into two hemistichs, metrically identical but each having a different rhyme. Transmission was not entirely oral, since by no means all *Nabaṭī* poets were illiterate and some drew deliberately from the Classical tradition in order to enrich their own vernacular compositions.

Since the 1970s, *Nabaṭī* poetry has witnessed something of a revival, being the subject of a Saudi Arabian television series *Min al-Bādiya* and many poems have been saved from extinction by the tape-recorder. There has also been renewed interest in *Nabaṭī* poetry in Arab Gulf states, where it may coexist with other indigenous forms of popular poetry.

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NABHĀN, the name of a tribe in ʿUmān, whose tribes are divided into independent *fakhūdh* (sing. *fakhdh*), with leaders generally denominated *shaykh*, each one considering himself independent of the others, and acknowledging no superior.

S.B. Miles reported in 1881 that 400 "Beni Nebhán", a Ḳaḥṭānī (Ghafirī) tribe, dwelt at Semáil (*sic* for Samāʿīl), on the coast in 23′ 18° N., 58′ 58° E. They appear to have been of minor importance.

J.R.L. Carter gives a genealogy of Nabāhina *shaykhs* of the Banū Riyān, exclusively from traditional oral sources, who used the title *malik*. Of these, Sulaymān b. Sulaymān was elected Imām, reigning as overlord for a short while. A *shaykh* and others were living in 1982.

Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān (1728) describes a Nabhānī dynasty of rulers of ʿUmān with the title of *malik*. They had an inland capital south of the Djabal Akhḍar, and reigned, he says, over an undefined territory from *ca.* 1100 until 1624, when they were extinguished by the Yaʿrubī dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 731/1330 (Miles) or 732/1331 (Hrbek), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the then ruler, called Abū Muḥammad Ibn Nabhān. He gives him the title *sulṭān*, and says that every Nabhānī *sulṭān* was called by this name. Somewhat disapprovingly, he recorded that Abū Muḥammad was of the Ibāḍī *madhhab*; and that from his capital at Nizwa [*q.v.*] he ruled over a number of coastal villages, including the port of Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*], but that most of ʿUmān was under the government of Hurmuz. The Nabhānī court was very simple, and there was no chamberlain or vizier.

The Nabhānī dynasty of Pate [*q.v.*] in the Lamu archipelago of East Africa is stated in the traditional *Habari za Pate* (History of Pate) to be an offshoot of the Nabhānī dynasty of ʿUmān that fled when the Yaʿāriba extinguished that dynasty. This event took place in 1624, whereas the very full details that we possess of the dynasty of Pate claim that it was founded *ca.* 1200. A living senior representative of the Pate family regards the descent from the ʿUmānī dynasty as unfounded in fact, and it would seem to be a separate *fakhdh*.

On Songo Mnara Island adjacent to Kilwa [*q.v.*], Sir Richard Burton reported a Nabhānī mosque decorated with Persian tiles. He states that his island was conquered by the Nabhānī, and it is possible that this tradition is an echo of the claim in the traditional History of Pate that Sultan ʿUmar the Great (*ca.* 1331-48) conquered the coast as far as Kilwa. The account reads, however, more like one of a raid than as a conquest, and for certain it was not consolidated. The name Nabhānī is still found in the Kilwa area, and the family may constitute a distinct *fakhdh*.

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Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, 2 vols., London 1919; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Annals of Oman*, ed. and tr. E.C. Ross, repr. London 1984; and information kindly communicated in Mombasa by Shaykh Ahmed Sheikh Mohamed Nabhany. (G.S.P. FREEMAN-GREENVILLE)

NĀBĪ, YŪSUF, an important, highly renowned Ottoman poet of the second half of the 11th/17th and beginning of the 12th/18th centuries.

He came from Urfa (Ruhā, hence Ruhāʾī); on the members of his family cf. M. Diriöz, *Nâbî'nin âilesine dâir yeni bilgiler*, in *Türk Kültürü*, xiv, 167 (1976), 668-73. From mentions in his writings, we know that he was born in 1052/1642-3 and that he moved to Istanbul in his early twenties, i.e., during the reign of sultan Meḥemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87). In Istanbul he enjoyed the patronage of Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha (cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 403-4), who appointed him *dīwān* secretary. In 1089/1678-9 he made the pigrimage, and upon his return Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha made him his steward (*ketkhudā*). Following the Pasha's death in 1097/1686, Nābī settled in Aleppo, where he remained for about 25 years. In 1122/1710 Aleppo's governor Baltadjī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], in whose entourage he had been, was appointed grand vizier for the second time, and he returned to Istanbul with the Pasha. Here Nābī was first appointed head of the mint office (*ḍarb-khāne emīni*), then of the accounting office for Anatolia (*Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi*), and lastly of the registration office for the particulars and salaries of the *Ḳapīkulu* cavalry other than the *sipāhīs* and the *silāḥdārs* (*süwārī muḳābeledjisi*). He died on 3 Rabīʿ I 1124/10 April 1712 and was buried at Üsküdar in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery.

Nābī shows great versatility as to subject matter and style in his writings. He wrote both poetry and prose. While some of his work is in more or less straightforward Turkish, some of it is written in a heavily Persianised manner. It can be said that Nābī's prose is generally ornate, whilst his poetry is at least in part composed in relatively plain language. It is his philosophising, moralising tone and his didactic vein that have secured a special position for him in the Ottoman world of poetry. This disposition of his is suitably reinforced by his mastery in the incorporation of proverbs (*irsāl-i methel*). Nābī was immensely popular for a long time, and the title of "king of poets" was bestowed on him. Among his disciples we find Sāmī (d. 1146/1733-4), Rāshid (d. 1147/1734-5), Seyyid Wehbī (d. 1149/1736-7), and Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha (d. 1176/1763).

Nābī's poetical works comprise: (1) His extensive Turkish *Dīwān*, renowned especially for its *ghazels* which dominate in number and in importance. Lyricism, however, is not their strong point; they are characterised by a relatively unadorned language and a sententious style. The *ghazels* are in alphabetical order, with a *rubāʿī* heading each new letter. Nābī's *Dīwān* has been printed twice: in Būlāḳ in 1257 and in Istanbul in 1292. (2) His Persians *dīwānče* containing about 50 poems (*ghazel* and *takhmīs*). (3) *Khayriyye* is Nābī's most famous work. He composed this *methnewī* in Aleppo in 1113/1701-2 for his son Abu 'l-Khayr. It is a book of advice (*naṣīḥat-nāme*) from father to son meant as a guide to life. It is composed in a terse style and contains Nābī's reflections of an educational nature on all aspects of life. This is the work in which his predilection for moralising and philosophising remarks is most in evidence. *Khayriyye* had great popularity and impact; for example, Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī of Erzurum (d. 1194/1780) quoted a number of its *beyts*, albeit without mentioning their provenience, in his *Maʿrifet-nāme* (cf. İ. Pala, *Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı'da Nabî tesiri*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, x [1990], 195-209). *Khayriyye* was printed both together with the *Dīwān* and separately (e.g. *Khayriyye-i Nābī*, Istanbul 1307). Cf. also *Conseils de Nabi Efendi à son fils Abou 'l-Khair, publiés en turc avec la traduction française et des notes par M. Pavet de Courteille*, Paris 1857, as well as *Şair Nabî, Hayriye* (*hzl.* İ. Pala), Istanbul 1989. (4) *Sūr-nāme* (full title: *Weḳāyiʿ-i khitān-ī shehzādegān-ī ḥadret-i sulṭān Meḥemmed Ghāzī*): This *methnewī* of almost 600 verses is a description of the festivities on the occasion of the circumcision of sultan Meḥemmed IV's sons in Edirne in 1086/1675. Its diction is clear and simple, and it is of some historic and social interest. It was printed in Roman characters, cf. A.S. Levend, *Nâbî'nin Sûrnâmesi*, Istanbul 1944. (Its only known ms. is in the İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, *Ty*, no. 1774, *Mecmua*, margins of 406-58a.) (5) *Khayr-ābād* is Nābī's last *methnewī* (composed in 1117/1705-6) and is not considered one of his more successful works. It is a story of adventure and love in a language laden with Arabic and Persian words. (6) *Terdjüme-yi ḥadīth-i erbaʿīn*: This is regarded as one of the best translations into Turkish of Djāmī's [*q.v.*] *Ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn*. It is in strophic form in relatively plain Turkish, and the translation is not literal but rather free. This work was printed for the first time in *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿasi*, ii/4 (1331), 155 ff.

Nābī's prose works are: (7) *Fetḥ-nāme-yi Ḳameniče* or *Tārīkh-i Weḳāyiʿ-i Ḳameniče* or simply *Tārīkh-i Ḳameniče*. This is an account of the conquest in 1083/1672 of the fortress town Kamieniec in Podolia (Kamenets Podolskiy; see KAMĀNIČA). Nābī inserted some verses into this *fetḥ-nāme*, which he wrote upon Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha's behest in his youth. It was printed under the title *Tārīkh-i Ḳameniče* in Istanbul in 1281. (8) *Tuḥfet el-Ḥaremeyn* is an account of his pilgrimage which he wrote a few years after accomplishing it, that is in 1093/1682. He interspersed the prose text, which is written in a rather heavy style, with verses composed by himself and others. This has been printed twice: *Tuḥfet el-Ḥaremeyn*, n.p. [Istanbul] 1265 and *Tuḥfe*, Istanbul 1288. (9) *Dheyl-i Siyer-i Weysī*: This is Nābī's continuation of Weysī's (d. 1037/1628) *Siyer*; it was printed at Būlāḳ in 1248. His style here is ornate. Nābī wrote a second *Dheyl* after an interval of about twenty years: *Dheyl dheyl el-Nābī*. These two *Dheyls* are together in some mss., separate in others. (10) *Münsheʾāt*: This is a collection of official and private letters and as such not devoid of interest.

Bibliography (in addition to the titles cited above): ʿĀṣim, *Dheyl-i Zübdet el-eshʿār*; Ṣafāyī, *Tedhkire*; Sālim, *Tedhkire*; Belīgh, *Nukhbet el-āthār li-Dheyl-i Zübdet el-eshʿār; Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 530-1; *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, 448-50; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, iv, 49-70; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 325-48; F. Babinger, *GOW*, 237-9; A. Karahan, in *İA*, art. *Nâbî* (cf. for information on mss. of Nābī's works, as also F. Babinger, *GOW*, 238-9, and idem, in *EI*[1] art. *Nābī*; on the printed copy of *Tārīkh-i Ḳameniče* cf. *JA*, i [1868], 471 ff.); idem, *Nâbîʾnin el yazısı, imzası, mührü ve sûrnâmesine dâir*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, ii (1948), 133-40; idem, *Nâbî, hayatı, sanatı şiirleri*, Istanbul 1953; idem, *İslam türk edebiyatında kırk hadîs toplama, tercüme ve şerhleri*, Istanbul 1954, 230-2; idem, *Nâbî*, Ankara 1987; M. Kaplan, *Nâbî ve "orta insan" tipi*, in *İÜEFTDED*, xi (1961), 25-44; M. Mengi, *Çağının insanı olarak Nabî*, in *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 177-84; idem, *Divan şiirinde hikemî tarzın büyük temsilcisi Nâbî*, Ankara 1987; T.

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NABĪ DJIRDJĪS [see DJIRDJĪS].

NABĪ YŪNUS [see NĪNAWĀ].

NABĪDH (A.), a comprehensive designation for intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *mizr* (from barley), *bit^c* (from honey: al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī, bāb* 60, *Ashriba, bāb* 4; *Adab, bāb* 80) or from spelt (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 402), *faḍīkh* (from different kinds of dates (al-Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 3, 21). These ingredients were steeped in water until they were fermented, and the result of this procedure was a slightly intoxicating drink. There were also combinations of raisins, dates and honey to be found. *Nabīdh* was sometimes consumed mixed with strong intoxicating ingredients like St. John's wort or different kinds of cannabis, so that it had strong intoxicating and hallucinogenic effects (al-Mas^cūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 243 = § 3391; al-Washshā', *K. al- Muwashshā*, 196). Later on, in some countries of the Islamic world, there has been a change of meaning. In today's Syria, for example, *nbīd* is used for any kind of intoxicating drinks, while in Egypt *khamr* and *nibīd* are used with the same meaning.

Side-by-side with milk and honey, *nabīdh* was also a beverage that was offered to the pilgrims in Mecca. The institution of *al-siḳāya* (also the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place), was an office held by the ^cAbbāsī family (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 372; Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, trad. 347; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik, bāb* 90). The descriptions by Ibn Sa^cd (d. 230/845) and al-Azraḳī (d. 244/858) give the impression of referring to the present state of things; in the time of al-Muḳaddasī (d. *ca.* 1000 A.D.) the institution had already passed into desuetude. For details, cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Pèlerinage*.

There was a lively discussion among the *fuḳahā'* as to whether the consuming of this kind of beverage is allowed or forbidden. One argument in favour of *nabīdh* was put forward, for example, by the Mu^ctazilī al-Djubbā'ī [*q.v.*], who argues that God has created things which resemble those things which were allowed in Paradise but are forbidden on earth. Among them is *nabīdh*, which is allowed for the believers so that they can guess what *khamr* will be like in the hereafter (al-Tanūkhī, tr. Margoliouth, *Tabletalk*, 1931, 575; for details on the legal discussion, see KHAMR and MASHRŪBĀT).

Nabīdh, like *khamr*, was used to discredit certain individuals or groups. Thus the calligrapher Ibn al-Waḥīd (647-711/1249-50 to 1312) was suspected of putting wine or *nabīdh* in the ink which he used for copying the Ḳur'ān (Rosenthal, *The herb*, 154), or else there was a rumour about the Ḳarmaṭians, that among them *nabīdh* was forbidden and wine allowed in order to underscore the antinomian character of this movement (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 488).

Bibliography: Cf. those to KHAMR and MASHRŪBĀT; further: M.M. Ahsan: *Social life under the Abbasids*, London 1979; R. Gelpke, *Vom Rausch im Orient und Okzident*, Stuttgart 1966; R. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses. The origins of social beverage in the Medieval Near East*, Seattle 1985; P. Heine, *Weinstudien. Untersuchungen zu Anbau, Produktion und Konsum des Weins im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1982; F. Rosenthal, *The Herb. Hashish versus medieval Muslim society*, Leiden 1971. (P. HEINE)

AL-NĀBIGHA AL-DHUBYĀNĪ, Ziyād b. Mu^cāwiya (var. ^cAmr) b. Ḍabāb b. Djābir (var. Djanāb) b. Yarbū^c b. Salāma of the Banū Murra (Ghaṭafān), one of the most renowned poets of the *Djāhiliyya*. With Imru' al-Ḳays and Zuhayr [*q.vv.*] he eclipsed the earlier poets (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, i, 50, 56-9; Abu 'l-Baḳā' Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, Amman 1984, i, 172).

The traditions relating to al-Nābigha are concerned with a brief period of his life, confined to the years 570-600, and show the poet being received by the Ghassānid tribal chieftains at Djābiya and subsequently by al-Nu^cmān III at Ḥīra. The rest is enveloped in total silence.

From the time of his arrival on the scene, at an unknown date but certainly prior to 580, he pleaded the cause of keeping the defeated ^cAbs within the fold of the Banū Ghaṭafān and preventing at any price their migration and installation among the Banū ^cĀmir, the consequences of which would be inauspicious (*Dīwān*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1985, xii, xvii, xviii; Caskel, *Djamhara*, ii, 607d; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, 140-1 and n. 41-5, 149-50; ^cU. al-Dusūḳī, *al-Nābigha al Dhubyānī*, Cairo 1956, 121-3). At a later date, he is seen calling upon his fellow-tribesmen, on numerous occasions, to renew their *ḥilf* (alliance) with the Asad (Banū Murra [*q.v.*]; see *Dīwān*, IV, V, XI, XXIII, XXXIX). In a very finely wrought *ḳaṣīda*, he states that the Asad have fought courageously to defend their Dhubyānī allies (Dhubyān and Murra being interchangeable in ancient times) and to assure their glory (*Dīwān*, V; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 132-8, v, 169; Derenbourg, *Nābigha*, in *JA* [Sept. 1868], 214-17). Furthermore, history has justified the poet in adopting these positions; the alliance, declared in the mid-6th century on Mount Khāl, seems to have well served both economic interests, in guaranteeing the protection of zones of pasture and the palm-groves of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, and military interests since it enabled them to resist the expansionist aspirations of the Ghassānids. The area of contention seems to have been Dhū Uḳur, a fertile oasis full of water and salsuginous grass (*aḥmāḍ*), ideal for camels. This territory had belonged since time immemorial to the Banū Murra, but it was forcibly appropriated by the Ghassānids who declared it a forbidden zone (*Dīwān*, title of IX; al-Ḥasan b. ^cAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-^cArab*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 73-81, 153-4, 400; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Uḳur*; Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, 211; Nöldeke, *The Princes of Ghassān from the House of Djafna*, Beirut 1933, 42-3; cf. art. MURRA, BANŪ, the last two references relating to the conquest of fertile lands formerly the property of the Asad Dhubyān). This alliance, which proved its worth at Yawm al-Nisār, seems to have entered into customary thought; the two tribes are habitually named the *ḥilfānⁱ* or the *aḥlāf* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 362; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, 100-33). However, certain reservations seem to have been evident among the Banū Murra in relation to this activity on the part of the poet, to such an extent that he found himself obligated to seek aid and protection from the ^cUdhra, his neighbours to the north (*Dīwān*, XIV, and title of XVI).

In the same period, he made his first visit to the

house of Djafna. Six poems dedicated to al-Nuᶜmān, the son of al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar, survive (*Dīwān*, IV, IX, XIV, XIX, XXII, XXXII; Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 41-2). The first three represent a fine example of tribal poetry at its highest level: intercession for his fellow-tribesmen and reproofs are intermingled; moreover, the poet went so far as to warn al-Nuᶜmān that his army would be defeated if he dared to attack the *aḥlāf* (*Dīwān*, XIV). Among the three poems, which relate to specific circumstances, special mention should be made of the lament which he composed on the death of al-Nuᶜmān, considered a very fine specimen of the genre.

The death of the latter marks a turning-point in the life of al-Nābigha, who seems to have understood that the dispute between Banū Djafna and Dhubyān proceeded from a long-lasting geopolitical situation, and that it was thus impossible to bring about peace and harmony between the two parties. On the other hand, al-Nuᶜmān III (who reigned at Ḥīra from 580 to 602, see LAKHMIDS) had inaugurated a new policy, abandoning the major confrontations of his predecessors with the Ghassānids and supporting the tribes established to the north of the Nadjd with the objeet of embroiling his Syrian enemies in a guerilla war with the Bedouin [see LAKHMIDS]; al-Nābigha was received at the court of Ḥīra with all the respect due to his dual status as representative of the Asad-Murra allies and as a distinguished poet. According to the sources, he became the intimate companion and poet laureate of the sovereign, at the expense of other poets who arrived in large numbers hoping to benefit from his patronage.

For a reason which remains obscure, the king decided to execute the poet. Various fanciful theories, which seem hardly credible, have been presented; almost all of them concern a scurrilous portrait of the queen al-Mutadjarrida; Murra b. Ḳurayᶜ al-Tamīmī or al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī [*q.v.*] are cited in turn as protagonists. Others mention a *hidjā*ʾ against al-Nuᶜmān, which is just as problematical since the identity of the author is not definitely known. He owed the saving of his life to the chamberlain ᶜIṣām b. Shahbar al-Djurhumī. This Lakhmid episode does not seem to have encouraged al-Nābigha's inspiration. Only three fragments of eulogies have been gleaned by all the collected editions (*Dīwān*, XXVII, XXXVII, LX). Their mediocre quality contrasts vividly with the outstanding poems dedicated to the Ghassānids.

The poet found a refuge in the household of ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥārith at Djābiya. This second period among the Ghassānids, in spite of a poem in which the bitter defeat of the Lakhmids at Yawm Ḥālima is evoked (*Dīwān*, III, V, 20), could not have been seen by him as other than an interim arrangement. In fact, he sent to al-Nuᶜmān three compositions, in which his excuses are intermingled with dithyrambic eulogies; these are the famous *iᶜtidhāriyyāt* (*Dīwān*, I, VIII, LXXV). Evidently both parties were in favour of a reconciliation, and normality was restored through the good offices of two Fazārī *sayyids*, Manẓūr b. Zibbān and Sayyār b. ᶜAmr, influential friends of the king of Ḥīra. The poet was not to enjoy his regained favour for long. Al-Nuᶜmān was deposed by Khusraw Parwīz and died a hideous death. The aged poet abandoned all his activities and returned to his tribe, where he sank into total anonymity.

The *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha has earned the greatest of respect: it has been the object of a dozen *riwāyas* and commentaries; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 164/780), Abū ᶜAmr (al-Shaybānī) (d. 203/820, *Dīwān*, editor's introd., 6), Abū ᶜUbayda (d. 209/825, quoted in numerous instances by al-Aṣmaᶜī, see *Dīwān*, 54, 121, 143, 167, 192), al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 213/818, see introduction by al-Aᶜlam al-Shantamarī, 11) (all quoted by Ibn ᶜAshūr, *Dīwān*, Algiers-Tunis 1976, introd., 8), Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 224/859, published by Shukrī Fayṣal, Beirut 1388/1988), Ibn al-Aᶜrābī (d. 231/846), al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888; al-Dusūḳī, *op. cit.*, 98), Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 337/950, published at Algiers-Tunis, 1976), al-Ṭūsī (d. 340/958, *Dīwān*, editor's introd., 6, 124-5), al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 494/1100, numerous editions, the best that of Nāṣīf ᶜAwwād, Beirut 1968) and al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109; the annotated *dāliyya* has been published by Ch. Lyall, *A commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894, 152 ff.; on the ms. of Feyzullah, see Sh. Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ᶜarabī*, i, Cairo 1976, 276)—all of these have had their contribution to make. Blachère rightly comments that this abundance of material points to the undeniable interest and considerable success of the work of al-Nābigha (*HLA*, ii, 299). Profound differences exist between these diverse editions; they relate to the variants, the number of verses and of poems. The collection in the edition of al-Aṣmaᶜī comprises 22 poems and fragments combined according to the conceptions of the Baṣran school. Although excellent, the edition of al-Aṣmaᶜī has been judged too strict and fragmentary by al-Aᶜlam al-Shantamarī, who added to it 7 poems from the *riwāya* of al-Ṭūsī which was influenced by the school of Kūfa. With the benefit of this surplus, important details of biography and works have been made clearer. The most extensive edition is unquestionably that of Ibn al-Sikkīt. No fewer than 46 poems and fragments, of which the mode of transmission is completely unknown, have been added. All of this shows that in the final analysis, the *dīwān* of an ancient poet reflects a choice on the part of the transmitter and that the edition of al-Aṣmaᶜī cannot make exclusive claims to authenticity.

The quality of the poetry of al-Nābigha amply justifies the interest of the transmitters. Undeniably his *hidjā*ʾ, generally very short, his *nasīb*, certain panegyrics quoted especially in the edition of Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1968, X, XI, XVIII) and his laments appear rather impersonal (with two exceptions in the case of the laments: the poem composed at the time of the death of al-Nuᶜmān b. al-Ḥārith and that which mourns his brother, mentioned by Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 408). The *dāliyya* with which the *Dīwān* opens was not included by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya at the time of the definitive codification of the *Muᶜallaḳāt* (it is known that various written collections of these poems which feature the piece by al-Nābigha were in circulation between the reign of Muᶜāwiya and the end of the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik, see M.J. Kister, *The Seven Odes*, in *RSO*, xliv [1969], 27-36). Later, it might have been added by Ibn al-Naḥḥās on account of its superior quality (*Khizānat al-adab*, iii, 186-7, iv, 5, viii, 450). The *iᶜtidhāriyyāt*, hybrid pieces containing a combination of excuses and panegyric, were particularly appreciated by ancient criticism (whence the judgment that attained the status of an aphorism: al-Nābigha is the best of poets when he is gripped by panic, *al-Aghānī*, viii, 77, xv, 97; Ibn Saᶜid, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, ii, 567; *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 175).

However, the essential genius is to be sought elsewhere: by virtue of his verbal imagination, the poet has raised the poems appropriate to circumstances, the panegyrics and tribal addresses, to the status of vivid and colourful representations. For this purpose, he resorts to metaphor drawn from the pictorial register. Thus, in Piece I, on the theme of the

generosity of al-Nuʿmān IV, the sovereign is compared with the Euphrates. A description, which stands in a purely hypothetical relationship to reality, transports the hearer towards an impressive rolling river with enormous waves; like a skilled painter, the poet then introduces a human element, the mariners and their embarkation and a series of dialectical contrasts between the power of the river/king and the weakness of the men/mariners, the grandiose opposed to the limited and the imperturbable opposed to the fearful. This passage (three verses, 44-6) establishes the symbol and gives to a problematical poetic genre, *madḥ* (eulogy), a certain artistic dimension. This method is one to which al-Nābigha frequently returns; in his address to the Banū Ḥunn, the clan of ʿUdhra, the description of the date-palms, symbolising the power of the tribe, is drawn on the same register (*Dīwān*, XIV, 5-7). The same applies to his impassioned appeal for the preservation of the Asad-Dhubyān alliance (*Dīwān*, V); here he presents two very expressive imaginary tableaux, the Banū Ghāḍir (Asad) embroiled in warfare, their women abandoned as if they had been impure (verses 14-20), and the bucolic tableau of the horses of al-Rumaytha (verses 24-6). Finally, in more than one instance, in addresses to his fellow-tribesmen, he readily sketches hypothetical scenes in which their women-folk, taken captive, would be subjected to the most hideous treatment: forced marches, rape, etc. (*Dīwān*, III, 12-16, XXV, 8-13, XXVI, 12-17), set-pieces of the kind which would not be out of place in an epic poem.

From another angle, al-Nābigha has to a considerable extent given expression in his poetry to the customs, folklore and legends current in Djāhilī society. In particular, he evokes the myth of the foundation of Palmyra (Tadmur) by Solomon, who imposed on the *djinns* the task of constructing the city (*Dīwān*, I, 21-3). Some critics have protested that this is a forgery, seeing here the hand of Muslim transmitters. However, Buhl (see PALMYRA in *EI*[1]) and the Jewish sources (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1973, xv, 107b, ll. 5-7) have suggested that Solomon (Sulaymān) and this legend were known in the pre-Islamic period (Arabic sources: al-Tibrīzī in *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, 435; al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, vi, 223; the legend would have been propagated by Djāhilīs who had embraced the Jewish faith). The well-known parable of the two brothers and the serpent could be seen as an experiment in the introduction of fable into ancient poetry (Blachère sees here an Arab response to Aesop's fable "The Labourer and the Serpent"; his reservations arise from the plain style, differing from that of the poet; cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, iv, 203-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. De Goeje, 73).

This great creator of images was incapable of using dialogue in his poems, where no example is evident. We know to what extent Zuhayr and his school had shown their predilection for this process, which was such an integral part of the development of the *ḳaṣīda*. Moreover, he seems to have been completely lacking in narrative sense; al-Nābigha is incapable of telling a story. It is for this reason that his few attempts at composing poems according to the tripartite scheme came to an abrupt end: his passages dealing with camels appear lifeless; the dramatic tension inherent in descriptions of the wild bull at bay and the arrangements required for the slaughter of the wild ass, is stylised in his work and far from convincing. This being the case, the claim that al-Nābigha belonged to the school of Zuhayr, who accorded the greatest importance to these elements, appears debatable (the thesis developed by Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Fi ʾl-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1968, 265-8, according to which al-Nābigha belonged to the school of Zuhayr, is matched by the point of view of G.E. von Grunebaum, *Pre-Islamic poetry*, in *MW*, xxxii [1942], 147-53).

The surname of the poet reflects the quality and the limitations of his poetry. The term signifies, according to Derenbourg's fine expression (*op. cit.*, 206-8), "a sudden gushing" or better "gushing spring" (cf. the "master poet" of Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 334). A maxim attributed to al-Aṣmaʿī clarifies well the meaning of this surname: al-Nābigha, he says, is a *maṭbūʿ* (born) poet who gives free rein to his inspiration without undue effort at working on his verses; he compares him with Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭayʾa, who accorded a primordial importance to *ṣanʿa* (*Aghānī*, ii, 25). A number of clues support al-Aṣmaʿī's view: a number of cases of enjambement (*taḍmīn*) are attested (*Dīwān*, I, 39-40, 44-7, VI, 11-12, VII, 17-18, XXIII, 16-17; in the last case he uses *innī* for the rhyme and relegates the rest of the phrase to the following line). The vice of *iḳwāʾ* occurs frequently in his poetry (Ibn Saʿīd, *op. cit.*, 563-4; *Dīwān*, XIII, 3 and 18, XIV, 6, XV, 1, XXV, 10). As regards metre, he employs *iḳʿād* in the *ṭawīl* where *mafāʿīlun* in the *ʿarūḍ* is transformed into *mafāʿil* (*Dīwān*, LIV, 1), a procedure condemned by scholars.

However, all of this should be kept in proportion, and these are merely the minor solecisms of a poet confident in his talent. This *faḥl* poet set his seal on classical poetry for many centuries. The greatest poets were influenced by his art (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 203-4, 242, 252-3; Bashshār, Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Rūmī took inspiration from his poetry; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, iv, 289-92); in this context, a special place belongs to al-Mutanabbī, who mentions him by name in his poems and imitates him in several instances (Ps.-al-ʿUkbarī, *al-Tibyān*, Cairo 1355/1956, iv, 55-6; see also, i, 25, 22, 110, 287, 299, ii, 255).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 298-300 and index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, index; Caskel, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 607; Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, index (very important information); Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣinaʿatayn*, Cairo 1971, index: Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*, Cairo 1386/1966, index; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, Amman 1982, ii, 562-77; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1967-86, index (more than 40 quotations); Abu ʾl-Baḳāʾ Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, Amman 1984, 145-59 and index; Renata Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1972, index; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿarabī*, i, *al-ʿAṣr al-djāhilī*, 1976, 266-99; E. Landau-Tasseron, *Aspects of the Ridda Wars*, diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1981, unpubl., 134-51.

(A. ARAZI)

AL-NĀBIGHA AL-DJAʿDĪ, Ḳays b. ʿAbd Allāh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥibbān (var. Ḥassān) b. Ḳays b. ʿAbd Allāh, according to al-Ḳahdhamī, of the Banū Djaʿda (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa), poet of the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*] and a Companion famed for his longevity, to which he owes the honour of being included among the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*] by Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī.

The biographical details concern the Islamic period only, and nothing or virtually nothing is known of his origins (the sole vestige, *Dīwān*, ed. Maria Nallino, no. IX, vv. 8-16). In 9/630, he took part in the *wafd* or deputation of the Banū Djaʿda to Medina. His gift

of repartee and his youth having probably pleased the Prophet, the latter blessed him and he retained right up to his death at a very advanced age a perfect set of teeth. In 21-2/641-3, he migrated in company with his tribe to Baṣra (*Dīwān*, no. XI, vv. 6-8, an evocation of the journey). Certain episodes of this stay there, punctuated by an expedition for the conquest of Khurāsān, have been presented in his *Dīwān* (a, no. XII; M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiv [1934], 383-4). They bear witness to the influence of the desert and the tribe, and it is within this context that one should place the contests in *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] which set him up against Aws b. Maghrāʾ and al-Akhṭal around 40/660 on the famous Mirbad [*q.v.*] of Baṣra. Al-Nābigha is reported to have replied to an accusation hurled at one of his fellow-tribesmen of having handed over the Banū ʿAwf to Busr b. Arṭāt (*Dīwān*, a, no. VII). It was on this occasion that al-Akhṭal used a key term of tribal *hidjāʾ*, the diminutive *ḳubayyila* (i.e. a wretched mini-tribe, see *Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 758), to designate the Banū Djaʿda (on al-Nābigha's invective, see *Dīwān*, no. XI, vv. 14-16).

Under ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, he took part at the latter's side at al-Nukhayla and at Ṣiffīn [*q.vv.*] (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 36-Ṣafar 37/656-7) (*Dīwān*, no. V, vv. 33-6; a, no. V). This gained him mention in one of the most prestigious of Imāmī Shīʿī *ridjāl* books, the *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl* of al-Māmaḳānī (no. 12, 367) and led to his suffering grave harm under Muʿāwiya's rule; his property was confiscated and only given back to him after two supplications addressed to the caliph (*Dīwān*, no. I, vv. 5-19; b, no. IV). A little later, the poet found himself at Iṣfahān in the company of his fellow-tribesmen and of the Banū Ḳushayr. There he exchanged invectives with Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and her husband Sawwār b. Awfā al-Ḳushayrī, who seems to have taken the initiative in the hostilities by attacking the poet and his maternal uncles, the Azd. Al-Nābigha replied savagely and composed *al-ḳaṣīda al-fāḍiḥa* which listed the *mathālib* [*q.v.*] of Ḳushayr and ʿUḳayl; Laylā intervened, and the quarrel got even more acute (*Dīwān*, a, nos. VII, XII; b, nos. XXIX, XXX). However, very remarkably, the remainder of his poetry gained in depth; he set about reflecting on the first civil war, and his past mistakes seem to have preoccupied him to the highest degree (*Dīwān*, no. V, vv. 4-30; VIII).

Between 63 and 65/683 and 684-5, he gave his allegiance, not without reluctance, to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. After Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], the poet made himself the defender of the Ḳays supplanted by the Kalb or Yemenites. The policy of reconciling and appeasing tribal conflicts followed by ʿAbd al-Malik caused a change of tone in al-Nābigha, and he now preached harmony between the two groups (*Dīwān*, no. I, 20-7, with reference to the Djaʿdī Ziyād b. al-Aṣbaḥ, who had vainly tried to make peace between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya). His last years were spent in Khurāsān in relative tranquility, and he died there in *ca.* 79/698-9.

Al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī's poetry does not seem to have been made the subject of an independent recension; the various *riwāyāt* of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries seem to have been collected together in the work of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 203/820), the *K. Banī Djaʿda*. The present edition of Maria Nallino is an excellent reconstitution from all points of view (the edition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rabāḥ, Damascus 1964, brings nothing new, and simply reproduces Nallino's edition). It is very hard to estimate the quality of his poetry and his conception of the *ḳaṣīda*. However, in regard to his themes, one can discern a profound influence from Labīd [*q.v.*], notably in the confrontation between the poet and his time and the unavoidable triumph of death. Especially worthy of mention in this connection is piece no. III, whose 48 verses form a reminiscence of the *Muʿallaḳa* of his ʿĀmirī predecessor on all levels, including those of style and the use of metaphors and comparisons; the central episode, that of the wild cow and her calf devoured by wolves, is identical in both poets. Moreover, Ibn Sallām places him at the side of Labīd in the company of al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār and of Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī in the third class of *fuḥūl* (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1974, 123). The main contribution of this mediocre satirist—he was in actuality *mughallab*, i.e., defeated in the verbal jousts—apart from his animal descriptions (his description of the horse, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 330) and his tribal poetry resides in the strongly marked expression of the poetry of the *muʿammarūn*. In his collection, it has a depth and thematic variety rarely equalled. His poetry is in fact dominated by death and by his weariness in having to continue living when his dear ones, his seven brothers and the great men of his tribe, have departed and he has to take over their memory. The vocabulary of recollection frequently recurs in his poems; he recalls his carefree youth, the bacchic gatherings, his lives and the encampments of his tribe in the Faladj which he can never see again.

Bibliography: Maria Nallino, *al-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī e le sue poesie. I. Notizie biografiche*, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 135-90, 380-423; eadem, *Le Poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ǧaʿdī: raccolta critica dei testi, traduzione e note*, Rome 1953; Blachère, *HLA*, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii. 245-7, ix, 274; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 455-6; Ṭabarī, iii, 2397 (notice); Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1405/1985, iii, 177-8, and partly unpubl. bibl. cited; ʿUkbarī, *Tibyān*, Cairo 1355/1936, index; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*. ʿAmmān 1982, 441; Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāḳib al-mazyadiyya*, ʿAmmān 1984, 142-3; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1401/1981, 553; Khalīl Abū Dhiyāb, *al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī ḥayatuh wa-shiʿruh*, Beirut-Damascus 1407/1987. (A. Arazi)

NĀBITA, (A.). a term of Classical Arabic which means in particular "rising generation", but one which today has acquired the pejorative sense of "bad lot, rogue" which the plural *nawābit* and the expression *nābitat sharr* previously possessed. These meanings were noted by the mediaeval lexicographers, but one finds in Ibn al-Nadīm a section (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 255-7, ed. Tadjaddud, 229-31) devoted to the *mutakallimū 'l-mudjbira* [see DJABRIYYA] and to the *nābitat al-ḥashwiyya*, amongst whom the main exponent was allegedly Ibn Kullāb [*q.v.* in Suppl.], whilst al-Zamakhsharī specifies (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.) that the *nābita/nawābit* are the Ḥashwiyya. This last author belonged to the Muʿtazilī school, and it is precisely in an ardent exponent of *iʿtizāl* [see MUʿTAZILA] that the Nābita are denounced with the greatest vigour, sc. al-Djāḥiẓ, who has left behind an opusculum called *Risāla fī 'l-Nābita* (see Ch. Pellat, *La nâbita de Djâhiz*, in *AIEO Alger*, x [1952], 302-25). For al-Djāḥiẓ, the term applies essentially to the Ḥanbalīs [see AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL], whom he stigmatises as adherents of the Umayyads (the *risāla* has the alternative title of *Risāla fī Banī Umayya*), denouncing the veritable cult which they have built up around the memory of Muʿāwiya (see Pellat, *Le culte de Muʿāwiya*, in *SI*, vi [1956], 53-6). He further condemns their use of *kalām* [*q.v.*] for combatting the Muʿtazila, and the different points in their doctrine, sc. the created Ḳurʾān, a refusal to

anathematise tyrants, *tadjwīr* (the attribution to God of evil actions as well as good ones), anthropomorphism and determinism, these last two articles of faith clearly pinpointing their impiety.

Ibn Ḳutayba, for his part, avoids all links with the Ḥanbalīs but castigates the extremist traditionists who behave in a disordered fashion and are called "sometimes *ḥashwiyya, nābita* or *mudjbira*, and sometimes *djabriyya*" (*Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 96, tr. G. Lecomte, §§ 108-9). Because of their predilection for the Umayyads, there is a tendency to link the Nābita with the ʿUthmāniyya, but these last, like the ʿAlids, rejected the dynasty founded by Muʿāwiya. On the other hand, against the partisans of ʿAlī, they recognised the caliphate of ʿUthmān and, through that, those of his two predecessors (cf. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Paris 1965, p. XXIII, 336-41, who appears to follow I. Goldziher (in *Muh. St.*, ii, 119-20), who mistakenly makes the equation ʿUthmāniyya = partisans of the Umayyads).

Bibliography: On the mss. and edition of the *Risāla fi 'l-Nābita*, see Brockelmann, S I, 242, no. 7, and Pellat, *Nouvel inventaire*, in *Arabica*, xxxi (1984), 151, no. 162. In addition to the references given in the article, see further A. Khālid, *Shakhṣiyyāt wa-ṭayyārāt*, Sousse 1970, 236-40; Rashīd Riḍā, in *Manār*, vii (1904-5), 620-4; C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of Contention and Strife"*, JSS Monographs no. 3, Manchester 1980, 38-40; and *Bibl.* to ḤASHWIYYA. Starting from the mention, by al-Fārābī, of the *nawābit* who are, grosso modo, the opposition, Ilai Alon has been led to analyse the concept expressed by the term, not only by the author of *al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, but additionally in the works where it figures, from the time of al-Djāḥiẓ onwards; see his *Fārābī's funny flora: al-nawābit as "opposition"*, in *Arabica*, xxxvii (1990), 56-90.

(CH. PELLAT)

NABOB [see NAWWĀB].

NĀBULUS, a town in central Palestine, the name of which is derived from that of Flavia Neapolis built in honour of Vespasian. Its Old Testament predecessor was Shechem, which however lay more to the east on the site of the present village of Balāṭa (the name is explained by S. Klein, in *ZDPV*, xxxv, 38-9; cf. R. Hartmann, in *ibid.*, xxxiii, 175-6, as "platanus", from the evidence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux and the *Midrash Gen. rb.*, c. 81, § 3). According to Eusebius, the place where the old town stood was pointed out in a suburb of Neapolis. The correctness of this identification of the site of Shechem has now been completely proved by Sellin's excavations; and this also explains how the old name did not as usual drive out the late Greek one. In the time of the Arab writers, the name Shechem was long forgotten and what they tell us refers to Neapolis-Nābulus.

Nābulus is in a long valley (running form east to west) formed by two chains of hills, on the south side Garizim, Arabic Djabal al-Ṭūr or al-Ḳiblī (2,900 feet high), on the north side Ebal, Arabic Djabal Islāmiyya or al-Shamālī (3,140 feet high). G. Hölscher (*ZDPV*, xxxiii, 98) refers the older name of Neapolis, Mabartha (Mamortha) in Pliny and Josephus, i.e. "crossing", *maʿbartā*, to the low saddle running right across the valley. The town with its 22 springs is unusually rich in water, which can be heard running everywhere and produces a very luxuriant vegetation. Where the road from the south turns westwards into the valley there is a well with the ruins of a church. Unanimous tradition since the 4th century A.D. locates here Jacob's well, and it is undoubtedly the same as is mentioned in John, iv, 5. About a thousand yards to the north is a building where tradition locates Joseph's grave.

In the post-exilic period, Shechem belonged to the territory of the mixed people of the Samaritans, whose capital it became after they had built on the hill of Garizim (the Samaritan text of Deut., xxvii, 5, has this name instead of Ebal) a temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem. They were continually at strife with the Jews, and in the end John Hyrcanus in 129 B.C. destroyed Shechem and its temple. At a later date, this always turbulent people was equally hostile to the Romans, which caused Vespasian to attack them on Garizim, when a large number were slain. Christianity gradually spread in the country and Neapolis became a bishopric. The result was that the Samaritans now turned their arms against the Christians and treated them with great cruelty. After a deadly raid by them, the Byzantine Emperor Zeno (474-91) had them driven from Garizim and built a church there. They wrought still greater havoc in the time of Justinian, who punished them with great severity and destroyed their synagogues while he rebuilt the churches. This finally broke their spirit; many of them fled to Persia while others became Christians. Their part had been played out by the time that Nābulus, with many other towns, fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The notices of the Arab authors about the town are very scanty. They know that it was inhabited by Samaritans [see SĀMIRIYYA] and some add that, according to the Jews, they are found nowhere else; but it should be noted that al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 158, speaks of Samaritans in Filasṭīn and Urdunn. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions (*Buldān*, 328, tr. Wiet, 181), Nābulus as a town near two sacred hills with a population of Jews, foreigners and Samaritans. Below the town is a subterranean city, hewn out of the rock. Al-Muḳaddasī says "Nābulus lies in a valley between two hills, is rich in olive-trees and a stream flows through it. The houses are of stone and there are mills there; the mosque in the centre has a beautiful paved courtyard". In the Crusading period, Nābulus is mentioned as unfortified. On 23 Jan. 1120, an assembly of prelates and secular notables was held here with the object of improving the morals of the Christians. Al-Idrīsī mentions the well of Jacob where Christ had the conversation with the woman of Samaria; a fine church had then been built on the spot. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1160-73) records that there were no Jews in Nābulus, but about 100 Kutaeans (Samaritans), who offered burned offerings on the altar on Garizim at the passover and on other feast-days. His contemporary ʿAlī al-Harawī says the Samaritans are very numerous. He, as does Yāḳūt, always writes Garizim as Kazirim, a corruption which we already have in the "Agazaren" of the pilgrim of Bordeaux. A terrible earthquake in 1202 added to the miseries inflicted on the town by the continual wars between Franks and Muslims. Under the great Mamlūk Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] it finally passed into possession of the Muslims. Yāḳūt remarks on the wealth of water and fertility of the district; here, he says, is the hill on which according to the Jews, Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac (not Ishmael as many of the Muslims say). When praying, the Samaritans turn towards Garizim. Al-Dimashḳī says that Nābulus is like a palace surrounded by gardens; he mentions the pilgrimages of the Samaritans to Garizim where they sacrificed lambs. The Muslims had a fine mosque in the town, where the Ḳurʾān was recited day and night. Accord-

ing to Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1467), the area included 300 villages.

During the Ottoman period, and till the time of the appearance of the Egyptian commander Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha in the 1830s, Nābulus and the Jordan valley to the east remained virtually independent of Istanbul and under the control of local feudal lords. During the First World War, the Turks constructed a 37 km./23 mile-long narrow gauge railway from Ṭulkarm eastwards into the hills via Masʿūdiyya to Nābulus.

Nābulus has always been a strongly Muslim town, with few Jews and Christians and a very small community of Samaritans (161 in the 1931 census), and from the 1930s onwards became a centre of resistance to Jewish immigration into Palestine; it was there in 1936 that the first "Arab National Committee" was founded in the wake of the communal violence at that time. Until 1931, Nābulus had been a flourishing centre of olive-oil pressing and the manufacture of olive-oil soap, but the export of this soap was hit by Egyptian protective tariffs and the rise of an indigenous Egyptian soap-making industry.

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(F. Buhl-[C.E. Bosworth])

al-**NĀBULUSĪ** [see ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl].

NADHĪR (a., pl. *nudhur*, Ḳurʾān, LIII, 57), from form IV of *n-dh-r*, with the meaning of warner; sometimes also as a verbal noun, e.g. LXVII, 17. The plural *nudhur* is also found in the sense of an infinitive, e.g. LXXVII, 6. The term occurs frequently in the Sacred Book, where it is even said to be synonymous with *rasūl*; its opposite is *bashīr, mubashshir. Nadhīr* as well as *bashīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings (cf. XVII, 106; XXV, 58; XXXIII, 44; XLVIII, 8; *mubashshiran wa-nadhīran*). As an epithet it is used especially in connection with Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and with Muḥammad himself who thereby receives the stamp of a second Noah (cf. XXVI, 115; L, 51; LXXI, 2, with XXIX, 49; XXXV, 21; XXXVIII, 70; LXVII, 26). Sometimes the Ḳurʾān insists on the fact of Muḥammad's being only a warner (sūra XLVI, 8), or his being the first warner who was sent to his people (XXVIII, 46; XXXIV, 43).

The term is found in *ḥadīth* apart from the common use, known from the Ḳurʾān, in the curious expression *al-nadhīr al-ʿuryān* (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 26; *Iʿtiṣām*, *bāb* 2; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 16) with which Muḥammad denotes himself when he says: "Myself and my mission are like a man who went to some people saying: I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my eyes, and I am the naked warner". Several anecdotal stories are told by the commentators in explanation of this expression. It is also said, by some of them, that in early Arabia, a man who saw an approaching danger stripped himself of his clothes and wound them around his head in order to warn his tribespeople. The meaning "Nazirite", which in several dictionaries is given to the term *nadhīr*, in the first place does not occur in the Kurʾān, nor in *ḥadīth*, nor in *Lisān al-ʿArab* nor in *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, it is however, used in translations of the Bible.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii, 54 ff.; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 561-2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, iv, 136; Ḳasṭallānī, ix, 305; Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, v, 71.

(A.J. Wensinck)

NADHĪR AḤMAD DIHLAWĪ (Mawlwi/Deputy) (1836-1912), Urdu prose writer, is often described as "the first real novelist" in the language. But this description presupposes that by "novels" we mean fiction dealing with contemporary social themes, more or less following Western models (for fiction prior to Nadhīr Aḥmad, and that on other themes, see ḳiṣṣa 5. In Urdu. The same article provides information on five of Nadhīr Aḥmad's novels).

He was born in a village of Bidjnawr district, not far from Dihlī, of an impoverished and improvident father, who also tried to prevent him from studying English. The family moved to Dihlī where, at the age of nine, he was admitted to a *madrasa* attached to a mosque. He had to support himself by begging and working as a servant. In 1847, an injury that he sustained in a crowd outside Dihlī College brought him to the attention of the Principal, who was so impressed by him that he gave him a scholarship to study there. Nadhīr Aḥmad left in 1854, and began his working life as a teacher in the Pandjāb. It would appear that his early success in his career stemmed, in part, from the gratitude of the British authorities for his "support". During the Mutiny (1858) he saved the life of an English lady, and he was appointed Deputy Inspector of Schools at Allāhābād. He had already begun teaching himself English, and made such progress that he was appointed to translate into Urdu first the Income Tax Regulations (1861), and then the Indian Penal Code. His career thus changed from education to finance, and in 1867 he was appointed Deputy Collector of Settlements. In 1877 he was invited to Hyderabad, and earned a high salary as a member of the State Revenue Board. He retired on pension in 1883, and returned to Dihlī, where he remained till his death.

Nadhīr Aḥmad's work as a translator must have enhanced his command of language, and his literary works indicate an extensive Urdu vocabulary, including many Persian, and more especially Arabic, words. At the same time, the efforts he had made in mastering English must have commended him to British government officials. This in its turn encouraged his work as a novelist, though it was only a part-time occupation; seven novels spread over more than twenty years hardly constitute a large output.

His first novel, *Mirʾāt al-ʿarūs* (1869), was written for his daughters, as he was struck by the lack of Urdu educational material suitable for Muslim girls. Its theme is the aptitude of girls for marriage, two sisters being contrasted. The manuscript was seen by the British Director of Public Instruction for the North

eastern Provinces, with the result that it was published with the support of the Indian Government, and became not only a text book but also a best-seller. Equally successful was his third novel, *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ* (1877), the subject of which is a father's duty to give his children moral guidance. Both these two books have run into numerous editions for over a hundred years, and until the end of British rule, they were used as set books for the Higher Urdu Examination for expatriate Indian Government officials.

Naḏhīr Aḥmad's final two novels, *Ruʾyā-yi-ṣādiḳa*, an exposition of the fundamentals of Islam, and *Ayāma*, a plea for widows' re-marriage, rely too much on dialogue and discussion. These were important elements in his previous novels but had been kept in check. All his novels are didactic in aim, as he freely admits in his prefaces. This accords with ideas of the ʿAlīgarh Movement, which did not set much store by "art for art's sake", and tended to give content and meaning precedence over style and form. This is, perhaps, the reply to those critics who complain—with justice—that the characters in these novels are types rather than individuals. Naḏhīr Aḥmad was himself a trustee of ʿAlīgarh College and a supporter of the Movement.

The language of his novels is generally regarded as a model of the Classical Urdu of Dihlī—*Dihlī kī ṭaksālī* (literally, "mint") *zabān*, though some do not approve of his use of the colloquial while others think there are too many Arabic words. As for the plots, some modern critics find that they do not sustain interest and are at times thin and unequal. This is the view of Muhammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 320), but he excludes *Tawbat al-naṣūḥ* from this criticism.

Naḏhīr Aḥmad also wrote theological works: *al-Ḥuḳūḳ wa 'l-farāʾiḍ*, *Idjtihād* and *Ummahāt al-umma*. The last-named is an attempt to answer criticisms of the Prophet (no doubt made by Christian missionaries) for the number of his wives. This naturally gave offence, and unsold copies were publicly burnt (Sadiq, 317).

More recently, his letters have aroused interest. A collection of them was published in Lahore in 1963, ed. Iftikhār Ahmad Ṣiddīḳī (see *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: There are many studies of Naḏhīr Aḥmad, now acknowledged as one of the great Urdu writers. However, *Ḥayāt al-Naḏhīr*, by ʿĀlim Bilgrāmī, Dihlī 1912, is still a standard reference. Among shorter accounts, that in Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, must take pride of place. For the letters, see Naḏhīr Aḥmad, *Mawʿiẓat-i-Ḥasnā*, ed. Iftikhār Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī, Lahore 1963, with introduction and notes. For Naḏhīr Aḥmad's novels, there are so many editions that it is pointless to list them. For further references, particularly to place these novels in the context of the general history of Urdu fiction, see ḲIṢṢA. 5. In Urdu. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

NAḎHR (A.), vow. This procedure was taken over into Islam from the pre-Islamic Arabs and underwent modification by the new religion. The idea of dedication is associated with the root *n-ḏh-r* which is also found in South Arabian, Hebrew and Aramaic and to some extent in Assyrian. An animal could be the object of dedication among the Arabs. For example, they dedicated by *naḏhr* certain of their sheep etc., for the *ʿatīra* feast in Radjab (*Lisān al-ʿArab* and al-Djawhari, s.v.); the dedication, which was expressed in solemn formulae, signified that the animals were removed from the mundane sphere and placed in the sacred one.

As a rule, a sacrifice was dedicated in order to obtain good fortune in a particular respect. The promise to dedicate an animal when the herd had reached the number of a hundred (*op. cit.*) had an effect on the prosperity of the animals because the word anticipated the fact. According to the story, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib similarly dedicated a son to be slain beside the Kaʿba if he should have ten sons and they grew up (Ibn Hishām, 97-8) but for his *naḏhr* 100 camels were substituted.—A childless woman could also vow if she had a son to dedicate him to the sanctuary (*ibid.*, 76; perhaps this story is a literary borrowing). According to the *ḥadīth* of Maymūna bint Kardam, her father promised to sacrifice 50 sheep if he had a son (Yāḳūt, i, 754; Abū Dāwūd, *Aymān*, *bāb* 19; Ibn Mādja, *Kaffārāt*, *bāb* 18). If a child was sick, its mother could dedicate it by a vow as *aḥmas* (from *ḥums* [*q.v.*]) if it recovered (al-Azraḳī, 123, 8 ff.). Escape from every difficulty was sought by a *naḏhr*. During a battle, a camel used to be dedicated as a sacrifice (al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 39). The traveller in the desert used to make a vow on account of the danger (see the verse in Lane and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.). In distress at sea one promised offerings to God or a saint or vowed to do something oneself, such as fasting (sūra X, 23, XXIX, 65; Abū Dāwūd, *Aymān*, *bāb* 20; see also Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 311). During a drought ʿUmar vowed to taste neither *samn* (i.e. ghee), nor milk nor meat till the rain fell (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2573, 12 f.).

Even if a sacrifice were promised, the vow also affected the person concerned, as we see from the fact that he had his hair shorn not only on the *ḥadjdj* but also, for example, when sacrificing after a journey (Ibn Hishām, 15, 749; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 324, 381, 429-30; al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 125); for the cutting of the hair ended, as in the case of the Israelite Nazirite, the state of consecration. The vow therefore had always more or less the character of a self-dedication. This aspect was often quite prominent. Ordinary sacred duties such as participation in the *ḥadjdj* were assumed as a consecration by *naḏhr* (sūra XXII, 30) at which special obligations were assumed e.g. to go to the sanctuary on foot, or barefooted (al-Bukhārī, *Djazāʾ al-ṣayd*, *bāb* 27; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Nuḏhūr wa 'l-aymān*, *bāb* 17). The sacred condition of *iʿtikāf* was assumed as a *naḏhr*; thus before his conversion ʿUmar vowed to make a nightly *iʿtikāf* in the Meccan sanctuary (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 54; *Aymān*, *bāb* 29). Such a vow to separate oneself from everyday life in some special way was very frequent among the ancient Arabs; for Labīd (17, 17) compares an antelope buck alone among the bushes to one fulfilling his vow (*ḳāḍī 'l-nuḏhūr*).

This isolation had the definite object of spiritual concentration and strengthening the soul and thereby influencing the deity. Abstinence was therefore practised in preparation for great deeds, especially in war. The Arabs "touched no perfume, married no woman, drank no wine and avoided all pleasures when they were seeking vengeance, until they attained it" (*Ḥamāsa*, 447, v. 5 schol.); avoidance of wine (*Ḥamāsa*, 237, v. 4 ff.) and women (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*[2], xv, 161, 154) is specially mentioned. These abstentions like the *ḥadjdj* rites and the *iʿtikāf* are also the objects of a *naḏhr*. The form of this vow is for example "wine and women are *ḥarām* to me until I have slain 100 Asadīs" (*Aghānī*, viii, 68, [2]65). A definite term may be fixed, such as drinking no wine for 30 days in order to obtain vengeance (Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Kowalski, iv, 28). Forms of abstention are not to eat meat, not to wash the head, so that the *djanāba* is not removed (*Aghānī*, ix, 149, [2]141, xiii, 69, [2]66; Ibn Hishām, 543, 980;

Hudhailitenlieder, ed. Wellhausen, no. 189), not to anoint oneself (al-Wāķidī-Wellhausen, 201). Refraining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse are mentioned together (*Aghānī*, vi, 99, [2]97, viii, 68, [2]66; Ibn Hishām, 543; al-Wāķidī-Wellhausen, 73, 94). There is also evidence of complete fasting (al-Wāķidī-Wellhausen, 105, 402). The abstentions, the offering and the deed to be done form the content of the *nadhr*. It is said: *nadhartu ʿalā nafsī* and *nadhartu mālī* (al-Djawharī and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v.) as well as *nadhara dam^a fulān* (ʿAntara, 21, 84; Ibn Ķays al-Ruķayyāt, 52, 5). After a wish has been fulfilled a vow of gratitude may also be taken (al-Wāķidī, 290).

The consecration placed the person making the vow in connection with the divine powers, the *nadhr* was an *ʿahd* (sūra IX, 76, XXXIII, 27 XLVIII, 10), whereby he pledged himself. A neglect of the *nadhr* was a sin against the deity (Imruʾ al-Ķays, 51, 10). The sacred obligation of living made this a *nadhr* or (synonymous) *naḥb*, which one should fulfil (*ķaḍā*), instead of wandering aimlessly (sūra XXXIII, 23; al-Wāķidī, 120; Labīd, 41, 1; Kumayt, *Hāshimiyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, 4, 48). The importance of the binding pledge gradually becomes more prominent (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, where *nadhara* is explained by *awdjaba*, ironically *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, 7, 2); the emphasis on the material dedication gradually became less. The abstinences mentioned receive their importance on the one hand from works meritorious to the deity, on the other from the unpleasant deprivations, by which the person taking the vow disciplines himself. Both points of view are seen in the examples quoted. The releasing of slaves or divorcing of wives often form the subject of a kind of vow by which a man pledges himself under certain conditions. A man may also vow to sacrifice all his camels if he is lying (*Ḥamāsa*, 667, v. 3). The strict obligation inherent in the *nadhr* makes it closely related to the oath [see ĶASAM].

One can also bind one's family by a vow. A mother swears not to comb her hair or to seek shade until her son or daughter fulfils her wish (*Aghānī*, xviii, 205, [2]205; Ibn Hishām, 319, ii, 90). The strength of this kind of "conjuration" is based on the relationship between the two partners. If a dying man vows that his tribe shall slay 50 to avenge him, this binds the tribe (*Ḥamāsa*, 442-3). There thus arose in Islam the problem of how far unfulfilled vows had to be fulfilled by the descendants (Muslim, *Nadhr*, trad. 1; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 19; cf. Goldziher, *Ẓâhiriten*, 80).

In Islam the vow and the oath are treated together. In the Ķurʾān it is prescribed that unconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in an oath may be broken and expiated (sūra II, 225, V, 91). The context shows that the reference is to vows of abstinence, especially relating to food and women. Sūra II, 226-7, in continuation says that those who bind themselves by *īlāʾ* not to touch a woman should either break the vow after 4 months or pronounce the formula of divorce. The breach of the oath then requires the *kaffāra*. The *ẓihār* formula is absolutely forbidden (sūra LVIII, 1-5; cf. XXXIII, 4); it is a great sin in the eyes of the law, while the *īlāʾ* is not a sin (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 284 ff.; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, 13, 68 ff.). The "release from the oath" promised in sūra LXVI, 2 refers to a vow of continence. The same *kaffāra* holds for a broken vow as for an oath. It is probable in this case that we have Jewish influence (cf. *Mishna*, *N^edārīm*) but the principle of releasing oneself from a vow by doing something else is certainly also originally Arab. But with Islam comes the view that *nudhūr* are useless because they cannot influence God (al-Bukhārī, *Aymān*, *bāb* 26; *Ķadar*, *bāb* 6; Muslims, *Nadhr*, trad. 2). Thus we find *ḥadīths* which urge the fulfilment of vows as well as those that forbid them. Following hints in the *ḥadīths*, we find a systematic division into vows of piety (*nadhr al-tabarrur*), which are intended to acquire merit by a pious deed (*ṭāʿa*), and vows by oaths which, since they are conditioned, serve to incite, prevent or strengthen. The latter are called *nadhr al-ladjādj wa 'l-ghaḍab*. They are deprecated but must be treated like oaths. Their matter must not be sinful; according to some, such a vow is invalid, according to other, it is valid but must be broken. Their matter must not already be an individual duty (*wādjib ʿaynī*). The person taking the vow must, like him taking an oath, be *mukallaf* and be acting of his own free-will.

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NADHR AL-ISLĀM, ĶĀḌĪ, Kazi Nazrul Islam, (1899-1976), revolutionary Bengali poet, and the greatest Muslim contributor to modern Bengali literature.

He was born on 24 May 1899 to Ķāḍī Faķīr Aḥmad and Zāhida Khātūn of Čurūliyā, a village in the district of Burdwān in what is now the Indian province of West Bengal, to which his ancestors had moved from Patnā in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh ʿĀlam. As the title of *Ķāḍī* denotes, his ancestors were judges in the Muslim administration. His father, a lover of Persian and Bengali poetry, died while Nadhr al-Islām was only eight years old. He had a miserable childhood, which explains why he was nicknamed *Dukhū Miyān* ("the unhappy one"). He had his primary education in the village *maktab*, reading Ķurʾān, Arabic and Persian, and taught there for a year. He then joined the village *Lētō* (folk drama) group for about three or four years, composing songs and plays. Thereafter, he moved to the nearby town of Āsansōl and worked there at a bread shop. His talents attracted the attention of a Muslim police officer, who got him admitted to the high school in his village in the district of Mymensingh, now in Bangladesh; a year later, he moved to study in Burdwān. Before he could appear for the matriculation examinations, he joined the army in 1917 at the age of 18, influenced by one of his teachers who was a member of the revolutionary Djugantar Party. The idea was that the military training thus acquired could be used later in the anti-British struggle. He was posted at Karachi as part of the 49th Bengali Regiment with a rank of havildar (sergeant) quartermaster.

Nadhr al-Islām's first published poem, *Muktī* "Release", sent from Karachi, appeared in the July-August 1919 issue of the Calcutta journal *Bangiya Musalmān Sāhitya Patrikā*, organ of the Bangiya Musalmān Sāhitya Samitī (BMSS), a literary platform established by Bengali Muslim writers and poets who were not taken seriously by the Hindu-dominated Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad (Bengali Literary Academy). His first short story in print,

Bhānduler Ātamkathā ("Autobiography of a vagabond"), believed to be his own story, was also published the same year by a Calcutta Muslim journal, Sawghāt. During his military days, Nadhr al-Islām wrote two short story collections, Bāythar Dān ("Gift of pain"), in which he was influenced by the Communist Revolution in Russia, and Rikter Bēdan ("Open pain"), consisting of love stories, mainly tragic. While in Karachi, Nadhr al-Islām befriended a Pandjābī mawlawī in his regiment who taught him Persian and helped him translate selections from Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī's Rubāʿiyyāt into Bengali. These were published in various magazines and later completed and collected as Rubāʿiyyāt-i Ḥāfiẓ (Calcutta 1930). He continued this interest into the 1930s and translated the Rubāʿiyyāt of ʿUmar Khayyām, published in book form in 1960.

With the end of the First World War, Nadhr al-Islām's regiment was disbanded in March 1920. He returned to live in Calcutta and became closely associated with the BMSS, where his friends persuaded him not to seek government employment but to promote his literary potentialities. It was a time of great turmoil with the Non-Cooperation and Khilāfat movements raging in India against the British colonial rule. The BMSS's Muẓaffar Aḥmad, later founder of the first Communist Party in India, proved a vital factor in Nadhr al-Islām's evolution as the first poet of avowedly Communistic inspiration in Bengal, if not in India. He soon took to political journalism and joined in July 1920 a daily evening paper, Nawa Djug ("New era") as a co-editor with Muẓaffar Aḥmad. The government imposed various fines on the radical paper until its financier, A.K. Faḍl al-Ḥakk, a prominent Calcutta lawyer, advised the editors to tone down its anti-British line. This prompted Nadhr al-Islām to quit the paper in December 1921. Two months later he returned to the paper for a short while. His editorials were collected in a book, Djugabānī (Calcutta 1922) which was promptly proscribed by the government.

Nadhr al-Islām, popularly called "Nadhrul", became the poet of the Swarādj (freedom) era, just as Tagore was the poet of the Swadēshī days when the emphasis was on self-reliance and use of local products. He wrote the immortal song of the Swarādj movement, Bhangar Kathā ("Story of destruction"), which was a forerunner of Bidrōhī. It was banned by the British, but people sang it from thousands of platforms throughout the years of the national struggle right up to 1947. Many of Nadhr al-Islām's earliest published poems are on Islamic themes, like Ḳurbānī ("Sacrifice"), Muḥarram, Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (an address by a Bengali soldier to ʿIrāḳ about the common slavery of his country and "the land of the great martyrs"), and Fātiḥa dawāzdahum (on the Prophet's birthday). He also wrote poems in praise of Muslim leaders like Muṣṭafā Kemāl, Enwer Pasha, Saʿd Zaghlūl and Muḥammad ʿAlī.

In December 1921, Nadhr al-Islām composed his immortal poem Bidrōhī ("The rebel"), which expressed the popular mood of rebellion against British rule. It was an event in the literary and political life of Bengāl and was warmly received in all parts of the country. It established him as a great Bengali poet, as a result of which he was often called Bidrōhī Kabī ("the rebel poet"), an apt description of the first phase of his literary life.

Nadhr al-Islām served the daily Sēbak for two months in the summer of 1922 before launching his own bi-weekly Dhūmkētū ("Comet") on 12 August 1922, "first and foremost to demand the full and complete independence of India", as one of its editorials said. The first issue came out with a revolutionary poem bearing the same title, Dhūmkētū. Soon his militant writings and fiery poems landed him into trouble, and he was sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment in January 1923 on charges of sedition. The magazine had to be closed down before he could be released in December.

In April 1924, Nadhr al-Islām married a Hindu girl, Pramīlā, to the dislike of both Hindus and Muslims. A year later he participated in the foundation of the (pro-Communist) Labour Swarādj Party of the Indian National Congress (subsequently the Workers' and Peasants' Party) and became the co-editor of its weekly organ Lāngal ("Plough"). Its first issue appeared on 25 December 1925. He published in Lāngal a series of sarbahārā ("have-nots") poems, each with a sub-title like "God", "Man", "Sin", "Prostitute", "Woman", "Workers", etc. These were the first such poems in Bengali in honour of the proletariat. He sang for the rights of the poor, equality of men and women and proclaimed revolt against orthodoxy. Lāngal later changed its name to Gānābānī in September 1926 to become the first professed organ of Marxism in India. Nadhr al-Islām was the first to translate the Communist Internationale into Bengali, but he never became a member of the Communist Party because political polemics did not interest him. He was considered to be the leader of the rebel Kallōl group of writers who challenged the existing literary norms and moral values of the Bengali educated élite.

The 1920s were Nadhr al-Islām's most productive years. He produced a large number of collections of poems, essays, plays, short stories and novels, including poems and plays for children. His collection of poems, Prālāy shīkhā ("Flame of destruction"), published in 1930, was found by the authorities to be preaching sedition. The publisher was sentenced to two years' jail, while Nadhr al-Islām was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He was released, however, before reaching jail as a result of the Irwin-Gandhi pact in March 1931.

Nadhr al-Islām was far from being financially well-off with his prose and poetry until 1928 when he was introduced to HMV, a British gramophone company. His songs were sung first by professional artists, then by himself. He took expert lessons in music and was soon employed by HMV as a music composer. Now in his second and last literary phase, Nadhr al-Islām softened his militant approach and wrote sweet love and devotional songs and ghazals which were produced by various gramophone companies. Two of his stories, Widdyābatī and Sapērā, were filmed. He acted as a music director of an Urdu film, Čowrangī. He also wrote plays and composed their music. Towards the end of the second phase, he again started writing Muslim songs for the record companies. These include Ḥamd and Naʿt, poems and songs in praise of Allah and the Prophet respectively, Marthiyas [q.v.] (elegies, especially of the Imām Ḥusayn), as well as songs for Muslim festivals. During his editorship of the revived Nawa Djug (1940-2), he wrote many songs and poems dedicated to Muslims. He also wrote Hindu devotional songs like Bhadjans and Kīrtans. He makes frequent use of Hindu mythology in his poetry. It has been estimated that Nadhr al-Islām composed about 3,500 songs, out of which about 2,500 are largely difficult to trace.

Nadhr al-Islām's luck proved to be brief. His second son Bulbul (born 1926), to whom he was highly attached, died suddenly in May 1930. He never recovered from the shock of Bulbul's death, and

with it ended his apparent atheism. Henceforth, his work was marked by a new seriousness and sadness. He became increasingly preoccupied with dubious Tāntric (Hindu occult) practices, yearning to establish communion with Bulbul. In the later phase of his life, a return to Islam is visible, with repentence and a confession of sinfulness. He also started to write a biography of the Prophet in verse. This incomplete work was later published as *Marū Bhāskar* ("Moon of the desert") (Calcutta 1957)).

Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām returned to political journalism in 1940 when *Nawa <u>Dj</u>ug* was re-published, again with him as its editor. In the same year, his wife was paralysed and remained so until her death in 1964. Soon he too was totally crippled on 9 July 1942 by an incurable brain disease. Despite local and foreign medical attention, he never recovered from his semi-conscious condition. He received great recognition and tributes during his lifetime. In 1945 he was granted by the Calcutta University the <u>Dj</u>ugātarīnī Medal, until then the greatest Bengali literary award. The governments of West Bengal and Pakistan (Bangladesh since 1971) granted him special pensions. In 1976 he was moved to Dhākā, where he died on 29 August of the same year and was buried with full state honours in the Dhākā University campus.

Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām is generally placed next only to Rabindra Nath Tagore in modern Bengali literature. He was fond of using Urdu and Persian words in his poems and writings, and introduced *<u>gh</u>azal* into Bengali in 1926. He also started the translation of the Ḳur'ān into Bengali verse, but the work was never completed. His translation of the last (30th) part of the Ḳur'ān was published as *Kawya ʿamm pārah* (Calcutta 1933). For all his multi-faceted contributions, Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām was basically a poet. He had great command over rhyme and metre, using Arabic and Persian ones as well as inventing new ones. The basic theme of his poetry was to arouse people to struggle for the freedom of their country and recover their rights, but he had no coherent philosophy to offer. As he said in his "explanation" (*Amār kafiyat*, 1926) he was "a poet of the present, not the prophet of the future".

Bibliography: Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām wrote poetry, prose, short stories, novels, songs, plays, books for children as well as the translations mentioned above. *The national bibliography of Indian literature, 1901-53* (ed. Kesavan and Kulkarni, New Delhi 1962, i, 94, 120, 193, 220) lists 35 works by him, but the National Library of India at Calcutta has on its shelves 77 of his works without taking reprints into account. Several attempts have been made to collect Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām's works; the biggest collection, apparently incomplete, is *Na<u>dh</u>rul račanāwalī* (Dhākā 1984).

There is a rich literature on Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām in Bengali, published in both West Bengal and Bangladesh. Important works include: Aẓhar al-Dīn <u>Kh</u>ān, *Bangla sāhityē Na<u>dh</u>rul*, 3rd ed., Calcutta 1959; Muẓaffar Aḥmad, *Ḳāḍī Na<u>dh</u>rul prasangē*, Calcutta 1959; idem, *Ḳāḍī Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām samritī kathā*, Calcutta 1965; Sūshīl Kumār Guptā, *Na<u>dh</u>rul čarit mānas*, Calcutta 1960; Ṣūfī <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Fiḳār Ḥaydar, *Na<u>dh</u>rul <u>Dj</u>īwaner sēs adhyāy*, Dhāka 1964; Wiswānāth Dē, *Na<u>dh</u>rul samritī*, Calcutta 1970; Prantōs Čattōpādhyāy, *Ḳāḍī Na<u>dh</u>rul*, 2nd ed., Seorāphūlī 1973; ʿAṭā al-Raḥmān, *Na<u>dh</u>rul kawya samikshā*, 3rd ed., Dhakā 1974; Gawrī Sankar <u>Bh</u>aṭṭāčāryā *et al.*, *Na<u>dh</u>rul sangā-o prasangā*, Calcutta 1976; Sudhīr Ran<u>dj</u>an Gūhā, *Martālōker Dhūmkētū*, Calcutta 1978.

Works on Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām in other languages include: Kazi Abdul Wadud, *Creative Bengal*, Calcutta 1950; Yūnus Aḥmar, *Ḳāḍī Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām, zindagī awr fann*, Karachi 1967; Basudha Chakravarti, *Kazi Nazrul Islam*, New Delhi 1968; Gopal Haldar, *Kazi Nazrul Islam*, New Delhi 1973; Serajul Islam Choudhury, *Introducing Nazrul Islam*, Dhākā 1974. Shorter accounts of his life and literary career are found in S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of national biography*, Calcutta 1973, ii, 309-11, and Naresh Kumar Jain (ed.), *Muslims in India — a biographical dictionary*, New Delhi 1983, ii, 89 f. Selections from Na<u>dh</u>r al-Islām have been translated into English and various Indian and Soviet languages. These include: *Bā<u>gh</u>ī*, tr. Dayānand Keshawdās Manshāramānī, Karachi 1944; *Ṭu<u>gh</u>yān*, tr. Yūnus Aḥmar, Delhi 1945; *Selected poems*, tr. Kabir Chowdhury, Dhākā 1963; *The Rebel and other poems*, tr. Basudha Chakravarty, New Delhi 1974) and *The fiery lyre of Nazrul Islam*, tr. Abdul Hakim, Dhākā 1974.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM <u>KH</u>ĀN)

NA<u>DH</u>R MUḤAMMAD B. DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. <u>Dj</u>ānī Muḥammad b. Yār Muḥammad, the fifth great <u>kh</u>ān of Mā warā' 'l-nahr and Bal<u>kh</u> [*q.vv.*] of the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrid (<u>Dj</u>ānid [*q.v.*], A<u>sh</u>tar<u>kh</u>ānid) family of the <u>Dj</u>ūčid line of Čingiz <u>Kh</u>ān. Na<u>dh</u>r Muḥammad was born in 1000/1591-2, probably at <u>Kh</u>argird in eastern <u>Kh</u>urāsān to a descendant of Čingīz <u>Kh</u>an and the daughter of a Riḍawī *<u>sh</u>aykh* from Ma<u>sh</u>had. He was given an appanage at Bal<u>kh</u> *ca.* 1015/1606-7 during the <u>kh</u>ānate of his uncle Walī Muḥammad. For thirty-five years, until <u>Sh</u>aʿbān 1051/November 1641 when he succeeded his brother, Imām Ḳulī <u>Kh</u>ān, as grand <u>kh</u>ān at Bukhārā, he governed a region south of the Amū Daryā corresponding to what is today northern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān, including Bada<u>kh</u><u>sh</u>ān. He died at Simnān while making the *ḥa<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>* on 29 <u>Dj</u>umādā al-<u>Th</u>ānī 1061/19 June 1651.

During his tenure, Bal<u>kh</u> witnessed its last florescence as a great urban centre. Art, architecture, and literature all blossomed under Na<u>dh</u>r Muḥammad's sponsorship. His most important act of patronage was commissioning the universal history *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-a<u>kh</u>yār* which is the only detailed account of the rise of the Tuḳāy-Tīmūrid family. Its author, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, credits him with some twenty-five major building projects, including several hunting lodges, a palace complex, a congregational mosque, several *čahār bā<u>gh</u>s*, a *madrasa* with a 2,000 volume library and four lecture halls, and several hydraulic works. (*Baḥr al-asrār*, vi/4, *passim* but esp. fols. 213a-216a).

Bibliography: Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-a<u>kh</u>yār*, vi/4, India Office Library ms. 575, London; Iskandar Beg Mun<u>sh</u>ī, *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Īra<u>dj</u> Af<u>sh</u>ār, 2 vols. Iṣfahān n.d.; Ināyat <u>Kh</u>ān, *The Shah Jahan Nama of ʿInayat Khan*, tr. A.R. Fuller, edited and completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi 1990; B.A. Akhmedov, *Istoriya Bal<u>kh</u>a* (*XVI-pervaya polovina XVIII v.*) ("A history of Balkh from the 16th to the first half of the 18th century"), Tashkent 1982.

(R.D. MCCHESNEY)

NADĪM (A.) "drinking companion" and, by extension, friend, courtier (or confidant) of kings or of wealthy persons; his function is to entertain them, eat and drink in their company, play chess with them, accompany them in hunting and participate in their pastimes and recreations.

Lexicography (*LA*, xvi, 50 f.; *TA*, ix, 74; the Concordance of Ancient Arabic Poetry, edited by A.

Arazi, contains more than 90 references to *nadīm*) and mediaeval Arabic literature (which includes, among other literary forms, a special branch of anthologies devoted to drinking, feasting and pleasure; see *Bibl.*) supply an etymological explanation according to which the term *nadīm* (pl. *nidām*, *nudamāʾ*, *nudmān*; sing. *nadmān* and pl. *nadāmā* are also encountered) would be derived from the verb *nadima* "to regret". Writers (e.g., Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im, *Adab al-nadīm*, ed. Cairo, 3; al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Mukhtār min ḳuṭb al-surūr*, 136; and the bibliographical sources noted above) disagree as to the reason for this "regret": does the friend of the *nadīm*, or his master, regret the fact that the convivial experience, enjoyed in the company of the *nadīm*, must come to an end, or, on the contrary, does the *nadim* regret indiscretions, of deed or of word, which he has committed while in a state of intoxication? This disagreement reveals the artificial nature of the false etymology proposed by mediaeval authors. The *nadīm* already appears in accounts relating to the pre-Islamic period, such as the account concerning *al-Farḳadān*, the two *nadīms* (*nadmāns*) of the Arab prince D̲j̲ad̲h̲īma al-Abras̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. His court, situated at Ḥīra, was dominated and influenced by that of the Sāsānids. However, the style and the vocabulary of these Arabic accounts are the handiwork of writers of the Islamic period. These texts may be of assistance in clarifying the origin of the *nadīm* concept (see below, the Persian influence), but not the etymology of this term.

However the term *muʿāḳara*, denoting the action of two or more friends who drink together, is an ancient Arabic word dating back to the pre-Islamic period. This term presents the mutual aspect of the verbal form III *ʿāḳara* and the noun of action *mufāʿala*; the same applies to the action of the *nadīm*, which is *munādama* = "drinking together", as *muʾānasa*, *mud̲j̲ālasa*, *mulāʿaba* and *musāmara* refer to the activities of courtiers in the court and elsewhere, which will be examined in the course of this article. The Arabic lexicographers (*LA*, vi, 8-9top; *TA*, ii, 414) explain that the term *muʿāḳara* is derived from *ʿuḳr* (which also resembles *ḳaʿr*, having the same or almost the same sense), meaning "the bottom of a glass or a cup"; the action in question would thus consist of draining the cup to the dregs. *Muʿāḳara*, in the sense of a meal taken with friends, is explained, however, as deriving from the ancient Arab custom of competing in generosity with rivals, all being members of the same tribe. Each, in turn, attempts to outdo the others in slaughtering camels (by cutting the veins of the lower limbs) and distributing the meat to the people of the tribe. *Muʿāḳara* thus possesses two senses at once: eating and drinking, in other words, a meal and wine. But the question then arises as to why there should be two different etymologies for the two senses. It is evident that the explanation linking *muʿāḳara* with a competition of some sort is very revealing as to the initial sense which is likewise concealed in the custom of *munādama*; this sense will be elucidated below.

The concept of *munādama*, for its part, also in fact retains the mutual aspect and the competitive spirit of the activity. Certain rules concerning the etiquette of the *nadīm* bear indirect witness to the primal importance of the competitive spirit in this occupation. The rules forbid a *nadīm* to leave the presence of his "superior" (one of the *ʿuẓamāʾ* = the aristocracy, of the *mulūk* = kings, *raʾīs* = chief, even *raʾs* = head, assuming that this is not the result of an error on the part of the copyist or the printer) after an even number of glasses have been drunk. He is permitted to leave after an uneven number. It cannot be doubted that the authors dealing with this subject (see, e.g., Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Fuṣūl al-tamāt̲h̲īl*, Cairo 1925, 71) have not succeeded in perceiving the significance of this evidence which they copy or reformulate in terms of the code of etiquette. The explanation which they propose is insufficient: "so that he (i.e., the *nadīm*) should leave a remainder..." as if the uneven number is incomplete and thus encourages the *nadīm* to return to his "superior" and resume the feast. What we have in fact is an important leap in the evolution of etiquette which presents, at the same time, an anthropological aspect. It is permissible to compete in generosity with an "equal" (*naẓīr*) friend, of the same social class, in a drinking session. But this is not allowed with the sovereign who is the "superior" of the drinking companion. Even in the court, an archaic notion of competition has been preserved: in the past (long before the Islamic period, apparently), the first glass was reckoned to be the gift of the "superior", the second to be provided by his companion, the third to be a gift of the "superior", etc. But, according to an unstated rule, it is always appropriate to let the king win in this supposed competition (to all appearances, the totality of drinks served comes from the king's cellars). It is for this reason that all those who wish to leave must do so after the "uneven number".

A similar code of etiquette is found in the Bible, in the Book of Esther (i, 8), which attributes it to the Persian court of the Achaemenids. Here there are three types of behaviour appropriate to a feast: (a) drinking in free fashion (the text does not specify what this means; it emerges from the presence of the two following possibilities), probably in reference to feasts held on other occasions, or by other groups, outside the royal court; (b) drinking under obligation, because the king imposes it (Hebrew: *onés* = "one who forces"), with the aim of preventing those invited from drinking each to his own taste; and (c) drinking according to the code, according to some custom (= *kad-dat̲h̲*, an expression which has given rise to various interpretations, in ancient and mediaeval translations and commentaries). This possibility finds expression in certain limits which occupy an intermediate position between total liberty and constraint. Obviously, there are no exact parallels to be established between the ancient Persian court, described in the Bible, and that of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (influenced, besides, by the Sāsānid Persian kings, as will be seen in the course of this article), in the Islamic Middle Ages. However, there is a certain similarity to be noted between the two royal courts.

The rules of conduct observed by the *nadīm* symbolise, at least in part, the evolution of ceremonial in the courts of Muslim sovereigns. The commensal is in effect a special case of the more general concept of "companion of the sovereign" (*ṣāḥib al-sulṭān*, *i.e.*, one who belongs to the entourage and plays a role in the service of the sovereign). The diverse activities, political intrigues and secrets associated with this occupation have been minutely described by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, at the dawn of the development of Arabic literature (cf. M. Inostranzev, *Iranian influence*; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xi, 292-305; Ch. Pellat (tr.), *Couronne*, Introd., 8-10). Mediaeval readers were enabled to discover some traits characteristic of Sāsānid ceremonial in certain sources such as the *Tād̲j̲* ("Book of the Crown") attributed to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and the "Meadows of Gold" (*Murūd̲j̲*) of al-Masʿūdī, which reflect the ambience in Muslim courts, as well as the Persian precedents (cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*; idem, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*; Sadan, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 138-9). Certain advice

given in the text of the above-mentioned book of pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, and especially in Kushādjim's book (for example 27-8, giving detailed instructions as to how and in the company of whom one may wash one's hands), is formulated in a fashion which suggests that the rules of the Persian court were not followed, in the ʿAbbāsid period, with absolute rigour. However, in courts situated to the east of the ʿAbbāsid empire, there is evidence of a more pedantic tendency in this respect (see Sadan, in *REI*, liv, 295, 299: an episode at the Sāmānid court).

The fact that the Sāsānid code served as a model for the etiquette of the commensal is clearly attested by a series of instructions addressed to the royal *nadīm*. While stressing the danger which attends the occupation of the *nadīm*, these instructions teach him to combine opposing qualities and patterns of behaviour: serenity and gaiety, or "the respectable behaviour of old men with the joy (*mirāḥ*, which alternates in the texts with *mizāḥ* = humour) or urchins". A drinking companion who is unable to decide, on the basis of the gestures and reactions of his master during the *munādama*, which quality would be appropriate to a given situation, risks his life (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 155-6 = § 580; Kushādjim, *op. cit.*, 7-8 (cf. *addenda*, supplied by I. ʿAbbās, in *ʿAhd Ardashīr*, 94-5); al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, (incomplete Damascus edition), 289; idem, *al-Mukhtār min Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, 136; anon., *Ādāb al-mulūk ʿalā 'l-sharāb*, m.s. B.L. Or. 5314, fol. 2b; anon., *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*, ms. Cairo, Taymūriyya, *Adab*-152, fol. 95b). The Arab authors, with the exception of al-Masʿūdī, do not mention the source of these instructions, which is the *ʿAhd Ardashīr*, bequeathed to Arab culture by Persian literature. It is impossible to know how many other fragments of the Persian code are cited by Arab authors in such a way that their origin cannot be identified. Furthermore, even when the sources reflect the courtly life of the Muslim era, they describe customs influenced by the Persian heritage (see D. Sourdel, in *REI*, xxviii, 121-48; only M. Canard, in his magisterial study of comparative ceremonial in *Byzantion*, xxi, 355-420, further stresses the Byzantine influence on the Fāṭimid court; but when he wrote this, Canard lacked additional detailed sources concerning the ʿAbbāsid ceremonial which influenced the Fāṭimids. Certainly, their court rivalled that of their adversaries, the ʿAbbāsids, in its sumptuous conditions; nevertheless, in an earlier period, among the Umayyads, the Byzantine influence is discernible (see O. Grabar, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 51-60).

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (*loc. cit.*) indicates that the role of the *nadīm* is exceedingly complicated, and he declares his intention of tackling the subject elsewhere (in another work, unknown to bibliographers, which must have been composed specifically for this purpose). Al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 182, and al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalba*, 25-6, cite a variant version of these remarks of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and continue to describe in detail the rules of conduct of the *nadīm*, as if they were conversant with this lost work. However, it is quite reasonable to see here a later blending of instructions belonging to the code of conduct of commensals, which these two authors have found elsewhere and which they quote (without indicating the title of their common source), immediately after the remarks of Ibn al-Muʿtazz.

The rules of conduct which the *nadīm* must observe envisage all situations which are liable to arise in the court and in the homes of wealthy people. The Arabic sources advise him to show good taste and perfect cleanliness. He should perfume himself, clean his teeth, purify his breath by chewing aromatic herbs, take good care of his clothing (including undergarments), conform to the rules of politeness and observe the rules of good manners as determining the choice of seat at the table (al-Nawādjī, *op. cit.*, 26; al-Ghuzūlī, *op. cit.*, 180: according to his rank = *martaba*; knowledge of the arrangement of seats in hierarchical terms was a firm requirement; cf. Sadan, in *REI*, xl, 51-70), as well as the manner of sitting, posture, drinking (always in moderation; see al-Nawādjī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ghuzūlī, *loc. cit.*; Sadan, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 258-66, 271) and conversation. He must observe table manners during the meal (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 67-8, 76-7, speaks of table manners known in a certain class of the Persian aristocracy, the *dahāḳīn*, but not observed by the purely Arab aristocracy, *ahl al-buyūtāt* (cf. H. Kindermann, *Sitten*, 1964, *passim*; see also al-Aḳfahsī, *Ādāb al-akl*, Beirut 1986; al-Ghazzī, *Ādāb al-muʾākala*, Rabat 1984; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *K. al-Walāʾim*, Damascus 1987). It is thus appropriate that the *nadīm* should be one of the *ẓarīfs* (the "refined ones" described by al-Washshāʾ in al-*Muwashshā*; cf. M.F. Ghazi, in *SI*, xi, 40-41; M. Bergé, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī*, Damascus 1979, 55-6), but it cannot be deduced from this that every *ẓarīf* is necessarily a *nadīm*; *munādama* often consists of *muʾānasa* (= maintaining the friendship of somebody, participating in a reunion of friends), *mudjālasa* (= being seated in the company of some person, or in the company of friends) *musāmara* (= keeping company, at night, with one or more friends, telling them stories), *mulāʿaba* (= playing with somebody at chess, etc.) and *muzāmala* (= accompanying, on horseback, some person setting out for the hunt, or on a journey; see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 108 ff. = §§ 2791 ff., for a summary of the rules). In mediaeval courts, it was most often the case that poets, *adībs* (men of letters), singers (Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ) and even grammarians (al-Aṣmaʿī) belonged to the entourage and played the role of *nadīm*, *djalīs*, etc. This latter had to have a repertoire of captivating stories and amusing anecdotes, for the purpose of entertaining his master. Furthermore, it is preferable that he be a man of letters, or a scholar, and that he possess poetic and artistic talents. All in all, the activities of the *nadīm* reflect the ambience prevailing in the courts and literary circles of the Islamic Middle Ages and colour in, at least in part, the image of the *muḥāḍarāt* (gatherings in the course of which the participants converse and exchange information, quotations and stories) of oral *adab* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj*, Cairo 1914, tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre de la couronne attribué a Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1954, esp. Introd.; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, Cairo 1925 (two recent eds., Baghdād 1989 and Damascus 1989); Kushādjim, *Adab al-nadīm*, Cairo 1298/1881, recent ed. Baghdād 1990; Raffāʾ, *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mashmūm wa 'l-mashrūb*, Damascus 1986, iv, 273-8 (*mushāraba*) 278-82 (*nadīm*); Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā*, Beirut 1965; Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr* (incomplete edition), Damascus 1969; idem, *al-Mukhtār min Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, Tunis 1976; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, i, 292-3; anon. *Ādāb al-mulūk ʿalā 'l-sharāb*, m.s. B.L. Or. 5314; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923-55, *fann* 2, *ḳism* 3, *bāb* 5; Nawādjī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, Cairo 1938, esp. ch. 5; Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, Cairo 1299-1300/1882-3, esp. ch. 19; A. Chejne, *The boon-companion in early ʿAbbāsīd times*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 327-35; H. Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten beim Essen und Trinken*, Leiden 1964;

Sadan, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 129-60; idem, in *REI*, xl, 51-70; idem, in *REI*, liv, 285-300; M.M. Ahsan, *Social life under the Abbasids*, London 1979, 17, 33, 56, 153; Dj. Sirḥān, *al-Munādama wa 'l-musāmara*, Beirut 1981; ʿA.M. Hāshim, *al-Andiya al-adabiyya*, Beirut 1982; P. Heine, *Weinstudien*, Wiesbaden 1989; A. Clote, *Haroun al-Rachid*, Paris 1986, 70-9. (J. SADAN)

AL-**NADĪM** [see IBN AL-NADĪM].

AL-**NADĪM**, AL-SAYYID ʿ**ABD ALLĀH** B. MIṢBĀḤ AL-ḤASANĪ, (1843-96), radical Egyptian orator and propagandist, noted for his daring use of the vernacular in print and his caustic journalism, endeavouring *inter alia* to stem European intervention and limit the power of the Khedives. He was born in Alexandria, and he studied at the mosque of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha. Running away from there, he worked as a telegraph officer in Banhā, and then later at the residence of the mother of the Khedive Ismāʿīl in Cairo. While in the capital he followed courses at al-Azhar, and met the leading literati. On his dismissal, he pursued various occupations in the Delta, spending years as an itinerant versifier (*udabātī*), entertaining village notables, earning the epithet of *nadīm*, "boon companion." On returning to Alexandria in 1879, he participated in the secret political society Djamʿiyyat Miṣr al-Fatāt/Union de la Jeunesse Egyptienne, a group of young intellectuals challenging Riyāḍ Pasha's authoritarian government, but not long afterwards he left it to found a more open charitable society, al-Djamʿiyya al-Khayriyya al-Islāmiyya in 1879. As head of its school he wrote two plays: *al-ʿArab* or *al-Nuʿmān*, and *al-Waṭan wa-ṭāliʿ al-tawfīḳ* in colloquial. He was forced to leave the school in 1881, allegedly at the instignation of Riyāḍ.

He contributed, in the main anonymously, to several newspapers, *Ḥaḳīḳat al-Akhbār*, *Miṣr*, *al-Maḥrūsa*, and *al-ʿAṣr al-Djadīd*, the last three belonging to Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh [*q.v.*], and founded in 1881 his own satirical paper, *al-Tankīt wa 'l-Tabkīt*, and then *al-Ṭāʾif*, that became before and during the revolt the organ of the ʿUrābists [see ʿURĀBĪ PASHA], for whom he had been an early and popular campaigner. He pioneered a new, less heavily ornamented style of prose in his newspapers, and ventured as far as writing entire articles in colloquial Arabic. After the collapse of the revolt, accused with others of responsibility through his speeches for inciting the massacre of 11 June in Alexandria, of calling for rebellion, and of participating in the burning of the city on 11 July, he spent years in hiding. In 1891 he was arrested and then released on condition that he leave Egypt. He went to Palestine, but in 1892 was pardoned by the Khedive ʿAbbās II. Returning to Egypt, he founded the satirical magazine *al-Ustādh* (1892-93), opposing the British occupation. Exiled again to Jaffa and then Istanbul, Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] thought to silence him with a sinecure, appointing him to the Education Ministry, and then inspector of publications until his death.

Various selections from his works have been published: *Madjmūʿat muḥāwarāt fukāhiyya*, Alexandria n.d.; *Kāna wa-yakūnu*, Cairo 1892, 1926; Alexandria 1893; *Sulāfat al-nadīm fī muntakhabāt al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1896, n.d. (1897?)-1901, 1914 (with a biography by Aḥmad Samīr, 3-23); *Maḳālāt ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1909 and *Mukhtārāt li-ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Alexandria 1911. *al-Masāmīr*, n.p. (Cairo?) n.d., a violent satire lampooning the Sultan's advisor Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, was published after his death. Many of his works have been lost, including his three *dīwāns* of poetry. With his brother ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Nadīm he published *Tahniʾa saniyya bi 'l-afrāḥ al-riyāḍiyya*, Cairo 1310. His *zadjal* [*q.v.*], unsurpassed by his contemporaries, was innovative, inspired as it was by his political fervour.

Bibliography: ʿAlī al-Ḥadīdī, *ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm, khaṭīb al-waṭaniyya*, Cairo n.d.; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī al-Djamīʿī, *ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm wa-dawruhu fī 'l-ḥaraka al-siyāsiyya wa 'l-idjtimāʿiyya*, Cairo 1980; Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, *ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm wa-mudhakkirātuhu al-siyāsiyya*, Cairo 1956, including the first publication of his record of the ʿUrābī revolt; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ṣaḳr and Fawzī Saʿīd Shāhīn, *ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadim*, Cairo n.d.; Nadjīb Tawfīḳ, *al-Thāʾir al-ʿaẓīm ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1957; G. Delanoue, *ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm (1845-1896)—Les idées politiques et morales d'un journaliste égyptien*, in *BÉt. Or.*, xvii (1961-62), 75-119. (P.C. SADGROVE)

NADĪM, AḤMAD [see NEDĪM, AḤMED].

NADIR [see NAẒĪR AL-SAMT].

NAḌĪR, BANU 'L-, one of the two main Jewish tribes of Medina, settled in Yathrib from Palestine at an unknown date, as a consequence of Roman pressure after the Jewish wars. Al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 49) says they were a section of the Djudhām Arabs, converted to Judaism and first settled on Mount al-Naḍīr, whence their name; according to the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (Cairo, iii, 2) they were a truly Jewish tribe, connected with the Jews of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. This seems the more probable, but a certain admixture of Arab blood is possible; like the other Jews of Medina, they bore Arabic names, but kept aloof from the Arabs, spoke a peculiar dialect, and had enriched themselves with agriculture, money-lending, trade in armour and jewels.

They were clients of the Aws, siding with them in their conflicts with the Khazradj, and entering with them into the compact with Muḥammad known as the Constitution of Medina in 1 A.H. Their most important chief at this time was Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, whose daughter Ṣafiyya became Muḥammad's wife in 7 A.H. For a list of Muḥammad's worst enemies among the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 351-2.

Their fortresses were half a day's march from Medina, and they owned land in Wādī Buṭḥān and Buwayra; their dwelling places were south of the city.

The Banu 'l-Naḍīr seem to have been in (commercial?) relations with Abū Sufyān before the battle of Uḥud. In 4 Rabīʿ I, owing to difficulties about the Banu 'l-Naḍīr's contribution to a certain payment of blood-money which was being collected from the whole Muslim community in Medina, Muḥammad, who had personally negotiated the matter with their chiefs, became convinced of their enmity towards himself and suspected them of intending to kill him. He decided to get rid of such dangerous neighbours, and ordered them through Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Awsī to leave the city within ten days, under penalty of death, allowing them to take with them all their movable goods, and to return each year to gather the produce of their palm-groves.

The tribe, having no hope of help from the Aws, agreed to leave, but ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy al-Khazradjī, chief of the *Munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*], persuaded them to resist in their fortresses, promising to send 2,000 men to their aid. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, hoping the Banū Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*] would also help them, prepared to resist, in the face of opposition from moderate elements in the tribe.

The siege lasted about a fortnight, help from the *Munāfiḳūn* was not forthcoming, and when the Muslims began to cut down their palms the Banu 'l-

Naḍīr surrendered. Muḥammad's conditions were much harder than formerly; their immovable property was forfeited, and nothing left to them but what they could take away on camels, arms alone excepted. After two days' bargaining, the tribe departed with a caravan of 600 camels; some went to Syria, others to Khaybar.

The Banu 'l-Naḍīr's booty Muḥammad did not divide in the usual manner; the land was distributed among the *Muhādjirūn*, so as to relieve the *Anṣār* of their maintenance; part of it the Prophet kept for himself.

Sūrat al-Ḥashr (LIX) was revealed upon the expulsion of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr.

From Khaybar, the exiles planned with the Ḳuraysh the siege of Medina in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 5/April 627. The treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr was captured by Muḥammad in Khaybar in 7 A.H.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, 1 A.H., §38, 39, 58; 4 A.H., §10-14; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 652-61; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 153; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 662-3, 756; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 22, 33 ff., 156 ff.; R. Leszynski, *Die Juden in Arabien*, Berlin 1910; see also the general biographies of Muḥammad. (V. VACCA)

NĀDIR SHĀH AFSHĀR, ruler of Persia (1147-60/1736-47).

Nadr- (or Nādir-)ḳulī Beg was born in Muḥarram 1100/November 1688 into an undistinguished family of the Ḳïrḳlu (Ḳïrkhlu) clan of the Afshār Turkoman tribe, at Dastgird in northern Khurasan, during the seasonal migration to winter pastures in Darra Gaz district. As a youth, Nādir joined the retinue of Bābā ʿAlī Beg Kūsa-Aḥmadlū, governor of Abīward, who gave him successively two daughters in marriage (one bore his eldest son Riḍā-ḳulī, and the other Naṣr Allāh and Imām-ḳulī) and left him his property on his death in 1723. In the anarchy that followed the invasion of Persia by the Ghalzay Afghāns, Nādir entered the service of Malik Maḥmūd of Sīstān, who had occupied Mashhad. After various intrigues with chieftains of the Afshār and Djalāyir Turkomans, Nādir formed his own band of raiders and, in alliance with the Čamishgazak Kurds of Khabūshān (Ḳūčān), contested control of Mashhad with Malik Maḥmūd. This brought him to the notice of the Ṣafawid heir-apparent Ṭahmāsb Mīrzā who, together with his chief supporter, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār, in 1139/1726 recruited Nādir and his force of some 2,000 to their cause. The intense rivalry between the prince's Ḳādjār and Afshār "protectors" was soon settled in Nādir's favour: Ṭahmāsb had Fatḥ ʿAlī executed on suspicion of plotting against him. Nādir then secured Mashhad through treachery; Malik Maḥmūd was permitted to retire to a cell in the shrine of Imām Riḍā, but was later executed after allegedly instigating a revolt.

The Ṣafawid restoration. Nādir was now appointed *ḳūrčī-bāshī* (guard commander) with the honorific Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī (slave of Ṭahmāsb: the name by which, corrupted as e.g., [Tamas] Couli-cam, he came commonly to be known in Europe of the time). Nevertheless his relations with the indecisive young prince—or rather, the prince's jealous ministers—remained strained. After crushing repeated local rebellions, Nādir secured Ḳāʾin on his southern flank and prepared to subdue the Abdālī Afghāns of Herat, in his strategic rear, before acceding to Ṭahmāsb's desire for a march on Iṣfahān. The clash of wills stalled effective operations during 1727-8; then in 1729 Nādir subdued the Abdālīs, taking some chiefs into Ṭahmāsb's service, though diplomatically confirming their leader, Allāh-yār Khān, as governor of Herat. That same autumn he relieved Simnān, under siege by the Ghalzay leader Ashraf, and decisively defeated the Ghalzay at Mihmāndūst, near Dāmghān, on 6 Rabīʿ I 1142/29 September 1729. Ashraf evacuated Iṣfahān after further defeats and fled via Shīrāz and Lār into Ḳandahār province, where it appears he was killed by a Ghalzay rival, Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Ṭahmāsb was installed in the former Ṣafawid capital as *shāh*, though clearly on sufferance (Nādir married one of his sisters, Raḍiyya Begum, without the *shāh*'s prior consent).

Ṭahmāsb now wrote to the Ottoman sultan demanding the return of the occupied territories. Without waiting for a reply, Nādir in 1730 marched from Shīrāz to defeat Ottoman forces at Nihāwand and Malāyir and recapture Hamadān. By 12 August he had recovered Kurdistān and entered Tabrīz. In July the sultan had declared war on Persia, but mutinies and disturbances at Istanbul prevented any action being taken. Nādir returned to Mashhad in November and the following spring marched on Herat to subdue the Abdālīs, who had raided up to the gates of Mashhad during his absence. After a ten-months' blockade and several reverses, Nādir finally occupied Herat; on 1 Ramaḍān 1144/27 February 1732 his rebellious client, Allāh-yār Khān, was exiled to Multān, and 60,000 Abdālīs were deported to Khurāsān.

During Nādir's absence, Ṭahmāsb was persuaded by his ministers to reopen hostilities on the Turkish front. Having appointed his own governor in Tabrīz, the *shāh* marched on Erivan in the spring of 1731. He was outmanoeuvred and forced to withdraw; soon afterwards, Aḥmed Pasha of Baghdād, having captured Kirmānshāh, routed Ṭahmāsb's force near Hamadān. The *shāh* retired to Iṣfahān, and in the ensuing peace negotiations regained only Tabrīz (10 January 1732). Three weeks later, at Rasht, the *shāh*'s representatives signed a treaty with Russia, by which the latter relinquished Gīlān; Bākū and Darband were to be held until Persia had regained her territories beyond the Araxes from Turkey. Nādir in a public manifesto denounced the treaty with Turkey, dismissed many of Ṭahmāsb's governors, and in August arrived in force at Iṣfahān. Here he convened a conference (*kingāsh*) of the Ḳïzïlbāsh and leaders and persuaded them to depose Ṭahmāsb on grounds of drunkenness and incompetence and in favour of his infant son ʿAbbās. The ex-*shāh* was sent under guard to Mashhad; Nādir now dropped his sobriquet of Ṭahmāsb-ḳulī and adopted the viceregal titles of *wakīl al-dawla* and *nāʾib al-salṭana*.

Nādir as regent. Having put down revolts among the Bakhtiyārī, Nādir pushed through the Turkish defences west of Kirmānshāh and by January 1733 was blockading Baghdād. Aḥmed Pasha sued for terms, but prevaricated until a large Ottoman force under Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha was approaching the city. On 7 Ṣafar 1146/19 July 1733, the Turks won a pitched battle and recovered Baghdād; Nādir withdrew to Hamadān, where within two months he had replaced and re-equipped his army. Ṭopal ʿOthmān, on the other hand, received none of the reinforcements and supplies requested from Istanbul. Nādir lured the Turkish army into the defile of Aḳ Darband, north of Kirkūk, and on 9 December defeated them decisively; Ṭopal ʿOthmān fell in battle. Nādir, however, threatened by a rebellion of Muḥammad Khān Balūč in Fārs, soon raised the siege of Baghdād. He marched across Khūzistān, routed the rebel army, and on 1 February 1734 re-occupied Shīrāz.

Returning to Iṣfahān, Nādir received envoys from

Istanbul and St. Petersburg in quick succession. Each power was determined not to relinquish its foothold in northwestern Persia until the other had first withdrawn. The Ottoman envoy was informed that no peace was possible until Armenia, Georgia and Ādharbāydjān were retroceded; the Russian delegate, Prince S.D. Golitsïn, was promised a mutual alliance against Turkey, and accompanied Nādir on his next campaign. Nādir began with an attack on an Ottoman vassal, Surkhāy, the Ghāzī-Ḳumūḳ governor of Shīrwān. After occupying Shamākhī, Nādir pursued Surkhāy into his mountain fastnesses and destroyed Ḳumūḳ; he received the submission of Khāṣṣ Fūlād Khān, the former *shamkhāl* of Tarkhān, and restored him in that office. In November 1734 Nādir laid siege to Gandja, assisted by Russian engineers and artillery. The fortress held out for over eight months, until after Nādir's defeat of a relief force under ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Köprülüzāde on 27 Muḥarram 1148/19 June 1735 at Baghāward, near Erivan. Tiflīs also surrendered on 12 August, and Erivan on 3 October, after Aḥmed Pasha (appointed as successor to ʿAbd Allāh) sued for peace. Nādir accordingly raised his siege of the Ottoman frontier fortress of Ḳārṣ and proceeded personally to settle affairs at Tiflīs, the capital of the Christian Georgian kingdom of Kakheti-Kartli, which had been the Ṣafawid state's most important vassal and buffer in the region. Here he departed radically from Ṣafawid precedent in appointing as governor the Muslim ʿAlī Mīrzā, nephew of King Taymurāz II, with Ṣafī Khān Bughāyirī and a Persian garrison as watchdogs. Taymurāz fled to Circassia; later he was reinstated, and his son Irakli accompanied Nādir on his Indian expedition.

Already on 10 March (21 N.S.) 1735 Nādir had signed the Treaty of Gandja with Russia, whereby he agreed to a defensive alliance and the Empress Anna undertook to return Darband and Bākū to Persia. Though Nādir refused to sign a treaty with Turkey unless Russia was also included, it was now evident that his recent campaigns had secured Russia from the threat of a Turkish advance to the Caspian and had freed Persia from both these menaces. Ḳaplan Girāy, the *khān* of the Crimea, who on orders from Istanbul had advanced to Darband and appointed governors in the towns of Dāghistān, then withdrew, and Nādir spent the early winter months re-establishing control over this strategic region.

Nādir as king. In January 1736 Nādir presided over a national assembly (*ḳūrūltāy*) on the Mughān Steppe to which he had summoned army commanders, governors, nobles and *ʿulamāʾ* from all over his realms. The dignitaries (perhaps as many as 20,000, and including the Ottoman envoy Gandj-ʿAlī Pasha) were informed that Nādir, having liberated Persia, now wished to retire to Khurāsān, and they were free to choose a Ṣafawid scion to rule them. Of course, all protested that only Nādir should be their *shāh*. After a few days, Nādir generously relented, on condition that the Sunnī faith be adopted in place of the heretical Shīʿī cult introduced by Shāh Ismāʿīl, which had caused much bloodshed between Persia and Turkey. This was agreed in a document signed by all present. The terms of the treaty with Turkey were next drafted, including stipulations that the Persians, having abjured Shīʿism, were to be recognised as a fifth orthodox rite, the *madhhab-i Djaʿfarī* (i.e. that of the Imām of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ); this was to be accorded a place of prayer (*rukn*) at Mecca, and a Persian *amīr al-ḥadjdj* was to be recognised equally with the Syrian and Egyptian leaders of the annual Pilgrimage. Nādir Shāh was formally enthroned on 24 Shawwāl 1148/8 March 1736.

Resuming his progress south by way of Ḳazwīn, he quelled a pro-Ṣafawid revolt among the Bakhtiyārī and wintered in Iṣfahān. Ṭahmāsb and his sons were imprisoned at Sabzawār. (In 1740, after rumours of Nādir's death arrived from India, they were massacred by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār on Riḍā-ḳulī's orders; Ṭahmāsb's sister—Riḍā-ḳulī's wife—committed suicide on learning of this.)

India and Turkistān. The following spring Nādir led a large army against Ḳandahār, where Ḥusayn Sulṭān Ghalzay, brother of the Invader Maḥmūd, was the last reminder of Persia's humiliation. Ḳandahār capitulated on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1150/24 March 1738, after a year's siege; the Ghalzay citadel was demolished and the population of the city resettled in Nādirābād, a new city built by Nādir on the site of his camp. This success marks the completion of Nādir's irredentist and essentially conservative campaigns to restore the territorial extent of the Ṣafawid empire. His army reinforced with Abdālī and Ghalzay recruits, he now embarked on an invasion of India. Kābul, Djalālābād and Peshāwar fell before the end of the year, and Lahore on 23 January 1740. Nādir's seventeen-year-old son Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā was sent back to Mashhad as viceroy of Persia. The Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] had by now gathered an army reportedly of 300,000 men with 2,000 elephants and artillery at Karnāl, seventy-five miles from Dihlī. On 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1151/24 February 1739, the Persians decisively defeated this force. Muḥammad Shāh, after a ceremonial luncheon with the victor (which followed the traditional etiquette of the Ṣafawid and Mughal courts, the conversation being conducted in Turkī), was escorted to Dihlī. Here the *khuṭba* was read and coins were struck in Nādir's name. On 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/26 March a rumour spread that Nādir had been assassinated, and in a popular uprising thousands of Persian soldiers were massacred. The next day Nādir ordered a general massacre and sack of all quarters where his men had been attacked, in which perhaps 20,000 Dihlī citizens perished.

Twelve days later, Naṣr Allāh Mīrzā was married to a Mughal princess. At a grand *darbār* on 3 Ṣafar 1152/12 May, Nādir reinstated Muḥammad Shāh as king of Hindustān, in return for which all lands west of the Indus were ceded to Persia. Nādir exacted an enormous sum as reparations (at least 700,000,000 rupees in cash and kind, including the Peacock Throne [see TAKHT-I ṬĀWŪS] and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond [*q.v.*]), and declared a three-year tax amnesty in Persia. A week later Nādir's army with its huge baggage-train left Dihlī for Kābul. After a detour south into the desert to chastise the rebellious Khudāyār Khān, ruler of Sind, they reached Nādirābād on 7 Ṣafar 1153/4 May 1740, having lost several thousand men and a quarter of the booty in crossing the swollen Čenāb and Kurram rivers.

During Nādir's campaigns south of the Hindu Kush, Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā had extended his father's realms in Balkh and the steppes south of the Oxus. This had provoked threats from Īlbars Khān of Khwārazm, whom Nādir resolved to punish on his way back. Arriving at Herat on 10 June, he crossed the Oxus at Čārdjūy late in August, by means of boats specially constructed by Indian shipwrights. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Khān of Bukhārā resisted in vain; Nādir reinstated him as ruler, while annexing all lands south of the Oxus. With reinforcements of Özbegs and Turkomans, Nādir set off in October 1740 for Khīwa, the army and fleet proceeding parallel along the Oxus. The city and several other fortresses were bombarded into submission, and Īlbars Khān was put to death. At

least 12,000 Persians (and ten Russians) were liberated from slavery. On 10 December Nādir left Khwārazm and reached Mashhad at the end of Shawwāl/17 January 1741.

Return to the western fronts. During Nādir's Indian expedition, his brother Ibrāhīm had been killed on campaign in Dāghistān. In spring of 1741 Nādir marched to exact vengeance on the Lazgīs, who had moreover renewed their raids on Georgia. On his arrival at Shīrwān, the rulers of the Caspian littoral (including Surkhāy Khān) hastened to make obeissance, but Nādir's attempts to subdue the mountaineers of Avaria were frustrated. The Russians, suspecting that he had designs on the northern Caucasus, in May 1742 reinforced their base at Kizlyar (Ḳîzlar). For eighteen months the Persian army suffered Lazgī ambushes, lack of provisions, an epidemic, and severe winter weather, but Nādir refused to quit; only a message from the Ottoman ambassador rejecting his proposals concerning the Djaʿfarī rite provided him with the excuse, on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1155/10 February 1743, to march south in preparation for a new campaign against Turkey.

During the *shāh*'s passage through Māzandarān in May 1741, an unknown sniper had wounded him. Later the marksman was found, and denounced Riḍā-ḳulī Mīrzā as the author of the attempt. The prince was brought to Dāghistān and, despite his protestation of innocence (which most accounts endorse), was blinded. Nādir was grief-stricken. Soon afterwards he learned that his vassal in Khwārazm had been ousted and killed by rebels.

Nevertheless, the suspended hostilities with the Ottoman empire were now resumed. Marching via Kirmānshāh, where he began construction of a large fortress and arsenal and reviewed an army of a nominal 375,000 men from all over his empire, Nādir bombarded Kirkūk into submission in Djumādā II 1156/August 1743. Mawṣil resisted stoutly; Nādir negotiated a truce and, under the aegis of his old adversary Aḥmed Pasha of Baghdād, visited both Shīʿī and Sunnī shrines in ʿIrāḳ. On 24 Shawwal/12 December, at Nadjaf, he convened a council of *ʿulamāʾ* from ʿIrāḳ, Persia, Afghānistān and Turkistān, to discuss the religious question. In the resulting communiqué, all deplored the extremist Shīʿī policies of the Ṣafawids, and approved the device of the Djaʿfarī rite (Suwaydī, 1906 and 1973); whether this reflected more the disinterested magnanimity of theologians, or Nādir's prompting and his wife's presents to the shrine, it was doomed in the face of popular and political realities. Meanwhile, a Persian force that had been besieging Baṣra was withdrawn in December. In order to fund these campaigns in the west, Nādir had rescinded the tax amnesty declared in India and redoubled his exactions from the Persian populace. The consequent insurrections in his rear were now too serious to ignore.

Rebellion and disintegration. Pretenders to the Ṣafawid throne provided the focus in several disaffected areas. In Ādharbāydjān and Dāghistān, revolts led by one Sām Mīrzā were defeated in turn by Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān and his younger son Naṣr Allāh in 1743, and in October of that year one Ṣafī Mīrzā, his cause sponsored by the Ottomans, was reported to be advancing via Ḳārṣ. In January 1744 the Beglerbegī of Fārs, Taḳī Khān Shīrāzī, a favourite of Nādir's, led a widely-supported revolt; Nādir's forces stormed and sacked Shīrāz in June, and Taḳī Khān was blinded in one eye and castrated. In Khwārazm, the Yomud and Salur Turkomans rebelled against Nādir's appointees in Khīwa, and order was restored only in 1745 by the *shāh*'s other nephew, ʿAlī-ḳulī. Despite these dangers, Nādir himself had not withdrawn farther east than Hamadān, and when in February 1744 he was informed of Turkey's refusal to ratify the treaty, he marched northwest and besieged Ḳārṣ from May until early October. Nādir wintered north of the Kura, surprising the Lazgīs and forcing their submission. Next summer the Ottoman *serʿasker* Yegen Pasha crossed the frontier, and in Radjab 1158/August 1745, at Baghāward, Nādir repeated his victory of 1735, aided by a mutiny in the Turkish camp and the death of Yegen Pasha. Nādir again opened peace talks, this time without insisting on recognition of the Djaʿfarī rite.

Returning to Iṣfahān in December, Nādir extorted funds and punished officials with renewed ferocity, as he did at each stage of his return journey to Khurāsān during February and March 1746. From Mashhad he went to inspect the construction of the new treasury at his fortress of Kalāt [see KILĀT-I NĀDIRĪ]. Soon after, he set out westward again with an imposing entourage to meet the Ottoman ambassador at Kurdān, near Sāwdj Bulāgh (Mahābād); here on 17 Shaʿbān 1159/4 September 1746 was signed the treaty with Turkey, which essentially restored the frontiers of 1639. At Iṣfahān once more, Nādir again behaved with arbitrary cruelty; reports of contemporary Europeans confirm that he was widely judged to be deranged (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 258-9). A levy of 300,000 tumans imposed on Sīstān provoked an insurrection, to subdue which the *shāh* dispatched ʿAlī-ḳulī Khān; on arrival, however, his nephew—learning that he, too, had been assessed 100,000 tumans—made common cause with the rebels. Nādir left Iṣfahān for Kirmān and Khurāsān, erecting towers of heads wherever he halted. From Mashhad he moved first against the Kurds of Khabūshān, who had declared for ʿAlī-ḳulī. While encamped near their fortress on 11 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747, a group of his Persian, Afshār and Ḳādjār officers, fearing that he had already ordered his Afghān troops to arrest them, cut him down in his tent. Nādir's army disintegrated, his treasure was plundered and his progeny killed (with the exception of a grandson, Shāhrukh Mīrzā). On 27 Djumādā II/6 July, ʿAlī-ḳulī was raised to the throne as ʿĀdil Shāh.

Policies and achievements. Nādir Shāh excelled as a strategist, and is to be credited with rescuing Persia from partition and foreign domination. His campaigns against Turkey indirectly benefited Russia, and his humiliation of the Mughal empire hastened its eventual demise under British suzerainty. His career of conquest parallels that of Tīmūr (Tamerlane), and even argues conscious emulation: e.g., his grandson was named Shāhrukh, after Tīmūr's third son, and Nādir removed Tīmūr's tombstone from Samarḳand to Mashhad (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 186, 188). He employed freely the traditional policy of deporting tribal populations (notably Kurds and Afghāns, to Khurāsān), but this was disruptive rather than constructive (Perry, *Forced migration*). He appreciated the advantages of seaborne commerce and power, and purchased or built ships for both the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. His background was Shīʿī, and his periodic gifts to Shīʿī shrines indicate that his declared aim of restoring a form of Sunnī Islam to Persia was more a matter of pragmatics than of conscience (i.e., to facilitate a treaty with Turkey, and perhaps as a preparation for a greater Islamic empire). His imperious personality and ruthlessness ensured obedience even after his con-

quests turned sour; but the cumulative effect of his reversal of Ṣafawid policies—his confiscation of *waḳf* properties and threatened abolition of state Shīʿism, his favouring of (Sunnī) Afghāns and Özbegs over his original (Shīʿī) Persian and Turkoman *Ḳizilbāsh* officers, his unmitigated *Raubwirtschaft* and arbitrary punishment of officials—alienated key elements of society whose attitudes and expectations had been formed under the Ṣafawids.

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NĀDIRA (A.) pl. *nawādir*, literally "rare thing, rarity", denotes a pleasing anecdote containing wit, humour, jocularity and lively repartee, (*nukta*, pl. *nukat*; *mulḥa*, pl. *mulaḥ*; *fukāha*, etc.) of the type which has never ceased to be an integral feature of all social gatherings, whether intimate or official.

A taste for this variety of entertainment seems to have developed in the 1st/7th century in the Holy Cities of Islam, especially at Medina, where instruction in the art of composing and delivering anecdotes [see AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL] began at a very early stage, in the same period that saw the birth of schools of music and singing, for reasons which have been revealed in the above-mentioned article. With the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids, demand increased; instruc-

tion in the art of the anecdote was transferred to the cities of ʿIrāḳ, prospering in Baṣra and most of all in Baghdād, where the caliphs, the aristocrats and the wealthy merchants maintained entertainers charged with the task of distracting them from the cares of the world, and felt no qualms about listening to and rewarding individuals otherwise known for the gravity of their activities, such as al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828 [*q.v.*]), to whom the following admission is attributed: "through knowledge, I have received gifts, and through pleasantries (*mulaḥ*) I have attained riches" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 199; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, i, 160).

Literature has preserved the names of a score of raconteurs from the earliest centuries of Islam; a list of them is to be found in F. Rosenthal, *Humor*, 7 ff., and mention here will be limited to those who seem to be the best known: Ashʿab [*q.v.*], Muzabbid al-Madanī, Abu 'l-Ḥārith Djummayn, al-Djammāz, for example. It is probable that the répertoire of the entertainers mentioned in later works was in part their own invention, but they also had the opportunity of drawing from the dozens of anonymous collections which existed in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (end of 4th/10th century [*q.v.*]); among these works, some bear more or less expressive titles which cannot be identified, but a more interesting series presents real or fictitious characters around whom a lasting legend is woven, such as Abū Ḍamḍam, Abū Nuwās, Djuḥā [*q.vv.*]; another in this line who was to be distinguished much later is Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*]. A third category of sources is constituted by anthologies owed to compilers who, although capable of devising their own anecdotes, seem rather to have collected here and there material which they reckoned worthy of handing on to posterity, to be placed at the disposal of future entertainers; among this group are distinguished names such as those of al-Madāʾinī, Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.vv.*], Abu 'l-ʿAnbas and Abu 'l-ʿIbar [*q.vv.* in Suppl.].

Following a puritan reaction, the copyists, deprived of a readership, ceased reproducing these collections, which are therefore not preserved in their entirety and are not easily reconstructed today, although the materials that they contained are to be found in part, reproduced and enriched, in later literature. It should in fact be stated that the genre known as *adab*, which seeks to instruct and to edify without being tiresome, implied on the one hand the insertion into the most solemn, even severe, or austere of topics, of anecdotes intended to distract the reader and awaken a flagging attention, and on the other hand, the choice of witticisms and vignettes as an element in conversation as a means of impressing others with the breadth and versatility of one's cultural attainments. It is thus possible to trace the progress of this corpus of entertainment which, exclusively oral at the outset, has been the object of a specific treatment which can be tentatively analysed: collected and put into writing, from the 2nd/8th century onward, by compilers anxious to ensure its preservation and working in parallel with the *ruwāt* [see RĀWĪ], with editors of ancient poetry and transmitters of historico-literary traditions, a mass of anecdotes has constituted a very rich source which has subsequently been divided into categories and exploited by the authors of works of *adab*, before finally falling back into the oral domain.

Among these latter authors, some were content to make use of the collections at their disposal whenever they felt the need to quote a *nādira* to illustrate or enliven a passage considered somewhat tedious, but others, and not the least of them, proceeded to the stage of synthesis, in the sense that they also used the material compiled by their predecessors, added to them personal or borrowed elements and in their turn compiled special collections intended to enrich the general culture of contemporary and future generations. One of the most striking examples of such collections is certainly the *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 412/1022 [*q.v.*]) which is remarkable for the propriety of the material assembled. Other authors concentrated their attention on a particular theme and collected vignettes which could, if detached from these syntheses, have resulted in the composition of comedies. Worthy of particular note are anecdotes concerning misers (al-Djāḥiẓ; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), *al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. A. Maṭlūb and others, Baghdād 1384/1964); women (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), *Akhbār al-Nisāʾ*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut 1964); simpletons (Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]), *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, ed. ʿAlī al-Khāḳānī, Baghdād 1386/1966); blunderers (Ghars al-Niʿma Ibn al-Ṣābiʾ (416-80/1025-87 [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ]), *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1386/1967); etc. A rather specific genre is that known under the title *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*; authors whose concern was to show that misfortune (*al-shidda*) is not necessarily lasting and that relief (*al-faradj*) can always be expected, naturally called upon all kinds of more or less authentic stories. The creator of this genre was said to be al-Madāʾinī (135-228/752-843 [*q.v.*]), whose collection, entitled *al-Faradj bayn al-shidda wa 'l-ḍīḳ*, was reckoned too short by al-Tanūkhī; he was followed by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*]), who was an author concerned mainly with the edification of his readers, and a *ḳāḍī* named Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr. The master of the genre was nevertheless the *ḳāḍī* al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]) who made use, not without criticism, of the works mentioned above. (For an overall view of this genre, see A. Wiener, *Die Farağ baʿd aš-Šidda Literatur*, in *Isl.* iv [1913], 270-98, 387-420.)

Proof of the interest taken in the profession of raconteur and quite simply in the narration of amusing stories is to be found in the fact that several authors enunciate the rules which should be followed, if the narrator is to win success and to be assured, in the case of professionals, of a reasonable income. The first, naturally, was al-Djāḥiẓ who, in the introduction to his *Bukhalāʾ* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 6, tr. Pellat, 11), wrote: "Anecdotes are only truly interesting when one knows the characters and can trace them back to their sources by establishing a kind of contact with their protagonists. If they are separated from their elements and their context, then a half of their piquancy and originality is suppressed." On the other hand, specifying the identity of the heroes presented two dangers: first, there was the risk of offending them if they were still living and, second, the risk of supplying historians with invented facts, especially when it was a matter of stories concerning eminent persons allegedly recounted by equally distinguished narrators, as in the cases of ʿĀʾisha and of Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ, related in the *Bighāl* (ed. Pellat, §§ 12-13) βυ αλ-Djāḥiẓ, who declares elsewhere that his work on misers would be irrevocably damaged by the suppression of anecdotes the heroes of which could be recognised and which would nevertheless constitute "the most important and most interesting chapter".

Al-Ḥuṣrī, for his part, gives a series of useful tips in his *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* (7 ff.). First, he observes that a "tepid" anecdote is fatal to the narrator since, being neither entertaining nor serious, neither hot nor cold, it becomes boring, as is demonstrated by the proverbial saying "more boring than a mediocre enter-

tainer''. The person telling stories should be sparing of gestures, should express himself with elegance and eloquence, and display neither violence nor cruelty. He should adapt himself to all situations, be capable of utilising all his abilities adeptly, and be ready to discontinue when he senses that his presentation is not appreciated by the audience. As regards the form of anecdotes, it is appropriate to conform to the normal language of the persons depicted and to avoid the use of *iʿrāb*, except when the story concerns scholars who generally respect grammar and do not omit the endings of words. On the other hand, it is possible to make comedy out of the faults committed by the semi-educated, who say, for example, *radjul māta wa-taraka abīh wa-akhīh*. As for the substance, no rule is enunciated, no advice is given to the composers of anecdotes. It should be said that in principle the materials constituting the collections intended for the instruction and edification of readers are carefully chosen and contain nothing at all indecent, while those required only to entertain are very often characteristic specimens of obscenity and scatology, such that the texts which have preserved them are difficult to translate; this applies, for example, to the anonymous *Nuzhat al-udabāʾ wa-sulwat al-ghurabāʾ* (mss. B.N. of Paris 6008 and 6710). To show that there were all the same some decent anecdotes, the following are two examples which must have been composed in the 4th/10th century to illustrate the legendary ugliness of al-Djāḥiẓ. The first is constructed on a formula of which the western equivalent is as follows. A well-known woman says to an eminent man: "You should marry me; I would give you a son who would have your intelligence and my beauty".—"Yes, but supposing he has your intelligence and my beauty?" In the Arabic text, it is a slave who asks al-Djāḥiẓ to buy her and not to marry her. One only lends to the rich, and yet it is curious that the latter here occupies the same place as Mark Twain in an American version and as Sacha Guitry in a French one. In the second anecdote, the same al-Djāḥiẓ is accosted one day, in the street, by a woman who invites him to follow her; being of a curious nature, he agrees willingly, even eagerly, to join in this game. So he allows himself to be led by the unknown woman to the workshop of a jeweller, to whom she says only "like him", before leaving hurriedly. Intrigued, al-Djāḥiẓ asks the meaning of this laconic phrase and the artisan replies: "A few days ago, she asked me to engrave an image on the jewel in a ring, and because I couldn't imagine what it looked like, she brought you here".—"And what was this image?"—"That of Satan!"

The titles of the collections cited in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm are presented under the form *Kitāb Nawādir fulān*; later, as has been seen with Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, it is *akhbār* which is employed in place of *nawādir*, perhaps to confer a sort of respectability on the documents collected and to prepare them to be treated as accounts of historical facts, although most often these are clearly anecdotes produced by the imagination of entertainers or of writers. In this regard, attention should be drawn to the biographical notices of famous men which in many cases contain doubtful *akhbār*. Elsewhere (s.v. MUKADDĪ) there has been mention of a person, Khālid b. Yazīd, to whom Yāḳūt devoted a biography drawn from a chapter of the *Bukhalāʾ*!

The substitution of the word *akhbār* for *nawādir* was perhaps dictated by the possibility of confusion arising at a time when very diverse authors started adopting the latter term and entitling their works *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, often without any other specification. In such cases, *nawādir* generally has the sense of "curiosities, originalities, rarities" and is applied to studies of religion, philology, mathematics, astrology, botany, medicine, etc. Sezgin cites a total of 144 titles in which *nawādir* never has the meaning of anecdotes (*GAS*, i, 900:16; ii, 789:54; iii, 561:2; iv, 384:2; v, 495:3; vii, 463:8; viii, 366-7:51; ix, 376-7:16), but since of these only two apply to medicine and three to mathematics, more than a hundred are to be located in the linguistic sciences, grammarians and lexicographers being particularly interested in discovering and defining "rarities".

Bibliography: See AL-DJIDD WA 'L-HAZL as well as the references cited in the present article. The most complete study is that of F. Rosenthal, *Humor in Islam and its historical development*, Leiden 1956, which is centred on Ashʿab; see also the notices devoted to the humorists mentioned above. Among collections available to western readers, worthy of note are A. Galland, *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots et les maximes des Orientaux*, Paris 1694; [J. von Hammer], *Rosenöl, erstes Fläschchen oder Sagen und Kunden des Morgenlandes aus arabischen, persischen und türkischen Quellen gesammelt*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1813, 2 vols.; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-7, 3 vols. See also M. Cardonne, *Mêlanges [sic] de littérature orientale, traduits de différens [sic] manuscrits turcs, arabes & persans de la Bibliothèque [sic] du Roi*, 2 vols., Paris 1770; Sam Kabbani (tr.), *Altarabische Esclesien. Humor aus dem frühen Islam*, Stuttgart etc. 1965; U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens. Die humoristisch Kunstprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht*, 2 vols., Frankfurt 1992.

(CH. PELLAT)

NADJADĀT, Khāridjite sub-sect which was especially widespread in Baḥrayn and Yamāma.

The name derives from that of its founder Nadjda b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥarūrī. It is known of him that he rebelled in Yamāma at the time of al-Ḥusayn's death in battle (61/680) and that in 64/683 he gave military help to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr when he was besieged in Mecca by the Syrian army. Once the siege was raised, Nadjda, in company with other Khāridjite chiefs, including Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, went first to Baṣra, where he was amongst those who in 65/684, under the leadership of Nāfiʿ, took part in the *khurūdj* against Muslim b. ʿUbays who, at the head of the Meccan troops sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, was posed to attack the city. He was subsequently in al-Ahwāz, which was to become the headquarters of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*]. But Nadjda did not remain here for long; his differences with Nāfiʿ, above all concerning the fate of the quietists (*ḳaʿada*), led him, during this same year, to separate from him and to return to Yamāma. We have a great deal of information about his activities in this region from Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, 125-47.

The Yamāma Khāridjites had chosen Abū Ṭālūt Sālim b. Maṭar as chief, as a temporary stop-gap until they could find a better candidate. In 65/684, Abū Ṭālūt seized control of Djawn al-Khaḍārim, a large expanse of Yamāma occupied by Muʿāwiya, established himself there and divided up as plunder, amongst his partisans, the agricultural lands and the 4,000 slaves who worked them. In the next year, Nadjda, captured at Djabala a caravan coming from Baṣra and destined for Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. He led it to Abū Ṭālūt in Khaḍārim, divided up the booty among his partisans, allowed the slaves to cultivate once again the communally-held lands, as had been the previous practice and proposed himself as chief in place of Abū Ṭālūt. The Khāridjites present there, including Abū Ṭālūt, unanimously recognised his merits and gave him formally their *bayʿa*, assuring

him that they would have deposed him only if he had been guilty of a clear injustice. Some short time afterward, Nadjda, at the head of the Yamāma Khāridjites, attacked the Banū Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa at Dhu 'l-Madjāz, and, after a bloody battle, captured from them the provisions of corn and dates which they had plundered from the market. This event, which became widely known, marked the beginning of an uninterrupted series of victories which, helped by the feebleness of Ibn al-Zubayr's rule, enabled in a very short time, as we shall see, the Nadjadāt to subjugate almost the whole of Arabia. It seems that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik even had the intention of making Nadjda his lieutenant in central Arabia and that he briefly discussed this idea with Nadjda, naturally without result.

In 67/686, leaving behind a governor in Yamāma, Nadjda went personally to Baḥrayn and, helped by the Azdīs, defeated the ʿAbd al-Ḳays in Ḳaṭīf and installed himself in the town. Ḥamza b. al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who represented his father at Baṣra, sent an expedition, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī, to expel Nadjda from Ḳaṭīf. The Zubayrid troops were put to flight and the Nadjadāt, under ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī's leadership, invaded and conquered ʿUmān. A local rising then expelled them, and ʿUmān returned to the control of the two sons of ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh. Nevertheless, Nadjda extended his territory into northern Baḥrayn (Kāẓima), and forced the Banū Tamīm to pay him the *zakāt*. In 68/687, some divisions arose among the Nadjadāt. One group, under ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad, who reproached Nadjda strongly for his friendly relations with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, seceded from him and migrated to Kirmān, thence to Sidjistān, where he founded his own subsect, called after him the ʿAṭawiyya. In the same year, Nadjda raided westwards from Yamāma and conquered part of Yemen, with its capital Ṣanʿāʾ, and one of his lieutenants, Abū Fudayk, also subjugated Ḥaḍramawt. At the end of the year, Nadjda appeared at Mecca and took part in the Pilgrimage rites; on this felicitous occasion, not less than four chiefs conducted groups of mutually-hostile partisans: Ibn al-Zubayr, Nadjda himself, an Umayyad and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. In the following year, he marched on Medina, renouncing however attacking it when he heard that the son of ʿUmar, the caliph particularly venerated by the Khāridjites, was preparing to oppose him. He then turned aside towards Ṭāʾif, isolating it completely from the Ḥidjāz, and advanced as far as Tabāla. In this district he organised his own administration and, after having appointed deputies, returned to Baḥrayn. Whilst avoiding launching his arms against the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, he nevertheless did not hesitate in blocking their food supplies, until the moment when Ibn ʿAbbās, comparing his conduct with that of Muḥammad, demonstrated to him that this was not a legitimate action.

Thus Nadjda was near to dominating the whole Arabian peninsula. But his authority was already being undermined by divisions among his partisans who, like all the Khāridjites, disliked any long period of domination. The opposition to Nadjda, which naturally manifested itself in the form of religious criticism, was led by two of his most capable deputies, ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad, who came out worst and had to flee, as noted above, to Kirmān, and Abū Fudayk [*q.v.*], who, in 72/691-2, killed him and made himself master of Baḥrayn. At the end of this same year, the latter repelled an attack sent against him from Baṣra by ʿAbd al-Malik and commanded by Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of the governor of Baṣra Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī; but in the next year (73/692-3), a second expedition, under ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar, managed to defeat him at al-Mushakkar [*q.v.*] and to put him to death. This marked the end of the Nadjadāt principality in Yamāma and Baḥrayn, but not of their school; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, who lived at a period straddling the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, tells that there were still Nadjadāt in Sidjistān during his time.

Doctrines. The main religious ideas attributed to the Nadjadāt were, according to al-Ashʿarī, the following: (1) the admissibility of *idjtihād* and *raʾy*; (2) justification for an error committed in ignorance of the law, with the exception of the obligatory precepts (*wādjib*); (3) those who lagged behind in making the *hidjra* to their own group were branded as *munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*]; (4) those who declared it illicit to shed the blood of the *ahl al-muḳām* (= *dhimmīs*) *fī dār al-taḳiyya* and to confiscate their goods, were to be branded with *takfīr*; (5) the assertion that it is not known whether God will punish the believers for their sins, but if He does, it will not be with Hell Fire; and (6) the one who commits lesser sins and persists in his error is a *mushrik*, whereas the one who commits graver sins without persisting in them is a *muslim*. Other details are provided by al-Shahrastānī and al-Baghdādī: (7) permission for *taḳiyya*, whether in words or in actions; (8) the world does not need an *imām*, but it is sufficient that it should be well governed; (9) *ḳuʿūd* is permissible, but *djihād*, where possible, is better; (10) those who declare *ḳuʿūd* illicit are to be branded with *takfīr*; and by Ibn Ḥazm, curiously. Finally, according to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 615, there was no difference between the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] and the Nadjadāt.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, Cairo 1950, i, 162-4; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328, 66-70; Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwāʾ wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1321, iv, 190; Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 91-3; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 261, 270, 317, 378, and xi, ed. Ahlwardt, 125-47; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, 313; Ṭabarī, ii, 401, 402, 425, 517, 737, 782, 783, 829; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 36, 541, 604, 607, 611, 613, 703; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 314, 320, 325, 326; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 414; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 230, 440, vi, 25 = §§ 1737, 1994, 2190, 2258 and index; *Aghānī*, xii, 25, 27-8; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 93, 98, iv, 80, 144, 417; idem, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 210; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1320, iv, 98-101, 168, 192; J. Wellhausen, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Eng. tr. Amsterdam 1975, 47-59, 64; R.E. Brünnow, *Die Charidischiten under den ersten Umaiyaden*, Leiden 1884; L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, ii, 753, iv, 774, 776, 787, 801, 813, 814, 824, 850, 854, 860, 871; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ğāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 201; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 261; R. Rubinacci, *Il califfo ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 99.

(R. RUBINACCI)

AL-**NADJAF** or MASHHAD ʿALĪ, a town and place of pilgrimage in ʿIrāḳ 10 km 6 miles west of al-Kūfa. It lies on the edge of the desert on a flat barren eminence from which the name al-Nadjaf has been transferred to it (A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 35), at an altitude of 37 m/120 feet in lat. 31°59′ N. and long. 44°20′ E.

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] was buried near al-Kūfa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the

town of al-Nadjaf later arose (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 760), also called Nadjaf al-Kūfa (al-Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon geographicum*, ed. Salverda de Grave, 153). Under Umayyad rule, the site of the grave near al-Kūfa had to be concealed. As a result, it was later sought in different places, by many in al-Kūfa itself in a corner above the *ḳibla* of the mosque, by others again 2 *farsakhs* from al-Kūfa (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 82-3; Ibn Ḥawḳal[1], 163). According to a third story, ʿAlī was buried in Medina near Fāṭima's grave (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 289 = § 1612), according to a fourth, at Ḳaṣr al-Imāra (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x, 1926, 967-8, A.H. 40, § 99). Perhaps, then, the sanctuary of al-Nadjaf is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islamic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, i, 416; G. Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909, 38, n. 1). It was not till the time of the Ḥamdānid of al-Mawṣil Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ that a large *ḳubba* was built by him over ʿAlī's grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 163). The Shīʿī Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in 369/979-80 built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sharaf al-Dawla and Bahāʾ al-Dawla. Al-Nadjaf was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32: in the year 366/976-7). Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died about 414/1023-4, built the defensive walls of Mashhad ʿAlī (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 154). The Mashhad was burned in 443/1051-2 by the fanatical Sunnī populace of Baghdād, but must have been soon rebuilt. The Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who were in Baghdād in 479/1086-7, visited the sanctuaries of ʿAlī and Ḥusayn (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 103). The Īlkhān Ghāzān (694-703/1295-1304), according to Mustawfī, built in al-Nadjaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*khānaḳāh*). The Mongol governor of Baghdād in 661/1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 914/1508 by order of Shāh Ismāʿīl. This canal was originally called Nahr al-Shāh (now al-Kenāʾ) (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, ii, Baghdād 1930-1, 458). This Shīʿī Ṣafawid himself made a pilgrimage to the *mashhadān[i]* of Karbalāʾ and al-Nadjaf. Süleymān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941/1534-5. A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Zherī al-Shaykh and al-Ḥaydariyya canals, the latter of which was made by order of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, ii, 458-9, 491).

A considerable part of ʿIrāḳ, with Baghdād, al-Nadjad and Karbalāʾ, was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1032/1623, but restored to Ottoman control in the winter of 1048/1638-9. Over the next two centuries or so, al-Nadjaf was at times harried by Bedouins from the direction of the Syrian Desert and also by Wahhābī raids [see WAHHĀBIYYA], culminating in those of 1806 and 1810; and a recurrent factor within al-Nadjaf during this period was also factional strife between the two groups of the Zugurt and Shumurd. Nevertheless, the town, with its Shīʿī religious leadership of *mudjtahids* and of the *kilīd-dār* or guardian of the shrine, managed to retain a virtual autonomy under Ottoman rule, at times rebelling against what was regarded as the Porte's heavy hand, so that Ottoman troops had severely to repress revolts there in, e.g., 1842, 1852 and 1854; and attempts to introduce conscription there in 1915-16 caused a further outbreak.

During all these centuries, al-Nadjaf maintained its function as a centre for Shīʿī pilgrimage and burial, and in the 19th century its *mudjtahids* benefitted from the Oudh Bequest, that of the Shīʿī king of Oudh [see AWADH], distributed till the First World War by the British Resident. In the post-war years, it remained a centre of disaffection, a focus for anti-British opposition during the Arab revolt in ʿIrāḳ of 1920 and subsequently of opposition to King Fayṣal; and the residence in al-Nadjaf from 1965 to 1978 of the Āyatallāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī helped revive the role of the ʿIrāḳī shrine cities as centres of clerical opposition immune from Persian official control.

In present-day ʿIrāḳ, al-Nadjaf falls within the *muḥāfaẓa* of Karbalāʾ, and in 1970 had an estimated population of 180,000, of whom some quarter (at least before the expulsions of Persians from ʿIrāḳ during the recent ʿIrāḳ-Īrān War) have always been Persians; the population has of course tended to become swollen seasonally by the pilgrimage traffic.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] lay on the eminence of al-Nadjaf (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, 140, 309, Massignon (*MIFAO*, xxviii, 28, n. 1) thinks that al-Ḥīra lay on the site of the present al-Nadjaf, while Musil, (*op. cit.*, 35, n. 26) places the centre of the ruins of al-Ḥīra south-east of the *tell* of al-Knēdre which lies half-way between al-Kūfa and al-Khawarnaḳ. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa entered Mashhad ʿAlī, which he visited in 726/1326, through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra gate which led straight to the Mashhad. He describes the town and sanctuary very fully. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*loc. cit.*), the ridge on which al-Nadjaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here. For the number of its inhabitants and its architectural beauty, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reckoned the town among the most important in ʿIrāḳ. It now has a Shīʿī college and celebrated cemetery in the Wādī al-Salām. Near al-Nadjaf were the monasteries of Dayr Mār Fāthiyūn (Yāḳūt, ii, 693) and Dayr Hind al-Kubrā (Yāḳūt, ii, 709), also al-Ruhba (5 hours southwest of the town; Yāḳūt, ii, 762; Musil, *op. cit.*, 110, n. 61) and Ḳaṣr Abi 'l-Khaṣīb (Yāḳūt. iv, 107). The lake of al-Nadjaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 105).

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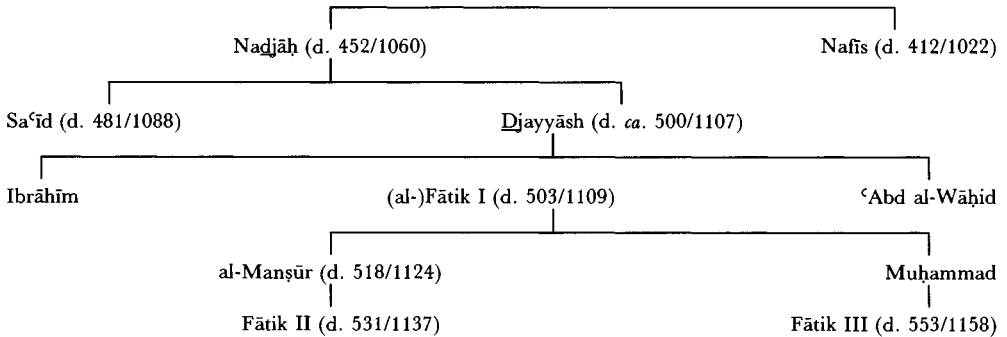
(E. HONIGMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

NADJ̲ĀḤIDS, a dynasty of Abyssinian slaves with their capital in Zabīd [*q.v.*], reigned 412-553/1022-1158.

- Nadj̲āḥ (d. 452/1060)
  - Saʿīd (d. 481/1088)
  - Dj̲ayyāsh (d. *ca.* 500/1107)
    - Ibrāhīm
    - (al-)Fātik I (d. 503/1109)
      - al-Manṣūr (d. 518/1124)
        - Fātik II (d. 531/1137)
      - Muḥammad
        - Fātik III (d. 553/1158)
    - ʿAbd al-Wāḥid
- Nafīs (d. 412/1022)

The best historical source for an understanding of the dynasty is ʿUmāra (see Kay, in *Bibl.*), but it should be stressed that ʿUmāra's account is sometimes confused, frequently anecdotal with interruptions of little or no relevance and lacking in dates. Other published sources which can be used as a control on ʿUmāra's text are listed below, though many depend ultimately on him, being transmitted in the main through other writers.

When the last Ziyādid [*q.v.*] had been put to death during the rule of the Abyssinian *wazīr*, Mardj̲ān, by one of his slave governors, Nafīs, the other, Nadj̲āḥ, came forward to avenge him. After fighting, Nafīs was killed and Nadj̲āḥ in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 412/February 1022 entered Zabīd, where he had the vizier built alive into a wall in exact revenge for the Ziyādid. As his rival, Nafīs, had already done, Nadj̲āḥ assumed the insignia of royalty, struck his own coins and inserted his own name in the *k̲h̲uṭba* after that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. The latter recognised him under the title of al-Muʾayyad Nāṣir al-Dīn. His territories extended northwards from Zabīd as far as Ḥaraḍ in northern Tihāma [*q.v.*], while the highlands remained divided among petty rulers. When among the latter the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] came to considerable power, their relations with the Nadj̲āḥids decisively affected the history of the latter. The first Ṣulayḥid, ʿAlī, is said to have had Nadj̲āḥ poisoned about 452/1060 through a slave girl sent to him as a gift. In the confusion that followed, ʿAlī occupied Zabīd and Nadj̲āḥ's sons fled to the Red Sea island of Dahlak [*q.v.*]. While the eldest, Muʿārik, committed suicide, the other two resolved to regain power in their lands: Saʿīd al-Aḥwal and Abu 'l-Ṭāmī Dj̲ayyāsh, whose lost work, *al-Mufīd fī ak̲h̲bār Zabīd*, is much quoted by ʿUmāra. Saʿīd made his preparations in a hiding place in Zabīd and arranged for Dj̲ayyāsh to arrive later. The two then came out openly, fell upon and killed ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī, who was heading for Mecca, in 473/1081. Zabīd at once recognised Saʿīd as lord, he appealing in particular to the large number of Abyssinian slave troops. But Asmāʾ, the widow of ʿAlī al-Ṣulayḥī who was kept prisoner in Zabīd, persuaded her son, al-Mukarram, to rescue her in 475/1083. The Nadj̲āḥids again escaped to Dahlak. In 479/1086 Saʿīd returned as ruler, but in 481/1088 he was put to death at the instigation of the Ṣulayḥid queen, al-Sayyida, al-Mukarram's wife. Dj̲ayyāsh escaped to India with his vizier K̲h̲alaf b. Ṭāhir, returned to Zabīd disguised as an Indian, plotted with his compatriots and easily regained power in 482/1089. With his death in 498/1105 or 500/1107, confusion reigned. He himself had domestic difficulties and his former helper, K̲h̲alaf, had to flee and there were fierce family feuds among his descendants. His son, Fātik I, the son of a slave girl bought in India, had to defend himself against his half-brothers, Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. He died young in 503/1109. The latter's infant son, al-Manṣūr, was set aside by his uncles, who were quarrelling with one another, and fled to al-Sayyida, whose favourite, al-Muẓaffar b. Abi 'l-Barakāt brought him back in 504/1111 as a vassal of the Ṣulayḥids.

Because he was still a minor, the dynasty's viziers began to take full control. Al-Manṣūr's vizier, Anīs, even assumed royal honours. When he attained his majority, al-Manṣūr murdered him with his own hand in 517/1123. Al-Manṣūr, however, in his turn was at once poisoned by the next vizier, Mann Allāh. The latter made the boy Fātik II ruler, the son of al-Manṣūr and a slave, ʿAlam. This woman, who died in 545/1150, endeavoured with great skill to preserve the rights of her house against the encroachments of the viziers. Mann Allāh was killed at her instigation in 524/1130. His successors were the slaves Ruzayḳ and later al-Mufliḥ. Against the latter ʿAlam put forward her favourites Surūr and Iḳbāl, who were however not themselves on good terms. During their quarrels the various parties brought other petty Arab rulers against Zabīd. Iḳbāl had Fātik II killed in 531/1137. He was followed by his cousin, Fātik III. Surūr, who had been in effective control since 529/1135, was murdered in a Zabīd mosque in 551/1156 by an envoy of the Mahdids [*q.v.*]. When the Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān was summoned to help by the Nadj̲āḥids, he made it a condition that Fātik should be deposed and he himself recognised as lord of Zabīd. This was agreed, but in 554/1159 the Mahdids entered Zabīd.

The Ziyādids before them and the Nadj̲āḥids continually brought over to the Yemen shiploads of Abyssinian slaves to recruit their troops and thus continued that mixture of races which had already existed and is still very marked in Tihāma today. There is a further point to note in this regard. Although he appears to get the date of the building of Ḥays [*q.v.*] wrong—it was probably built in earlier Ziyādid times—Ibn al-Mudj̲āwir (*Mustabṣir*, 235) indicates that the new town in Tihāma was populated by

Abyssinians brought over specifically for that purpose: "It is said that there was not a single house of Arabs, every one of them being of blacks."

The striking of Nadjāḥid coins is mentioned by most of our sources, although no great caches of such coins have been discovered. Bikhazi (*Coins*, 1970, 106) claims to have read the legend of a coin struck in Zabīd in 534, although the ruler's name is illegible. The coin is otherwise unpublished and is in the British Museum. He lists three others minted in Ṣanʿāʾ and suggests all are Nadjāḥid coins. He does not, however, explain how the Nadjāḥids were minting coins in Ṣanʿāʾ. Much more promising is the research carried out by Lowick (*Coins of the Najāḥids*, 1976) and, despite problems, he argues convincingly that the four coins listed in his publication, all minted in Zabīd, are indeed Nadjāḥid.

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AL-**NADJĀSHĪ**, loanword from the Ethiopic, used in Arabic to designate the ruler of Ethiopia at the time of the Prophet and in the early period of Islam. In Geʿez, *nägâśi*, pl. *nägäśt* is the *nomen agentis* of the verb *nägśä* "to rule, to become king" (Leslau, *Comparative dictionary, 392-3*), used both as a proper noun (cf. *ḳayṣar*) and as a *nomen appellativum*, yielding the form in western European languages *negus*. For the evolution of ancient Semitic *g* to *dj*, see DJĪM and Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 47. Ethiopic *ś* (known as *negus śä* i.e. the *ś* used in the word *neguś*), is rendered in Arabic by *sh* (*shayṭān*, *nadjāshī*), see Nöldeke, *ibid.*, and Beeston, *Sabaic grammar*, 9-10. The formula *ḥeyäw aba nägâśi* "long live the king" (e.g. I Samuel, x, 24), probably borrowed from the spoken language when the Bible was translated into Geʿez, may indicate that the Abyssinian king was addressed or spoken of as *nägâśi* instead of the more common *negus* (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*). Nägâśi meaning "King" (of Aksum) also occurs in Sabaic, see Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain etc. 1982, 93, *sub* NGS² [ngs²y-n, pt.ngs²t].

The Nadjāshī is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, but to a considerable extent in the *Sīra*. It may well be that the Prophet in his youth acquired some knowledge about Abyssinia and its king through his paternal grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*], who is said to have had relations with Abraha [*q.v.*] and to have entertained trading relations with Abyssinia (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 24 ff.). According to Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), Muḥammad's nurse was an Ethiopian woman named Umm Ayman (Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 367), and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, iv/1, 72) remarks that Muḥammad spoke Abyssinian (see also al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185-6), *Rawḍ*, i, 205; al-Bukhārī, 56, 188). Ibn Isḥāḳ relates (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, 180) that, according to his information, the Prophet "used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Djabr, a slave of the Banu 'l-Ḥaḍramī". Al-Bayḍāwī adds that the Prophet used to stop and listen to Djabr and his fellow-Christian Yasāra as they read aloud the Torah and the Gospel (Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, 161). The use of some two hundred words in the Ḳurʾān that are connected with Geʿez—many of them are loan words from Greek and Syriac—indicate some early contact with Christian elements from Abyssinia (Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary*, 305-7; Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, 323).

According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 32, the Nadjāshī was invited to act as an arbitrator in the case against Ḥarb b. Umayya, accused of killing a Jew who was a neighbour and a protégé of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The Nadjāshī is said to have refused to act thus. (Hamidullah, *Le Prophète*, i, 34-5). In any case, his name is connected with Islam as early as 615 A.D. Since the events of the 6th century [see ABRAHA; AL-FĪL; Conrad, *Abraha and Muḥammad*], Aksum and its Christian kings had been well-known in Mecca, and the Prophet must have considered the Nadjāshī as an ally, at least not as an adversary, when he gave some of his followers the advice to emigrate to Abyssinia (Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 109 ff.; Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 146; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 142 ff.). In Arabic sources, the Abyssinian king is named Aṣḥama, Aṣmaḥa, Ṣaḥama, etc. (Weisweiler, *Buntes Prachtgewand*, 49; M. Hartmann, *Der Naǧāšī Aṣḥama*; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 736). An unpublished Ethiopian chronicle (Hable Sellasie, *Ancient history*, 185) relates that in the times of a certain king Adriaz (603-23 A.D.), "the infidel Mohammad arose in the East, occupied all countries, killed the magicians of Egypt, burned their books and came as far as Habab, the land of Sudan. But he could not subdue the kingdom of Abyssinia".

A group, sent by the Ḳuraysh in pursuit of the emigrants, arrived too late at the bay of Shuʿayba near Djudda [*q.v.*]. Whether there were two separate and distinct emigrations to Abyssinia or a single stream of emigrants, all sources agree that the Muslims were well-received by the Nadjāshī. He supported them against ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Mughīra and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], who had come on behalf of the Ḳuraysh to persuade the king to expel the Muslims. At an audience before the king and his bishops, Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's cousin, summarised Muḥammad's achievements (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 151), and by quoting sūras IV, 169, and XIX, 16-34, he made it appear as if Islam was a form of Christianity. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAmr returned to Mecca and the Muslims continued to live in peace.

While Muḥammad's followers were in Abyssinia, the Nadjāshī was accused by his people of having left his religion, but he succeeded in placating them in a way which, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ, could be explained as favourable towards Islam. The Nadjāshī permitted some thirty-three followers to return to Mecca, and also agreed to Muḥammad's betrothal to Umm Ḥabība after her husband ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djaḥsh, who had become a Christian while in Abyssinia, had died. Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]

acted as *walī*. This daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] had been among the first emigrants and it was she who, together with Umm Salāma who had also been to Abyssinia, described for the Prophet on his deathbed the wonders of the church of St. Mary in Aksum (W. Muir, *The Life of Mohammed*, 490).

According to Ibn Saᶜd (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/2, 15 ff.), the Prophet in 7/628 sent envoys to six rulers of the surrounding countries, among whom the Nadjāshī, summoning them to embrade Islam. The letter for the king of Abyssinia, who is named as al-Aṣḥam b. Abdjar, was delivered by ᶜAmr b. Umayya al-Damrī (see the references in Van Donzel, *A Yemenite embassy*, 239 n. 8; on the historicity of these letters, see Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 345-6; Hamidullah, *Documents*, 19; idem, *Le Prophète*, i, 205-7; Dunlop, *Another Prophetic letter*). According to Muslim tradition, the Nadjāshī became a Muslim so that "when the Negus died, the Prophet prayed over him and begged that his sins might be forgiven" (Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, *Sīra*, 155; cf. Raven, *Some early Islamic texts*, 209).

In 9/630-1 the Prophet sent ᶜAlḳama b. Mudjazzaz al-Mudlidjī to chase Abyssinian pirates from an unnamed island (Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 117-8), but this expedition was not directed against the Nadjāshī himself. Neither was this the case with the naval expedition which ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 19/640 is reported to have sent against the Abyssinians under the command of the same ᶜAlḳama. The outcome was so disastrous for the Muslims that ᶜUmar would have no more to do with the sea (Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 219, 366-7).

It is not known whether the perhaps regular raids against the Arabian coast by Abyssinian pirates—or by those who were said to be Abyssinians—have influenced the attitude of the Muslims towards the Nadjāshī. According to Trimingham (*Islam in Ethiopia*, 46), Abyssinian pirates raided and sacked al-Djudda in 83/702. However, his references to Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 44, and to Sprenger, *Mohammed*, iii, 430, are not correct, since the first, *loc. cit.*, deals with Abraha's expedition against Mecca and the second with ᶜAlḳama's expedition.

The Nadjāshī is again met with under the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (86-96/705-15), who built the famous palace at Ḳuṣayr ᶜAmrā in Transjordan [see ARCHITECTURE], where, according to the traditional interpretation, are represented "the enemies of Islam defeated by the Umayyads" (*ibid.*). The question may be asked whether the presence of the Nadjāshī among the *Ḳayṣar* (the Byzantine emperor), Rōdorīk (the Visigoth's king of Spain), Khusraw (Chosroes) and two others whose names have been obliterated, reflects a change in the mentality towards the Abyssinians since the time of the Prophet.

In later times, the Nadjāshī held a special place in Muslim historiography because of his role in early Islam. Abu 'l-Faradj ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.* (d. 597/1200]) wrote his *Tanwīr al-ghabash fī faḍl al-sūdān wa 'l-ḥabash* (see Van Donzel, *Quelques remarques*), and the Zaydī Imām of Yemen al-Mutawakkil ᶜalā 'llāh Ismāᶜīl (d. 1079/1668) quotes the Prophet's letter and the Nadjāshī's reply in his correspondence with the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (see Van Donzel, *A Yemenite embassy*, 237 ff.).

Another element in Muslim tradition about the Nadjāshī is that his land was said to be exempt from *djihād*. According to a tradition recorded by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855; references in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. *Abyssinians*), the Prophet said: "leave the Abyssinians as long as they leave you" (*atrukū 'l-ḥabasha mā tarakūkum*) and elsewhere in Abū Dāwūd and in al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915): "let the Abyssinians be as long as they let you be, and leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone" (*daᶜū 'l-ḥabasha mā waddaᶜūkum wa-trukū al-turk mā tarakūkum*). Apart from the pun between *taraka* and *turk*, the presence of the Turks in this tradition weakens its value as far as the Abyssinians are concerned. Whether traditions such as these have led to statements like "Abyssinia is territory not subject to the *djihād*" (Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 52) cannot be ascertained. But it should be remarked that the reference in this connection to Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ibid.*) is wrong. In his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*Opus geographicum*, i, 56), Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Budja [see BEDJA] and remarks *wa-laysa dāruhum bi-dār ḥarb*, which Kramers-Wiet (*Configuration*, i, 54) translate with "and their region is not a territory of war", i.e. no war is going on there. This passage in Ibn Ḥawḳal's text thus does not contain any reference to *djihād* at all. The reason why Abyssinia was not overrun by the Muslims in the 7th and 8th centuries is not to be found in the fact that tradition judged favourably on the Nadjāshī and his land, but in the fact that Abyssinia could only be reached through naval expeditions, a technique not well developed in early Islam. Another reason may have been that the Nadjāshī's kingdom was poor in comparison with the Byzantine and Sasanid empires (Hourani, *Arab seafaring*, 46). On the gradual penetration of Islam into the highlands of Ethiopia, see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA.

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NADJĀT, MĪR ʿABD AL-ʿĀL, a Persian poet, born about 1046/1636-7, the son of a Ḥusaynī Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad Muʾmin of Iṣfahān.

Little is known of his life. Only this much is certain, that he, like many other Persian poets of this time, worked in the offices of different Persian dignitaries. For example, he was a *mustawfī* [*q.v.*] with the *Ṣadr* Mirzā Ḥabīb Allāh, later occupied the same office in Astarābād and ended his career in 1126/1714 after being for many years *munshī* with the Ṣafawid princes Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94) and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/1694-1722). He owes his fame mainly to a long poem *Gul-i kushtī* ("The rose as a challenge to fighting") which he finished in 1112/1700-1 and which deals with the theme of the *zūr-khāna* [*q.v.*] still very popular in Persia. As the Persian athletes still form a special closed corporation they use a special language (an argot) which is full of the technical terms of their art and is not intelligible to the outsider. Nadjāt used these technical terms very skilfully in his poem, which makes it very difficult for laymen to understand. This produced several commentaries on his work, of which those of Ārzū, Ratan Singh Zakhmī (printed Lucknow 1258/1842) and Gobind-Rām (lith. Murādābād 1884) are the best known. Of Nadjāt's contemporaries, some did not approve of his peculiar style and thought his poem degraded the poet's art with its vulgar expressions and low humour. As a matter of fact, Nadjāt's tone suffers considerably from the traditional lofty style of Persian court poetry and approaches the language of the Persian middle classes; this makes his work of considerable importance for the history of the Persian language. Besides the poem, we only know of a collection of lyrics by Nadjāt of which there are manuscripts in several libraries (see below).

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NADJĀTĪ [see NEDJĀTĪ].

NADJD (A. "uplands"), conventionally defined as the plateau region of the Arabian peninsula lying to the east of the Red Sea lowlands (al-Tihāma [*q.v.*]) and the mountain barrier running down through the western side of the peninsula (al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]).

1. Geography and habitat.

The exact application of this originally topographical conception is very differently understood, and sometimes it means more generally the elevated country above the coastal plain or the extensive country, the upper part of which is formed by the Tihāma and the Yaman and the lower by Syria and ʿIrāḳ, or the part of Arabia which stretches from the frontiers of al-Yamāma to al-Madīna and thence across the desert from al-Baṣra to Baḥrayn on the Persian Gulf (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal) or the territory between ʿIrāḳ (al-ʿUdhayb) and Dhāt ʿIrḳ (Ibn Khurradādhbih) or from ʿIrāḳ to al-Tihāma (Ḳudāma) or the land which lies behind the so-called Ditch of Chosroes (Kisrā) as far as the Ḥarra (al-Bāhil), or lastly, the territory between the depression of the Wādi 'l-Rumma and the slopes of Dhāt ʿIrḳ (al-Aṣmaʿī). That originally the name was applied to the plateau only is evident not only from the fact that Nadjd appears in combination with various place-names; thus al-Aṣmāʿī (Yāḳūt, iv, 745) knows of Nadjd Barḳ (in al-Yamāma), Nadjd ʿUfr, Nadjd Kabkab (near ʿArafāt), Nadjd Marīʿ (in the Yaman), al-Bakrī (ii, 574) besides the three last named mentions Nadjd al-Yaman, Yāḳūt (iv, 750-1) further mentions Nadjd al-Ḥidjāz, Nadjd Alwadh in the country of Hudhayl, Nadjd al-Sharā, and al-Hamdānī (55) Nadjd Ḥimyar and Nadjd Madhḥidj along with a number of places not otherwise known which are combined with Nadjd. Al-Hamdānī (177) further makes a distinction between upper Nadjd (*Nadjd al-ʿUlyā*) which is regarded as Nadjd proper (*al-Nadjd*) and in which he includes the district (*kūra*) of Djurash and the town of Yabambam, and lower Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Suflā*) which is described as *Arḍ Nadjd* and with the Ḥidjāz and al-ʿArūḍ forms Central Arabia (1,$_5$-2, 36,$_{18}$-37), the territory in which pure Arabic is spoken (136,$_{18}$-137). The original meaning is also seen in the dual Nadjdān[i], which, it is interesting to note, is used for two mountains in the Adjaʾ range, as well as in the place-name Nadjdā Marīʿ and in the spring pasture ground Nadjdān[i] in the land of the Khathʿam mentioned by the poet Ḥumayd b. Thawr (Yāḳūt, iv, 745).

That the wide interpretation of the name Nadjd above given is not unjustified is shown by the foundation in the second half of the 5th century A.D. by al-Ḥārith, chief of the Kinda, of a short-lived kingdom which extended from the Syrian *limes* and Medina to al-Yamāma or from the hill of Ṭumīya in the N.E. on the Wādi 'l-Rumma to Dhāt ʿIrḳ. At a later date, the whole of al-Nadjd belonged to the administrative district of al-Yamāma (Yāḳūt, iv, 746).

The widest idea to which the name Nadjd has ever been applied is probably that of the present kingdom of Saudi (Suʿūdī) Arabia, which owes its origin to the Wahhābī chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, who, as Amīr of Nadjd conquered al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*] in 1903, was chosen as ruler of Nadjd and the adjoining lands in the summer of 1921, on 10 January 1926 conquered the Ḥidjāz and on 19 January 1927 was proclaimed king of Nadjd and its dependencies at al-Riyāḍ. The northern frontier of his territories, which was delineated by treaties between the ruler of Nadjd with ʿIrāḳ and Great Britain on the one side (signed at ʿUḳayr on 2 December 1922) and Nadjd, Great Britain and Transjordan on the other (signed on 2 November 1925 at Ḥadda in the Ḥidjāz) runs along the neutral zone between Nadjd and ʿIrāḳ (29-30°N. lat. and 45-46°E. long.) and is then continued in a line running N. and N.W. to the intersection of 39°E. long. and 32°N. lat. and leaves the Djabal ʿAnēze on its north, then S.W. to the Wādī

Radjil and passing through the S.E. the point where 38°E. long. and 30°N. lat. intersect. The Wādī Sirḥān is thus still in Nadjd. This line continues towards the south from 25' to 38°E. long. and crosses the former Ḥidjāz railway towards ʿAḳaba. The extent of the territory is estimated at 900,000 square miles. The capital is al-Riyāḍ; the more important towns are Burayda (Berēde), ʿAnayza (ʿAnēze), Ḥāʾil (Ḥāyil), Tharmala, Shaḳrā, Madjmaʿa, Ḥuraymala (Ḥarēmle), al-Hufhūf and al-Ḳaṭīf. The population, which with the exception of al-Ḥasā with a considerable number of Shīʿīs, has almost entirely adopted Wahhābism, belongs to the tribes of Muṭayr (Meṭēr), Ḥarb, ʿUtayba (ʿAtēbe), Subayʿ, Dawāsir, al-ʿUdjmān, al-ʿAwāzim, al-Suhūl, Banī Murra and Ḳaḥṭān [see further, SUʿŪD, ĀL-].

The North Arabian Nadjd forms a part of the great desert plateau, which is formed of primary rock with overlying sandstone and volcanic outbursts and has two great mountain ranges running through it; that in the north is about 64 km/40 miles long and at its northeastern end some 1,470 m/4,500 feet high, known in ancient times as Djabal Ṭayyiʾ or Djabalā Ṭayyiʾ, i.e. Adjaʾ and Salmā (al-Hamdānī, 125,$_{15}$) is now called Djabal Shammar or Djabal Idjā (Adjaʾ).

Both ranges, which rise out of a table land levelled by weathering, are of granite. The Djabal Adjaʾ stretches from N.N.E. to S.S.W., about 56km/35 miles S.E. of it in approximately the same direction the Djabal Salmā, in front of which in the S.W. lies the Djabal Ramān, while S.E. of the Djabal Salmā lies the Ḥarra of Fayd, of volcanic origin.

S.E. of this rises the sandstone plateau, overlaid with limestone, of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ (Ṭuēḳ) running N.W. to S.E., which forms the western declivity of a plateau which has come into existence through weathering and slopes towards the Persian Gulf on the one side and the sands of the desert of Rubʿ al-Khālī on then other. It begins S.E. of the district of al-Ḳaṣīm (S.E. of the Ḥarra) and stretches E. from al-Washm to al-ʿĀriḍ with the town of al-Riyāḍ and then turns, west of the Khardj oasis, S.S.W. towards the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. The most important peak on this edge of the plateau is the Djabal ʿAmmāriyya or Djidd, which towers some 152m/500 feet above the ridge usually 610-1070 m/2,000-3,500 feet high. The long southern part of the Ṭuwayḳ is intersected by numerous *wādīs* which lead the water that falls in the rainy season to the Rubʿ al-Khālī. Its most important part is the Aflādj, 64 km/40 miles long, with the oasis of Layla.

Nadjd is in the main steppe and desert. The Nafūd and Dahnāʾ [*q.vv.*] occupy the greater part of northern Nadjd, while the Rubʿ al-Khālī joins them on the S.E. There are no perennial streams in Nadjd, so that the country has to rely upon subterranean channels of supply which are at various depths and have to be reached by wells. In the oasis of al-Khardj the wells are from 6m to 12m/ 20 to 40 feet deep, in Aflādj 15 to 18m/50-60 feet, in Ḥāʾil and al-Riyāḍ about 24m/80 feet. Sometimes these springs form ponds, for example, in al-Khardj, the springs of which form three pools, the largest of which is 150 paces long and 80 broad (cf. the picture in Philby, ii, 34) while the springs of Aflādj feed a lake nearly a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad (Philby, ii, pl. at p. 86). These supplies sometimes dry up suddenly, probably because they have found a subterranean exit, as has happened in the case of two waterholes in Aflādj and the two larger ponds in al-Khardj. The hydrographic conditions of the country are therefore exceedingly dependent on the rainfall from the summer and winter rains. The former (*wasmī* or *maṭar al-ṣayf*) fall in August and September and particularly refresh the pastures which the summer sun has dried up, while the latter produce a springlike effect in the land on which they fall. The classic phrase *saḳā 'llāh^{u} Nadjd^{an} min rabīʿ^{in} wa-ṣayf^{in}* (al-Bakrī, ii, 627) eloquently sums up this state of affairs. Heavy rainfalls were also observed in April 1871 in the central Wādi 'l-Rumma and in May in ʿAnēze between Djabal Salmā and ʿAnēze (1884, Ch. Huber), and Philby (ii, 10) noticed thunder showers in May as well as drizzle, while Doughty met with hail at Khabra (near ʿAnēze) in April. That the climate here cannot have changed very much is evident from Ibn Djubayr, who records very heavy showers in this district in Ṣafar 584/April 1184. Huber met with rain in June 1884 between ʿAnēze and Mecca, Sadlier at the end of July 1819 between al-Ḥasā and Ḍarʿiyya heavy thunderstorms and rain, which however was described by the natives as unprecedented. Philby (i, 141, 147) records thunder and rain in December. The rainwater collects in the hollows below the thick layer of sand and enables palms to grow and also, on chemically decomposed fertile soil, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruit trees. The hot summer of course everywhere makes it necessary to water the crops from wells. On the other hand, the frequently very sudden flooding of the water-courses led in quite early times to the building of dams to hold back and store the water; such were built in the Wādī 'l-Rumma at ʿAneize (al-Bakrī, i, 207; Yāḳūt, iii, 738), Ḍarʿiyya (al-Bakrī, ii, 637) and on the road from al-Yamāma to ʿAneize (al-Hamadhānī, 174, 192). Doughty found remains of such dams in the Djabal Adjaʾ.

The district of al-Sharaf is the richest part of al-Nadjd, and the valleys of the Wādī 'l-Djarīr and Wādī 'l-Miyāh are celebrated for their pastures. Here the early caliphs had vast grazing grounds (*ḥimā*) e.g. in Ḍarʿiyya [see AL-DIRʿIYYA], al-Rabadha [*q.v.*], Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.], al-Nīr, Dhu 'l-Sharā and Naḳīʿ. The most famous was that of Ḍarʿiyya, where the caliph ʿUmar I secured an area six Arab miles in diameter as pasture for 300 horses and 30,000 camels for the army. ʿUthmān extended this area until the diameter was ten miles. The ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī abandoned it, as the policy of this dynasty was to neglect Arabia deliberately, in contrast to the Umayyads who, for example, intensively colonised western Nadjd. In the 6th century A.D. Nadjd was still well wooded, and al-Sharuba, south of the Wādī 'l-Rumma, and Wadjra were particularly celebrated in this respect, while at the present day they only possess scanty remnants of these forests. Many areas seem to have been ruined by drought or disastrous inundations (Philby, i, 115; ii, 9); the decline of al-Yamāma is probably due to the latter cause. Crops are sometimes damaged by sharp frosts—in winter (January) the temperature sometimes sinks from a maximum of 53° F. by day to below 23° and ice and snow have been occasionally seen at the higher levels—while the summer drought with a maximum temperature of 113° destroys the crops. The two most important *wādīs* are the Wādī 'l-Rumma about 650 miles long, which runs right across the plateau of North Arabia, rising in the Ḥarra of Khaybar and entering the Euphrates plain at Baṣra, and the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir. These have formed since ancient times the two main routes of traffic in Central Arabia.

With the aim of sedentarising the Bedouin, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd established in Nadjd, in the first quarter of the present century, settlements called *hidjra*, pl. *hidjar*; on these, see AL-ḤIDJAR and J.S.

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2. History. See AL-ᶜARAB, D̲J̲AZĪRAT, vii.

3. The period since the development of the oil industry.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was proclaimed on 22 September 1932, and the east of the country was allotted for oil exploration to Standard Oil of California (later operating within Aramco) in 1933, thus setting the political and economic stages for the development of the country as one of the world's most important oil economies during the following decades.

Saudi Arabia's greatest oilfields are found mainly in the east of the country, but Nad̲j̲d, in the contemporary period named Central Province, including al-Riyāḍ, al-Ḳaṣīm and Ḥāʾil [*q.vv.*] districts loosely extending over the region traditionally called Nad̲j̲d, has benefited from the rapid expansion of the oil industry which began in earnest during the 1950s. Crude oil, natural gas and oil products have been made readily available in Nad̲j̲d as part of a deliberate national policy. An oil pipeline was built from al-Dammām [*q.v.*] to al-Riyāḍ refinery, while during the 1970s Petroline carried crude from the east to the west coast via Nad̲j̲d, making oil available for industrial and related developments on a large scale. More important than the direct effects of the oil industry was the growing amount of government expenditures within a series of economic development plans permitted by augmenting oil revenues, especially in the years after 1973. Nad̲j̲d was central to this development process, containing the capital, al-Riyāḍ, and receiving earliest and most favoured treatment in the allocation of financial resources.

Agriculture retains importance in the oases and smaller towns of the Nad̲j̲d. Good quality dates are grown in the oases. Other crops include wheat and barley, while the livestock holding in the region is large and increasing. A modern dairy industry containing a third of all the kingdom's cattle, is based on al-K̲h̲ard̲j̲ [*q.v.*]. Al-Riyāḍ has one of the most rapidly growing populations of the country, totalling 1.3 million in 1987. Many of the small villages around al-Riyāḍ have been absorbed into the metropolitan area. The greatest growth of the city is taking place through immigrants concentrating in the areas around the railway station and the adjacent industrial area. Recent development has been notable along the airport road and in the vicinity of the royal palace at al-Nāṣiriyya. Principal employers in al-Riyāḍ are the expanding government ministries and official agencies. Marked expansion is characteristic of all other towns of Nad̲j̲d area.

In all, the population of the Central Province was put at 3.6 million in 1985. Well over half of the Nad̲j̲d's population is urban resident, and approximately a quarter of the urban dwellers are foreign immigrants. Nad̲j̲d is favoured by recent transportation development. A railway was opened between al-Riyāḍ and al-Dammām in 1951, while al-Riyāḍ is the central node of the trans-Arabian highway completed in 1957 and of the remainder of the national road network.

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NAD̲J̲DA B. ᶜ**ĀMIR** [see NAD̲J̲ADĀT].

NAD̲J̲D̲J̲ĀR, carpenter [see K̲H̲AS̲H̲AB, MAS̲H̲RABIYYA, etc.].

AL-**NAD̲J̲D̲J̲ĀR**, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ ᶜABD ALLĀH, Murd̲j̲iʾī D̲j̲abrī theologian of the period of al-Maʾmūn. Born in the city of Bamm, he apparently grew up there as well, and worked as a weaver at the embroidery house (*dār al-ṭirāz*); according to another version, he worked at a factory which

produced metal weights. The sources are silent with regard to the dates of his birth and death; however, if we accept as true the report that he died of sorrow over his argument with al-Naẓẓām, the Muʿtazilī theologian, it is reasonable to assume that al-Nadjdjār died after the end of the third decade of the 3rd/9th century.

Al-Nadjdjār's doctrine became well-known towards the end of the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) in the region of Rayy in the eastern provinces, in the shadow of the Ṭāhirid line of governors. Although he was still alive at the beginning of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or inquisition, we have no proof that he himself took part in it, as did his teacher and contemporary Bishr al-Marīsī [*q.v.*]. But there is no doubt that his opinions contributed to the spread of the inquisition, through his follower, the theologian Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, known as Burghūth [*q.v.*], who was invited to Baghdād from Baṣra by al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42), together with Muʿtazilī theologians, in order to participate in the controversy with the leader of the traditionalist party Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; his active role and tough stance was a considerable burden to the persecuted *imām*.

The very fact that al-Nadjdjār was a follower and pupil of the Murdjiʾite theologian Bishr al-Marīsī, did not prevent him from being influenced in certain issues by the opinions of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who wrote a number of books attacking the Murdjiʾa, although al-Nadjdjār did not follow Ḍirār blindly. He rejected a number of his opinions, presenting totally contradictory opinions in their place. His circle of sources was not limited to these two figures; rather, it was broad enough to include as Ibāḍī and Ḥanafī sources, but his openness to a variety of viewpoints was not enough to remove him from the ideological framework characterised by the school headed by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr.

However, this was not the picture of al-Nadjdjār painted by Islamic heresiographic literature. Reports concerning his doctrinal identity are not unanimous: while al-Ashʿarī classifies him amongst the Murdjiʾa, al-Shahrastānī places him amongst the Djabriyya "determinists", and stresses that most of the Muʿtazila around the Rayy region were faithful to his doctrine. On the other hand, several reports associate him decisively with the Muʿtazila, while others classify him and his followers as belonging to the *ahl al-ithbāt* "the affirmationists", i.e. those who affirm God's *ḳadar*. (It is reasonable to assume that the *ahl al-ithbāt* were those who emphasised the createdness of the Ḳurʾān.) The lack of unanimity regarding al-Nadjdjār's views undoubtedly stems from the fact that his opinions on the theological questions which interested the *ahl al-kalām* were not all alike: on some issues his opinions suited those of the *ahl al-sunna*, while on others they suited the views of the Muʿtazila, as reflected in the heresiographic works that have reached us, which enumerate the points of discord and of accord between al-Nadjdjār on the one hand and the two opposing doctrines on the other. Disputes on various occasions between al-Nadjdjār and his follower Burghūth, on the one hand, and the two Muʿtazilīs Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām and Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.vv.*] on the other, as well as the keen argument between Burghūth and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, not only corroborate reports regarding the doctrinal dispute between him and them; they also point to the independent orientation which characterises the man and his doctrine. The stormy dispute between al-Nadjdjār and upholders of the Sunnī doctrine lacked the power to distort the ideological proximity bonding some of the basic principles common to both doctrines; the scholars of the Sunna continued to consider al-Nadjdjār the closest to them amongst all the other doctrinal streams; on certain issues his views were even adopted by al-Ashʿarī, and it is reasonable to assume that because of this relationship, al-Nadjdjār's opinions were preserved and did not vanish. But his views, as reported by the heresiographers, were not well-formed enough and were even quoted in a disjointed and out-of-context fashion, whence the lack of clarity which characterises his opinions with regard to certain issues. Nor is the long list of monographs attributed to him able to dispel this lack of clarity.

Nevertheless, the general account of his views as represented in the heresiographical works may help to identify the main concepts distinguishing him from the contemporary theologians. Faith (*īmān*), according to him, consists in the knowledge of God, of His apostles and His commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth. It consists of several qualities (*khiṣāl*), each of which is an act of obedience (*ṭāʿa*); complete faith is the sum of all the *ṭāʿāt*. Faith may increase but not diminish; it can be completely lost only through unbelief. Al-Nadjdjār's concept of faith is closer to the Sunnī one, but it is not the same as that of the Murdjiʾa. Concerning the attributes of God (*ṣifāt*), al-Nadjdjār has a special stand which differs from that of the proponents of the Sunna and the Muʿtazila; he has taken over Ḍirār's view of the negative character of the divine attributes, claiming, for example, that God is ceaselessly generous (*lam yazal djawād^an^*) in that avarice is denied of Him. (This theory of the negative character is not Islamic; its origins are related to Albinus of the 2nd century A.D., and it seems that this idea became known to Muslim theologians through Plotinus' works; see ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿIrfān, *Dirāsāt al-firaḳ wa 'l-ʿaḳāʾid*, Baghdād 1967.) He also maintains Ḍirār's doctrine concerning God's quiddity (*māhiyya*) but rejects his innovation of the sixth sense as a means of seeing God on the Resurrection Day; instead, he maintains that the eye may be given the power of knowing. As for human power (*istiṭāʿa*), introduced as an atomistic conception in contrast to Ḍirār's view, he claims that power never precedes an act but accompanies it; for each act there is a power originated when the act is originated, and the power does not endure. According to him, the body consists of assembled accidents (*aʿrāḍ mudjtamiʿa*); those accidents which do not form part of the body do not endure. This view was probably developed by Ḍirār and then adopted by al-Nadjdjār and some Ibāḍī theologians.

In accordance with his deterministic orientation, al-Nadjdjār presumed that all that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestricted activity of God; He who creates the actions of man, who himself can do nothing to avoid the will of God. But God is able to do favour (*luṭf*) by which the unbeliever becomes believer. The activity of man is restricted to *kasb*, i.e. to his appropriation of divine will. Like the Muʿtazila, he presumed that he who commits a heinous sin is doomed to Hell, but (in contrast to the view of the latter) will emerge from there. Moreover, like Bishr al-Marīsī, his master, he claimed that infidels would not remain forever in Hell; similarly, believers not deserving an eternal stay in Paradise would not remain there forever. He also denied the punishment of the tomb (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]), probably because of his deterministic tendency. As for the word of God (*kalām Allāh*), he maintains like Bishr that it is created; is is accidental (*ʿaraḍ*) when it is read, and it is body (*djism*) when it is written. Clearly, al-

Nadjdjār was a prominent thinker whose views influenced the Muʿtazila in their formative period by his keen opposition to some of their views. In the meantime, his opinions paved the way for the Sunnī scholars' defence of their doctrine on the basis of reasoned arguments which were unavailable before him.

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(H.S. Nyberg-[Khalīl ʿAthāmina])

AL-NADJDJĀRIYYA, also called AL-ḤUSAYNIYYA, the followers of al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], an early, specifically Ḥanafī sect of *kalām* (see W. Madelung, *Religious trends in early Islamic Iran*, Albany 1988, 29) which flourished during the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), and whose representatives took part in the controversies throughout the course of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or inquisition. But this doctrine, unlike the Muʿtazila, was compelled to withdraw from Baghdād and from the borders of ʿIrāḳ and to move on to the eastern provinces in the wake of the abolition of the *miḥna* by al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) and the bold reaction of adherents of the Sunna against opposing doctrines. There, and particularly in the provinces of Rayy, Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, the Nadjdjāriyya took root and even attracted a large following; testimony from the 4th/10th century shows that it became one of the four main doctrines in those provinces, at a time when its followers had dwindled to a very small minority in Baghdād, although the doctrine had not completely disappeared there.

Heresiographers are not unanimous in their classification of the followers of this doctrine: in one case they classify them as Muʿtazila and in another as Murdjiʾa—a situation which probably arises from the fact that this doctrine presents opinions identical to those of other doctrines on specific theological subjects. Particularly prominent are reports which emphasise the connection between the Nadjdjāriyya and the doctrine attributed to Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], a context which is undoubtedly intended to discredit the doctrine in the eyes of its opponents. Still, there are reasonable grounds to assume that the eminent proponents of this doctrine were part of the group of theologians known as *ahl al-ithbāt* "those who affirm God's *ḳadar*". Nevertheless, and despite the diversity of the origins of the ideas of al-Nadjdjār, who founded this doctrine, it is possible to discern the independent orientation of this group, which cultivated its own unique theological principles and which had its own characteristic traits. The Nadjdjāriyya, like other doctrines, gave rise to various sectarian sub-groups—in this case over ten of them—the most prominent of which was known as Burghūthiyya, named after Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Burghūth [*q.v.*], who disagreed with al-Nadjdjār on the question of *mutawallidāt* "generated effects", attributing them to the nature (*ṭabʿ*) concealed by God within objects themselves. He also disagreed with al-Nadjdjār on the question of *iktisāb*, "acquisition", claiming that one who acquires an act cannot be called the doer (*fāʿil*) of it.

A second sub-group was known as Zaʿfarāniyya, composed of the followers of a man known as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zaʿfarānī. This group disagreed with the mainstream with regard to the matter of the createdness of the Ḳurʾān and developed paradoxical opinions in this context; they displayed extreme enmity toward the Muʿtazila in the region of Rayy.

A third sub-group was known as Mustadrika, "revisionists", and these developed contradictory opinions on the same question and displayed considerable admiration toward the first generations of Islam.

Despite the controversy which evolved amongst the various streams, all of them remained loyal to certain fundamental principles which al-Nadjdjār, in particular, had established: the rejection of divine attributes and the notions that seeing God is impossible and that the divine word is created.

Bibliography: See that for AL-NADJDJĀR.

(Khalīl ʿAthamina)

NĀDJĪ, IBRĀHĪM (1898-1953), influential Egyptian Romantic poet. He graduated from the Medical School in 1923, going into private practice. He was then employed by Egyptian Railways, and later became Director of the Medical Department of the Ministry of *Waḳfs*. He associated with and influenced the Romantic poets ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Hamsharī and Ṣāliḥ Djawdat, like him all connected with the *Apollo* magazine, founded

by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī [*q.v.*] in 1932. An outstanding lyrical poet, much of his work concerns his personal relationships, in particular his second collection *Layālī al-Ḳāhira* (Cairo n.d. and 1988). According to Jayyusi (*Trends*, 397) "he restored to Arabic love poetry, a tenderness, a sustained devotion and a direct, uncomplicated, even humble approach unknown since the days of the bedouin Umayyad poets." His first *dīwān*, *Warāʾ al-ghamām* (Cairo 1934, Beirut 1973, Beirut-Cairo 1983) shows the influence of the English romantics. The third, *al-Ṭāʾir al-djarīḥ*, was published posthumously (Cairo n.d. and 1983, Beirut 1973). His by no means complete poetic works, *Dīwān Nādjī* (Cairo 1961), mistakenly includes poems by Kamāl Nashʾat. Further *dīwāns* have appeared, *Dīwān Ibrāhīm Nādjī* (Beirut 1973, 1980 and 1988), as has other poetry, *Fī maʿbad al-layl* (Beirut 197?, Beirut-Cairo 1983), and *Ḳaṣāʾid madjhūla* (Cairo 1958). Amongst other works he translated Dostoyevsky's *Crime and punishment*, and poetry by Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal* (Cairo 1954). Though editor of *al-Ḳiṣṣa* magazine, his fictional writing is of much less importance. He founded the monthly medical magazine *Ḥakīm al-Bayt* in 1934.

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NADJĪB (Neguib) [see MUḤAMMAD NADJĪB].

NADJĪB b. Sulaymān al-**ḤADDĀD** (1867-99). Syro-Egyptian journalist, poet, novelist, playwright and prolific translator, born in Beirut. His family moved to Alexandria in 1873. He was a journalist on *al-Ahrām* for more than ten years, founded the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and *al-Salām* newspapers, and edited the *Anīs al-Djalīs* magazine. Considered an excellent poet, his youthful *dīwān* was published as *Tadhkār al-ṣibā* and later selections from his poetry and prose appeared. One of the most competent translators of the period, he translated fiction by Alexandre Dumas *père*, Lamartine and others. His greatest contribution to literature was, however, his twenty or so plays, written in prose and verse in literary Arabic, into which he interpolated songs. These did much to invigorate the theatre in Egypt at the turn of the century. Amongst his own works were his popular *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī*, inspired by Walter Scott's *Talisman*; a tragedy *ʿAmr b. ʿAdī*; *al-Mahdī*; and a drama about Iphigenia, *al-Radjāʾ baʿd al-yaʾs*. His usually faithful, if melodramatic, adaptations include the classical tragedies of Corneille, *Le Cid, Oedipe* and *Cinna*; Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves*/*Thārāt al-ʿArab*, and *Hernani*/*Ḥamdān*; Molières *L'avare* and *Le médecin malgré lui*; Racine's drama *Bérénice*, and the tragedies *Phèdre* and *La Thebaïde*; Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*/*Shuhadāʾ al-gharām*; Voltaire's *Oedipe* and tragedy *Zaire*. The actor Salāma Ḥidjāzī's performance as Romeo became the talk of the town. Most plays were published, and five of his adaptations have been reissued in Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadjm's *al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī*, vi (Beirut 1966). His plays, performed by all the leading troupes, remained popular for a decade or so after his death.

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NADJĪB al-**DAWLA**, Afghān commander in northern India during the 18th century, whose power-base was in Rohilkand, where he founded the town of Nadjībābād [*q.v.*].

Involved in the confused struggles for power in Dihlī during the reigns of the *fainéant* Mughal Emperors Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur [*q.v.*] and ʿĀlamgīr II in the 1750s, as opponent of the *Nawwāb-wazīr* of Awadh (Oudh) [*q.v.*] Ṣafdār Djang, he worked closely with the Afghān ruler Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and received from him in 1757 the title of *amīr al-umarāʾ* and custodianship of the Emperor ʿĀlamgīr II. At this period, strong pressure was being exerted on the Muslims' position by the expansionist Marāthas [*q.v.*], and in 1759 Nadjīb al-Dawla invited Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī to intervene in India for a fourth time, himself fighting at the third battle of Pānīpat [*q.v.*] (14 January 1761), when the Marāthās were decisively crushed. Over the next few years, he became regent and virtual ruler for the puppet Shāh ʿĀlam II, holding the title also of *Mīr Bakhshī*. His main preoccupation was to ward off the militant Sikhs from the upper Dōāb and to stem pressure from the Djāt ruler Suradj Mal and his successors (repelled in 1765). He thus managed, with consummate military skill and diplomacy, to maintain the integrity of the truncated Mughal empire before retiring with failing health to Nadjībābād (March 1768), leaving power in the hands of his deputy Ḍābiṭa Khān. But a new, massive Marāthā invasion of Hindūstān in 1770 brought him back to negotiate a settlement with them just before he died in October 1770.

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NADJĪB MUḤAMMAD SURŪR (1932-78), a leading experimental Egyptian dramatist, director, actor and poet. He studied law at the College of Law and drama in Cairo and Moscow, working for several years in the Arabic section of Radio Moscow. Back in Cairo from 1964 onwards, in a flourishing era of Egyptian theatre, using Brechtian devices, he utilised the Egyptian folk heritage and music, and classical and modern poetry as source material for his colloquial plays, telling the story of the struggle of the ordinary Egyptian people for social justice against foreign and local forces of oppression. In his verse tragedies, *Yāsīn wa-Bahiyya, Yā Sittī Bahiyya, Yā Bahiyya wa khabbirīnī* (published in his critical work *Ḥiwār fi ʾl-masraḥ*, Cairo 1969), *Āh, yā layl, yā ḳamar*, he tells the epic story of the eponymous ill-fated lovers. In the seventies his plays *Ḳūlū li-ʿAyn al-Shams* and *al-Kalimāt al-mutaḳāṭiʿa* (unpublished), were performed. Several of his dramas, the tragic folk tale of Ḥasan and Naʿīma *Min ayn agīb nās?*, the prose play *al-Ḥukm ḳabl al-mudāwala*, and *al-Dhubāb al-Azraḳ* (unpublished), on the aftermath of Black September, were not performed in his life time. He translated and directed Chekhov and successfully adapted Bertolt

Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera* (1928)/*Malik al-shaḥḥātīn*, setting it at the time of the British occupation of Egypt. Four *dīwāns* of his poetry, *al-Tradjīdiyā al-insāniyya*, *Luzūm mā yalzam*, *Brūtūkūlāt ḥukamāʾ Rīsh*, and *Rubāʿiyyāt* have been published. His short caustic articles about cultural life in Egypt have appeared as *Hākadhā ḳāl Djuḥā*.

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(P.C. SADGROVE)

NADJĪBĀBĀD, a town in the western part of the Rohilkhand region of modern Uttar Pradesh state in India (lat. 29° 37′ N., long. 78° 19′E.), the centre of a *taḥsīl* of the same name in the Bijnor District. The town was founded by the Afghān commander and *wazīr* of the Mughal Emperors, Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who in 1168/1755 built a fort, Patthagarh, one mile to the east. Sacked by the Marāthās [*q.v.*] in 1186/1772, it passed two years later to the *Nawwābs* of Awadh [*q.v.*] (Oudh). Nadjīb al-Dawla's great-grandson Maḥmūd participated in the Great Rebellion of 1857-8, and his palace was destroyed. In 1901 the population of the town was 40% Muslim. According to the 1961 census, the total population was 34,310.

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NADJIS (A.), impure, the opposite of *ṭāhir* [see ṬAHĀRA]. According to the Shāfiʿī doctrine, as systematised by al-Nawawī (*Minhādj*, i, 36 ff.; cf. Ghazālī, *al-Wadjīz*, i, 6-7), the following are the things impure in themselves (*nadjāsāt*): wine and other spirituous drinks, dogs, swine, *mayta*, blood and excrements; and milk of animals whose flesh is not eaten.

Regarding these groups, the following may be remarked. On wine and other spirituous drinks cf. the arts. KHAMR and NABĪDH.—Dogs are not declared impure in the Ḳurʾān; on the contrary, in the description of the sleepers in sūra XVIII [see AL-KAHF] the dog is included (verses 17, 21). In *Ḥadīth*, however, the general attitude against dogs is very strong, as may be seen in KALB. Goldziher considered this change due to an attitude of conscious contrast (*mukhālafa*) to the estimation of dogs in Zoroastrianism. It must not, however, be forgotten that the Jews also declared dogs to be impure animals, just as were swine. The latter are already declared forbidden food in the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 116; VI, 146; V, 4; II, 168). Regarding the eating of meat which has not been ritually slaughtered, see MAYTA. Blood is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XVI, 116; VI, 146; V, 4; II, 168) as prohibited food; for the religious background of this prohibition see DAM in Suppl. As for excrements, and several kinds of secretions of the body, the theory and practice of Jews and Christians sufficiently explain the attitude of Islam in this respect. It must also be admitted, though data are very scarce, that in early Arabia religious impurity included some of these things. Details are to be found in the large legal works of each of the *madhhabs* (see *Bibl.*).

Of the differences of the schools regarding this subject, the most important only may be mentioned. Spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Ḥanafīs [see NABĪDH]. Living swine are not impure according to the Mālikīs. The Shīʿa add to the things mentioned above the human corpse and the infidels. The human corpse was one of the chief sources of impurity according to Jewish ideas (cf. already Num., xix). A current in early Islam tending to follow the Jewish customs in ceremonial law was very strong; the Shīʿī view regarding the human corpse may be a residuum of it. The impurity of infidels is based upon sūra IX, 28, where the polytheists are declared to be filth (*nadjas*). The Sunnī schools do not follow the Shīʿa in the exegesis of this verse.

The *nadjāsāt* enumerated above cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled only (*mutanadjdjis*), with the exception of wine, which becomes pure when made into vinegar, and of hides, which are purified by tanning. On purification, see ṬAHĀRA, GHUSL, WUḌŪʾ.

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(A.J. WENSINCK)

NADJM AL-DĪN KUBRĀ [see KUBRĀ].

NADJM AL-DĪN RĀZĪ DĀYA, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Shahāwar Asadī (573-654/1177-1256), Ṣūfī of the Kubrawī order [see KUBRĀ, NADJM AL-DĪN] and author of several important works in Persian and Arabic. He left his native city of Rayy at the age of twenty-six and travelled widely in Syria, Egypt, the Ḥidjāz, ʿIrāḳ, and Ādharbāydjān. He ultimately turned eastwards, passing through Nīshāpūr before arriving in Khʷārazm where he became a *murīd* of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*], eponym of the Kubrawiyya. Kubrā assigned his training to a senior disciple, Madjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 607/1204), and it is to him that Dāya refers as "our *shaykh*". He is strangely silent concerning Kubrā himself, although he sometimes cites the Persian quatrains that are attributed to him.

At a date that cannot be precisely determined, Dāya—clearly a restless man, even by the peripatetic standards of the age—left Khʷārazm to resume his wanderings in western Persia. Sensing the onset of the Mongol storm, he abandoned his family in Rayy (by his own admission), and after a return visit to the Ḥidjāz travelled by way of Hamadān, Irbīl and Diyārbakr to central Anatolia, arriving in Kayseri in Ramaḍān 618/October 1221.

Saldjūḳ-ruled Anatolia offered a haven to many scholars and mystics, and among those Dāya is reputed to have encountered there were Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūn(y)awī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Awḥad al-Dīn

Kirmānī. The first figure of note he met was Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Suhrawardī; Dāya crossed paths with him in Malaṭya as the latter was returning from a mission to the Saldjūḳ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād [*q.v.*] on behalf of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh. According to Dāya, Suhrawardī suggested to him that he compose a work on Ṣūfism and present it to Kayḳubād in order to gain his patronage. However, Ibn Bībī's chronicle of the Saldjūḳs reports not only that Dāya had completed the work in question—*Mirṣād al-ʿibād ilā 'l-mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*—before his arrival in Malaṭya but also that he had already decided to dedicate it to Kayḳubād (*Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, Turkish text, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 226). The two recensions in which the *Mirṣād* exists may explain the contradiction. One was completed soon after his arrival in Kayseri and intended as "a gift to true seekers and veracious lovers", and the other in Sivas, in Radjab 620/August 1223, dedicated to Kayḳubād.

Despite the generally acknowledged excellence of the *Mirṣād* and the encomium to Kayḳubād with which it concludes, Dāya was evidently disappointed by his reception in the Saldjūḳ capital of Konya, for before long he moved on to Erzincan. There he composed another work in Persian, *Marmūzāt-i Asadī dar mazmūrāt-i Dāwūdī*; the second half of the title contains an allusion to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Dāwūd, the Mengüček ruler of Erzincan. It seems that Dāya did not fare much better in Erzincan than in Konya. He quit Anatolia definitively less than four years after his arrival in Kayseri, and in 622/1225 we find him travelling from Baghdād to Tabrīz on a diplomatic mission for the caliph al-Ẓāhir. While in Tabrīz, Dāya met Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, who was fleeing before the Mongol invaders, and it was in the company of his ambassador, Ḳāḍī Mudjīr al-Dīn, that he returned to Baghdād. It was probably in Baghdād that he spent the rest of his life. He died there in 654/1256 and was buried in the Shunayziyya cemetery near such luminaries of Ṣūfism as Maʿrūf Karkhī and Djunayd Baghdādī.

Dāya trained no *murīds*, with a single exception, and his posthumous fame and influence were due entirely to his writings. Among them, the *Mirṣād* clearly stands out as a masterpiece, being comprehensive in its treatment of the major themes of Ṣūfism and written with a fluency, vigour and eloquence that qualify it for comparison with the best of classical Persian prose. Among its themes, logically and systematically arranged, are the origins of the various realms and orders of creation; prophethood and the different dimensions of religion; the ritual practices, mores and institutions of Ṣūfism; and the ways in which different professions and trades may yield spiritual benefit if properly practised. The interest of the Kubrawī masters in dreams, visions and the phenomenology of the Ṣūfī path is apparent on many pages of the *Mirṣād*, as is—more subtly and without direct attribution—the influence of Ibn ʿArabī.

The *Mirṣād* exercised wide and lasting influence throughout the lands where Persian was spoken or understood; manuscripts of it are numerous. It was known in India at least as early as the 8th/14th century, thanks to the efforts of the Čishtī order, and some hundred years later a Turkish translation was made for Sultan Murād II. It was known even in China; manuscripts of the work exist with marginal glosses in a North Chinese idiom written in the Arabic script. Echoes of the *Mirṣād* and quotations from it are to be found in a wide variety of Persian, Turkish and Pashto works.

The *Marmūzāt-i Asadī* may be characterised as a "special edition" of the *Mirṣād*. It contains much of the material of Dāya's masterpiece with the strictly Ṣūfī portion diminished and the sections on kingly power greatly expanded. Extant only in a single manuscript, the *Marmūzāt-i Asadī* appears not to have exerted great influence.

The second major work of Dāya consists of his contribution to a Ṣūfī *tafsīr*—known varyingly as *Baḥr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*, and *al-Taʾwīlāt al-Nadjmiyya*—begun before him by Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā and completed after his death by another Kubrawī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī. Dāya took up this commentary at *Sūrat al-Baḳara* and was able to advance it as far as *Sūrat al-Nadjm*; the major portion of it is thus his. His relentless insistence on discovering metaphorical senses for nearly every verse of the Ḳurʾān sometimes verges on the arbitrary and the artificial, but there can be no denying the popularity and influence of the work. It has never been printed, but substantial portions of it are quoted in a *tafsīr* of which several printings do exist: the *Rūḥ al-bayān* of Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī al-Burūsawī.

Dāya also wrote several minor works, of which *Risāla-yi ʿIshḳ u ʿaḳl*—a preliminary essay for certain sections of the *Mirṣād*—deserves mention.

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(HAMID ALGAR)

NADJRĀN, a city in northern Yaman and a major urban centre in the Arabian Peninsula in ancient times. It was an agricultural, an industrial, and a trade centre, owing all this to the facts of geography. It was celebrated for its cereals, fruits and vegetables and also for its leather and textiles, situated as it was in the midst of a fertile *wādī*, which also bore the name Nadjrān. Its importance as a caravan city was owed to the fact that it was located at the intersection of two main caravan routes, one that ran from Ḥaḍramawt through Ḥidjāz to the eastern Mediterranean and another that ran to the northeast through Yamāma into Mesopotamia-ʿIrāḳ.

It was important enough early in the 4th century A.D. to attract the attention of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, "king of all the Arabs" (d. A.D. 328), and three centuries before, it was captured by Aelius Gallus, whom Augustus dispatched against South Arabia. But it was really in the 6th century that it attained international fame through an extraordinary sequence of events, the prime mover of which was the introduction of Christianity into the city in the previous century, by one of its native merchants (Ḥayyān or Ḥannān).

Although the initial Christian impulse came from Ḥīra, where Ḥayyān was baptised, other Christian missionary currents converged on Nadjrān from Byzantine Syria and from Ethiopia, all of which made Nadjrān the main centre of Christianity in South Arabia. Various Christian denominations existed side-by-side in Nadjrān, but Monophysitism was the one that prevailed.

Around A.D. 520 the Judaising king of Ḥimyar Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] captured Nadjrān and faced its inhabitants with the dilemma of either apostasy or death. Consequently, many of the Christians of Nadjrān became martyrs. The Christian world, represented by Byzantium and Ethiopia, responded by sending a joint expedition against South Arabia, the former contributing a fleet, the latter an army, which under the command of Negus Ella-Aṣbeḥa conquered South Arabia around A.D. 525 and converted it into an Ethiopian dependency and a Byzantine sphere of influence for some fifty years. This half-century was the golden period in Nadjrān's history, during which it functioned as an Arabian martyropolis, a city of martyrs, a great pilgrimage centre for the Christians of the Peninsula. Monophysitism and the cult of relics in the 6th century received a great impetus from the blood and bones of so many martyrs in Nadjrān. The chief among them was al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, the *sayyid* of the city and of the Arab tribe in Nadjrān; and as St. Arethas, he became a saint of the Universal Church whose feast is celebrated on 24 October. The chief Arab tribe in Nadjrān was also called al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, (Balḥārith), and it most probably belonged to the large tribal group of al-Azd, to whom belonged the Ghassānids, the Arab allies of Byzantium in Oriens, Bilād al-Shām, and this tribal affinity was an important fact in the history of the Ghassānids. In this half-century, Nadjrān became a city of churches and monasteries, but above all the city of Kaʿbat Nadjrān, the great martyrion to which the pilgrimage was performed. Its custodians were from Banū ʿAbd al-Madān, the chief clan or house within the tribe of Balḥārith. Thus Nadjrān became the Holy City of the Christian Arabs at this time, and one of the holy cities of the Christian Orient, alongside Edessa in Mesopotamia, Etchmiadzin in Armenia and Axum in Ethiopia.

The year 570 brought about a sharp reverse in the fortunes of Nadjrān when the Persians occupied South Arabia. The region was no longer under the domination of a Christian protective power, Ethiopia. Zoroastrian Persia was hostile to both Christianity and Byzantium, and naturally, Nadjrān as a great Christian centre was adversely affected. But it was the rise of Islam and the Muslim conquest of Arabia that finally dealt Christian Nadjrān a fatal blow, and this eclipse and final extinction during the Islamic period falls into three phases: (a) in the Meccan period of Muḥammad's mission (610-22) the Ḳurʾān is well disposed to Christianity, and Nadjrān was possibly implied in Sūrat al-Burūdj (LXXXV, 4-9) in which there is reference to the Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd [*q.v.*]; (b) in the Medinan period (622-32), there was a hardening of attitude. In 630, a delegation from Nadjrān came to Medina. This was a significant Muslim-Christian confrontation which was to have included a *mubāhala* [*q.v.*], an objurgation, but the Nadjrānites decided to withdraw from the contest. The Prophet then let the Nadjrānites practise their religion, but demanded from them the payment of the tribute and especially the contribution of 2,000 robes; and (c) in the caliphate of ʿUmar (634-44), the Nadjrānites were ordered to evacuate the city, which they did, and they emigrated to ʿIrāḳ where most of them settled in a locality called al-Nadjrāniyya not far from Kūfa. But apparently not all of them left the city, since Christians are attested in Nadjrān in later Islamic times, including bishops in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Nadjrān survived its evacuation by most of its Christian inhabitants. Some of the Balḥārith evidently converted to Islam and decided to stay on in their city, but apparently evacuated the pre-Islamic site at a later date in favour of a locality a few miles to the north-west, which grew into Islamic Nadjrān. Situated in the midst of a rich oasis, Islamic Nadjrān continued to prosper and remained an important centre in the economic life of the region. Its chiefs were influential in early Islamic times, especially as the mother of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ (750-4) was Rayṭa, a woman from Banū ʿAbd al-Madān, who were thus referred to as al-Akhwāl, the maternal uncles of the ʿAbbāsids.

Ancient pre-Islamic Nadjrān, nowadays called Ukhdūd, survives as a heap of ruins to the southeast of the present-day city of Nadjrān, which is in the province of ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] in Saudi Arabia, but in the consciousness of mediaeval Christendom it vividly survived as the city of the Arab martyrs, as it still does in the churches of the Christian Orient.

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(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-NAḌR B. AL-**ḤĀRITH** b. ʿAlḳama b. Kalada b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy, a rich Kurayshite who, in the pre-Islamic period, carried on trade with al-Ḥīra and Persia, from where he is said to have brought back books (?) and to have brought back also one or more singing slave girls (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]).

He represented ʿAbd al-Dār in the group of the *muṭʿimūn*, i.e. the Meccans who were charged with supplying food for pilgrims, and he occupied a fairly eminent position in the town. He was a strenuous opponent of the Prophet, scoffing at him and not failing to speak up and evoke the glories of the kings of Persia when Muḥammad recalled the miserable fate of past nations. In particular, he accused Muḥammad of retailing tales of the ancients (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), and two Ḳurʾānic verses containing precisely this expression (VIII, 31; LXXXIII, 13) are stated to have been specifically connected with him. The Ḳurʾān is likewise said to have alluded to this personage, amongst other enemies of the Prophet, in various passages, notably VI, 8-9, XLV, 6-7/7-8. He fought at Badr [*q.v.*] in the pagan ranks and was captured. Muḥammad then killed him personally and ʿAlī cut off his head with a blow of his sword, but the fact is disputed since a *ḥadīth* says that the damned who will suffer the cruellest punishment on Judgement Day are those who have killed a prophet or whom a prophet has killed. The most accredited version is that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib executed him in cold

blood after having secured him in bonds (*ṣabr^an*) in a place called al-Ṣafrāʾ; but al-Uthayl is also cited (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v., i, 121). (On the reproaches launched at "orientalists" that they have exploited this incident, see A. Wessels, *A modern Arabic biography of Muḥammad*, Leiden 1972, 240 n.)

His death inspired his sister (or his daughter) Ḳutayla (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iv, 44, calls her Laylā) to compose verses in which she weeps over him but nevertheless does not blame Muḥammad, who is said to have regretted this execution. Although doubt has been expressed regarding their authenticity (see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-adab*, i, 28-9), these verses, frequently cited and highly appreciated, have perpetuated al-Naḍr's memory. He has, moreover, a place in the history of Arabic music as poet, singer and lute player, who is said to have learnt this last instrument at al-Ḥīra and to have introduced it amongst the Meccans (see Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *al-Ḳiyān wa 'l-ghināʾ*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1968, 115, 116, 118, 131).

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-**NAḌR** B. **SHUMAYL** b. Kharasha al-Māzinī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Arab scholar who, born in Marw al-Rūdh in 122/740, was brought up at Baṣra.

He led a miserable life there, but was able to derive instruction from the most famous masters of the time (see Pellat, *Milieu*, *passim*), notably al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], whose *K. al-ʿAyn* he was to enrich by an introduction. He probably lived for some time (allegedly 40 years, which must be an exaggeration) among the Bedouins, whom he was also able to question at the Mirbad [*q.v.*]. He was interested in the various branches of knowledge cultivated in his time and became an expert in matters of lexicography, grammar, poetry, *ḥadīth* and even *fiḳh* and the history of the Arabs. Since his activities were not bringing him adequate means of subsistence, he decided to return to his native land, with which he must have kept up links. In Baṣra he had nevertheless acquired such renown that, according to tradition, not less than 700, even 3,000 (*sic*) traditionists, *fuḳahāʾ*, grammarians, etc. came to greet him on the Mirbad at the time of his departure and expressed their regret at seeing him go; he replied that he would be ready to stay if anyone would guarantee a measure (*kayladja*) of beans for him each day, but no-one was willing to promise this. It seems that Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] exploited this incident in his book on the *mathālib* [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. He therefore returned to Marw, where he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and "made the Sunna dominant" (*aẓhara al-sunna*), which was one of his specialities. It was there that he had occasion to frequent al-Maʾmūn's *madjlis* and to display to him his knowledge of grammar and poetry; he accordingly received from the prince and his entourage a rich reward. He is said to have died in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 204/May-June 820, but the year 203 is also mentioned.

Al-Naḍr b. Shumayl's work was copious, judging by the lists given by his biographers, but none of these works has survived. Probably the most important was the *K. al-Ṣifāt fi 'l-lugha* in 5 volumes, of which the *Fihrist* (52; ed. Cairo, 77; ed. Tehran, 58; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 58) provides a fairly detailed summary. This work was a kind of dictionary or encyclopaedia— the first of its genre —and it was used by authors fairly near to it in time, such as Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838 [*q.v.*]) in *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*. His other works bear witness to his erudition and to his intellectual curiosity: *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *al-Maʿānī*, *al-Wāḍiḥa* or *Mathālib al-ʿArab wa-manāḳibuhā*, *al-Anwāʾ*, *al-Djīm* and *al-Shams wa 'l-ḳamar*.

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NADRŪMA, NEDROMA, a small town of northwestern Algeria, situated 58 km/33 miles from Tlemcen, 45 km/28 miles from the Moroccan border and only 17 km/10 miles from the coast, from where in clear weather the dark mountains of the Sierra Nevada can be seen. It lies in the heart of the Traras, the coastal chain of moderate altitude, which is nevertheless very broken by the eroding effects of the hydrographic system, where Nedroma spreads along the lower slopes of the ridge of the Dj. Fillawsen. Thus it dominates a mass, until recently compact, of orchards and gardens intersected by a network of irrigation channels, bearing witness to the long-established occupation of these lands by successive generations intimately linked with the life of the town, which has itself been the centre of extensive connections and varied relations in a zone directly open to interventions by neighbouring principalities situated on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Despite the divisive effects of the physical relief of the area, Nedroma has constantly evolved within the shade and the orbits of these principalities, whilst nevertheless tenaciously retaining its own personality and economy. Hence it has been able to survive after the successive disappearance of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada and the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen. Indeed, the vestiges and the memories of this long and rich past, essentially an urban one, are perceptible until now in the poorly-preserved architectural remains and in certain structures of the historic town, as well as in the vigorous remnants of ancient families who have, since 1962, regularly engendered technocrats, ministers and diplomats.

If Nedroma still preserves some ruins of constructions attribuable to the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and represented by a city wall dating to 555/1160, the town nevertheless emerges into history well before then. In this connection, the details given by al-Yaʿḳūbī in the 3rd/9th century are very useful for the exact identification, in particular, of the site. It must be admitted, following R. Basset, that the name given by this geographer, Fallawsen, must correspond to that of the foundation of Nedroma and consequently to the locality itself. But there must have been a town already fairly well developed and forming part of the Idrīsid realm and governed by Muḥammad b.

Sulaymān. This accordingly marks a definite stage, but one whose distant origins cannot be brought into the clear light because of the lack of documentation. However, the succeeding stages which are at the same time the origin of the leading dynasties working towards a unification of both sides of the western Mediterranean, and of the trans-Mediterranean commercial movements, brought Nedroma definitively into being, strengthening its urban character and its main functions, well noted by al-Idrīsī.

Hence the Almoravids provided it with an important mosque and *minbar*, clearly reminiscent of that in the famous great mosque of Cordova, according to G. Marçais. Such attention on the part of these prestigious rulers was well-deserved, since, according to al-Bakrī, the diversity of its agricultural produce, and the nearby inlet to the sea, that of Māsīn, making possible maritime transactions, gave Nedroma the merited appellation of "a considerable town". In this way it acquired a religious dignity and even an official character, shown in the acquisition of typical urban features. But under the Almohads it was unable to claim any other dignity, considering its geographical position. At all events, the founder of the dynasty assigned to it a strategic role, which at the same time entailed a depopulation of the Traras, given the importance of the military contingents from this region which followed the monarch towards Marrakesh in the 6th/12th century, the Kūmya.

Whatever the case, the unification of the two coasts of the Mediterranean was beneficial in that it permitted the continuation and the intensifying of multifarious exchanges, material and cultural in origin, in the latter case, of the Andalusian heritage of Nedroma as visible at the present day in its musical heritage, the origin of certain families and, above all, in deep-rooted cultural traditions.

Regarding the appearance of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*], this is marked by the strengthening of links with their nearby capital, Tlemcen [see TILIMSĀN]. The two towns, both enjoying the charm of the Traras mountain chain and the proximity of the coast, came to complement each other. Nedroma became a place of rural retreat for certain rulers of Tlemcen and their descendants, as happened with Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf when he renounced the throne in 749/1348. The residence takes the shape of a fortress, the Ḳaṣaba, of which some traces are still visible below the Maghniyya road, to the south of the heart of the old town, and whose toponym *ḳṣar es-solṭān* still today recalls a lively chapter from that brilliant period. Other princes furthermore honoured this residence by prolonged stays, such as that of Abū Ḥammū II, who reigned 760-91/1359-89 at Tlemcen, and it was there that the latter's son Abū Tashfīn II was born.

Subsequently, Tlemcen's decay and the constant ambitions and aims of its rival Fās had a certain direct effect on the commercial movements beyond the region and on the general balance of forces in the town. With the final end of the kingdom of Granada (897/1492), parallel to the dislocation of the trans-Saharan trade in the wake of the great oceanic movements, Nedroma became necessarily more thrown back on its own resources, aggravated more and more by the physical relief of the coastlands and, at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, by the *Reconquista*, with the occupation of the former main port of the ʿAbd al-Wādids, Oran, in 913/1507 and then of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] in 941/1535. Hence a certain shrinkage of horizons was inevitable and enduring, but not entirely without some continuation of liveliness, as the information from this date from Leo Africanus shows with regard to the vigour of artisanal activity and the continuation of the irrigated system of agriculture in the rural hinterland of the town. Cotton goods were spun there, showing how the town adapted to the new conditions caused by change, both internal and those common to the Maghrib, and also to the whole Mediterranean-Atlantic region. It was as a result of these two activities, henceforth the exclusive ones of the town and its hinterland, that the commercial effects began to affect the whole Trara region and beyond, into the areas of traders coming from Tlemcen, Maghniyya, Oudjda, and even Sefrou and "beyond". In this period, Nedroma had a garrison representing the *beylik* of the West, bringing with it some oppressive effects but more often inciting the citizens to further efforts, the origin of the remarkable diversity of artisanal activities before the French occupation of Algeria (see *Nedroma 1954-84*).

Throughout this latter period, the town's being thrown back on its own resources necessarily increased by continual emigration to the urban centres and also abroad, to France, movements not always by the less privileged classes but in good measure by the relatively better-off and by those who acquired a bilingual culture in particular. The first official school opened in 1865, and one can trace from 1880 onwards the emergence of the first elements of the present-day élite, seen in the physician M. Nekkach, the first doctor from the colony itself to practice in Orania (Sari, 1990) and Si M'hamed ben Rahal, a personality of the political, religious and literary world from the end of the 19th century (Djeghloul, 1977), illustrating the continuing effects of the ancient heritage of Nedroma, even though the town is still affected by the rural exodus caused by the national war of liberation and its consequences in a frontier zone, which efforts to stabilise the population have not succeeded in stemming; its population of 17,175 in the 1987 census shows a rate of growth below the national average.

Bibliography: In addition to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 222, see Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Ar. text, 80, Fr. tr. 161-2; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tr. Dozy and de Goeje, Leiden 1866, Ar. text, 172; Fr. tr. 209; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, index; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, tr. Paris 1667, ii. 324-5; Canal, *Monographie de l'Arrond. de Tlemcen*, in *Bull. soc. d'arch. et de géolog. d'Oran*, viii (1888), 62-5; R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901; A. Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs. Guide illustré du touriste*[2], Toulouse n.d., 92-4; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; A. Djeghloul, *M'hamed ben Rahal et la question de l'instruction des Algériens (1866-1925)*, in *Madjallat al-Taʾrīkh* (Algiers 1970), 43-100; G. Grandguillaume, *Nédroma, l'évolution d'un médina*, Leiden 1976; *Nédroma 1954-84*, Algiers 1986 (collective vol.); Dj. Sari, *Les villes précoloniales, Nédroma, Masouna, El Kalâa*, Algiers 1977; idem, *L'un des premiers médecins de l'Algérie contemporaine*, in *El Moudjahid* (Algiers, 11 July 1990), 12.

(A. BEL-[DJ. SARI])

NADWA [see DĀR AL-NADWA].

NADWAT AL-ʿULAMĀʾ, a Muslim educational and reform society established at Kānpūr (Cawnpore) in north India in 1310/1892 (moved to Lucknow in 1316/1898) to (a) evolve a new educational system by amalgamating the "old" and the "modern" curricula, and (b) to eliminate sectarian differences among Muslims. As *Nadwa*, as it is popularly called, failed to impress upon other *madrasas*

to adopt its suggested curricula, it established in 1898 at Lucknow its own educational institution, Dār al-ʿUlūm, which is now more famous than the society itself.

During the first half of the 19th century, English-language schools had cropped up all over British India but certificates of the usually state-run *madrasas* teaching basically *Dars-i Niẓāmī*, the curriculum laid down by Mullā Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1679) to produce administrators for the Mughal state, were generally recognised up to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 as sufficient qualifications to join the state machinery. After the events of 1857 and the subsequent attitudes of disfavour towards Muslims by the British, the former started to establish private *madrasas* geared only to imparting religious education. The first such *madrasa*, Ḳāsim al-ʿUlūm (now known as Dār al-ʿUlūm), was established at Deoband in north India in 1865 and soon a chain of similar private *madrasas* sprang up all over India.

It was soon felt, especially by Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*], that new *madrasas* should be set up in order to integrate the "old" and the "new". The new movement was called *Taḥrīk-i Iṣlāḥ-i Niṣāb* ("curricula reform movement"). The "reform", however, did not exceed the deletion of some old textbooks and the introduction of some new ones on history, geography, mathematics in addition to English, as well as the replacement of Persian by Urdu as the medium of instruction.

Nadwa aroused great controversy in its early years among the Muslims of India. Opponents published dozens of pamphlets against the society, which they considered another form of the ʿAlīgaṙh movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. Supporters of the *Nadwa* responded with counter-pamphlets (some of these are found in the *Nadwa* library).

Annual conferences to popularise its ideas and to ensure mass participation in various Indian cities continued from 1894 to 1927 (printed and ms. reports are available in the library and archives of *Nadwa*). The only other general conference was the institution's 85th anniversary celebrated in 1975 (report in Muḥammad Ḥasanī, *Rūdād-i čaman*, Lucknow 1976).

Nadwa has a big library which includes 650 rare books and 3,000 mss. It published an Urdu journal, *al-Nadwa* (1904-12, 1912-16, 1940-5) and an Arabic journal *al-Ḍiyāʾ* (1932-5). Currently, its various wings publish three periodicals, monthly *al-Baʿth al-Islāmī*, the fortnightly *al Rāʾid* (both since 1959) in Arabic, and the fortnightly *Taʿmīr-i Ḥayāt* (1964-) in Urdu. Dār al-ʿUlūm has a printing press as well as a publishing arm in addition to the *Nadwa*'s Academy of Islamic Research and Publications (established 1959) which has published over 250 titles in various languages including Arabic and English.

In addition to primary and secondary education (5 years each), the Dār al-ʿUlūm awards the degree of *ʿĀlimiyya* after a study of 4 years in its "Arabic", i.e. Islamic, section. After a further two years' study and presentation of a small dissertation graduates are given the degree of *faḍīla*, with specialisation (*takhaṣṣuṣ*) in either Islamic *Sharīʿa* or Arabic literature. Dār al-ʿUlūm, like other *madrasas*, does not charge tuition fees. Most of the students live in dormitories and the majority of them are provided with free board and lodging. As with similar institutions in the Subcontinent, expenses are met by voluntary Muslim donations and *zakāt*. Degrees are generally recognised by the departments of Islamic Studies and Arabic in Indian, as well as by some Arab, universities. In the 1970s and 1980s Dār al-ʿUlūm has seen great progress in terms of buildings, but its overall impact on the intellectual life of Muslims in India remains marginal. Dār al-ʿUlūm today is in practice yet another *madrasa* which positively discourages modern education. Its point of distinction is the emphasis on Arabic as a living language. Among its outstanding graduates was Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī (d. 1953 [*q.v.*]) who besides other works, completed the *Sīrat al-Nabī* left incomplete by his mentor Shiblī Nuʿmānī. *Nadwīs*, i.e. the graduates of Dār al-ʿUlūm, were the mainstay of India's premier institution of Islamic research, Dār al-Muṣannifīn, at Aʿẓamgaṙh.

Bibliography: In addition to the material referred to above, the official, albeit sanitised, history of the *Nadwa* is found in *Tārīkh Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. i by Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Djalīs Nadwī and vol. ii by Shams Tabrīz Khān, Lucknow 1983-4. Other material may be found in ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadwī, *Marākiz al-Muslimīn al-taʿlīmiyya wa 'l-thaḳāfiyya wa 'l-dīniyya fi 'l-Hind*, Madras *ca.* 1967, 34-52; Shaykh Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawdj-i Kawthar*, Lahore 1979, 187-93, 221-48; Mushīr al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Musalmān awr secular Hindustān*, New Delhi 1973, 47-81. More material will be found in the following works on personalities closely connected with the *Nadwa*'s early years: Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i Shiblī*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1943; Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, *Sīrat-i Mawlānā Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Mungayrī*, Lucknow 1964; Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ḥasanī Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i ʿAbd al-Ḥayy*, Lucknow 1970; Shams Tabrīz Khān, *Ṣadryār Djung*, Lucknow 1972.

(ẒAFARUL-ISLĀM KHĀN)

NADWĪ, Sayyid Sulaymān (1884-1953), Indian scholar of Islam. He was born at Desna, near Paṫnā, on 22 November 1884. After receiving traditional Urdu and Persian education in his village and neighbouring towns, he joined Dār al-ʿUlūm of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ [*q.v.*] at Lucknow in 1901 and graduated in 1906. His talents were recognised by Shiblī Nuʿmānī [*q.v.*] who became his mentor and appointed him as the assistant editor of *al-Nadwa* magazine in 1907. He also started teaching *kalām* and Arabic literature in Dār al-ʿUlūm (1908-13) and in 1923, became the chairman of its educational committee (*Muʿtamad taʿlīmāt*), a post which he held for over two decades. He helped Shiblī in his *Sīrat al-Nabī* project launched in 1910, and later completed this encyclopaedic work on the life of the Prophet (vols. iii-vi published during 1924-38) after Shiblī died leaving it incomplete in 1914. The incomplete seventh volume of this work was published posthumously in 1980.

In 1915 Nadwī established the Dār al-Muṣannifīn at Aʿẓamgaṙh [*q.v.*], the most notable Muslim research institution in India, and launched its magazine *Maʿārif* a year later. He took part in Indian nationalist and Muslim politics in the 1910s and 1920s and was a member of delegations sent to London (1920) and the Ḥidjāz (1924, 1926). As a rare recognition in those days, Nadwī was awarded an honorary D.Lit. by the ʿAlīgaṙh Muslim University (AMU) in 1943.

He was appointed the Chief Justice (*Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt*) of the princely State of Bhopāl [*q.v.*] as well as the rector of its Djāmiʿa Mashriḳiyya in June 1946. His status was devalued after the absorption of Bhopāl into the Indian Union in 1947, but he stayed on until April 1950. He migrated to Pakistan in June the same year and was appointed in August 1952 as the chairman of the Idāra Taʿlīmāt Islām, an official body instituted to assist the new government in framing the constitution according to the teachings of Islam.

Nadwī, generally considered to be the greatest

Indian Muslim scholar of this century, died at Karachi on 23 November 1953. An enlightened traditionalist, Nadwī later reverted to rigidness in the wake of initiation in 1940, by the Ṣūfī *murshid*, Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), to the point of recanting in January 1943 some of his earlier views.

Bibliography: In addition to the volumes iii-vii of *Sīrat al-Nabī*, cited above, Nadwī's other works include: *ʿArḍ al-Ḳurʾān*, 2 vols., Aʿẓamgaṙh 1916, 1918; *Sīrat-i ʿĀyisha*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1924; *Khuṭbāt-i Madrās*, lectures on the life of the Prophet in 1925, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1926; *ʿArab awr Hind ke taʿallukāt*, lectures on the Indo-Arab relations at Allāhābād in 1929, Allāhābād 1930; *Khayyām*, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1933; *ʿArabon kī djahāzrānī*, lectures on the history of the Arab navigation, at Bombay in March 1930, Bombay 1935; *Nuḳūsh-i Sulaymānī*, a collection of Urdu literary articles and lectures, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1939; *Raḥmat-i ʿālam*, a book on *Sīra* for children, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1940; *Ḥayāt-i Shiblī*, the life of his mentor, Aʿẓamgaṙh 1944; *Yād-i raftagān*, Karachi 1955. *Maḳālāt-i Sulaymān* (3 vols.) is a posthumous collection of Nadwī's articles. Collections of his letters have also been published in India and Pakistan. A collection of his Urdu poems has been compiled by Ghulām Muḥammad as *Armughān-i Sulaymān* (see *Maʿārif*, 108/1 [July 1971], 5).

Maʿārif, 75/5 (May 1955) and *Riyāḍ*, Karachi (March 1954), published special issues on Nadwī. Other works on him include: Ghulām Muḥammad, *Tadhkira-yi Sulaymān*, Karachi 1960; Shāh Muʿīn al-Dīn Aḥmad Nadwī, *Ḥayāt-i Sulaymān*, Aʿẓamgarh, 1973; Sayyid Muḥammad Hāshim, *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī: ḥayāt awr ʿilmī kārnamey*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, AMU 1982; ʿAbd al-Ḳawī Desnawī, *Yādgār-i Sulaymān*, Patnā 1984; ʿAtiḳ Aḥmad Ṣiddīḳī (ed.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, proceedings of a seminar held by the Department of Urdu, AMU in 1984, ʿAlīgaṙh 1985; Āfāḳ Ṣiddīḳī (comp.), *Awrang-i Sulaymān*, Karachi 1985; Muḥammad Naʿīm Ṣiddīḳī Nadwī, *ʿAllāma Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Lucknow 1985; Masʿūd al-Raḥmān Khān Nadwī and M. Ḥassān Khān (eds.), *Muṭālaʿa-yi Sulaymānī*, proceedings of a seminar in 1985, Bhopāl 1986; Khalīḳ Andjum (comp.), *Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī*, Delhi 1986; Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī kī taṣānīf*, i, Aʿẓamgarh 1988. (Ẓafarul-Islām Khān)

NAFAL [see GHANĪMA].

NAFAS [see NAFS. I. *c*, and NEFES].

NĀFIʿ, the *mawlā* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], according to early tradition sources a major transmitter of Prophetic *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], who is described as having been a resident of Medina. His year of birth does not seem to be recorded and his year of death is variously given as 117/735, 118/736, 119/737 or 120/738 (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 414, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. A.Ḍ al-ʿUmarī, 256).

The sources contain hardly any information on his person and the little they say is often contradictory. Ibn ʿUmar is alleged to have acquired Nāfiʿ on a campaign in which he participated but which one is left unspecified. Nāfiʿ is said to have hailed from Abrashahr (Nīsābūr) according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 190, 460, but according to Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, 206, he was one of the captives at the conquest of Kābul in 44/664. What is most striking about him in the early sources is his near-absence from those in which he should have been mentioned in the first place. Thus there is no trace of him in Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaḳāt*, in which one would expect his name to be included among the *mawālī* Successors of Medina (ed. Sachau *et alii*, v, 208-29), which, by all standards, presents a seemingly exhaustive list. (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413, quotes a remark attributed to Ibn Saʿd that he was a *thiḳa* and *kathīr al-ḥadīth*; whether or not this non-committal evaluation was an original part of the *Ṭabaḳāt* remains to be investigated). Even if it is maintained that Ibn Saʿd's text in its current editions may not be complete, the reason why Nāfiʿ did not receive mention among Medina's Successors in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, ii, 42 ff., or for that matter in a number of comparable sources, remains to be explained. In sources other than *ḥadīth* he turns up only occasionally as a purveyor of legal as well as historical data. He never does so, however, as a person whose historicity could be postulated, acting or speaking against a tangible historical backdrop, but rather as a mechanical *isnād* insert. If Nāfiʿ was indeed a historical figure, he received singularly little attention in all those sources which are otherwise typified by their generous treatment of Nāfiʿ's peers, those who preceded him as well as those who came later.

His fame rests mainly in his alleged position in *isnāds* [*q.v.*] in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections. One *isnād* in particular was considered by al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] as the soundest in the entire tradition literature: Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] → Nāfiʿ → ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar → Prophet (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 6). Moreover, Mālik is reported to have said: When I hear Nāfiʿ transmit traditions on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar, I do not mind that I did not learn them from somebody else (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 413). This encomium, although at first sight undeniably positive, may not be rooted in reality: if we set store by the age Mālik is said to have reached at his death in 179/795, namely *ca.* eighty-six (lunar) years, and if he did hear traditions directly from Nāfiʿ, he must have been still very young at the latter's death, which fell sometime between 117 and 120 (735 and 738). And this does not tally with another piece of information describing Mālik as still a *shābb*, or (in a variant) even a *fatā*, some 14 or 17 years after Nāfiʿ's death (see Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *K. al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, i, 682; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 7). If the indications *shābb* or *fatā* for Mālik in the year 134/751 are taken as factual, he must have been born approximately at the time Nāfiʿ is recorded to have died, a computation more in line with Mālik's year of death, and this especially in view of the life expectancy for a man in those days. (For studies on the 7th and 8th century practice of artificially stretching one's age into the past, see *Bibl.*) On the basis of the latter chronology, traditions on the alleged authority of Nāfiʿ cannot have reached Mālik in a way other than as written material, which must have come into his possession a good number of years after Nāfiʿ's reported year of death.

That Mālik may eventually have come by one or more *ṣaḥīfas* [*q.v.*] in circulation which purportedly contained traditions recorded by Nāfiʿ on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and others, is not entirely out of the question, although this is suggested nowhere in the sources. Transmitting traditions according to the procedure that goes by the technical term *ʿarḍ* or *muʿāraḍa* (which means that someone claimed that he had "presented" a *ṣaḥīfa* in which he had copied a certain master's traditions to that master for approval, after which he was free to transmit them to his own pupils) was a practice which seems to have come into existence some 110 years after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Fasawī, ii, 157). The general practice

was that these pupils then passed on to their pupils what they had copied on the direct authority of the first master, with or without mention of the intermediary, the original owner of the *ṣaḥīfa*. (For a convincing example of this practice, compare Fasawī, ii, 157, 176 f. and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, 267, with al-Mizzī [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, vi, nos. 8452 ff.) For good measure, Mālik is recorded to have stated that he saw no difference in acceptability between *samāʿ* (i.e. the pupil listening to the personal instruction of the *shaykh*, either memorising or taking dictation) and *ʿarḍ* (*Kifāya*, 270).

Further reports in the early sources involving Nāfiʿ's person are for the most part equally noncommittal. The one alleging that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] sent him to Egypt to teach the population the *sunan* (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 414), is questionable, not only because of the doubtless topical mention of ʿUmar II, but also because it has not left a trace in the source best known for information on Egypt, al-Kindī's *K. al-Wulāt wa'l-ḳuḍāt*. Nāfiʿ did receive a brief reference as one of the *fuḳahāʾ* of the 2nd/8th century in al-Yaʿḳūbī's *Taʾrīkh* (cf. index s.n.), but that is about all. However, if Nāfiʿ had indeed been a *fiḳh* expert, it is incomprehensible why the early sources such as the pre-canonical *muṣannafs* [*q.v.*], which have preserved countless legal opinions (*aḳwāl*) of the great Ḥidjāzī *fuḳahāʾ* of the 1st/7th century, have preserved hardly any attributed to him.

Of the traditions with Nāfiʿ in the *isnād* listed in the canonical collections, the most striking feature is the supposedly overwhelming reliance on Ibn ʿUmar: al-Mizzī (*Tuḥfa*, vi, nos 7469-8549) lists in all 1,080 *isnād* bundles and strands ending in Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet (with just 22 in *Tuḥfa*, viii, nos. 10550-71, in which ʿUmar's name is inserted between that of his son and the Prophet, but mostly presenting equivalents of Ibn ʿUmar-supported *matns*), whereas he is recorded with only one to ten traditions or so on the alleged authority of each of just a handful of other Companions. Of those 1,080 Ibn ʿUmar strands, some three-fifths are supposedly passed on by Nāfiʿ to just a few later transmitters: 90 to Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī from Baṣra, 435 to ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī, a man who is said to hail from Medina, 50 to the Egyptian Layth b. Saʿd, 82 to Mālik b. Anas and 58 to Mūsā b. ʿUḳba from Medina. Of these 715 strands, the majority are single strands (in other words: not showing up common links), while of the remaining strands from Nāfiʿ to others than the persons just mentioned, the vast majority are also single strands.

What this quantification amounts to is that Nāfiʿ in the *isnād*s of the canonical tradition literature constitutes a well-nigh perfect example of a "seeming" or, depending on one's outlook, an "artificial common link" (for a definition of these and other newly-coined technical *ḥadīth* terms, see *Bibl.*). In sum, the Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet strand is a prime example of such late strands as were used by late collectors to "snow under" older Medinese as well as ʿIrāḳī bundles. This is confirmed by another salient feature of Nāfiʿ strands, namely that they almost invariably support *matn* versions which fit into clusters of at times wholly similar, other versions of that *matn*. These *matn* clusters consist more often than not of *matn* versions of non-Ḥidjāzī as well as Ḥidjāzī origin, both with relatively early common links. Differently put, the Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet strand supports in the main the relatively late Ḥidjāzī counterparts of *matns* first brought into circulation elsewhere, as well as *matns* of earlier Ḥidjāzī origin. Thus, because of all these numerous versions of one particular *matn*, which are tantamount to as many repetitions, with just a few, mostly irrelevant, modifications added or none at all, the bulk of the material registered in the canonical collections as allegedly supported by the Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet *isnād* strand should not be conceived of as in any way commensurate with the huge numbers of strands all separately listed in al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfa*. Rather, conspicuous accumulations of one particular strand, which all allegedly figure the same transmitters, such as the more than thousand numbers in al-Mizzī with the Nāfiʿ → Ibn ʿUmar → Prophet strand, constitute a sure sign of *matn* clusters covering just a limited number of legal and/or ritual-related issues.

Bibliography: Given in the art. For the proliferation of the name Nāfiʿ in early *isnād* development, see G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, ch. iv, esp. 142 f. Furthermore, for the age-stretching phenomenon in early Islam, see MUʿAMMAR at VII, 258; Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, index, s.v. "age trick"; idem, *The role of* muʿammarūn *in the early development of the* isnād, in *WZKM* (1991). For the technical terms "common links", "single strands", "*matn* clusters", *isnād* "bundles", "snowing under", etc., see idem, *Some* isnād*-analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x (1989), 343-84; idem, *Muslim tradition*, index s.v.; idem, *Some notes on the earliest* fuqahāʾ *of Islam distilled from* ḥadīth *literature*, in *Arabica*, xxxix (1992). For "seeming" or "artificial common links" as well as an analysis and categorisation of Nāfiʿ-supported traditions, see idem, *Nāfiʿ, the* mawlā *of Ibn ʿUmar and his position in Muslim* ḥadīth *literature*, forthcoming in *Isl.*, lxx (1993).

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

NĀFIʿ B. AL-**AZRAḲ** al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanẓalī, Abū Rāshid (said to be the son of a freedman of Greek origin who was a blacksmith; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 56), Kharidjite who played quite a considerable role in Islamic history as leader of an extremist fraction of that sect known after him as the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] or Azraḳīs, which lived on substantially after his death; he is furthermore said to have laid down their doctrines.

The sequence of events in which he was involved is difficult to establish, since there is a certain confusion in the narratives involving him. From them one learns first of all that, after having given military assistance to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], besieged in Mecca by the Syrian troops (64/683), he went to Baṣra with his followers and, taking advantage of the troubles consequent on the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (54/684), he seized control of the town, opened the doors of the prisons and brought about the assassination of the governor appointed there by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], Masʿūd b. ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī. However, the Azd in Baṣra reacted strongly against the murderers of Masʿūd, their fellow-tribesmen, and temporarily expelled the Azraḳīs. After a fresh attempt against the town, Nāfiʿ and his partisans were forced to flee to al-Ahwāz, where they set up their headquarters and from which they continued to threaten the recently-founded metropolis of southern ʿIrāḳ. The new governor there, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Hāshimī, called Babba, took energetic measures against them and sent the Zubayrid general Muslim b. ʿUbays to combat them. In the course of a battle which took place at Dūlāb (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 574, 622-3), Nāfiʿ and the leader of his opponents were both killed (65/685).

Nāfiʿ is considered as the first theoretician of

Khāridjism. His doctrines, still rudimentary, included in particular *istiᶜrāḍ* [*q.v.*], which his partisans practised shamelessly, and if one leaves aside a few details clearly added by the Azraḳīs at a later time, these doctrines can be summed up under four headings: separation from the quietists; putting intending adherents of Khāridjism to the test; "excommunication" of those Muslims who did not make the migration to their group; and the licitness of killing the women and children of their enemies.

Bibliography: Ashᶜarī, *Maḳālāt*, Istanbul ²1382/1963, 86-7 and index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, Cairo 1328, 62-7; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1321, iv, 189; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 512; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 56; idem, *Ansāb*, ivB, 95 ff.; Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, 89-91, tr. D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, 374-80 and index; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 279, 282, 284; Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 220 = § 1993; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 381 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yaᶜḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 317, 324; M.Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islâm*, Leiden 1875, 28 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionparteien*, in *Abh. GW Gött.*, N.S., v/2 (1901), 28 ff.; R.E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omaiyaden*, Leiden 1884; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 762; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 209-11; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 80-2.

(A.J. Wensinck*)

NĀFIᶜ b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Nuᶜaym **al-Laythī**, one of the seven canonical Ḳurʾān "readers" who was born in Medina and died there in 169/785 (other dates between 150/767 and 170/786 are also mentioned in biographies). He is reported to have studied with 70 of the *tābiᶜūn* in Medina. He transmitted one of the seven Ḳurʾān readings [see ḳirāʾa] which were recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid [*q.v.*]. Two of his pupils, Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835), are recognised as the main transmitters of his reading. The transmission of the Ḳurʾān from Warsh on the authority of Nāfiᶜ is still used in the Muslim world, especially in West Africa. This transmission has certain noticable characteristics: for example, it has fewer instances of *hamzat al-ḳaṭᶜ* compared to the more widespread transmission of Ḥafṣ *ᶜan* ᶜĀṣim. The actual significance of this and other variations within the system of the "seven readers" is not certain.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ed. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1932-3, no. 3718; Sezgin, i, 9-10; Nöldeke, *et alii*, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 160-205; A. Brockett, *The value of the Ḥafs and Warsh transmissions for the textual history of the Qurʾān*, in A. Rippin, *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 31-45 and references.

(A. Rippin)

NĀFILA (a.), pl. *nawāfil*, from *n-f-l* "to give something freely", a term of law and theology meaning supererogatory work.

1. The word occurs in the Ḳurʾān in two places. Sūra XXI, 72, runs: "And we bestowed on him [viz. Ibrāhīm] Isaac and Jacob as an additional gift" (*nāfilat^an*). In XVII, 81, it is used in combination with the vigils, thus: "And perform vigils during a part of the night, reciting the Ḳurʾān, as a *nāfila* for thee".

In *ḥadīth* it is frequently used in this sense. "Forgiveness of sins past and future was granted to him [Muḥammad] and his works were to him as supererogatory works" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 250). In another tradition, it is said with reference to the month of Ramaḍān, that God "writes down its wages and its *nawāfil* even before its beginning" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 524). Of peculiar importance, also in a different respect, is the following *ḥadīth ḳudsī*: "When My servant seeks to approach to Me through supererogatory works, I finally love him. And when I love him I become the hearing through which he heareth, the sight through which he seeth, the hand with which he graspeth, the foot with which he walketh", etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ, bāb* 38).

Finally, the following tradition may be translated: "Whoso performs the *wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*] in this way (viz. in the way described in the foregoing part of the tradition), receives forgiveness of past sins and his *ṣalāt* and his walking to the mosque are for him as a *nāfila*" (Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 8; Mālik, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 30). In the parallel tradition (Muslim, *loc. cit.*, trad. 7), the term used is *kaffāra* "expiation". This parallelism is an indication of the effect ascribed to supererogatory works in Muslim theology, viz. the expiation of light sins (cf. al-Nawawī on Muslim, Cairo 1283, i, 308).

Further, it must be observed that in theological terminology *nāfila* is often applied to those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice. The latter are called *sunna muʾakkada*, the former *nāfila* or *sunna zāʾida* (cf. below, 2).

The place of supererogatory works in theology is further accurately defined in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, art. 7: "We confess that works are of three kinds, obligatory, supererogatory and sinful. The first category is in accordance with God's will, desire, good pleasure, decision, decree, creation, judgment, knowledge, guidance and writing on the preserved table. The second category is not in accordance with God's commandment yet according to His will, desire" etc.

The term for supererogatory works used here is not *nāfila* but *faḍīla*.

2. *Nāfila* is used in *ḥadīth* especially as a designation of the supererogatory *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *ᶜĪdayn, bāb* 11; *Tahadjdjud, bāb* 5, 27). Sometimes it appears in the combinations *ṣalāt al-nāfila* (Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma, bāb* 203) and *ṣalāt al-nawāfil* (al-Bukhārī, *Tahadjdjud, bāb* 36).

In *fiḳh* this terminology is often, but not always followed, the other term for the supererogatory *ṣalāts* being *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuᶜ* (e.g. Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 26), a term that goes back to Ḳurʾān II, 153, 180; IX, 80, and which occurs also in canonical *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd has a *Kitāb al-Taṭawwuᶜ* in his *Sunan*). The whole class of supererogatory *ṣalāts* is called *nawāfil* as well as *sunan*. *Nawāfil*, as a general designation of supererogatory *ṣalāts* covers three subdivisions. The following juxtapositions may give a survey of the terminology:

Nawāfil	*sunna* *muʾakkada* *mandūba*	(Khalīl, tr. Guidi, 95, Mālikī)
Nawāfil	*sunna* *mustaḥabba* *taṭawwuᶜ*	(al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 174, Shāfiᶜī)
Nawāfil	*sunna* *mandūba* *taṭawwuᶜ*	(*Fatāwī ᶜĀlamgīriyya*, i, 156, Ḥanafī)
Sunan	*muʾakkada* *raghība* *nāfila*	(Fagnan, *Additions*, 23, Mālikī)

It may be added that the term *rawātib* is used especially for the supererogatory *ṣalāts* preceding or following the *maktūba*; they belong to the first subdivision.

In Shīʿī *fikh*, *nawāfil* is the widest term; by *muraghghabāt* the daily and non-daily supererogatory prayers are designated.

Bibliography: *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, Ḥaydarābād 1321, 8-10; E. Sell, *The faith of Islam*, London 1888, 199; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1931, 126, 142 ff.; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis v.d. Moh. wet*, Leiden 1925, 382-3; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1302, i, 174 ff.; Nawawī, *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, Batavia 1882, i, 121 ff.; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Il Muḫtaṣar...*, tr. I. Guidi, i, Milan 1919, 20, n. 55, 95; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, Algiers-Paris 1923, s.v.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, i, 25, 51, tr. Querry, i, 49-50, 52-3, 100 ff. See also KHAṬĪʾA; ṢALĀT, 3. (A.J. WENSINCK)

NAFĪR [see NEFĪR].

NAFĪSA, AL-SAYYIDA, a mausoleum situated to the south of the Fāṭimid city of al-Ḳāhira in the northern part of the cemetery area of the City of the Dead (al-Ḳarāfa), to the south of the Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in the direction of the sepulchral mosque of al-Shāfiʿī. Among the female saints [see WALĪ] in Cairo next to Sayyida Zaynab bint Muḥammad [*q.v.*] and "Sitt Sekīna" (Sukayna) "Sitt Nefīsa" takes a very prominent place. In the official recitations of the Ḳurʾān, al-Sayyida Nafīsa, where the reading is held on Sundays, takes third place among them all, immediately after Imām al-Shāfiʿī and Imām al-Ḥusayn (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xxi [1933], 110). The sanctuary is visited by both men and women, especially in the evening. The door leading to the sarcophagus itself is only opened once a year, on the occasion of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] of "Sitt Nefīsa". The foundation contains a number of other buildings besides a mosque, including a library and Ṣūfī cells. The land around it is a much sought-after place of interment.

Nafīsa was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. She came to Egypt with her husband Isḥāḳ al-Muʾtamin, a son of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]. She had a reputation for learning and piety. Al-Shāfiʿī frequently visited her to collect traditions; on his death, his body was brought to her house so that she might say the prayer for the dead over him. She had children, but her descendants soon died out. She herself died in Ramaḍān 208/January 824. Legend credits her with great *karāma* [*q.v.*]; for example, as is told of several Egyptian, and not only Muslims saints, it is said that her prayers produced a great rising of the Nile in a single night. In contradiction of a story that her husband wanted to take her body to the family burial place in the al-Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*] cemetery in Medina but was prevented by her devotees, is the general opinion that this is her tomb which she built with her own hands and in which she read the Ḳurʾān long before her death. Several rulers took part in the development of the sanctuary, ʿAbbāsids and later Fāṭimids and Ottoman governors. The cupola over the grave was restored by the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ in 532/1138 and the mosque in 693-4/1294-5 by the Mamlūk al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii, 238-9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1349, ii, 185-6; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 292-3; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311-12, i, 34. — On the history of the building, cf. the references in Maḳrīzī, Sakhāwī, Djabartī, etc. and their continuation in ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda al-tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāḳ 1305-6, v, 133-7; Dorothea Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo and the shrine of Saiyida Nafīsa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168-74. See also AL-ḲĀHIRA. Monuments. (R. STROTHMANN)

NAFĪSĪ, SAʿĪD, Persian scholar, fiction writer and poet, was born on 8 June 1896 in Tehran.

His family on his father's side had a long medical tradition, which also included his father, ʿAlī Akbar Nafīsī (d. 1303/1924), who held the title of Nāẓim al-Aṭibbāʾ, and was a distinguished physician of his time. Nafīsī received his early education in Madrasa-yi Sharaf and Madrasa-yi ʿIlmiyya, and in 1288/1909 went to Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, for further studies. His family wanted him to go into medicine. In Neuchâtel, Nafīsī joined the Collège Latin and learned Greek and Latin, which were necessary for one's enrolment in Swiss and French medical schools. After a year's residence in Switzerland, Nafīsī went to France. In 1290/1911 he published his first work, a translation concerning dental care. From his residence in Switzerland and France, Nafīsī acquired a great love of the French language and its literature. Hence on returning to Iran in 1297/1918 he was hired to teach French in the nationally famous Aḳdasiyya School and in the Saint Louis Catholic School, later called the Tehran School. In Tehran he was drawn to the capital's literary milieu. He became acquainted with the celebrated poet Malik al-Shuʿarā Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (1886-1950), and helped him in the production of his literary journal, *Dānishkada*, which appeared from April 1918 to April 1919. Nafīsī's publishing experience contributed to his appointment in 1918 as editor of *Falāḥat wa tidjārat*, a journal issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Welfare. He held this job until 1921 and also worked with the ministry in several other positions, finally ending as director of its advanced business school. Subsequently, he served under the Ministry of Education teaching history and literature in various institutions. When Tehran University was founded in 1935, Nafīsī joined its staff, and in Shahrīwar 1315/August-September 1936 he was confirmed as professor to teach the history of Islam in Persia. Meanwhile, he was elected as one of the first permanent members of the Iranian Academy. In 1949 he took premature retirement from teaching, but returned to the university in Bahman 1337/January-February 1959, and joined its College of Literature. During his career he made numerous trips to foreign countries, where he was frequently invited by universities, cultural societies and government bodies. A few years before his death he was appointed to the government's Educational Council as well as to the board of trustees for the Pahlawī Library. Towards the end he settled down in Paris, visiting Iran periodically. He attended the International Congress of Iranologists when it was convened in Tehran from 31 August to 7 September 1966. This was his last visit to Iran, for he died in Tehran on 12 November 1966.

Saʿīd Nafīsī was a prolific writer and the author of an exceedingly large number of books, monographs and articles. His scholarly and literary activity covered a wide and varied field which included political and literary histories, accounts of poets and their writings, editions of manuscripts, lexicons, original works of fiction poetry, and translations from foreign literature. Among his better known literary works is the collection of historical short stories entitled *Māh-i Nakhshab* ("Moon of Nakhshab"), first published in 1328/1949. He also wrote three novels, namely *Farangīs* (1311/1932), *Nīma rāh-bihisht*

("Halfway to paradise", 1332/1953) and *Ātis͟h-hā-yi nihufta* ("Hidden fires, 1339/1960). His important translations include Homer's *Iliad* (1334/1955) and *Odyssey* (1337/1958). In addition to *Falāḥat wa tid͟jārat*, mentioned earlier, he edited three other journals, *Ummīd*, *S͟harḳ* and *Payām-i naw*. He commanded a facile pen, and his prose style has won generous acclaim for its polished and lucid expression.

Bibliography: *Rāhnamā-yi kitāb*, ix/5, Tehran 1345/1967 ("Sargud͟has͟ht-i Saʿīd Nafīsī" by Īrad͟j Afs͟hār, 463-76, and "Sargud͟has͟ht-i man" by Saʿīd Nafīsī, 477-84; *Mad͟jalla-yi Dānis͟hkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tihrān*, xiv/3 (1346/1967) (articles by various writers as well as a chronology of Saʿīd Nafīsī's life and a bibliography of his works); Parīmarz Nafīsī (ed.), *Yādnāma-yi Saʿīd Nafīsī*, Tehran 1351/1972; eadem, *ʿUmrī bā Saʿīd Nafīsī*, in *Payām-i nuwīn*, x/1 (1972); ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Zarrinkūb, *Dar bāra-yi Saʿīd Nafīsī*, in *ibid.*; J. Green, *Iranian short story writers: a bio-bibliographic survey*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1989; Muḥammad Ṣadr Hās͟himī, *Tārīk͟h-i d͟jarāyid u mad͟jallāt-i Īrān*, i-iv, Iṣfahān 1363-4/1984-5. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

NAFS (A.), soul. *Nafs*, in early Arabic poetry meant the self or person, while *rūḥ* meant breath and wind. Beginning with the Ḳurʾān, *nafs* also means soul, and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine quality. Only in post-Ḳurʾānic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* equated and both applied to the human spirit, angels and *d͟jinn*. Since the two concepts of *nafs* and *rūḥ* are so closely connected, both will be considered here.

I. The Ḳurʾānic uses. *A*. *Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* have five uses: 1. In most cases they mean the human self or person, e.g. III, 54: "Let us call... ourselves and yourselves"; also XII, 54; LI, 20, 21. 2. In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh: V, 116b, "Thou [Allāh] dost know what is in myself [says ʿĪsā], but I do not know what is in Thyself (*nafsika*)"; also III, 27, 28; VI, 12, 54 and XX, 43. 3. One reference, XXV, 4 (cf. XIII, 17), is to gods: "They [*āliha*] do not possess for themselves (*anfusihim*) any harm or benefit at all!" 4. in VI, 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *d͟jinn*: "We have witnessed against ourselves (*anfusinā*)". 5. It means the human soul: VI, 93: "While the angels stretch forth their hands [saying,]. Send forth your souls (*anfus*)"; also L, 15; LXIV, 16; LXXIX, 40, etc. This soul has three characteristics: *a*. It is *ammāra bi 'l sūʾ*, commanding to evil (XII, 53). Like the Hebrew *nefes͟h*, the basic idea is "the physical appetite", in Pauline usage ψυχή, and in the English New Testament "flesh". It whispers (L, 15), and is associated with *al-hawā*, which, in the sense of "desire", is always evil. It must be restrained (LIXXIX, 40) and made patient (XVIII, 27) and its greed must be feared (LIX, 9b). *b*. The *nafs* is *lawwāma*, i.e. it upbraids (LXXV, 2); the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (IX, 119). *c*. The soul is addressed as *muṭmaʾinna*, tranquil (LXXXIX, 27). These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology. It is noteworthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels.

B. *Rūḥ* has five uses: 1. Allāh blew (*nafak͟ha*) of His *rūḥ*, *a*. into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (XV, 29; XXXVIII, 72; XXXII, 8), and *b*. into Maryam for the conception of ʿĪsā (XXI, 91 and LXVI, 12). Here *rūḥ* equates with *rīḥ* and means the "breath of life" (cf. Gen. ii, 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh. 2. Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *amr* are disputed. *a*. In XVII, 87, it is stated: "They ask thee [O Muḥammad] about *al-rūḥ*; say: *al-rūḥ min amrⁱ rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge". *b*. In XVI, 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say: "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but Me, so fear". *c*. In XL, 15, Allāh "cast *al-rūḥ min amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning". *d*. In XLII, 52: "We revealed (*awḥaynā*) to thee [O Muḥammad] *rūḥᵃⁿ min amrinā*; thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures". Whatever meanings *amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in *a*. with knowledge; in *b*. with angels and creatures, to give warning; in *c*. with creatures, for warning, and in *d*. with Muḥammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allāh for prophetic service. It reminds one forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding and in knowledge" (Exodus, xxxv, 30, 31). 3. In IV, 169, ʿĪsā is called a *rūḥ* from Allāh. 4. In XCVII, 4; LXXVIII, 38 and LXX, 4, *al-rūḥ* is an associate of the angels. 5. In XXVI, 193, *al-rūḥ al-amīn*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muḥammad's heart to reveal the Ḳurʾān. In XIX, 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*", who appears to her as well-made man. In XVI, 104, *rūḥ al-ḳudus* sent the Ḳurʾān to establish believers. Three other passages state that Allāh helps ʿĪsā with *rūḥ al-ḳudus* (II, 81; ii, 254; v, 109). This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may be also the *rūḥ* of 4. Thus in the Ḳurʾān *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's self or person, nor his soul or spirit. The plural does not occur.

C. *Nafas*, breath and wind, cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in some of its meanings, does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but is used in the early poetry (F. Krenkow, *The poems of Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ*, London 1927, 32). The verb *tanaffasa* (sūra LXXXI, 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Ḳurʾānic forms from the same radicals are *fa-l-yatanāfasⁱ 'l-mutanāfisūnᵃ* (LXXXIII, 26) and are derived in al-Ṭabarī, *D͟jāmiʿ al-bayān*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa* "he desired".

II. Umayyad poetry first uses *rūḥ* for the human soul (*Kitāb al-Ag͟hānī*, xvi, 126, last line; Cheikho, *Le Christianisme*, Beirut 1923, 338) where the Ḳurʾān had used *nafs* as in no. 5 above.

III. Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Cairo 1339, i, 126, uses *nasama*, which does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, and *nafs* (ii, 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* uses *nasam* (vi, 424), *nafs* (i, 297, ii, 364, vi, 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (iv, 287, 296). Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Constantinople 1331, viii, 44, 162-3, and al-Buk͟hārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1314, iv, 133, both use *rūḥ* for the human spirit.

IV. The *Tād͟j al-ʿarūs* (iv, 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, as follows: spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man. It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical. The *Lisān* (viii, 119-26) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and the Ḳurʾān. Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (2827b). The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose these facts: 1. Any attribution to Allah of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided. 2. In man, *a*. *nafs* and *rūḥ* are identified, or *b*. *nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or *c*, man has *nafsānⁱ*, two souls, one

vital and the other discriminative, or *d.* the discriminative soul is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding.

V. The influences that affected the post-Ḳurʾānic uses of both *nafs* and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of *nafs*. These influences are clearly shown in the records of the religious controversies.

A. Al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*] (H. Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Ismāʿīl al-Asʿarī*, Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāfiḍiyya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ Allāh* in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*d̲j̲ism*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only (61, 329 ff.). His creed of the orthodox (290-297) omits any statement about the nature of man.

B. Al-Bag͟hdādī [*q.v.*] (*al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (28, 117 ff., 241 ff.), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Ḥulūliyya sects [see ḤULŪL] among whom he includes the Ḥallād̲j̲iyya (247). His position is "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son and Spirit" (325).

C. Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] uses *nafs* and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1317-21, v, 66). He excludes from Islam all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician-philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī (i, 90 ff., iv, 187-8). He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the As͟hʿariyya of the continual re-creation of the *rūḥ* (iv, 69). He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (sūra VII, 171), and that these spirits exist in al-Barzak͟h [*q.v.*] in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (IV, 70).

D. Al-S͟hahrastānī [*q.v.*] (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, i, London 1842), in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death, does not use the terms *nafs* or *rūḥ*, but says the blood becomes a wraith-like bird that visits the grave every hundred years. One of his most important sections (203-40) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ*. Al-Ḥunafāʾ [see ḤANĪF], or true believers, debate with al-Ṣābiʾa [*q.v.*], who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics. His account of the views of the Ṣābiʾa faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (i/2, 14), and that the substance (*d̲j̲awhar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al-aflāk*). But al-S͟hahrastānī rejects the Neo-Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al-nufūs al-rūḥāniyyāt*) (210, 224-5), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (226-7). He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (213). His description of the natural man (216 ff.) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, place and powers, resembles that of the Ik͟hwān al-Ṣafāʾ (*Rasāʾil*, i/2, 48 ff.). Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima*, and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī [*q.v.*], al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] each of whom wrote a *Kitāb al-Nafs*, Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] who wrote two, and Miskawayh [*q.v.*], whose *Tahd̲h̲īb al-ak͟hlāḳ* has the same immaterial (1) and functional (7) psychology for its ethical basis. Al-S͟hahrastānī achieved the long-needed interpretation of the conflicting usages of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Ḳurʾān and Muslim tradition. But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam. The *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] and the great majority of Muslims broadened the Ḳurʾānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities.

VI. Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islām's greatest theologian, al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*]. In al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the technical terms*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, are extracts of the doctrines of al-G͟hazālī on man's *rūḥ and nafs*. He defines man as a spiritual substance (*d̲j̲awhar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels. It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (547 at top; cf. *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Cairo 1302, 72). He devotes the second section of *al-Risāla al-laduniyya* (Cairo 1327, 7-14) to explain the words *nafs*, *rūḥ* and *ḳalb* (heart), which are names for his simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses. He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinna* and *al-rūḥ al-amīn* of the Ḳurʾān. He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

VII. This position of al-G͟hazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Muʿtazila and the S͟hīʿa, but it has never dominated Islam. The great analytical philosopher and theologian, Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], could not bring himself to accept it. In his *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb*, v, 435, commenting on sūra XVII, 85, he quotes as the opinion of al-G͟hazālī the statement that is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (72; cf. also al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323, 164), but on 434 (l. 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātīḥ*, he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Maʿālim uṣūl al-dīn*, on the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, 117, he definitely rejects as baseless (*bāṭil*) the view of the philosophers that the *nafs* is a substance (*d̲j̲awhar*) which is not a body (*d̲j̲ism*) and not corporeal.

VIII. Al-Bayḍāwī's [*q.v.*] system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* (lithograph ed. with commentary by Abu 'l-T̲h̲anāʾ al-Iṣfahānī and gloss by al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, Istanbul 1305, 285 ff.; Brockelmann, I^2, 533, S I, 742-3). He discusses 1. the classes of incorporeal substances; 2. the heavenly intelligences; 3. the souls of the spheres; 4. the incorporeality of human souls; 5. their creation; 6. their connection with bodies; and 7. their survival. His cosmogony follows: Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*ʿaḳl*). This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al-ṣādir*) from Allāh, is the cause (*ʿilla*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*d̲j̲ism*), nor original matter (*hayūlā*) nor form (*ṣūra*). It is the secondary cause (*sabab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*). There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (288) who is the *rūḥ* of sūra LXXVIII,

38 (cf. al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*, ed. Fleischer, ii, 383, l. 4), whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of mankind. Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al-nufūs al-falakiyya*, and the low *nufūs*, which are in two classes: earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nāṭiḳa*) controlling particular persons. In addition (285), there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al-kurūbiyyūn*) and some evil (*al-shayāṭīn*) and the *djinn*, who are ready for both good and evil. This is the classification he refers to in his comment on sūra II, 28 (ed. Fleischer, i, 47, 25). His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (294). For the incorporeality of the soul (*tadjarrud al-nafs*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Ḳurʾānic verses and one tradition. His commentator remarks (300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body. He then argues that all *nufūs* are created when their bodies are completed. The *nafs* (303) is not embodied in and is not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved. It is connected with that *rūḥ* which comes from the heart and is generated from the finest nutritive particles. The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūḥ* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions. These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis*, imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active (*al-muḥarrika*) which are voluntary (*ikhtiyāriyya*) and natural (*ṭabīʿiyya*, 308).

IX. The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūḥ* and *al-nafs* is most fully given in the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] (Ḥaydarābād ²1324). Of his 21 chapters, Ibn Ḳayyim devotes the 19th to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (279-342). He quotes the summaries given by al-Ashʿarī (*op. cit.*, 331-5), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, v, 431-4). He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *mutakallimūn* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit. The *rūḥ* is identified with the *nafs*, and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhiyya*) from this sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose. It is created, but everlasting; it departs temporarily from the body in sleep; when the body dies it departs for the first judgement, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr [*q.v.*], and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection. He rejects (256) Ibn Ḥazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakh [*q.v.*] awaiting their time to be blown into embryos. He presents 116 evidences for the corporeality of the *rūḥ*, 22 refutations of opposing arguments and 22 rebuttals of objections. He represents traditional Islam.

X. The earlier Ṣūfīs had accepted the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Both al-Kushayrī [*q.v.*] (*al-Risāla*, with commentary of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī and gloss of al-ʿArūsī, Būlāḳ 1290, ii, 105 ff.) and al-Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*] (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. Nicholson, London 1911, 196, 262) call the *rūḥ* a fine, created substance (*ʿayn*) or body (*djism*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood. The *nafs* (*al-Risāla*, 103 ff.; *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics. All together make the man.

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūḥ* that al-Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially philosophical. Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] (H.S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 15, 11, 7 ff.) divides "things" into three classes: Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is, joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world. It is the universal and common reality of all realities. Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *barzakh* (22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (96). His animal spirit (*rūḥ*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (95), and his reasoning soul (*nafs nāṭiḳa*) is from the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), while his body is from the earthly elements (95-6). Man's position as vicegerent (45-6) and his resemblance to the divine presence (21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*), the first intelligence (51), vicegerent (*khalīfa*), the perfect man (45) and the *rūḥ* of the world of command (*ʿālam al-amr*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allāh's direct creation (122,₁). In his *Fuṣūṣ*, lith. ed., with commentary by al-Ḳāshānī, Cairo 1309, 12 ff., he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of manifestation of the Divine essence. This place receives a *rūḥ*, who is Adam, the *khalīfa* and the perfect man. He discusses (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, 129 ff.) the essence and properties of the *rūḥ*, quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahāfut* (as above). He finds the differences of doctrine harmless, since all agree that the *rūḥ* is originated. In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūḥ* (M. Asín Palacios, *Tratado acerca del conocimiento del alma y del espíritu*, in *Actes du XIVème Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, iii, 167-91), he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūḥ* and the suppression of the *nafs*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii), at times identifies his own *rūḥ* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tāʾiyya al-kubrā*, on margin of *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Cairo 1319, ii, 4-5) and with the "pole" (*ḳuṭb*) upon which the heavens revolve (113, 115). Al-Kāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tāʾiyya*, explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūḥ al-arwāḥ*) and the greatest "pole". The compiler of the commentaries on the *Dīwān* states (ii, 196) that incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and union (*ittiḥād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*fanāʾ*) and attainment (*waṣl*) of the *rūḥ* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*.

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlānī carries his position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism. In *al-Insān al-kāmil*, Cairo 1334, the terms *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, *rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *rūḥ Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created. This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (94). Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*). Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūḥ*) (194). One of the aspects of the angel of sūra XLII, 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allah, and who is an aspect of Allah as above, is given to the *rūḥ* mentioned

in the verse. That angelic and divine *rūḥ* thereby becomes the Idea (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of Muḥammad (95-6) and he thereby becomes the "perfect man" (96, 131 ff.). The *rūḥ* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names: animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulhama*), reproving, and tranquil. When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs*, then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*ʿārif*) are those of the One Known (*Maʿrūf*) (130-1).

XI. In geomancy (*ʿilm al-raml*), the first "house" (*bayt*) of the *ummahāt* is called *nafs* because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī ʿilm al-raml*, Cairo n.d., 7; cf. Henr. Corn. Agrippae, *Opera*, Leiden, n.d., but early 17th century, 412: *nam primus domus personam tenet quaerentis*).

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(I.R. Netton)

NAFṬ. 1. In pre-Islamic times. The Greek word *naphtha* is probably borrowed from Semitic, for in Akkadian literature from Northern ʿIrāḳ the word *napṭu* is well attested. There the substance could be easily found and its special qualities soon discovered. In Sumerian it is described as "mountain oil", in contrast to "fish oil" and "vegetable oil". In Aramaic it has been linked by assonance with the root *n-ṭ-p*, which commonly describes oozing blood or dripping water, but the link is weak and it is safer to assume the nominal stem has been simply borrowed in Greek.

Akkadian literature distinguishes between clear and dark naphtha. Esarhaddon, for example, describes a "well of white naphtha" he discovered, but one of the melancholic poets speaks of human skin turning "as black as pitch or naphtha". It may be thick enough to eat, according to a description of a particular dream, or thin enough for the oleomancer to mix with water. The ancient physician would make an ointment by compounding naphtha with fish oil or honey, but it may well have been a painful treatment since political rebellion was discouraged with the threat of making dissidents "eat bitumen, drink donkey's urine, and be smeared with naphtha".

The danger of using naphtha as fuel is emphasised within Judaism by the prohibition on using it for lamps, but this legislation produced questions about whether that law should apply equally to the Jews of Cappadocia, who were presumably used to handling it. The word does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, where vegetable oil seems to have been the normal fuel source, but its discovery is graphically described in the intertestamental book of Maccabees where the legend of Nehemiah's sacrifice is recounted.

Nehemiah chose to make an important sacrifice after he had rebuilt the temple in Jerusalem. To mark the solemnity of the occasion he sent to Persia for a secret substance, which the earlier exiles were supposed to have hidden there, and this was added to the sacrifice. Everyone present was astounded when the heat of the rising sun caused a sudden explosion on the altar. According to tradition this was the event that gave rise to a word in Hebrew, *nephthar*, apparently from the important root *p-ṭ-r*, "free, ransom"; moreover it also provided the King of Persia with his first revenue from oil. The historical, philological and theological presuppositions of this story need careful scrutiny.

Bibliography: For the references to Akkadian literature, see *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1955-, s.v. *napṭu*; for references to Early Judaic literature, see M. Jastrow, *A dictionary of the Targumim* ..., New York 1950; for the story of Nehemiah, see II Maccabees i:18-ii:15.

(M.E.J. Richardson)

2. In the mediaeval Byzantine and Arab-Islamic worlds.

This term is used in the Arabic sources on one hand as a generic, vague appellation for a substance which is basically petroleum (see 1. above), and on the other it is applied for the specially-prepared incendiary weapon frequently used on mediaeval warfare.

Naft, often accompanied or replaced by the term *nār* (= fire), corresponds to the Greek term *hygron pyr* or *mēdikon pyr* ("liquid or Persian fire"). The 14th century Egyptian author Ibn Manglī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in his *Aḥkām* clearly identifies *naft*/*nār* with the Greek liquid fire.

The *naft*-carrying ships called *ḥarrāḳa* in the Arabic sources correspond to the Byzantine ships known as *pyrphora* or *kakabopyrphora* vessels. It is obvious, therefore, that no thorough study of either the use of *naft* by the Arabs or the *hygron pyr* of the Byzantines can be undertaken separately, and that only through a comparative study of both Greek and Arabic sources can we understand the function of this formidable weapon, whose limited direct effectiveness seems to have been enhanced by its strong psychological impact (a typical example of the uselessness of the monolithic approach to a study of *naft-hygron pyr* is the recent work by Th. Korres, *"Hygron pyr", ena oplo tēs Byzantinēs nautikēs taktikēs* Thessaloniki 1989, based solely on the Greek and Latin sources).

A study of the substance involves the following problems: origin and dating of this invention, its composition and its method of launching, the last two affected by a constant development of *naft*/*hygron pyr* over the centuries.

The Hellenistic origins of nafṭ/hygron pyr

Incendiary weapons have been widely used in warfare since ancient times. The Byzantine sources, nevertheless, report that a special incendiary weapon was invented by the Byzantines in the last quarter of the 7th century. Theophanes (9th century A.D.) explicitly states that a certain Kallinikos from Syria invented it and that it was successfully applied in the Arab siege of Constantinople (674-8) (*Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 354, ll. 13-17). The Byzantine sources report that Greek fire was again successfully launched during another Arab siege of Constantinople in 717-18. In addition, the Arabic *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, which was written much later, probably in the 13th century A.D., but which contains material from earlier sources, also mentions explicitly that during this same siege, *naft* was used by the Arabs (for this siege, *ibid.*, 24-33).

Most probably, the so-called invention by Kallinikos was simply a perfection of an old weapon in advanced form. He must have brought to Constantinople the tradition of Hellenistic science, during which period a system of missile-shooters and incendiary weapons was used, along with a number of catapults in land and naval warfare (see G.E.R. Lloyd, *Greek science after Aristotle*, London 1973, 96-9; K.D. White, *Greek and Roman technology*, London 1984, 217 f.). The most revealing artistic evidence of an advanced incendiary weapon is a graffito in an Alexandrian tomb dated to the 1st century B.C., published by A. Schiff (*Alexandrinische Dipinti*, i, Leipzig 1905, pl. I) and, recently, by L. Casson (*Ships and seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, fig. 115). It depicts a vessel with a firebasket hanging from two poles projected from the prow; as has been correctly pointed out by W.W. Tarn (*Hellenistic military and naval developments*, Cambridge 1930, 145), when the enemy ships rammed prow-to-prow, the baskets would fall on the other ship's deck and set it on fire.

The Hellenistic and Roman periods were marked by the writing of treatises on warfare as well as the construction of numerous war machines, including those involving fire. Some of the most important authors of these periods are: Ktesibius of Alexandria (3rd century B.C.), Philo of Byzantium (ca. 200 B.C.), Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (ca. 25 B.C.), Hero of Alexandria (ca. 60 A.D.) and Dionysius of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.). The last one, Dionysius, invented a rapid-fire-repeating catapult, an automatic weapon called *polybolos* (J.G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World*, London 1978, 183 ff.). These must have been the sources for a number of Arab manuals

of warfare (for these older treatises, see A.G. Drachman, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron, a study in ancient pneumatics*, Copenhagen 1948; E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman artillery, technical treatises*, Oxford 1971).

In late Roman times, various incendiary mixtures which became the basis of later developments, i.e. sulphur, resin, asphalt and pitch swathed in oakum soaked in crude oil were used, (R.J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, i, Leiden 1955, 101), and in this light, we can infer that Kallinikos' chemical composition was not any outstanding innovation but simply a convenient synthesis of well-known materials placed on ships and used in a systematic way along with other missiles, at a time which is marked by a drastic change in naval warfare, i.e. the abandonment of the ram. Such composition would include the basic element, i.e. crude petroleum. No secret formula was involved, but a variety of formulae applied according to the nature of each warfare action, and Byzantine folklore about a divine secret kept zealously by special families is obviously sheer mythology (H.R.E. Davidson, *The secret weapon of Byzantium*, in *BZ*, lxvi [1973], 61-74).

The question which naturally arises is how the parallel development of *nafṭ* took place in the Arabo-Islamic world. Byzantine nautical and naval warfare practice was, as noted above, immediately adopted by the Arabs, but the written Greek tradition appears much later, well into the ʿAbbāsid period.

It was also during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods that stone-throwing catapults were mounted on ships and used for naval warfare. If we take into consideration that in the late Roman period various incendiary mixtures were invented or perfected, as for example that described by Vegetius (4th century A.D.), which was fixed to an arrow, i.e. a mixture of sulphur, resin, asphalt and pitch to which crude oil was added, we understand that the elements for the invention of Kallinikos already existed in the late Roman tradition and that he simply perfected the "Greek fire". (For various incendiary mixtures in Roman times, see Forbes, *loc. cit.*)

The Islamic period

Kallinikos' perfection of Greek fire based on the Alexandrian legacy came at the turning-point of some important changes in naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean. In late Roman times, speed and the use of ram became again important after an obvious neglect in Hellenistic times. Procopius, writing in the middle of the 6th century, describes the *dromōn* as a light warship. A century later, at the famous battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, no ram was used (see Suppl. s.v., and Christides, *The naval engagement of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī A.H. 34/A.D. 655-656. A classical example of naval warfare incompetence*, in *Byzantina*, xiii [1985], 1331-45). When the perfected Greek fire was used by the Byzantines in the Arab siege of Constantinople in 670, the revolution in naval warfare was completed; ramming had been abandoned and replaced by an extensive use of stone-throwing machinery, to which the launching of fire was added.

The use of Greek fire in 670 was therefore part of the new important weaponry and its use was emphasised and somewhat exaggerated by the Greek sources and by a number of Arabic and Syriac sources—the *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*—which were closely interwoven with the Byzantine sources (for the complex interrelationship of the sources, see the pioneering work of L.I. Conrad, *Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, xxv [1990], 1-44).

The Byzantines used Greek fire successfully in the Arab siege of Constantinople of 715-17, but as the Arabic sources inform us, the Arab fleet was also equipped with *nafṭ*, and it was also about this time that Muhammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] used fire-throwing engines in his Indian expedition. (F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *East and West*, xv [1964-5], 282, n. 1b).

From the small number of passages from the Arabic sources concerning the use of *nafṭ*, collected and translated by Mercier and Canard, by the middle of the 7th century the Muslims were using *nafṭ* and its use accelerated with the passage of time (see M. Canard, *Textes relatifs à l'emploi du feu grégeois chez les Arabes*, in *B. Et.Ar.*, vi [1946], 3-7).

Several Arabic treatises dealing with warfare include important information concerning *nafṭ*, sometimes accompanied by drawings (M. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au moyen âge*, in *JA* [Sept. 1848], 193-237; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki 1941; A.R. Zaky, *Military literature of the Arabs*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne*, ser. VII, fasc. 3 [1955], 149-60; N. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *al-Khayl wa 'l-riyāḍa*, Cairo 1976). The most commonly used of these treatises is the work of Ḥasan al-Rammāḥ, ed. A. ʿAbādī, *al-Furūsiyya wa 'l-manāṣib al-ḥarbiyya*, Baghdād 1984. Valuable also is the work of the 13th century author Marḍī or Murḍā Ibn al-Ṭarsūsī, ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen (*Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1947-8], 102-63).

The most valuable of the *furūsiyya* works on Greek fire are those of Ibn Manglī, most of which are not published. In his *Aḥkām*, carelessly edited by M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, there are passages referring to the Greek fire translated from the *Naumachica*, written by Leo VI in the middle of the 10th century (Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], 137-148). Ibn Manglī equates the *hygron pyr* of the Byzantine sources with *al-nafṭ* and/or *nār*. He even used the Arab term *al-nār al-maṣnūʿa*, for the Greek *eskeuasmenon pyr* ("made-up fire").

Nafṭ/Greek fire was used by the ʿAbbāsid armies (see e.g. the *naffāṭūn*, *nafṭ*-throwers, and their *naffāṭāt*, equipment for hurling it, used by al-Afshīn against the Khurramī rebel Bābak in 222/837, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1215), through the periods of the Būyids and Saldjūḳs (see Spuler, *Iran*, 493-4) to that of the Mongols (Chinese *nafṭ*-throwers in the army of Hülegü, see *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 341). During the Crusading Wars, it was mainly used for land warfare [see ḤIṢĀR. iv, at vol. III, 475b-476a], and although sporadically used at sea as late as the 15th century, it was finally replaced by gunpowder [see BĀRŪD].

The composition of Greek fire

An examination of all sources—Arabic, Greek and Latin—reveals that there was no secret recipe zealously kept by any party, but undoubtedly there was a great variety of incendiary mixtures whose numbers grew steadily. One cannot therefore accept the statement in the otherwise useful work by Cheronis, "It may be rightly said that Constantinople was the butt of the attack from the Asiatic invaders, and that relying chiefly on Kallinikos' fire, they were able to resist for several centuries". (N.D. Cheronis, *Chemical warfare in the Middle ages: Kallinikos' prepared fire*, in *Journal of Chemical Education*, xiv [1937], 361).

In the Greek and Arabic sources, the typical incendiary ingredients of *nafṭ*/Greek fire included sulphur, pitch, quicklime and cypress resin, which thickened the mixture, and in the Arabic *furūsiyya* literature are

many detailed recipes supplementing the more general information found in the Byzantine sources. Of course, the problem of trustworthiness of these sources has been occasionally challenged, but as D. Ayalon has correctly pointed out, while they are not clear in their references to the later period when gunpowder was used, they are valid for the earlier period of simple, incendiary weapons (*Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956).

According to Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, at the time of the caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75) a *Kitāb al-Naft* existed. A number of *furūsiyya* treatises bear the names of Alexander the Great or his teacher Aristotle, and these may be based on Greek originals.

Ibn al-Manglī, who has preserved much earlier material from an assortment of previous sources, and Murḍā Ibn al-Ṭarsūsī reveal the extensiveness of Arabic formulae for *naft*/Greek fire, including those for Greek fire "floating on the water" and many other types. In addition to the main elements, the ingredients included quicklime, cow and goat fat, eggshells, soda (*naṭrūn* [*q.v.*]), etc. Of great interest is a fragment of the Arabic ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III no. 3469 (15th century), in which there is a formula in which *bārūd* is mentioned (see appendix A of V. Christides, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984): "You take 3½ *dirhams* (⅛ of an ounce) of *faḥm* (a sort of charcoal), 2¼ *dirhams* of sulphur and 5 *dirhams* of *naṭrūn* which should be refined and thin, and 10 *dirhams* of *bārūd*, and work so that you reach your aim". *Bārūd* in this context is not gunpowder, but salpetre used as a propellant. This is an obvious case of the intermediate state of the use of *bārūd* as a strong propellant, and because it was the most important element of gunpowder, its name finally meant the gunpowder itself; see further BĀRŪD.

Thus it is clear that from the time of Kallinikos in the 7th century until the Crusades there was a constant development of various formulae of *naft*/Greek fire. In the Byzantine sources it is usually referred to in connection with naval activities; in the Arab *furūsiyya* treatises, although there are references to its use in land warfare, it is usually mentioned in connection with *marākib* (ships). Again, it should be emphasised that it is superfluous to try to trace any special, secret formulae for *naft*/Greek fire (see e.g. H.W. Hime, *The origin of artillery*, London 1915, 33; E. Pászthory, *Über das "Griechische Feuer"*, in *Antike Welt*, xvii [1986], 28); instead, there were numerous formulae based on petroleum and additional ingredients. The various types of *naft*/Greek fire explain why the sources report that its launching was either accompanied by a loud sound and/or smoke or only by a flame (see some examples from the Arabic sources in Canard, *Textes relatifs à l'emploi du feu grégeois chez les Arabes*, 3-7).

The use of *naft*/Greek fire gradually fell into disuse, mainly because of the various ways of protection against it existing from ancient times, mainly the use of sand instead of throwing water, vinegar, hides and others. The Arabic sources, furthermore, inform us that the troops hurling *naft*, *al-naffāṭūn*, corresponding to the Greek *siphōnophoroi*, were protected by special garments known as *libās an-naffāṭīn* (see Christides, *Protective fire-proof equipment in the warships of Ancient and Middle Ages*, in *Tropis* iv, forthcoming. Such garments are illustrated in the Arabic ms. of Ibn al-Manglī's *Tadbīrāt al-sulṭāniyya*, Leningrad Public library, no. C-726).

The launching of naft/*Greek Fire*

This is a complex problem which needs further research by means of a thorough correlation between the literary evidence of Arabic and Greek sources with the numerous drawings in Arabic sources, most of them still in unpublished manuscripts. These drawings emphasise the use of pots, made mainly but not exclusively, of clay. Thus in an often-cited drawing of an Arabic manuscript, such fire bombs appear prominently on various places of the ship (see Pászthory, *Über das "Griechische Feuer"*, fig. 2). Such fire bombs, according to the literary Arabic sources, could be thrown from a basket attached to the main-mast (from the crow's nest) by hand. A great variety of machines for throwing fire pots appear in Arnbayghās's *al-ʿAnīḳ* reproduced in *Khizānat al-silāḥ*, ed. N.M. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Cairo 1978. The Byzantine sources, and in particular Leo VI's *Naumachica*, report that the main fire-thrower is placed on the prow and some minor ones on the sides, while light fire-throwers were carried by hand.

The passage of Leo VI's *Naumachica*, 1,6, is translated into Arabic and preserved in Ibn Manglī's *Aḥkām* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 21). The parallel examination of Leo VI's text with the Arabic translation sheds some light on the position and function of this main fire-thrower (see Christides, *Naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, iii [1984], and *Navigation and naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th-14th centuries A.D.)*, to appear in *Nubica* [1993]).

From the literary and pictorial evidence it is obvious that both Arabs and Byzantines used various types of fire-throwing machinery based on tension or torsion or on the sudden releasing of heavy weights. Such machinery could be sometimes the same as that for stone-throwing, as is mentioned in the *Stratēgicon* of pseudo-Mauricius, in which the *petrobolos* (= stone throwing machinery) also launches *chouzia* (pots of earthware), full of fire, and moved by the power of *antibarēmatōn* (the release of heavy weights). While the function of the pot-throwing machinery can be easily understood, it is not easy to determine exactly the function of the machinery which launched directly *naft*/Greek fire (see the attempt by J. Haldon and M. Byrne in their edition of the above-mentioned work and their drawing).

The Arab fire-throwing machines, as well as those for stone-hurling, were further developed under Chinese influence which reached its peak during the Mongol period; during the 13th century, when the use of the magnetic compass passed to Europe [see MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2]. Chinese influence is definitely discernible in the construction of Arab-Islamic war machinery and fire bombs (see Christides, *The transmission of Chinese maritime technology by the Arabs to Europe*, in *The American Neptune*, 52/1 [1992], 38-45).

It should be note finally that Ibn Manglī mentions small vessels with great mobility equipped only with fire arrows which could sink large ships.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.R. Partington, *A history of Greek fire and gunpowder*, Cambridge 1960, 186 ff.; Ibn Manglī, *al-Adilla al-rasmiyya fi 'l-taʿābī al-ḥarbiyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Sayyid Khaṭṭāb, Baghdād 1409/1988; N.I. Serikoff, *Leo VI Arabus?*, in *Macedonian Studies* (1991). (V. CHRISTIDES)

3. In the modern sense of oil: the Middle East and South East Asian oil industries.

I *Introduction*

The discovery and development of oil resources in Islamic countries was, as elsewhere, initially dependent on the natural distribution of deposits and their exploitation by commercial interests with the

necessary technical skills, capital availability and distribution facilities.

Early oil production was dominated by the United States and Russia at the end of the 19th century. As the 20th century emerged new oil fields were discovered in Europe, the East Indies, Burma and Iran, which became the precursor of the later immense importance of the Middle East area. Thus by the first decade of the 20th century oil discoveries were already occurring in regions of Islamic culture. The economic importance of oil and its accompanying technical advances and growing consumption has also been affected by contemporary political and nationalist influence.

Some countries began to limit the freedom of foreign private enterprise to operate within their borders by challenging the terms of the original concessions or even expropriating them and forming international companies as in Romania, South America and Mexico, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s. This process accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s as the established major oil companies faced greater competitive pressure and increasing demands from oil producing-countries with enhanced political prestige and rising economic expectations. Besides, demand for oil for industrial requirements grew as coal consumption fell. Thus with the formation of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) on 4 September 1960 in Ba<u>gh</u>dād the first phase of the oil era was drawing to a close. Members include (with date of joining); Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwayt, Saʿūdī Arabia and Venezuela, September 1960; Ḳaṭar, January 1961; Indonesia and Libya, June 1962; United Arab Emirates, January 1968; Algeria, July 1969; Nigeria, July 1971; Ecuador, November 1973, and Gabon, 11 June 1975.

The second phase, although still influenced by commercial considerations, emphasised optimising revenue, asserting the sovereignty of national natural resources and exercising control over the pricing and production of petroleum products, and was essentially achieved by 1973. The first decade of OPEC's existence was one of aspiration, the second of positive consolidation and the third of adjustment to changing political and economic circumstances in the markets. Its response to problems has generally been one of action through consensus, but serious conflicting interests have inevitably arisen among the members, who by no means included all oil-exporting countries. Whilst there has been an organisation formed for Arab oil interests, OAPEC (Organisation of Arab Petroleum Countries) (January 1968), there has been no concerted Islamic approach, though individual countries have acted within their own concept of Islamic theory and practice. In general, considerations of real political and economic power rather than religious principles have predominated, though some countries have engaged in oil boycotts and embargoes in connection with Arab-Israeli hostility, or in conflict among themselves such as Iran and ʿIrāḳ. Oil revenues have had a deep effect on the life style of Islamic countries which have had such an experience.

II. *Individual Countries*

1. *South-East Asia.*

Indonesia [*q.v.*] declared itself an independent state in 1945, after which there began gradually the Dutch withdrawal from the islands formerly comprising the Dutch East Indies. Oil was struck near the north coast of Sumatra at Telega Tunggat in Langkat on 15 June 1885, but it was not till 28 February 1892 after a pipeline and a refinery were built that oil was processed for the first time by the Royal Dutch Company. On 8 January 1897 oil was discovered at Balik Papan in the Kutei Province of South-East Borneo.

Oil was discovered in southern Sumatra in the Palembang district on 24 January 1897, becoming the most prolific field up to 1939, when the whole region was the fifth largest producer in the world. The oil installations suffered great damage during the Second World War. However, in the 1960s the oil industry had become the most dynamic sector of the economy and had replaced rubber as the principal export. It has a low sulphur content and in the 1970s became the most important single supplier of the Japanese market. The management and financial position of the national oil company, Pertamin, was under suspicion in the mid-1970s, but it has since recovered its reputation.

2. *Middle East.*

(a) Iran. Muẓaffar al-Dīn <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] granted an oil concession in 1901 and oil was subsequently discovered after years of hard endeavour in difficult terrain on 26 May 1908 at Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Sulaymān.

In April 1909, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed to exploit the Concession, and by 1913 a pipeline of some 130 miles had been completed and a refinery constructed at Ābādān which by 1950 was the largest in the world. The acquisition in 1914 by the British Government of a majority shareholding in the company caused added political complications to the inevitable concessional and commercial disagreements, particularly during Riḍā <u>Sh</u>āh's drive to modernise the country. The concession was cancelled in 1932, renewed in 1933 and nationalised in 1951 while Dr Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] was Prime Minister. On behalf of the state company, the National Iranian Oil Company, an international consortium of companies drawn from the major oil companies and some American independent concerns virtually controlled the Iranian oil industry till the emergence of OPEC and the action taken by Muḥammad Riḍā <u>Sh</u>āh [*q.v.*] in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The province of <u>Kh</u>ūzistān in south-western Iran has remained the principal location for oil fields.

(b) ʿIrāḳ. This became the second area of oil importance in the Middle East when the discovery well drilled by the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), an international consortium constituted to develop the concession, came in at Baba Gurgur north of Kirkūk on 27 June 1927. Oil was first exported in 1934. It became a highly politicised issue as a result of the Arab-Israeli confrontation from 1949 onwards and as a result of the coup d'état of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] on 14 July 1958. It was fitting that the first meeting of OPEC was held in Ba<u>gh</u>dād. Like Iran, ʿIrāḳ has been transformed by its oil revenues from an agricultural to an industrial society since the 1960s.

(c) Saʿūdī Arabia. In 1944 geological evidence confirmed that the location of the greatest oil reserves was centred in the Middle East. The strategic, political and economic consequences of this development have been immense, especially in Saʿūdī Arabia, whose austere and traditional Islamic way of life has had to face modernising influences, political problems and international exposure on an unprecedented scale. Tribal encampments have jostled with high-rise office blocks. In the search for alternative sources of oil outside the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, the Standard Oil Company of California obtained a concession from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd on 29 March 1933 and was joined by the Texas Oil Company three years later. Early in 1938 oil was first struck near <u>Dh</u>ahrān (Ẓahrān [*q.v.*]).

American interest has remained very strong, and

even during the Second World War the American Government, through its Petroleum Reserves Corporation, proposed taking a shareholding in Saʿūdī Arabian oil and constructing a pipeline with a Mediterranean outlet. However, a refinery at Raʾs Tanūra and later the pipeline were constructed while the company, renamed the Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), expanded to include the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and the Standard Oil Company (New York), thus exclusively American owned. It introduced into the Middle East at the end of 1950 the 50:50 division of profits which had already been conceded in Venezuela, completely changing the concessional pattern and greatly increasing the revenue-earning capacity of oil with its economic implications.

(d) Syria has recently began the production and processing of oil, mostly for its own consumption.

3. *The Persian Gulf*

Oil was discovered in Baḥrayn in May 1932, Kuwayt in April 1938, Ḳaṭar in December 1939, Abū Dhabī off-shore in September 1958 and on shore 1960. In ʿUmān, production began in August 1967 and in 1966 and in Dubayy September 1965.

4 *North Africa*

Oil was discovered first in Algeria under French auspices at Hassi Messaoud (Ḥisy Masʿūd) and on the fringe of the Sahara early in 1956, and provided substantial revenues for the new state after the Accords of Evian in March 1962 with France regarding independence. In Libya, oil exports began in 1961, and with the coup d'état of Colonel Gaddafi (Ḳadhdhāfī) against King Idrīs in 1969, the new régime adopted a radical stance in oil affairs. Tunisia has minor oil production.

5 *Elsewhere*

Before 1939 there was some oil production in Egypt, but it was boosted in 1974 by legislation pro-

Table 1

Spot Crude Prices US Dollars per Barrel

	Arabian Light
1972	1.90
1973	2.83
1974	10.41
1975	10.70
1976	11.63
1977	12.38
1978	13.03
1979	29.75
1980	35.69
1981	34.32
1982	31.80
1983	28.78
1984	28.07
1985	27.53
1986	12.97
1987	16.92
1988	13.22
1989	15.69

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

Table 2

Proved reserves at the end of 1989

Middle East	*Thousand Million Tonnes*	*% Share of Total*
Abū Dhabī	12.1	9.1
Dubayy and Emirates	0.8	0.4
Iran	12.7	9.2
ʿIrāḳ	13.4	9.9
Kuwayt	13.0	9.3
Neutral Zone	0.7	0.5
ʿUmān	0.6	0.4
Ḳaṭar	0.6	0.4
Saʿūdī Arabia	34.7	25.2
North Yemen	0.1	—
South Yemen	0.4	0.3
Syria	0.2	0.2
Others	Less than 0.05	0.3
Total Middle East	89.3 (49.2)*	65.2 (55.3)*
Africa		
Algeria		
Egypt		
Libya		
Tunisia		
Asia		
Indonesia	1.1	0.8
Malaysia	0.4	0.3
OPEC	104.2	75.6
World	136.8 (88.9)	100.0

* 1980

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

Table 3

Major Islamic country production 1938-89 million tonnes

	1938	1957	1960	1963	1966	1969	1972	1975	1978	1981	1984	1987	1989	1989 Share of total
Middle East														
Abū Dhabī	—	—	—	2.6	17.3	28.9	50.6	67.3	69.7	54.5	38.9	56.1	75.4	2.4
Dubayy & Other Emirates	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.6	12.6	18.0	18.3	19.2	24.2	23.2	0.7
Iran	10.4	38.2	52.6	73.1	105.1	168.1	251.9	267.7	262.3	65.8	109.3	114.7	142.2	4.6
ʿIrāḳ	4.4	22.0	47.5	56.7	68.0	74.9	72.1	110.0	125.7	44.0	60.3	102.4	138.6	4.5
Kuwayt	—	57.3	81.9	97.2	114.4	129.5	153.0	94.0	97.0	48.2	48.9	53.5	79.4	2.6
Neutral Zone	—	3.5	7.3	16.7	22.3	23.3	29.3	25.8	23.9	19.4	21.1	20.2	20.9	0.7
ʿUmān	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.2	17.1	15.8	16.4	21.0	29.1	29.4	0.9
Ḳaṭar	—	6.6	8.2	9.1	13.8	17.0	23.2	21.0	23.6	20.2	20.1	15.9	18.7	0.6
Saʿūdī Arabia	0.1	49.0	62.1	80.5	119.4	148.6	287.2	343.9	409.8	491.3	233.0	212.2	256.5	8.3
Others	1.1	1.6	2.2	2.4	3.3	24.0	9.5	14.7	13.0	11.1	11.4	14.9	29.7	1.0
Total Middle East	16.0	176.2	261.8	338.3	463.6	614.3	898.6	975.1	1058.8	789.2	383.2	643.2	814.0	26.3
Algeria	—	—	8.8	23.9	33.8	44.5	49.8	47.5	57.2	46.3	46.1	48.9	50.4	1.6
Egypt	—	—	—	—	—	—	17.6	14.8	24.2	34.1	42.5	45.9	44.5	1.4
Libya	—	—	—	22.4	72.3	149.8	108.2	71.3	95.5	58.7	53.0	47.9	54.8	1.8
Indonesia	7.4	16.1	20.6	22.5	23.5	35.3	53.4	64.6	81.0	82.2	68.5	63.3	66.9	2.2
Malaysia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.4	21.7	24.6	28.3	0.9
Total OPEC	—	—	—	5388.4	7121.4	10059.6	13396.2	1540.2	1152.7	1150.3	904.7	928.6	1130.0	36.5
Total World	278.2	672.1	1090.5	1352.6	1695.9	2145.0	2633.8	2954.3	3094.1	2903.6	2838.9	2926.7	3089.8	100.0

Source: BP Statistical review of world energy, June 1990

moting a policy of *infitāḥ* opening-up to foreign investment, and the oil sector benefited from this change of policy.

Both parts of the Yemen have recently begun modest production, as has Malaysia.

III *Economic statistics*

An idea of the price levels for crude oil 1972-89, taking Arabian light crude as the marker; of the massive concentration of oil reserves in the Middle East; of oil production in Islamic countries 1938-89; and of the growth and decline of OPEC oil revenue figures 1963-86, is given in Tables 1-4 respectively.

Table 4

Total OPEC oil revenue (with countries included from year of full membership)

	Revenue ($bn)
1960	
1961	
1962	
1963	3.0
1964	3.5
1965	3.9
1966	4.2
1967	4.9
1968	5.4
1969	6.3
1970	7.3
1971	11.0
1972	13.7
1973	22.6
1974	87.0
1975	92.4
1976	107.9
1977	122.5
1978	114.3
1979	192.6
1980	275.0
1981	247.7
1982	192.9
1983	153.9
1984	158.6
1985	132.0
1986	77.1

Source: OPEC 1983, 1984, 1986

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NAFṬA (Nefṭa), a small town in the oasis of the same name in southwestern Tunisia, situated on the isthmus separating the depressions of the Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd and the Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa. It is 473 km/295 miles from Tunis, 321 km/200 miles from Ḳayrawān and 35 km/21 miles from the Algerian border. This geographical position, added to an abundance of water resources, accounts for the role played by this oasis since Antiquity. It has thus been able to retain its own originality, whilst at the same time being affected by the great historical movement of its hinterland.

The original site was that of Nepta or Aggarsel-Nepta, a post erected along the track linking it with Tusuros (Tozeur) and Aquae (al-Ḥamma) by a forward road of the Roman and Byzantine *limes*. The actual site must be at present envelopped by the sands and near the modern urban agglomeration. Various facts, however, demonstrate the continuous history of the place's occupation. The dam constructed on the Wed Nefṭa is made from blocks of Roman stone (Tissot), and there are other later constructions such as the town's wall (al-Yaʿḳūbī). However, the religious aspects of its history are more telling here, seen in the late persistence there of Khāridjite doctrines in the 4th/10th century (Ibn Ḥawḳal), of Shīʿīs in the next century (al-Bakrī) and of Christians until the 8th/14th century (Ibn Khaldūn). These various layers of religious life, the basis of Nafṭa's designation of "little Kūfa", should be considered side-by-side with the solidly-based populations inhabiting rich lands, favouring religious contemplation, but lands also affected by the political currents and counter-currents traversing this axial point of the eastern Maghrib.

Thus as a result of the Hilālian invasions [see hilāl, banū] and of the continual state of flux of its socio-demographic composition, Nafṭa had to come to terms with the nomads, being governed by a council of notables presided over by the influential family of the Banū Khalaf in the 8th/14th century. A certain equilibrium became established, in large part through the commercial exchanges which took place along the trans-Saharan commercial axis of which Nafṭa and

Tozeur were two flourishing and lively links, all the more so since the local agricultural production included a large range of sought-after crops and products, made possible by a carefully constructed irrigation system.

This, in general outline, was Nafṭa's general evolution, but it was accompanied by a certain decline more and more marked as the caravan traffic fell into disorganisation. Nevertheless, this was to some extent compensated by the rise of maraboutism, making Nafṭa one of the main centres of important dervish orders like the Raḥmāniyya, an order which was Algerian in origin and which provided asylum for certain figures in the resistance efforts of neighbouring countries in the 19th century, seen in the example of a Nacer ben Chora (Rey-Goldzeiguer, 513).

In recent times, the town's evolution has been dominated by the fact of continued emigration, seen in the decline of population between 1936 and 1975, from 13,500 to 12,500, with a low point of 11,500 in 1966. However, during the last decade, since 1980 and since the opening of an international airport at Tozeur and the oasis's modernisation, Nafṭa has been able to become integrated into the national economy by opening itself extensively to international mass tourism, even if the surplus working population cannot be entirely absorbed by these new activities. In 1984, the population had arisen to 15,000 people, which nevertheless showed a lower rate of growth than the national average.

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(G. Marçais-[Dj. Sari])

NAFŪD (a.), a term used to refer to certain Arabian sand seas, and derived from *nafd*, pl. *anfād*, with the meaning of "a large sand dune". Nafūd is used to describe a number of Arabian sand tracts (e.g. Nafūd al-Sirr, Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt, Nafūd al-Mazhūr), but the term refers particularly to the Nafūd al-Kabīr (Great Nafūd) in northern Saudi Arabia. The Nafūd al-Kabīr is the lesser of the two great sand seas of the Arabian Peninsula, the second being the so-called Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*] in the south. The Nafūd encompasses some 72,000 km² and varies in its limits between 300 to 400 kms from east to west and, at its greatest limits, is about 250 kms from north to south. These Aeolian sands are a strong reddish colour, affected to some extent by the sandstone formations further west. The sands take on a variety of formations, including linear ridges, star dunes and compound crescentic dunes. The dunes reach as much as 100 m in height, with deep hollows (*faldj*) which, in certain cases, reach down to the bed-rock beneath the sands. Musil called these hollows *ḳaʿara*. Rainfall is very slight in the area; to the north an annual rainfall is recorded of 41 mm at Badana and of 35 mm at Rafḥāʾ. To the south, this rises to 102 mm at Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*]. However, rainfall vanishes in the sands, failing to produce pools. The Nafūd is fertile in winter and spring and travellers comment on the good grazing in the dunes, including *ḥamḍ* and *yerta*. According to the Shammar, the land ceases to be Nafūd where the plant *raẓa* finds the sand too shallow to put down roots. In the northern Nafūd there are wells at al-Shaḳīḳ, and in the south at the oasis of Djubba are wells and a small village. The location of the various Nafūd wells used to be essential to caravans crossing the desert between Djabal Adjāʾ and al-Djawf.

There is evidence of activity in the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic period in the sands of the Nafūd and at Djubba. Djubba is also especially rich in Thamūdic epigraphic material and rock drawings. These show animals that include bovids and human figures, and they have been termed the Djubba-style in the region as a whole. Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D. does not mention the sands, but he seems to locate the Sarakenoi in the Nafūd, since he places them east of the Thamudenoi, and beyond the Scenitae who lived in the northern Ḥidjāz (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 138-9; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 311-12). Sprenger (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 171, no. 275) and Euting (*Inner-Arabien*, i, 151) identify Ptolemy's Aina with the wells at Djubba. The Nafūd is generally known to the Arab geographers as the *Raml ʿĀlidj* (al-Hamdānī, i, 178, 205, 206, 222; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1-2, 214, ii, 2, 1212; Yāḳūt, iii, 417, 591), although other terms are also used. Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. De Goeje, 30; cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. De Goeje, 24 and al-Idrīsī, fasc. ii, *Sectio sexta*) refer to the sands of al-Habīr lying near to the mountains Djabal Adjāʾ and Djabal Salmā, of the ancient Arab tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. Al-Hamdānī also speaks of the sands of al-Habīr and al-Dahnāʾ: al-Habīr seems synonymous with the *Raml ʿĀlidj*, i.e. the Nafūd, while al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*] is the narrow sand running from the eastern end of Nafūd to the Rubʿ al-Khālī in the south.

Part of the Nafūd is described as al-Dudjūdj (Yāḳūt, ii, 554-5, iii, 713, iv, 1024), and is apparently in the western part of the sands, extending from the prominent mountains known as ʿAlam al-Saʿd towards Taymāʾ. Another term used is al-Dāḥī, a sandy waste which Yāḳūt (iii, 460) places west of Djabal Salmā, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa places the wells at al-Shaḳīḳa in the northern Nafūd within al-Dāḥī (tr. Norberg, ii, 208, 209). The Nafūd was within the lands of the Banū Kalb, whose territories extended far to the north into Syria (al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 664). The *Ramlat ʿĀlidj* was also in the lands of the Banū Buḥtur of the Ṭayyiʾ who dominated Djabal Adjāʾ and Djabal Salmā to the south of the Nafūd. According to al-Sakūnī (Yāḳūt, iii, 59.), the Banū Buḥtur lived in the Nafūd in safety as no-one could reach them in the sands. In modern times, the northern desert has been largely occupied by the Ruwālāʾ, with the area to the south tending to be occupied by Shammarī tribes. A fort at al-Hayyāniyya on the eastern side of the Nafūd was built by Ibn Rashīd in 1853. The Nafūd had been included within Saʿūdī territory in the late 18th century, and it passed once more under Āl Saʿūd authority in 1921-2.

Recorded itineraries generally cross from the northern side of the Nafūd to the south. Musil argued that no ancient caravan routes passed from east to west. While the terrain of massive sand-dunes is difficult, it is really the scarcity of water that dictates travel in the Nafūd. The caravan route via the Djawf villages in the north to Ḥāʾil passes al-Shaḳīḳa and

Djubba, the only wells in the central area of the sands (Palgrave, i, 91-9; Blunt, i, 187-92; Euting, i, 141-56; Polk and Mares, 173-228). Another route from the north-west was followed by Nolde, while Gertrude Bell only skirted the south-western edge of the Nafūd, using the wells at Hayzān. The pilgrim road from al-ʿIrāḳ, the *Darb Zubayda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], only touches the eastern side of the Nafūd, approaching it in the area of al-Thaʿlabiyya. Modern asphalt roads generally have avoided the deep sands of the Nafūd. However, in the course of the 1980s, a highway was started across the Nafūd from Ḥāʾil to al-Djawf.

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(G.R.D. King)

AL-**NAFŪSA**, in Berber Infūsen, name of a Berber tribe. According to the common genealogical scheme (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, i, 107-17), the Nafūsa are one of the four branches of the large body of the Butr, whose name derives from their chief Mādghīs al-Abtar. At present, the dwelling place of the Nafūsa is south-west of Tripoli in Libya, on the plateau of the same name [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL] which from the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania tends eastward, and, if taken in the largest sense, comprises the regions of Nālūt, Fassāṭo and Yefren. The inhabitants of this region are generally called Nafūsa, although, in a genealogical sense, this name can be applied to some groups only. Probably the name Djabal Nafūsa (in Berber *adrar n Infūsen*), which originally belonged to a part of the plateau, was extended to a large area between Wāzzen and Yefren on account of the fact, that of the tribes inhabiting it, the Nafūsa were of prominent importance. This use of the name in its widest sense is also to be found in the book by Ibrāhim b. Sulaymān al-Shammākhī, *Relation*, in which all the territories of Yefren, Fassāṭo and Nālūt are described.

The scarce data on the history of the Nafūsa which we possess, are to be found, for the largest part, in Arabic sources. In the Greek and Latin authors of pre-Islamic times there is no single sure allusion to them. The name occurring in Corippus' *Johannis* (second song, l. 146, *Quaeque nefanda colunt tristis montana Navusi*), does not refer, in all probability, to a place or a tribe of Tripolitania, but rather of the Aurès (Awrās), its plateau or its neighbourhood. The fact that Navus represents a form closely connected with Nafūsa proves only that the name was widely spread among the Berbers.

In Islamic times, the name is recorded for the first time in connection with the capture of the town of Tripoli by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (22 or 23). According to Ibn ʿIdhārī (i, 2-3), during the siege the inhabitants called to their aid the Nafūsa, who came to their aid. At that time they were residing also in the vast plain of Djafāra, situated between the Djabal and the sea; one of their chief towns, if not their capital, was Ṣabra on the coast (Roman Sabratha, formerly Phoenician), west of Tripoli, which by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, i, 181, l. 8) is called "the city of the Nafūsa". This town was taken by surprise and plundered by a body of cavalry sent by ʿAmr. This raid was probably undertaken not only to continue the conquest farther westward, but also to punish the Nafūsa, whose territory ʿAmr had invaded in order to conquer it (cf. al-Bakrī, 9, 10), and which he had to abandon by order of the caliph.

According to some sources, the Nafūsa at that time were Christians; according to other reports, however, they were Jews. Our latest local information makes it probable that Christianity had spread widely among them, though the conversion of single groups to Judaism is not excluded. In fact, traces of Byzantine basilicas have been found on the plateau, e.g. at Temézda, Iṭarmīsen, etc., which are also mentioned in some sources and which must have been used by large numbers of the indigenous population.

When the Arabs had conquered North Africa, the Nafūsa of Ṣabra and of the coastal region retired, according to the common opinion, to the plateau, where they remained hostile towards the conquerors. A fresh study of the Tripolitan population, however, makes it clear that a part of them must have stayed in their old dwelling-places where they intermarried with other tribes and, in course of time, became arabicised. In fact, there are tribes in the Western Djafāra and in Tripoli, the town and its surroundings (the regions of al-Sāḥil, Tadjura, etc.), that, according to the local genealogy, derive from the Nafūsa. Apart from this ethnic tradition, there is the fact, recorded in several sources, that after the first case of intervention of the Nafūsa in the affairs of the town of Tripoli—which may have been partly due to a Christian opposition to the Muslim invasion—they wanted, under successive dominations, to make their presence felt and their influence preponderant in the northwestern region of Tripolitania, so that the outlines of the history of the

small, but strong and civilised Berber unit may be supposed to be the following. Having its centre in the plateau, it intended to make felt, as often as possible, its dominion in the coastal region and thus keep the control of the main way of communication between Egypt and Ifrīḳiya, which ran along the coast and which was followed by the various expeditions to the Maghrib. Even at present, such aspirations may be stirred in the minds of the most cultivated of these populations, to such an extent that some of them have reckoned with an eventual reoccupation of their old territories in Western Djafāra.

The period in which the Nafūsa, according to the sources available to us, were most vigorous and active and took a part in the events happening in North Africa, was that of the great Khāridjī [*q.v.*] revolts, which began in 122/739-40 and did not cease until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, i.e. before the era of the Fāṭimids. When the Wahbī [see AL-WAHBIYYA] doctrines began to spread among the North African populations in the 2nd/8th century, they embraced them and so joined the rebellious movement of the Berbers against the Arab conquerors, a movement which, prepared by several other causes, found also some support in the Khāridjī heterodoxy. The Nafūsa embraced the Ibāḍī [see AL-IBĀḌIYYA], i.e. the more moderate form of the Khāridjī doctrine, and remained ever faithful to it with heroic attachment. In alliance with other Berber tribes, either Ibāḍīs or other branches of the sect, they repeatedly made war upon the Arab governors of Ifrīḳiya.

In 140/757-8 they elected as their *imām*, probably with the intention of founding an Ibāḍī principality—an intention which manifested itself also at other times—an Arab called Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maᶜāfirī [*q.v.*], one of the missionaries of Ibāḍism in North Africa. Under his command and in conjunction with other Berber groups, they occupied Tripoli, fought against the Ṣufrī [see AL-ṢUFRIYYA] Wafardjūma, who had sacked Ḳayrawān where they had settled, and against the armies sent by the ᶜAbbāsids to reconquer Ifrīḳiya. Finally, in 144/761-2, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and a large number of his followers perished near Tauorgha (Tāwurghā) in a great battle against the general Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath al-Khuzāᶜī, the governor of Ifrīḳiya.

Another well-known *imām* of the Nafūsa was a Berber, Abū Ḥātim Yaᶜḳūb al-Malzūzī [*q.v.*], whose enterprises survive in oral tradition on the plateau, which speaks of his 375 encounters with the Arabs. He was killed in battle in 155/771-2.

When the Ibāḍī kingdom of the Rustamids [*q.v.*], which had Tāhert as its centre, had been founded, the Nafūsa did not elect an *imām* of their own any more but formed a part of this kingdom under a governor who depended upon it. Some of these governors, e.g. Abū ᶜUbayda ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Djanāwunī (of Igennāwen), and Abū Manṣūr Ilyās (of Tendemmīra), are often praised by the Berbers of the Djabal for their importance and ability in maintaining the interests of Ibāḍism, and also for their learning and piety.

The Nafūsa were a valuable support of the Rustamids, of whose principality they formed the eastern bulwark. Being near the territory of the Aghlabids [*q.v.*], they shared to some extent the vicissitudes of this state which had arisen in Ifrīḳiya in the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The town of Tripoli was in the possession of those princes; western Djafāra, on the other hand, till near the Sea, and probably also part of eastern Djafāra, was in the power or under the influence of the Nafūsa. When Tripoli was beleaguered in 267/880-1 by the Ṭūlūnid prince al-ᶜAbbās [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, having revolted against his father Aḥmad, sought to conquer Ifrīḳiya at his own risk, the Nafūsa were called to aid, and, appearing without delay, they defeated the army of the invaders (according to other sources, their help was invoked by the inhabitants of Lebda). This fact, which reminds one of the first siege of Tripoli by the Muslims, proves clearly the influence which the Nafūsa possessed in northwestern Tripolitania and it accounts also for the severe blow dealt to them in 283/896-7 by the Aghlabids, when Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad, who led an expedition from Tunis to Egypt, found his passage through the coastal region of Tripolitania barred by the Nafūsa. The bloody battle of Mānū, which was followed by acts of terrible cruelty inflicted upon hundreds of Nafūsa prisoners, and which is narrated in a more or less anecdotical form in the Sunnī as well as in the Ibāḍī sources, is ascribed, ultimately, to the desire of the caliph to punish the Nafūsa who were the principal support of the heretical state of Tāhert; or to the resentment of the Aghlabids at acts of enmity committed by the Berbers, as well as in the humiliation they had suffered when the expedition of the Ṭūlūnid al-ᶜAbbās, which was directed against them, had been averted by the Nafūsa, to whom this exploit became a point of glory.

In reality, however, taking into account the whole political situation as well as the historical antecedents, it is evident that that battle, which is still mentioned in the oral tradition of the Ibāḍīs as the most terrible disaster they ever suffered, was the inevitable encounter between the Aghlabid power and the supremacy of the Nafūsa exercised in the former's immediate vicinity and even in its own territory.

When the power of the Aghlabids as well as that of the Rustamids had been destroyed by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], the Nafūsa found themselves face to face with those new masters of Eastern Barbary. There exist reports of an instance of their strenuous opposition to Fāṭimid power, which endeavoured to subdue them in 310/922-3 and which defeated them in the following year.

There are, however, reports concerning the part taken by the Nafūsa, or at least by tribes from the plateau, in the great Khāridjī rebellion, which was led by Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] and which ended with the victory of the Fāṭimids. Probably the Ibāḍī populations of the Djabal, although having given up the idea of forming one large autonomous state, endeavoured to avoid any dependence upon the various kingdoms and empires which successively held the supremacy in North Africa, while the latter, on the other hand, endeavoured, as far as possible, to obtain a footing also in the mountainous region which forms the strategic key to the plain stretching towards the coast.

When the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] undertook the conquests of eastern Ifrīḳiya under ᶜAbd al-Muʾmin (554-5/1159-60), the Nafūsa were also subdued by his army. Their territory became the scene of violent struggles and massacres, of raids and partial conquests during the long period of the revolt of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] who attempted to restore the Almoravid empire and who, from 580/1184-5 onwards, for nearly half-a-century and with varying succes, fought chiefly in eastern Barbary. In these fights, Arabs of the tribe of Dabbāb (belonging to the Banū Sulaym), who had come to Tripolitania during the well-known invasion of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, took part. Some clans of the Dabbāb, especially the Maḥāmīd and the Djuwārī, settled in the coastal region west of Tripoli, where the Nafūsa had exercised their power before. Yet the great mass of the latter

must have retired to the plateau not at the time of the conquest but in consequence of the Arab invasion.

The Nafūsa remained in nearly the same attitude of defence of their independence, during the supremacy in Ifrīḳiya of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], and, afterwards, of the Ottomans. While other populations in the neighbourhood gave up their Ibāḍism in order to embrace Sunnism, and consequently became arabicised, the Nafūsa stuck to their faith and to their Berber vernacular, withdrawing themselves to the rough crests of their mountains, and from time to time taking part in the acts of hostility and in the rebellions which the interior opposed to the efforts of the government of Tripoli to maintain its own authority and, chiefly, to levy taxes.

In the 19th century, the Ottomans, after having retaken in 1251/835-6 the direct administration of Tripoli, had to fight long and bitterly for the conquest of the plateau of the Nafūsa also. The struggle lasted, with varying success, till 1274/1857-8. In this period the *shaykh* Ghūma b. Khalīfa distinguished himself by courage and endurance; he is usually represented as the hero of Berber independence defended against the Turks. In reality, however, he was an Arab and the Arab tribe of the Maḥāmīd had the largest share in the wars, while the Berbers, according to all appearance, did not take part in them on a large scale. During the Italian occupation of Tripolitania, which began in 1911, the Nafūsa were at first hostile in accordance with their old aspiration to found an independent Ibāḍī kingdom which should extend up to the Sea and include the region of Sabratha. Defeated in 1913 by General Lequio near al-Aṣābaʿa, they offered their submission to the Italian authorities and subsequently became faithful subjects during the period of Italian rule.

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NAFŪSA, DJABAL, a limestone escarpment running from the Libyan Mediterranean coast slightly to the west of the Tripolitanian town of al-Khums in a west-south-western direction to Nalut (*Kharīṭa al-Djamāhiriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Lībiyya al-Shaʿbiyya al-Ishtirākiyya*, Beirut, n.d.). Thereafter the highlands break up as a set of lower tablelands lying on an axis oriented to the north-west, eventually merging into the Monts des Ksour. The Djabal is an important and complex geological feature of North Africa. The north-facing scarp rises steeply from the flatlands of the Djifāra and is composed mainly of Mesozoic rocks within the Upper Triassic to Upper Cretaceous range (A.Y. El-Zouki, *Stratigraphy and lithofacies of continental clastics, NW Libya*, in M.J. Salem and M.T. Busrewil [eds.], *The geology of Libya*, London 1980, 394-5). Altitudes vary from less than 500 m in the east (505 m near Tarhuna) and a maximum of 971 m above Gharyan to 725 m close to Kabow further west. Heights diminish gradually westwards towards Nalut (693 m) (*al-Aṭlas al-Waṭanī*, Tripoli 1977, 33-4). The Djabal was traditionally divided into four physical and tribal districts, the Djabal Nafūsa proper around Nalut, the Djabal Yafran running east from Zintan, the Djabal Gharyān in the centre and the Djabal Tarhuna-Msellata in the extreme east (Admiralty, *Handbook of Libya*, London 1920, 13). The western Djabal attracts a good rainfall. Gharyan in the centre receives a mean annual rainfall of 315 mm, though further west towards Nalut, the average rainfall drops to 150 mm or less (J.A. Allan, K.S. McLachlan and E.T. Penrose [eds.], *Libya: agriculture and the economic development of Libya*, London 1973, 28).

Human settlement of the Djabal Nafūsa has historically been associated with groups seeking refuge. The Berbers moved away from the invasions of the Arabs of the Banī Hilāl and Banī Sulaym [*q.vv.*] in later mediaeval Islamic times, while the Jews escaped from Tripoli during the incursion of the Spanish in the 16th century (H.E. Goldberg, *Cave dwellers and citrus growers: a Jewish community in Libya and Israel*, Cambridge 1969, 11). In the Gharyān, the main district of the Djabal at the time of the Italian occupation of Libya immediately preceding the First World War, there was a population of 29,850 persons, of which 14,985 were Berbers, 4,870 were of mixed Arab-Berber origin, 9,295 were Arabs, 400 were Culughli [see KUL-OGHLU] and 300 were Jews. At that time, many of the Arabs were nomadic or semi-nomadic while the Berbers and Jews were sedentary (E. de Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Tripolitania, notizie etniche e storiche*, Parte 1a, Tripoli 1917), living in troglodyte dwellings (Goldberg, *op. cit.*). In 1963 the Muḥāfaẓa of Gharyān contained 76,700 persons, of which 17 per cent was nomadic. (M. Alawar, *Urbanization in Libya*, in E. Joffe and McLachlan [eds.], *Social and economic development of Libya*, London 1982, 331-53). Estimates suggested a population of 204,300 persons in the district in 1988 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year 1990*, Chicago 1990, 659). Important demographic changes took place in 1948 following the flight of Jews. In the period after the exploitation of oil in 1961, population grew rapidly in the region at 4% annually (IBRD, *World development report*, Oxford 1989, 215), though many males lived and worked in large cities such as Tripoli while keeping their families in the villages of the Djabal.

The Djabal Nafūsa has a limited but thriving agriculture. Dryland farming on the top of the scarp is confined to tree crops, including figs, apricots, almonds and olives. Tobacco is grown in the Gharyān area and kitchen garden crops are widespread. Grain, principally wheat, is produced in great quantities at the foot of the scarp on lands traditionally owned by the people of the Djabal. Cultivation of the man-made terraces on the scarp face has generally been abandoned in recent decades. There has been little industrialisation in the Djabal, and the principal economic advances of recent years have been in improved roads, communications, housing and health facilities (M.M. Buru, *The Tripoli agglomeration land-use changes and land-use options*, in Buru, S.M. Ghanem and McLachlan [eds.], *Planning and development in modern Libya*, London 1985, 110-29.

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(K.S. MCLACHLAN)

AL-**NAFŪSĪ**, ABŪ SAHL AL-FĀRISĪ, Ibāḍī scholar of the Rustamid family, who lived in Tāhert [*q.v.*] in the 3rd/8th century. Some say that he was one of those who by their learning and religious zeal helped to make that town famous. He was a complete master of Berber, and served as interpreter under the *imām* Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (on whom see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 586) in the first half of the 3rd/8th century or even till 258/871-2, and under Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muḥammad who, with a short interruption, was *imām* 281-94/894-907. This shows that the Rustamid princes of Tāhert spoke Arabic, as was to be expected from their Oriental origin, and needed interpreters in their dealings with the Berber-speaking peoples. When the Fāṭimids had destroyed the Ibāḍī power, Abū Sahl settled at Marsa 'l-Kharaz (La Calle, between Bône and the Tunisian frontier); or at Marsa 'l-Dadjdjādj (Port-aux-Poules) on the Algerian coast, between ʿAyn Taya and Cape Djinet (cf. e.g. al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 64-5, 82).

Al-Nafūsī is best known as the author of an extensive Berber *Dīwān*, containing religious and historical poems, both dealing probably with the doctrines and history of Ibāḍism. It has been lost, like so many other works of Berber Ibāḍīs; yet perhaps parts of it may be recovered by further search in the Mzāb, at Djarba and among the Nafūsa. At any rate, Abū Sahl has an important place in the literary history of the Berbers, especially the Ibāḍiyya, who composed books on theology and law, chronicles, poetry and biographies.

Such a literary movement is usually explained by the need which the Khāridjite heretics felt of making clear their doctrine, especially the points in which it differed from the Sunna, to the inhabitants of the interior of the central and eastern Maghrib, who did not know Arabic, and who must have been numerous about 1000 A.D. Yet another thing, which can be seen to-day, must not be forgotten, viz. the attachment of these peoples to their own tongue as a symbol of opposition to the Arabic-speaking world in general and Muslim orthodoxy in particular. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, some Berber groups in the neighbourhood of Yefren in Tripolitania were led by Sanūsī propaganda to give up their old Ibāḍī faith and embrace orthodoxy. This change in its turn caused the Berber dialect to be less used, as if heresy were bound up with the national language, and the giving up of the heresy removed the last obstacle to complete arabisation. This assumption is confirmed by some religious poems (which deserve to be called literature) in the region of Fassāṭo, where the love of the national language is still strong. In them, the author says explicitly that he uses Berber to uphold and strengthen the Ibāḍī faith, which once flourished gloriously, but afterwards decreased, and is now well-nigh disappeared. In past times also, the Berber literature of the Ibāḍīs was partly a symbol of nonconformity and nationalism; so when Abū Sahl, who was rooted in Arabic civilisation by his origin, devoted himself to the study of Berber so as to become the best Berber scholar of his time and to compose in it his works, he must have felt in his deeply religious mind the connection between that language and the faith he professed.

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(F. BÉGUINOT)

NAFY (A.), "negation", a technical term of Arabic grammar. The sole grammarian to define negation is al-Djabrānī (d. 668/1270): "It is the information pointing to the non-existence (*ʿadam*) of what is being talked about". It is the opposite of affirma-

tion (*īdjāb*), which the same grammarian defines as being "the information pointing to the existence (*wudjūd*) of what is being talked about" (Paris, B.N. ms. arabe 4067, fol. 148, l. 27). Concerning the links which exist between negation and affirmation, Ibn Yaʿīsh declares: "Know that negation depends on (*ʿalā ḥasab*) affirmation, since negation being the denial (*ikdhāb*) of affirmation, it is necessary that it should be in accord (*ʿalā wafḳ*) with its expression and that there should be no difference between them except that one is a negation and the other an affirmation" (*Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, viii, 107).

Following Sībawayh, the Arab grammarians enumerate six particles (*ḥurūf*) whose signification (*maʿnā*) is negation; three of these (*mā*, *lā*, *in*) can be used in a verbal or nominal phrase, and three of them (*lam*, *lammā*, *lan*) only in a verbal phrase.

In a verbal phrase, the six particles negate the action, at the same time placing it in a temporal framework: (1) *mā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect indicative, negates an action in the present (*ḥāl*); followed by a verb in the perfect aspect, it negates an action in a past still close (*muḳarrab*) to the present; and in combination with the conjunction *li-* followed by the subjunctive, *mā* also expresses the denial (*djuḥūd*) of the action. (2) *lā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect, negates an action in the future; followed by a verb in the imperfect apocopate, it negates an order, i.e. expresses a prohibition (*nahy*). Followed by a verb in the perfect, it may, under specific circumstances (e.g. *lam yaʾkul wa-lā shariba* "he did not eat or drink", where *lā* continues a previous negative), negate an action in the past, or it expresses an optative (*duʿāʾ*). (3) *lam*, followed by a verb in the unaccomplished apocopate, negates an action in the past. (4) *lammā*, followed by a verb in the unaccomplished apocopate, negates an action in the past nearest (*aḳrab*) to the present. (5) *lan*, followed by a verb in the imperfect subjunctive, negates an action in the future; being more strong and energetic (*ablagh*) than *lā*, it strengthens (*akkada*) negation in the future, just as the particles *sa-* and *sawfa* strengthen affirmation in the future. (6) *in*, like *mā*, followed by a verb in the imperfect indicative, negates an action in the present; followed by a verb in the perfect aspect, it negates an action in the past.

In a nominal phrase, the particle *mā* can mean the negation of the predicate in the present; from the viewpoint of rection, the norm (*ḳiyās*) is that is exercises no rection; but the Ḥidjāzīs assimilate it to the verb *laysa*, making it entail the vowel / *u* / in the noun in initial position (*mubtadaʾ*), and the vowel / *a* / or the preposition *bi-* and the vowel / *i* / in the predicate. But in opposition to this, the Banū Tamīm do not allow it any rection.

More rarely than *mā*, the particle *lā* can be employed like *laysa*, but only when the noun in initial position is indefinite (*nakira*); likewise the particle *in*, which, in combination with *illā*, expresses an exception (*istithnāʾ*), but without exercising any rection.

Finally, the particle *lā* is used before the noun in first place in order to deny it categorically. This is the negation in totality (*istighrāḳ*) of the class (*djins*), which certain grammarians also call "exemption" (*tabriʾa*); if the noun is indefinite, the particle entails the vowel / *a* / without *tanwīn* (or *-āti* in the fem. sound pl.); if the noun is definite, (*maʿrifa*), the particle exercises no rection.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 204-5; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. ʿUḍayma, iv, 188-201, 357-88; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl*, ed. Fatlī, 92-7, 379-408; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, i, 105-9, viii, 107-13. (G. Troupeau)

NAFZA (Nefza), the name of a Berber tribe (ethnic: Nafzī) belonging to the group which the mediaeval genealogists and historians mention under the name of Butr [*q.v.*]. It had spread out over a large part of Barbary, between Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*] and Fās, passing through the region of Constantine, Oran, Tlemcen and the Rīf. In contemporary Tunisia, to the east of the massif of Kroumirie [see khumayr], there extends the country of the Nafzas, a fertile region fringed with woodlands abounding in game. Near the Djabal al-Abyaḍ, at *ca* 150 km/96 miles to the west of Tunis by road and 140 km/90 miles by railway, a station on the Tunis-Ṭabarḳa [*q.v.*] line bears the name of Nafza.

In the manner of other Berber tribes, sections of whom had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, the Nafza established themselves in particular in the valley of the Guadiana, upstream from Mérida [see mārida], where they had a stronghold known as Ḥiṣn Umm Djaʿfar. There was also a group at Játiva [see shāṭiba], but it was the first one which played the most important rôle on account of their connections with the Umayyads. It happened that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], whose mother was a Berber captive originally from this tribe, had spent some time before crossing into Spain in the principality of Nakūr [*q.v.*], on the Moroccan coast of the Rīf inhabited precisely by some of the Nafza, who henceforward continued to have privileged connections with Cordova.

The Berbers seem to have been proud of the numbers of *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḳāḍīs* belonging to this tribe who became famous in Spain.

Bibliography: See notably, Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and tr. de Slane, index; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 103, 110; Ibn Khurradādhbih, ed. and partial tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au IIIe = IXe siècle*, Algiers 1949, 13 and nn. 148, 153; Muḳaddasī, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe/Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950, 69; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1964, index; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, v, index; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, i, 182; *Nubadh taʾrīkhiyya*, index. (Ed.)

NAFZĀWA, a tribe belonging to the group which the genealogists distinguished under the name of the Butr [*q.v.*] and which formed one of the two great Berber peoples, the other being the Barānis [*q.v.*]. They seem to have become fixed fairly early in Libya and to have spread over all the Maghrib, where the elements which are encountered there sporadically were largely sedentaries or sedentarised. Mediaeval authors mention Nafzāwa as far as Sidjilmāsa and even as far as Awdaghost [*q.vv.*], but this tribe is known above all today for having given its name to a region of Tunisia to the south-south-east of the Chott el Djerid [see al-djarīd]. The Nafzāwa (Nefzaoua in European usage) had their administrative centre, during the French protectorate, at the place Gbīlī (Kébili), the seat of an Office for Native Affairs, whose archives contain documents of a geographical, ethnological or economic nature; since Tunisia's achievement of independence, a second Delegation has been created at Douz.

The Nafzāwa, whose history is essentially the same as that of the Djerid/Ḳasṭīliya [*q.v.*], only played a secondary rôle, and authors cite them mainly because the geographical peculiarities of the region allowed it

to serve as a refuge for rebels or for authorities in difficulty. More than its history, it has been the terrain and its inhabitants which have interested Western travellers and researchers (see *Bibl.*). Economists and sociologists have been especially concerned with the way of life of the population, which has evolved considerably since the beginning of the century, notably, as the consequence of a movement of gradual sedentarisation of the semi-nomads stimulated by the increase in the drilling of artesian wells which favour both the growth of agriculture in the zone of lands suitable for agricultural working and also the extension of palm groves in the oases, the main one of these last being El Glia (al-Ḳulayʿa), to the south of which regions suitable for nomadism, still practised by the 10,000 Marāzīg, stretch as far as the Erg (ʿIrḳ [see ṢAḤRĀʾ] and Ghadāmes [*q.v.*]. Finally, one should not forget that a part of the Nafzāwa area is made up of salt marshes (*sabkha*, pl. *sibākh*), which justify the expressive title which P. Moreau gave to his monograph, *Des lacs de sel aux chaos de sables: le pays des Nefzaoua*, Tunis 1947.

The great richness of the region lies in its date groves [see NAKHL], which are treated with more and more care, since they provide the population with very appreciable resources and contribute moreover to the settlement of persons. In this regard, the statistics are eloquent: from *ca.* 160,000 palm trees in 1889, a figure of one million was approached in 1967. The mediaeval geographers and travellers take care to place an emphasis on the abundance of these trees growing in the oases around some centres of population which they cite. In this context, they remark that the tribe which, at some indeterminate date, gave its name to the region, had already given this name to a place situated at six days' march to the west (in reality, to the south-south-west of Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], at three days' march from Gabès [see ḲĀBIS] and at two from Gafsa [see ḲAFSA]. According to their description, this population centre was surrounded by a stone and unfired brick wall pierced by six gates; it had a Great Mosque, baths and flourishing markets, and had groves of dates, olives and various other fruit trees, but, on the testimony of Leo Africanus, there were no cereals there. For al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), Nafzāwa reminded one of Baṣra because of the irrigation canals which furrowed it, but this comparison seems, to say the least, exaggerated. Al-Bakrī situates at Nafzāwa a plentiful spring called Tawrgha (modern ʿAyn Tāwrgha), whose name, he realised, was Berber; in effect, it comes from the root *w.r.gh* which implies an idea of "yellow". Al-Tidjānī, who travelled through the region at the opening of the 8th/14th century, situates it at Bashrī (modern Bechri) and adds the information that, each year, a man was killed there. It is probable that Bashrī was the successor to Nafzāwa.

The Romans, who occupied the region, have left there buildings, ruinous since mediaeval times, and traces in the toponomy. Thus amongst the places in the region, the geographers cite especially Ṭurra (Lat. Turris Tamelleni, modern Telmine, near Kébili), which Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, BANŪ] treated harshly in 602/1205 in order to punish the inhabitants there, who had betrayed him. The town was surrounded by a rampart and ringed by plantations similar to those of Nafzāwa. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* mentions a third place, whose name, read as أيتملين could be composed of the Berber word Ayt [*q.v.*] (son, in the pl. = Banū), followed by a name which is related to that of Turris Tamelleni, this latter element possibly to be compared with the radical *m.l.l.* (*imlal* "to be white"). The anonymous author of this work and, before him, al-Bakrī, whom he copies, were interested in the route from Nafzāwa to Ḳasṭīliya, i.e. Tozeur (Tawzar [*q.v.*]), in a north-westerly direction. The track, which went through salt marshes, was marked out by means of wooden stakes planted in a ground so shifting that "it resembled soap", and the authors who mention it do not fail to recount the accidents which had struck groups of travellers or soldiers lost there and made them disappear without trace. A system of markers such as this existed still in the first decades of the 20th century.

The Nafzāwa of Tunisia, who were Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA], early absorbed members of other Berber-speaking tribes of the same ethnic group, in particular, the Lawāta and the Maghrāwa [*q.vv.*]; in Ibn Khaldūn's time (8th/14th century), the population still included not only Jews but also some Christians (some Afāriḳa). As a result of the infiltration and invasion of allogenous elements which ended up with the upper hand over them, the Nafzāwa came to feel themselves totally arabised, to the point even of attributing to themselves an Arab origin and to speaking only Arabic (on the speech of the Marāzīg, see G. Boris, *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques sur un region du Sud-Tunisien* (*Nefzaoua*), Paris 1952, and *Lexique du parler arabe de Marazig*, Paris (1958).

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(CH. PELLAT)

NAGAR, the name of many towns and cities in India (Skr. *nagara* "city"). Those of significance for Islam are as follows:

1. Nagar, familiar name locally for Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*], being even used on signposts. C.R. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal emperors of India*, Bombay 1953, 7, describes a coin of typical Aḥmadnagar fabric where the mint-name is simply Nagar.

2. Nagar, a large town in Karnātaka, some 55 miles west of Shimōgā, once a capital of local *rādjās*, captured in 1176/1763 by Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*], and so for a short time known as Ḥaydarnagar; Ḥaydar ʿAlī

established his principal arsenal and a mint there.

3. Nagar = Nagar Kōt, with its stronghold (Kōt) Kāngŕā, commanding the Kāngŕā valley in the western Pandjāb (now Himachal Pradesh), was an important centre of Hindū pilgrimage at the intersection of trade routes, which brought immense wealth to the temple of Devī there. This (or possibly another temple within the fort) was plundered in 399/1008 by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, 12); it fell to Fīrūz Shāh the Tughluḳid in 762/1360, (Badāʾūnī, *ibid.*, i, 248-9) when the temple was again plundered. A rebellion in *ca.* 980/1572 (Badāʾūnī, *ibid.*, ii, 161-2; Badāʾūnī refers also to his own visit there in 998/1590) led to its being garrisoned by the Mughals, and Akbar's visit to it ten years later is recorded (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 348). It fell to the Sikhs in 1775 until the district was ceded to the British in 1846. The town and fort were destroyed in the 1905 earthquake.

4. Nagarnagar, the original name of the fort on the Hari Parbat, outside Shrīnagar, Kashmīr, where Akbar later built his own fort. (J. Burton-Page)

NĀGAWR, modern spelling Nagaur, Nagor, a town and district in the division of Jodhpur in the Rajasthan state of the Indian Union, formerly within the princely state of Jodhpur in British India; the town lies in lat. 27° 12′ N. and long. 73° 48′ E. at 75 miles/120 km. to the northeast of Jodhpur [see djōdhpur], and in 1971 had a population of 36,433.

The walled town is said to have derived its name from its traditional founders, the Nāga Rādjputs. In the later 12th century it was controlled by the Čawhān (Čahamāna) ruler of Dihlī Pṛithvīrādja III, then by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad [see ghūrids], although there are indications of an earlier Muslim presence before the Ghūrid conquest, under the old governments of Sind and Multān. It remained an important stronghold for the sultanate of Dihlī, controlling both Sind and southern Rādjāsthān until the decline of the Tughluḳ dynasty in the late 8th/14th century, when it fell into the hands of Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt; he gave the state of Nāgawr to his brother Shams Khān Dandānī, and the Dandānī dynasty lasted for over a century until Muḥammad Khān Dandānī submitted to Sikandar Lodī in 915/1509-10. After the Lodī period it passed to Rādjā Maldev of Djōdhpur, who built the fort and incorporated much old Muslim building in its walls. It fell again to the Dihlī sultanate under Shēr Shāh, subsequently becoming part of the Mughal empire until its final fall; thereafter it reverted to the Mahārādjā of Djōdhpur. By the 8th/14th century it had become a centre of the Čishtī Ṣūfī order [see čishtiyya] and was already a renowned home of Muslim mysticism and scholarship, starting with Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Suwali Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) (early genealogy in Shokoohy, *op. cit.* below, 75). In the 10th/16th century, it was the birthplace and early home of Shaykh Mubārak Nāgawrī (911-1001/1505-93), later influential, as was his younger son Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], at Akbar's court as an exponent of a more liberal and eirenic view of the role of Islam in India than that held by the rigorist *ʿulamāʾ* who opposed Akbar's religious policies [see akbar and dīn-i ilāhī] (see Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 168-9; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi 1975, 76-103).

Muslims remain the second largest religious group of the town and district, amounting in 1961 to 18% of the Nāgawr District population.

Monuments. Inscriptions from many of the earlier buildings, including one from the time of Muḥammad b. Sām, and several of the Khaldjī and Dandānī periods, are set into the upper walls of the fort. The oldest standing monument, and the finest, is the Buland Darwāza, also known as Darwāza-yi Tārikīn, a gateway leading to the enclosure around the shrine of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn. An inscription refers to its construction in 733/1333, i.e. in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, but this must refer to a restoration, since the style and the surface decoration are more consonant with the buildings of Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish; a fine Ḳurʾānic inscription above the gateway is in a typical 7th/13th century chancery script. The Shamsī talāʾō, the Shamsī ʿīdgāh and the Shamsī masdjid, in earlier writers attributed to Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, are in fact rather of Shams Khān Dandānī. The Shamsī masdjid, large and impressive, has a western prayer-hall in the beam-and-bracket style, with five domes (the central now fallen) and two tapering corner turrets resembling those of Lodī buildings, faced by a maḳṣūra-screen of five arches, similar in type to mosques of Gudjarāt. Other mosques of a similar period (Ek mīnār kī masdjid, Sūrī masdjid) are also trabeate, but the Akbarī masdjid of 972/1564-5 is entirely arcuate, in the early Mughal style. There are many small mosques of Mughal reigns up to Awrangzīb in the various *maḥallas* of Nāgawr city.

Bibliography: J. Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, passim; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 298-9; *Rajasthan District gazetteers, Nagaur*, Jaipur 1975. H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of a tour in the Punjab and Rajputana* = *ASI*, xxiii, 1887, 48-72; M.A. Chaghtai, *Nāgaur: a forgotten kingdom*, in *Bull. Deccan Coll. RI*, ii, 1941, 166-83; B.S. Mathur, *Side-lights on the mediaeval history of Nagaur*, in *Procs. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, xxvii, Mysore 1966, 139-44. Many inscriptions have been reported in *EIM* and *Ep. Ind. Ar and Pers. Suppl.*, all now superseded by Mehrdad Shokoohy in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, xlix (Rajasthan I), London 1986, 68-86, and plates 62a-80c, mostly of inscriptions but including some buildings.

(C.E. Bosworth and J. Burton-Page)

NAGIR [see hunza and nagir].

NĀGPUR, the name of a city, district and division of the state of Maharashtra in the Indian Union, formerly in the Central Provinces of British India; the city lies on the Nāg river in lat. 21°10' N. and long. 79°12' E.

The history of this area, which roughly corresponds to Gondwāna, has been profoundly influenced by the long range of the Sātpura hills through which the Burhānpur-Asīrgaŕh gap provided the chief route from Hindustān to the Dakhan. When the Muslim invaders first came into contact with Gondwāna, it contained four independent Gond kingdoms: the northern kingdom of Garhā-Mandlā; two central kingdoms with their capitals at Dēogarh and Khērla respectively; and a southern state with its capital at Čānda. In the reign of Akbar the imperial forces overran the northern kingdom, forcing it to pay tribute, despite the heroic efforts of the Dowager Rānī Durgāvatī. After this, the political predominance of the Gond chiefs shifted to Dēogaŕh which in its turn also suffered from the aggressive schemes of the Mughal emperors. Early in the reign of Awrangzīb, a punitive force under Dilīr Khān entered both Čānda and Dēogaŕh, with the result that, in 1081/1670, the ruler of Dēogaŕh embraced Islam as the price of the restoration of his kingdom (*ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, 1022-7). Both these states paid tribute to the emperor through

a Muslim agent stationed at Nāgpur in the Islamic period, for the *Pādshāh-nāma* of Lāhawrī describes its capture by Khān Dawrān in 1047/1637 (for a still earlier identification, see Hira Lal, 10).

The most famous ruler of Dēogarh was the converted Gond chief Bakht Buland, who visited the court of Awrangzīb (*Ma'āthir-i ʿālamgīrī*, 273). Because of his contumacious attitude he was replaced by another Muslim Gond named Dīndār (*ibid.*, 340). For some years after this, Bakht Buland remained in imperial service, until, escaping from imperial control, he once more raised the standard of revolt in Dēogaṙh (Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, ii, 461). Although Dēogaṙh was recaptured for a time by Awrangzīb's forces, Bakht Buland remained in open rebellion and was never really subdued. Eventually, under this able ruler the Dēogaṙh state comprised the modern districts of Čhindwāra and Betūl, together with portions of Nāgpur, Seonī, Bhandāra and Bālāghāt. The last important Gond ruler was Čānd Sulṭān who died in 1152/1739. It was he who fixed the capital at Nāgpur, which he converted into a walled town.

Internal dissensions led to the intervention of Raghudjī Bhonsla, who was governing Berār [*q.v.*] on behalf of the Marāṭhā Pēshwā [see MARĀṬHĀS and PĒSHWĀ]. Eventually, in 1743, the Marāṭhā leader took over the administration of the country. By granting a nominal authority to the Gond Rādjā, Burhān Shāh, and his descendants, the Bhonslas possessed a useful pretext for disavowing, when expedient, the rights of the Pēshwā, but in practice reference was usually made to Pūna [*q.v.*] on important matters, such as the succession. Burhān Shāh's descendants continued to occupy the position of state pensioners, and the representative of the family resided at Nāgpur in British Indian times with the title of Rādjā or Sansthānik. Raghudjī's reign witnessed a great influx of Kunbīs and other Marāṭhās into Nāgpur. The treacherous attitude of his successor Djānodjī led to his defeat by the combined forces of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and the Pēshwā, and to his acknowledgement of the latter's supremacy.

It was under Raghudjī II that the Nāgpur kingdom attained its greatest extent and included practically the whole of the later Central Provinces and Berār, together with Orissa and certain of the Čutiā Nāgpur states. Unfortunately for the solidarity of his kingdom, he joined forces with Sindhia against the British, and, in 1803, after the battles of Assaye and Argāon, was compelled to subscribe to the treaty of Dēogāon, by which he was deprived of a third of his dominions (Aitchison, i, 415-17). He was succeeded in 1816 by his son, Parsodjī, an imbecile, who was murdered in the following year by the notorious Āppā Ṣāḥib. On the outbreak of war between the British and the Pēshwā in 1817, Āppā Ṣāḥib attacked the British Residency but his troops were defeated in the brilliant action at Sītābaldī. This resulted in the deposition of Āppā Ṣāḥib, who was succeeded by Raghudjī III, on whose death, in 1853, without heirs, natural or adopted, this dependent principality was declared by the Viceroy Lord Dalhousie to have lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The British administered Nāgpur by means of a Commission until the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861. Then after independence in 1947, Nāgpur became the capital of Madhya Pradesh state and then after 1956 the district headquarters of Maharashtra state, alternating with Bombay as the seat of the state legislature. Modern Nāgpur city (population in 1971, 866,144) is a major industrial and commercial centre (especially for textiles and metalworking), situated as it is at the junction of road and rail routes connecting Bombay and Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. It has had a university since 1923 and possesses an institute for Islamic religious studies, the Djamʿiyyat-i ʿArabiyya. The Muslim community includes Bohorā and Khōdja Ismāʿīlīs as well as Sunnīs; the total Muslim population of the Nāgpur District in 1961 amounted to 134,861, almost all Urdu-speaking.

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(C. Collin Davies*)

NAGYVÁRAD (Ottoman Turkish: *Warād*, *Wārād*, *Warāt*, etc., Romanian: Oradea, German: Großwardein), an important town originally in the Hungarian county of Bihar, part of Transylvania after the creation of this principality, centre of an Ottoman *wilāyet* [*q.v.*] between 1660 and 1692, and today a place of regional significance in Romania with a considerable Hungarian population.

As a fortified place since the 10th century and as seat of a bishop since the 11th century, Várad acquired early importance among Hungarian towns. Partly destroyed by the Mongols in 1241, it flourished again in the 14th and 15th centuries.

After the Battle of Mohács [*q.v.*] in 1526 and especially after the capturing of Buda [see BUDĪN] by the Turks in 1541, the strategic importance of Várad near the Ottoman-Transylvanian border came into the foreground. The fortress was repeatedly strengthened, among others by five huge new bastions, following Italian models, during the 16th century. The place was in Habsburg hands between 1551-7, then it belonged to Transylvania again. The fortification resisted a five-week long Turkish attack in 1598.

Under the 17th-century princes, a remodelling of the inner castle was realised, according to Italian examples again, with a pentagonal structure resulting in a solitary masterpiece of Central European architecture. A new Ottoman siege was feared in 1659, consequently the town itself was also strengthened. This attack, led by the *serdār* [see SARDĀR] Köse ʿAlī Pasha in July-August 1660 was successful in the end, due to two main factors, besides the overwhelming Turkish superiority in numbers: they were able to drain the fosse, and an explosion annihilated most of the defenders' war materials. The terms of surrender were quite mild: beside permission to leave freely, the transportation of the printinghouse, with semi-finished Bible texts, together with the archives of the local chapter was permitted.

After the prince of Transylvania, Ákos Barcsay, was forced to accept the loss of Várad and its dependencies to the Turks (cf. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Barcsay Akos'un Erdel kırallığına ait bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952], 62-5) a *wilāyet* was created here. Its first *beglerbegi* [*q.v.*], a certain Sinān Pasha, possessed this place and Adana (!) simultanously (cf. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi*, 434, f. 7a). The yearly revenue of the *mīrmīrān* [*q.v.*] of Várad amounted to 948, 700 [*penz*] in 1665 (cf. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu defteri, 795, p. 7). The ter-

ritory of the province contained extensive regions east of the Tisza river in the counties of Bihar, Doboka, Közép-Szolnok, Külso-Szolnok, Kraszna, Szabolcs and Szatmár; most of these names were also used as *nāḥiye* denominations by the Turks. Beside the *sandjāḳ* of Várad, a separate *liwā* was established around the castle of Szentjobb (Ottoman: *Senkōb*, Romanian: Sîniob); its *sandjāḳbegi*'s income was usually low: 115, 948 [*penz*] (cf. Tapu defteri, 795, p. 76).

The *tīmār defteri* of 1075/1665 enumerates 6 *khāṣṣ*es, 29 *zi ʿāmet*s and 235 *tīmār*s in the *liwā* of Várad, while 1 *khāṣṣ*, 2 *ziʿāmet*s and 46 *tīmār*s in the *liwā* of Szentjobb (*ibid.*, pp. 3-87). The *wilāyet* probably consisted of two *ḳaḍā*s [*q.v.*], for a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] can be demonstrated in each of Várad and Szentjobb respectively.

The Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] had a large *waḳf* [*q.v.*] here and in the neighbouring *sandjāḳ*s, a rare phenomenon in Ottoman Hungary (published by Imre Karácson, *Török-magyar oklevéltár, 1533-1789* ["A collection of Turkish Hungarian documents"], ed. Thallóczy Lajos, Krcsmárik János and Szekfű Gyula. Budapest 1914, 247-72).

Almost nothing is known about the population of the town itself, except for the sum which they had to pay to the *beglerbegi*, sc. 100,000 [*penz*] (Tapu defteri, 795, p. 7).

Várad was besieged in 1691 and taken on 5 June 1692 by Habsburg forces led by Donathus Heissler.

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NAHḌA (A.), a term derived from the Arabic root *n-h-ḍ* which signifies "to rise", "to stand up", with an active perspective, the connotation "to be fit", "to be ready for", which is to be found explicitly in the definition given by the *LA*: *al-nahḍa = al-ṭāḳa wa 'l-ḳuwwa* (*nahḍa* = power and force). The substantive *Nahḍa* is used to designate the rebirth of Arabic literature and thought under Western influence since the second half of the 19th century. It has often been translated by "Renaissance", a problematic translation since it refers implicitly to 16th century Europe and to the movement of return to the Greco-Roman past. In an attempt to avoid the "Euro-centrist" approach, an attitude for which Arabists are frequently criticised, a translation such as "Awakening", although less often used, would be closer to the sense of the root and therefore more satisfactory. It is moreover the title given to the famous statue by the sculptor Mukhtār, situated in the square in front of the Cairo railway station, *Nahḍat Miṣr* "The Awakening of Egypt".

In order to define with greater precision the concept conveyed by the term *Nahḍa*, according to the realities of the Arab world, it would be useful also to analyse the manifestations of this "movement".

The *Nahḍa*, unlike the Renaissance of the 16th century, is not a return to the "classical" heritage. It is not a neo-classicism seeking to revive the models supplied by the past. On the contrary, the past, until recently still a very potent force, was becoming academic and restrictive for the creative imagination. The great reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]), reacting against this all-too intrusive past, wrote: "Islam deflects us from an exclusive attachment to things inherited from our fathers, it brands as ignorant and narrow-minded those who blindly follow the sayings of the ancestors" (*Risālat al-Tawḥīd*, 1879, quoted by R. Brunschvig, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel de l'histoire de l'Islam*, 37).

Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914 [*q.v.*]), in his monumental "Literary History of Arabic Language" *Ta'rīkh adab al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (4 vols., Cairo 1914), is the most eminent of the pioneers to speak of *Nahḍa*. He associates this movement with the beneficial contribution of the West to the East, a contribution which he sees as beginning with Bonaparte's invasion (see Introduction to vol. iv).

Among Arabic scholars, Gibb promulgates the concept of *Nahḍa* in his article in *BSOS* (1928), where it is his opinion that the movement began not with Napoleon's Egyptian campaign but only in the second half of the 19th century. It is primarily the literary historians who employ the term. Blachère (in *Classicisme et déclin culturel*, 284) defines the "origins" of the *Nahḍa*: "By its origins, this movement could not be the continuation of literary doctrines tied to a past civilisation. Western influences, the introduction of unknown or barely known genres such as the theatre or the European-style novel, the adoption of poetic formulae approaching symbolism and even going beyond, all these were factors impelling poets, writers, novelists, essayists and critics into new paths where, after some resistance, the public was ultimately to follow them..."

Among historians and Islamic scholars, however, the term *Nahḍa* is seldom used. It does not feature in the indexes of works such as, for example, Albert Hourani's *Arabic thought in the Liberal age, 1878-1939*, Oxford 1962, nor in Montgomery Watt's *Islamic surveys. I. Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, where there is reference, at the end of the book, to "New Dawn", but the term *Nahḍa* is not used. It does not appear in *L'Islam au Proche Orient*, Paris 1960, by Jean-Paul Roux, who refers to "reform of Islam" and "modernism" but not to *Nahḍa*, nor in Nadav Safran's *Egypt in search of political community. An analysis of the intellectual and political evolution in Egypt 1804-1952*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961. Even younger orientalists such as Peter Gran (*Islamic roots of capitalism. Egypt 1760-1840*, Austin, Texas 1979), or Charles Wendell, (*The evolution of the Egyptian national image*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972), speak of "reformist" Islam, of *umma*, of nationalism and of *waṭan* ("homeland"), but without mentioning the word *Nahḍa*. G. von Grunebaum (*Modern Islam*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) uses the term only once (285) and even then in a very marginal fashion, in a footnote.

The fact is that Islamic scholars are not confronted by the same situation as that which faces literary historians. The movement of reformism and openness, in the religious and political spheres, was the outcome of a previous upsurge of consciousness, the premises of which date back to the 18th century, with Wahhābism. The "reformists" therefore do not reject the principles of the past; on the contrary, they reinforce them. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the might of the Ottoman empire had suppressed the language and the cultural activities of the "Arab prov-

inces". After Bonaparte's conquest, Egypt regained under Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] a *de facto* independence which permitted the diffusion of religious reformism, in association with literary openness, but distinct in its origins. Muḥammad ʿAbduh interpreted the religious law having regard for the needs of his society: he sought to "purge" Islam of the practices of sects which exploited popular credulity. He called for a reform of education and the reformulation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought. Following his lead, Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908 [*q.v.*]) campaigned for the "Liberation of women" *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* (1899), and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963 [*q.v.*]) for the constitutional solution of political problems, according to the spirit of the early centuries of Islam. Their "reformist" ideas gained many converts in the Arab world (Khayr al-Dīn, 1810-90, or Muḥammad Bayram, 1840-89, in Tunisia, [*q.vv.*]; the Alūsī family in Baghdād; Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī, 1851-1920, in Syria; etc.) where the aim was to reconcile traditional and modern areas of knowledge in a spirit of openness to the world, without destroying the values of Islam and Arab identity.

It is paradoxical that, in the wake of the reformists, the *ʿulamāʾ* themselves, as Gibb writes, "contributed to the spread of secularism, for in the Muslim world it was mainly by the influence of the Sufi orders that the tendency to worldliness among the educated classes was counter-acted" (Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947, 51). But, as R. Brunschwig points out, "this (reformist) notion is less revolutionary than the use of such terms could suggest: it avoids any kind of iconoclasm, since it is definitively in the return to the example of the first Muslims or at least to the admirable principles of conduct attributed to them, that essential progress consists" (*Classicisme et déclin culturel*, 38).

This movement of rebirth and awakening, marked by faith in the future and by a deep confidence in the inevitable progress of societies, gave rise, in the mid-19th century, to two complementary manifestations. The one, endogenous, sought an internal revision of the Islamic phenomenon, and this is what is known as "reformism". The other, exogenous, was born out of East-West contact and is correctly defined as *Nahḍa*—a liberation and rejection of the shackles of the past, as well as an advance towards modernism as represented by foreign models.

More or less simultaneously, the *Nahḍa* was marked by various manifestations. For purposes of clarity, these will be examined successively, but in fact they are closely intermingled, in itself a characteristic feature of the movement.

(1) The *Nahḍa* restored with the West a dialogue in which one of the two participants, technically still less advanced than the other, recognised this situation and the need to rectify it. This was a dialogue of hope, with the confidence that technical, scientific and cultural progress would provide the means of emergence from darkness and ignorance. If the beginning of the movement may be dated in the 19th century, with the dispatch of students to educational establishments in Europe and other efforts at modernisation on the part of Muḥammad ʿAlī and later the Khedive Ismāʿīl, its end may be seen in the aftermath of the First World War, when foreign occupation, maintained in the majority of Arab countries, destroyed the hopes of liberty which had previously accompanied the dialogue, giving rise instead to feelings of frustration and rejection.

(2) The *Nahḍa* was nourished, from the outset, by translations of foreign works, technical and scientific at first, soon to be followed by dramatic and fictional pieces. The translations of drama and fiction were usually very free adaptations, tailored to accord with Arab usages; translators had no qualms about altering names, speeches and attitudes of the original characters and versifying the text, to the extent of making Hamlet sing in Shakespeare's play [see MASRAḤ. 1. In the Arab East]. The school of translation of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73 [*q.v.*]) had produced more than 2,000 scientific translations, paying meticulous attention to the need for accuracy. But the movement which ensued in the literary sphere developed liberties which al-Ṭahṭāwī himself used to advantage in his "translation" of Fénelon's *Télémaque*; similarly, Muḥammad ʿUthmān Djalāl [*q.v.*] felt free to use dialect in the adaptation of numerous French books (*Paul et Virginie*, the *Fables* of La Fontaine, the plays of Molière). Al-Manfalūṭī even adapted texts without any knowledge of the original language, working from translations dictated to him by a reader.

(3) The *Nahḍa* is also, in the history of modern Arab culture, the period marked by the appearance of those who have been dubbed "pioneers" (*ruwwād*), without the pejorative connotation applied at other times to innovators. In the realm of literary creation, they showed themselves particularly revolutionary in introducing genres hitherto unknown to the Arabs, such as the theatre, the short story, the novel, inspired by the large number of adaptations. They also overturned the norms of composition by no longer giving priority to mediaeval rhetoric; in this they were helped by the journalists of the nascent press, who accelerated the process of liberation of the language, impelled by the demands of the contemporary information to which newspapers were obliged to give precedence (cf. N. Tomiche, *Remarques sur la langue*, in *L'Égypte au XIX s.*).

For these "pioneers" there then arose the problem of the antithesis between *aṣāla* "authenticity" and *ḥadātha* "modernity". From 1819 onward and until the beginning of the 20th century, a number of writers, Syrians in the main, undertook a campaign of resistance to what was considered the excessive modernisation of the language and of literary genres. Philologists, encyclopaedists and essayists were at pains to restore "purity". The Bustānīs [*q.v.*; one of whom, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, 1819-82, edited the first Arabic encyclopedia, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*], the Yāzidjīs (including Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī, author of *maḳāmāt*, of poems inspired by al-Mutanabbī, of treatises on grammar, rhetoric, etc.) demanded the cultivation of "elegant" language and literary forms, in other words, purged of Turkish, dialectal or western influences, but also adapted to contemporary civilisation.

This was an intermediate period, the time of the "almost-novel" *kitāb yakād yakūn ḳiṣṣa*, to borrow a felicitous expression of Mārūn ʿAbbūd (*Ruwwād*, 131). Compositions still retained the memory of works of the past, for the purist pioneers, or were designed as imitations of Sir Walter Scott, of Dumas Père et Fils and of moving melodramas, for the modernists. The First World War, with the *Zaynab* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal [*q.v.*], inspired by the daily life of his society and by personal experience, was to mark the end of this stage of imitation and a return to authenticity.

The "pre-*Zaynab*" period is thus characterised by the existence of two groups of works which represent, in the one case, the continuation of genres such as the *maḳāma* or the *riḥla* (account of a journey) and, in the other, a "renewal" animated by moralising or philosophical novels, by the genre of the historical or melodramatic novel.

In the first group, suitable examples are the *Takhlīṣ*

al-ibrīz fī talkhīṣ Bārīz by Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, published in 1834, the *Kitāb al-Sāḳ ʿalā 'l-sāḳ fī mā huwa 'l-Fāryāḳ* by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ (1804-87 [*q.v.*]), published in Paris in 1855, and the *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* by Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1868-1930 [*q.v.*]), which appeared in serial form in *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharḳ* from 1898 onwards. These works present some common characteristics: they belong to the genre of the *riḥla* in simple (al-Ṭahṭāwī) or rhymed prose. These journeys conduct the reader abroad or to places in his own country, in Egypt (al-Muwayliḥī) with the object of showing him practices and customs both elsewhere and "at home" (as in the case of the resurrected Pasha in the *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām*, a witness from a bygone age). The characters of this human comedy are paraded in such a manner as to allow an implicit social critique, a caricature of the various established systems of education, law, finance, etc. But these "almost novels" lack consistency in plot, in structure of characters and in progression towards a "denouement". They are marred by an element which was to become increasingly important in literature, this being the description of the woman, depicted in all three works as demanding and imperious or sensual and lascivious, and seldom as agreeable and human.

The works of the second group are inspired by adaptations and translations. Numerous examples are supplied by prolific authors such as Salīm al-Bustānī (d. 1884) who produced historical serial-novels (*Zanūbiyyā* "Zenobia", appearing in *al-Djinān*, 1871, *al-Hiyām fī futūḥ al-Shām*, in *Djinān*, 1874) and melodramas (*Asmā*, in *Djinān*, 1873), or Djurdjī Zaydān (*Istibdād al-mamālīk*, in *al-Hilāl*, 1892). Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922 [*q.v.*]) was particularly disposed towards philosophical novels; Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān (1883-1931 [*q.v.*]) was a novelist and poet, moralist and visionary (*al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira*, New York 1912).

In this second group, in which it may be noted that the most representative examples are supplied by Christians, the novels are distinguished, "in the western manner", by a progression of the action towards a climax and a conclusion, in a framework, with characters and problems relevant to the society of the author. Under the influence of reformist ideas and European novels, the image of the woman is softened. She often appears as a victim of male society or as a person of wisdom, intelligence and goodwill.

The protagonists of these novels challenge the despotism of political or religious leaders, but they retain hope in the civilising potential of knowledge and rational thought.

The novel thus creates dualist worlds where the Good are in conflict with the Bad. It is then shackled by the manifestly moralising intention of the author, his vision of the grandeur of the Arab past, of the danger of over-servile imitations of "western-style" life, of pretence, of ignorance, of ambition, of snobbery, etc. (cf. N. Tomiche, *Naissance et avatars du roman arabe avant Zaynab*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, xvi [1980]).

(4) The press was to play an essential role; the *Nahḍa* is distinguished by the development of a vocabulary of nationalist sentiment. From the beginning of the 19th century, the revolt against Ottoman policies, against the political order, was a factor of renewal, in Egypt as in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ or Tunisia. Attachment to the "homeland", to the "nation", even beyond the Arab and Muslim past, dates back to the Pharaohs, the Phoenicians and the Hittites. This nationalism evolved in proportion to the increasing exploitation of the Arab lands by Europe, after the collapse of Turkey.

The new philosophical, ideological, political, social and economic ideas lacked a suitable vocabulary for their expression. It is in this respect that the press was to contribute significantly to the forging of a language capable of stating new ideas by the re-use of ancient words or by direct borrowings (*oyl, naft, zayt* for "oil", *waṭan* for "homeland", *duwalī*, instead of *dawlī*, becoming "international"), by the manufacture of words with affixes (*lā-nihāya* "infinite"). The press transformed the language still more profoundly with the introduction of a more clearly defined tense system (in addition to the existing concepts of perfect and imperfect aspects) by means of the intensive use of composite verbs. It made syntax more flexible through the further development of the relative clause and other grammatical forms borrowed from Arabic dialects or from foreign languages. This evolution proceeded gradually, in such a way as to circumvent the obstacle of the purists. Hypocritically, the press denounced its own "faults" in articles intitled: "Say... and do not say..." *Ḳul... wa-lā taḳul...* It continued to use flowery rhetorical figures of speech in the analysis of social and political problems, and even rhymed prose, so that the tradition and the innovation were simultaneously exposed. But the pastiche twisted the traditional formulas and clichés in such a way as to infuse them with new meaning.

Thus, progressively, the press became the principal forum of innovation. Being open to political and social essays and even to popular science, to information received from abroad as well as to serial fiction, short stories and theatrical articles, it contributed to the development of vocabularies suitable for these various manifestations of culture. It was all the more audacious in that it was edited, in most cases, by novelists, playwrights and adaptors impatient for change.

Besides the weekly official journal published from 1828 onwards under the title *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-miṣriyya* and edited by al-Ṭahṭāwī from 1842, a non-governmental press, often created by Syro-Lebanese expatriates in Egypte, developed very polemical attitudes. *Wādī 'l-Nīl* (1866) entered into a vigorous debate with *al-Djawāʾib*, which had been edited in Istanbul by Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāḳ since 1860. The weekly *Nuzhat al-afkār* (1869), was directed by Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī and ʿUthmān Djalāl, in other words by a writer-novelist and a much-respected translator.

It was most of all during the decade of the 1870s and thereafter that the organs of the press proliferated and became decisive in the liberating effort of the *Nahḍa*. The first important periodical, *al-Djinān*. edited by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, appeared from 1870 to 1886, at which date it was forced to cease publication under the censorship of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and published a considerable number of novels and short stories, many of them owed to Salīm and Saʿīd al-Bustānī. *Al-Muḳtaṭaf*, founded by Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf (1839-1912), playwright and novelist, and Fāris Nimr (1859-1951 [*q.v.*]) in Beirut in 1876, was transferred in 1884 to Cairo, where the two men founded, in 1889, the daily *al-Muḳaṭṭam*. *Al-Ahrām*, founded by Bishāra and Salīm Taḳlā, a periodical transferred from Beirut to Alexandria in 1875, became a daily newspaper in Cairo in 1882 and has continued to exist to the present day. With *Abū Naḍḍāra zarḳāʾ*, Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ launched the genre of the satirical press. Adīb Isḥāḳ founded *Miṣr* (1877) and, with Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh, *al-Tidjāra* in 1878. *Al-Hilāl*, founded in Cairo in 1892 by Djurdjī Zaydān, continues to appear today. The whole of this press was nationalist, reformist and very "literary". It disseminated the utterances of the thinkers, writers and novelists who

were bringing into being new approaches to life and thought.

(5) This period also saw the emergence of a new kind of public, which gradually proved to be the sole patron of the writers, supplying them with paying readers of the organs of the press and of edited works. This public consisted then of a majority of men, but there was also a relatively high percentage of women, who had a particular liking for romantic literature. It was for their benefit that there was a proliferation of works characterised by eponymous heroines and serialised romances that further boosted the circulation of newspapers: *Dhāt al-khiḍr* (1884) by Saʿīd al-Bustānī; *Ẓabyat al-bān* (1890) by Aḥmad al-Ṣarrāf; *Ghādat djabal Anāṣiyā* (1897) by Aḥmad Saʿīd Baghdādī; *ʿAdhrāʾ al-Hind* (1897) by Aḥmad Shawḳī; *Ghādat al-Andalus* (1899) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl; *al-Fatāt al-rīfiyya* (1905) by Maḥmūd Khayrat; *Fatāt Miṣr* (1905) by Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf; *Ḥawwāʾ al-djadīda* (1906) by Niḳūlā Ḥaddād; *ʿAdhrāʾ Dinshiwāy* (1906) by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaḳḳī.

At the turn of the 20th century there also appeared female magazine editors and novelists: Hind Nawfal founded *al-Fatāt* (1892), Maryam Mazhar, *al-Ḥasnāʾ* (1896), Alexandra Afrīnūh, *Anīs al-djālis* (1898), Labība Hāshim, *Fatāt al-Sharḳ* (1906); to these names may be added those of short story writers, essayists and novelists such as Marie Anṭūn Ḥaddād, Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif [*q.v.*] and ʿĀʾisha al-Taymūriyya.

This public could be formed at an early age, from school-days, although it must be remembered that only privileged children had access to schools. Mārūn ʿAbbūd relates (*Ruwwād*, 122) that in 1900, his teacher encouraged the pupils to read *al-Durar* by Adīb Isḥāḳ, *Kanz al-raghāʾib* by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, *Ghābat al-haḳḳ* and *Mashhad al-aḥwāl* by Francis Marrāsh [*q.v.*]. Labība Hāshim's magazine *Fatāt al-Sharḳ*, which appeared from 1906 until the eve of the Second World War, with an interval during the years of the First World War, was disseminated in girls' schools by the national education authorities of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and ʿIrāḳ.

But the *Nahḍa* bore within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Aroused by foreign ideological movements, it evolved nationalist and anti-colonialist concepts which inspired a defiant attitude towards the Western powers. The pen and politics were then often seen as mutually complementary, as in the case of Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī (1839-1904 [*q.v.*]), an eminent poet but also a nationalist minister, exiled to Ceylon for more than seventeen years (1882-1900), after ʿUrābī's insurrection and the occupation of Egypt by the British.

Beyond doubt, the *Nahḍa* had instigated a profound change in patterns of thinking. It had loosened the attachment of Arab societies to traditions reckoned inappropriate to modern civilisation and to the achievements of science and medicine. It had disseminated notions of liberty, of respect for the individual, of constitutional democracy. But the foreign source of this evolution and of these achievements remained painfully obvious, the more so as intellectuals, ideologues and political theorists proved themselves incapable of founding a coherent system, Arab or Muslim, of ideas conforming to modernity. Recourse to European concepts, in societies outraged by colonialist aggression, became increasingly intolerable. In the aftermath of the First World War, the *Nahḍa* lost one of its essential elements: it lost the hope (not so long before, still a certainty) of constructing a future combining the best features of the European present and of the Arab past. The victory of the western Allies was followed by the imposition of mandates [*q.v.*] and various colonialist arrangments. The West discovered then (and is continuing to discover) with amazement that peoples whose national dignity had been injured will turn to their cultural and religious heritage, however mediaeval and obscurantist this may be, and find there the words and the weapons to express its anger.

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(N. TOMICHE)

NAHDJ AL-BALĀGHA ("The Way of Eloquence") is an anthology of dissertations, letters, testimonials and sententious opinions, traditionally attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661 [*q.v.*]).

The authorship of this work has been an issue attended by constant and lively polemic, from the Middle Ages to the present.

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1283 [*q.v.*]) seems to have been the first to raise doubts concerning the *Nahdj*. "It is not known," he writes, "which of the two brothers, al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015 [*q.v.*]) or al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044 [*q.v.*]) put together this work. Some assume that the compiler would also be its author, but that he would have attributed it to ʿAli" (*Wafayāt*, Beirut 1968-78, iii, 313).

The majority of later writers, beginning with al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 [*q.v.*]; *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Beirut 1963, iii, 124), continuing with Ḥadjdji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657 [*q.v.*]; *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Tehran 1947, ii, 1991), and concluding with Brockelmann (I, 405, S I, 704 f.), have in their turn revived these suspicions.

Misled by the surname *al-Murtaḍā* ("the one accepted by God"), which appears on the frontispiece of the ms. of the *Nahdj* in the B.N. (no. 2423, fol. 2b), de Slane concluded that the reference could be to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. He also attributes the work to the latter (*Cat. des mss. arabes B.N.*, Paris 1895, 425; cf. Veccia Vaglieri, *Sul* Nahǧ al-balāġa *e sul suo compilatore al-Raḍī*, in *AIUON*, viii [1958], 13 f.)

However, al-Murtaḍā is a surname often used to designate ʿAlī, not only among the Shīʿīs but also among the Sunnīs (cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *ʿAlawiyyāt*, Beirut 1972, 137 and *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1962-7, xi, 120; Ibn Arabī, *La Profession de foi*, tr. R. Deladrière, Paris 1985, 209.).

Furthermore, it is stated explicitly, at the end of the ms., that this is a collection of the sayings of ʿAlī (*kitāb*

Nahdj al-balāgha min kalām... ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; B.N. fol. 351b). Also to be found here is a biographical notice devoted to al-Raḍī, in the role of compiler, followed by another relating to ʿAlī and his "marvels" (ms. B.N., fol. 1a).

The Muʿtazilī Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]) has no doubts as to the authenticity of the work. For him, in fact, it is a work of ʿAlī, compiled by al-Raḍī (*Sharḥ*, x, 128 f.). The Shīʿīs, ancient as well as modern, are unanimous in this regard. According to them, the work is of undoubted authenticity. Furthermore, all mss. of the *Nahdj*, in the East as in the West, attribute the book to ʿAlī and the compilation to al-Raḍī (for a list of the mss., see Brockelmann, I, 405, S I, 705).

It is undeniable—as has been shown by Laura Veccia Vaglieri (*op. cit.*, 1-24)—that a large portion of the *Nahdj* could indeed be attributed to ʿAlī, especially certain historical and panegyrical passages, although it is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of the more apocryphal sections. In fact, numerous authors, long before the time of al-Raḍī, had related the sermons of ʿAlī. The compiler himself specifies certain of his sources, in particular the *Djamal* of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823; *Nahdj*, iii, 149), the *Bayān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869; *op. cit.*, ii, 76) and the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *op. cit.*, iii, 243). Other collections of homilies of ʿAlī, previous to the *Nahdj*, were also compiled, such as the *Khuṭab ʿAlī* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 96; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1961, 37), the *Khuṭab ʿAlī wa-kutubuh ilā ʿummālih* by al-Madāʾinī (d. 255/840; Ibn al-Nadīm, *op. cit.*, 27; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, Cairo 1928, v, 315), etc. (cf. Ḥusaynī, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Nadjaf 1968, i, 48-92).

Moreover, it has been possible to identify a considerable number of passages, accompanied by complete *isnāds* dating back to the time of ʿAlī. These texts have been recounted by ancient scholars of repute such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Masʿūdī, al-Djāḥiẓ and many others (cf. Djebli, *Encore à propos de l'authenticité du Nahdj al-balāgha*, in *SI*, lxxv (1992), 33-56.

As for the compilation of this book, it is most likely the work of al-Raḍī. In three of his works, the latter refers to the *Nahdj*: *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taʾwīl* (Nadjaf, undated, v, 167), *al-Madjāzāt al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1971, 59, 140, 171) and *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-aʾimma* (Nadjaf 1949, 87). On the other hand, the compiler evokes, in the *Nahdj*, these latter two writings (i, 254, and ii, 263, respectively).

Whatever the case may be, the *Nahdj al-balāgha* is one of the great masterpieces of Arabic literature. Through the centuries, it has gained considerable admiration.

As its title reliably indicates and in accordance with the aspiration of its compiler, this book asserts the "joys of the Arabic language" (*Nahdj*, i, 2). The powerful assonance of its prose, its sometimes studied rhetoric, its remarkable eloquence, its gripping images, its sober, unpolished and relatively obscure mode of expression, Bedouin wisdom and sensibility blended with Islamic delicacy and vision—all of these constitute the literary worth of the *Nahdj*. This is supplemented by further values, moral and social. In fact, this book has a tireless appeal, full of fervour and sincerity, on behalf of faith in God and in His Prophet, of piety, of integrity, of justice and of rising above the vanities of this world.

Since its first appearance, the *Nahdj* has been the object of a considerable corpus of commentaries, translations and studies, some 210 titles, according to Ḥ. al-ʿĀmilī in his *Shurūḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1983. The *Nahdj al-balāgha* has been edited on numerous occasions with, in particular, the annotations of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Beirut 1885, Cairo 1903, 1910, and of al-Marṣafī, 1925. Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ has published it recently, with a glossary and a wide-ranging index (pp. 560-853), Beirut 1983.

Translations are numerous, particularly in Persian, such as the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* of ʿA. Fayḍ al-Islām (bilingual ed., 2 vols., Tehran 1947; cf. Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, i, 315-66), in English, including that of ʿA. Razā, *Nahdj al-balāgha: selection from sermons, letters and sayings of ʿAli*, Tehran 1980, and in French, in a partial bilingual edition, *La Voie de l'éloquence*, by ʿA. Abu 'l-Nadjā and others, published Beirut 1986.

Among the commentaries, that of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd remains the most important. With its eight volumes, this monumental book is a truly encyclopaedic work, a literary as well as a scholarly achievement (for the other commentaries, see Brockelmann; Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, 247-314; Ḥ. al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, 35-106.)

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(M. DJEBLI)

AL-**NAḤḤĀS**, MUṢṬAFĀ (1879-1965), Egyptian statesman. Of peasant background, he studied law at Cairo University after which he went into practice. For several years he sat as a judge but he was quickly drawn into politics, particularly during the growing anti-British agitation in Egypt in 1919. He became Saʿd Zaghlūl's [*q.v.*] first lieutenant in the newly formed Wafd party and went with him into his second term of exile in the Seychelles. He was elected member of Parliament in 1924 on his return and took over leadership of the Wafd when Zaghlūl died in 1927. From then on he was at the centre of Egyptian politics, often in office, fighting a relentless battle against the British presence. He also led a constant struggle for influence against King Fārūḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the other Egyptian politicians.

As leader of the Wafd he had certain advantages—he claimed that the Wafd was the Egyptian people—

and in free elections he usually gained a large majority. In 1936 he led the party to victory, formed a government and headed the all-party delegation which negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian treaty which gave the country nominal independence. In 1937 disputes between himself and Fārūḳ led to his dismissal and the Wafd was beaten in rigged elections in 1938. The previous year, Naḥḥās had been shot and wounded by the Royalist greenshirts, a fascist-type organisation.

During the Second World War, the British authorities became worried by the increasingly pro-Axis attitudes of the Egyptian government, when the British ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson, made his famous démarche in February 1942 forcing Fārūḳ to dismiss the government and appoint Naḥḥās prime minister. This by no means meant that Naḥḥās was pro-British, but he stood firm during the advance of Rommel towards Alexandria. The reputation of the Wafd was somewhat in decline, however, being seen as having been put in power by the British, accused of corruption and inefficiency and suffering from the autocratic methods of Naḥḥās and the baleful influence of his wife. As long as Lampson was there he was safe, but during his absence abroad Fārūḳ took the opportunity to dismiss Naḥḥās in October 1944.

He moved into opposition with a virulent anti-British campaign which Fārūḳ did nothing to hinder. In the elections of January 1950, the Wafd was once again returned to power and Naḥḥās immediately demanded the withdrawal of the British and the unification of Egypt and the Sudan. As he made no progress in negotiations, he unilaterally abrogated the 1936 Treaty and declared a state of emergency. A period of great tension with Britain ensued, culminating in the burning of Cairo on Black Saturday in January 1952. Naḥḥās proclaimed martial law and appointed himself military governor. The next day Fārūḳ yet again dismissed the Wafd.

Naḥḥās was in Europe when the Free Officers executed their coup in July 1952. He flew back in the belief that the Wafd was to be restored to power. It was too late. The time for cooperation between the ageing, rather discredited politician and the dynamic young officers was past. The Wafd was compelled to dismiss him from its leadership and his wife was tried on charges of corruption, was heavily fined and her property confiscated. Naḥḥās was deprived of his civil and political rights until 1960.

He took no further part in Egyptian political life. If the Wafd was the people, Naḥḥās as its leader was to a certain extent the embodiment of the leadership of the people. He was the natural leader of the majority, the majority which the Wafd considered its inherited right. He was a popular figure in Egypt, valued for his contributions to the struggle for independence, and his funeral in 1965 was the occasion for a large, sympathetic demonstration.

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(D. HOPWOOD)

NAḤĪFĪ, SÜLEYMĀN, an Ottoman poet and translator who lived in Istanbul in the second half of the 11th/17th and first half of the 12th/18th centuries. After having learned the art of calligraphy from the distinguished penman Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān (d. 1111/1699-1700; cf. *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 421-2), he became a junior clerk at a public office (sc. the *yeñi-čeri ḳalemi*). In 1109/1697 he went to Persia as secretary in the suite of the ambassador Meḥmed Pasha (cf. *SʿO*, iv, 210, and F.R. Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri*, Ankara 1968, 11, 18, 241). After his return he became the head clerk (*dīwān efendisi*) of Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [see ʿALĪ PASHA, DĀMĀD]. In 1131/1719 he went to Vienna in the suite of the ambassador Ibrāhīm Pasha (cf. *SʿO*, i, 120; Unat, *op. cit.*, 52-3), and upon his return was rewarded for his services with the appointment to head an office of revenue accountancy (sc. the *bash-muḳāṭaʿadjīlīk*). Finally, in Djumādā II 1138/beg. 4 February 1726, he was granted one of the highest positions in the Treasury (*defterdār-ī shiḳḳ-ī thānī*). He died in 1151/1739-9 (as the chronogram on his tombstone is reported to attest: *Bu Süleymān Naḥīfī rūḥīna el-Fātiḥa*) and was buried outside Ṭopḳapî in Istanbul.

Naḥīfī made a name for himself both as a translator and a poet. His Turkish *Dīwān* contains mainly *ghazels* in the so-called *ʿāshiḳāne* style which captivate through their affectionate tone. In addition to this *Dīwān*, he composed a series of *naʿts* on Muḥammad bearing the title *Ḥilyet el-enwār* as well as poems about the Prophet's birth (*mawlid*), the *hidjra* and the miraculous journey (*miʿrādj*). Also well-known is a *takhmīs* in Arabic, Persian and Turkish on the celebrated Arabic poem by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* (which came to bear the name *al-Burda*); this *takhmīs* was printed in Istanbul in 1297 under the title *Takhmīs-i Ḳaṣīde-yi Bürde*. Other *takhmīs* of his are on the Arabic *ḳaṣīda* called *Bānat Suʿād* by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*] (which also came to be known by the name *al-Burda*) and on three Persian *naʿts* by Djāmī [*q.v.*]. The work on which his reputation is mainly based, however, is his masterly translation in verse form of the *Methnewī of* Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. This is a literal rendering in which he preserved the form and metre of the original. It was printed in 1268 in Būlāḳ and in 1962 in Istanbul.

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(E.G. AMBROS)

AL-**NAHĪKĪ**, a *nisba* referring to a number of scholars of the Al Nahīk in al-Kūfa. The best known is ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, a member of the extremist Muḥammadiyya [*q.v.*] sect. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who was al-Muʿtaḍid's vizier between 279/892 and 288/901, appointed him, in recognition of past services, to the influential post of *ʿāmil* (director of taxes) of the Bādūrayā [*q.v.*] district south-west of Baghdād. Two years later he was dismissed after being accused by the Banu 'l-Furāt of embezzlement (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, viii, Damascus 1348/1930, 16-18; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 76-7). Both he and another member of the Muḥammadiyya, al-Fayyāḍ b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fayyāḍ (executed under al-Muʿtaḍid, *r.* 279-89/892-902), wrote works refuting the *K. al-Ṣirāṭ* of Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī al-Aḥmar al-Kūfī (d. 286/899) of the ʿAlyāʾiyya (or ʿAyniyya) sect. Al-Fayyāḍ's work is entitled *al-Ḳisṭās*; the title of al-Nahīkī's work is not recorded (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, ii, 258, § 1135; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī 'l-*

milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal, ed. M.I. Nuṣayr and ʿA. ʿUmayra, Beirut 1405/1985, v, 47; for "al-B-h-n-kī" read "al-Nahīkī"). Neither text is extant.

Two other members of the family are : (1) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿUbayd Allāh (or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Aḥmad b. Nahīk al-Nakhaʿī (*fl.* mid-3rd/9th century), who is credited with a *K. al-Nawādir* (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Zandjānī, Ḳumm 1407, 232 no. 615; cf. al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Beirut 1403/1983, 133 no. 448; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamā'*, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 75 no. 501) and who transmitted many uṣūl works to Ḥumayd b. Ziyād (d. 310/922-3) (al-Ṭūsī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 480; cf. Kohlberg, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 133-4). Al-Nahīkī is apparently to be distinguished from his namesake, the Imāmī Shīʿī scholar of Kūfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, whom al-Nadjāshī regards as trustworthy (*thiḳa*) (*Ridjāl*, 225 no. 605) and who appears in the *isnād* of some traditions in al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī*. (2) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Daḥmān (or Duḥām), who was suspected of extremist tendencies (al-Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Ḳumm 1403, i, 446).

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(E. Kohlberg)

NĀḤIYE (A. *nāḥiya* "district, vicinity"), an administrative term of the Ottoman empire. It is found as a general term for the subdivisions of a *wilāyet* or province as early as the 9th/15th century, but only later becomes a specific term for the rural subdivision of a *ḳaḍā'* [*q.v.*] or *ḳażā*; this latter term may be compared with the French *arrondissement* and is governed by a *ḳā'im-maḳām* [*q.v.*], while the *nāḥiye* is under a *mudīr*. This official, who used to be appointed by the *wālī*, the governor of the province, received his instructions from the *ḳā'im-maḳām*, to whom he was subordinate. The subdivisions of the *nāḥiye* are called *ḳarye*, i.e. village. Usage of the term has carried on into the Turkish Republic with the *nāḥiye* as a subdivision of the *ilçe* or district.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892-5, i, p. v; *İA*, art. *Nâhiye* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin). (F. Babinger*)

NAḤL (A.), a singular noun with the value of a collective (sing. *naḥla*) designating domestic or social bees (apid family) (Pers. *naḥl*, Turk. *arı*, Kabyle *thizizwa*, Tamahaḳ *ehenkeker en turawet*, pl. *ihenkukar*) with the species *Apis mellifera/mellifica* in Europe and North Africa and *Apis fasciata* in Egypt and the Near East.

One cannot trace here the primordial economic role that, thanks to honey, bees have played in man's nutrition since prehistoric times. The sedentary populations of the mountainous and wooded zones of the Mediterranean rim, following the example of the Greeks, very soon domesticated the bee and organised bee-keeping (*niḥāla, tarbiyat al-naḥl*, Turk. *arıcılık*) quickly took its place among agricultural activities, successfully taking over from the hazardous collection of wild honey.

With Islam, the bee's beneficial nature for humanity was clearly described in sūra XVI of the Ḳur'ān entitled precisely *al-Naḥl* "the Bees" and in which it is stated (verses 68-9): "Your Lord has revealed to the bees: Establish your dwellings in the mountains, in the trees and in the places built by men, then eat all the fruits. Follow meekly in that way the paths of your Lord./From the bodies of the bees comes forth a drink of various hues which is a healing for men". The Prophet Muḥammad confirmed this divine protection on several occasions; according to one of his *ḥadīths*, "Every fly is destined for hellfire, except the bee". He said further, "Among the small creatures, there are four that should not be killed: the ant (*namla*), the bee (*naḥla*), the shrike (*ṣurad*) and the hoopoe (*hudhud*)". Finally, speaking of honey, he declared, "For you [Muslims] there are two remedies: the Ḳur'ān and honey". Besides, among the paradisial delicacies reserved for the elect are promised "Rivers of purified honey (*anhār min ʿasal muṣaffā*)", XLVII, 15). Several other maxims of the Prophet give the bee as a model to follow for every Muslim, as much in his private life as in the heart of the community; after the fashion of the industrious insect, all his acts will aspire to the good and the beautiful and reject the bad and the ugly. The physiological process of making honey (*al-ary*) in the body of the bee staying unexplained among the scholars of Antiquity, the Muslims saw in it a clear sign of divine intervention beyond human comprehension.

On the scientific level, it must be noted that the Arabic-speaking naturalists who spoke of the bees, such as al-Djāḥiẓ (3rd/9th century), al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) merely reproduced what had been said by Aristotle (*History of animals*, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 341-9, ii, 655-73) and then the poet Virgil (*Georgics*, Book iv) and Pliny the Elder (*Historia naturalis*, Book ix), and they add nothing new. Despite this, we find, in the 4th/10th century, an excellent synthesis of all that was known until then about bees in one of the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' [*q.v.*] in which (*Rasā'il*, Beirut 1957, ii, 201 f.) the representative of the bee race makes a vibrant indictment of man who, in every age, has exploited for his own profit the hard work of his fellow bees. Later, it is the authors of treatises on agronomy who, in applied zoology, deal with bee-keeping and, more especially, the Hispano-Arab agronomists such as Ibn Baṣṣāl of Toledo (5th/11th century) and Ibn al-ʿAwwām of Seville (7th/13th century) [see filāḥa. ii. Muslim West]. Finally, some practical information was supplied by the "calendars" on times for different operations which are necessary in the practice of bee-keeping, such as the *Calendar of Cordova* (text and Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, Leiden 1961) and the *Cinq calendriers égyptiens* (text and Fr. tr. Pellat, Cairo 1986).

The internal life of the hive (*khaliyya, ʿassāla, kiwāra, shūra, mishwāra, mushtār*, Maghrib *djabḥ, djabḥa*, Syria *manḥala*, Kabyle *thighrasin*, Turk. *arı kovanı*) was quite well observed after Aristotle, and the three social categories comprising a community of bees were already recognised. This community formed from a swarm (*dabr, thawl, ḥizḳ, khashram*, Maghrib *farḳ, sirb*) is grouped around the "chief" (*yaʿsūb, amīr, malik*, Kabyle *agellid*, Pers. *pādishāh*, Turk. *kıral*) who reigns

as sovereign and who, in fact, is the queen; but it was not until the 17th century that the two naturalists, the Dutchman Swammerdam (1635-85) and the Frenchman R. Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757) discovered that this monarch is a female and that she is the only one who lays the eggs in the cells of the honeycomb after having been fertilised outside by the males. Until then, no-one had discovered the exact origin of the seed (*bazr, bizr*) which gives birth to the larvae of the broodcomb (*raṣaʿ, dudjā, daysam*); it was most often attributed to the class of workers (*ʿassālāt, ʿāmilāt*) who constitute almost the whole population of the hive and who, alone, ensure its subsistence by producing the bee-glue (*ʿikbir, khatm, dundj*), wax (*shamʿ*, Pers. *mūm*, Turk. *balmumu*) and honey (*ʿasal* pl. *aʿsāl, ʿusūl, ʿusul, ʿuslān; miḥrān*; Turk. *bal*, Tamahak, *turawet*). The third category of bees, in the hive, is that of the drones (*yamkhūr*, pl. *yamākhīr*, Kabyle *agaïmru*, pl. *igwirma*, Turk. *eşek arısı*), males who are useful only for the fertilisation of a new young queen at the time of her exodus with her first swarm (*daysam, lūth, riḍʿ, ṭard*) to found a new hive; as soon as their unique function as sires is completed, they are inexorably rejected and suppressed by the workers.

Since the distant time when man had the idea of setting up hives for bees, relieving them of their concern to search for a precarious natural refuge, bee-keeping remained "fixist", that is to say, the honeycombs were welded to the wall of the dwelling. It was only in 1780 A.D. that the Swiss F. Huber imagined the "moving section" (*naḥīta*, pl. *nuḥut*), thus initiating the modern apiarist technique known as "mobilist". The primitive hive, generally cylindrical in shape, could at first be made out of bark of cork-oak (the French term *ruche* "hive" coming from the Low Latin *rusca* "stripped of bark") or clay applied to a framework of wood or wickerwork; it could also be a large earthenware jar with a lid, or a hut of plaited straw, or, finally, as in Persia, a large whitewashed calabash outside a protective plastered wall. Whatever the model of hive used, the harvesting of the honey (*shawr, shiyār, taʿsīl*), after fumigating (*awm, ayām, djalāʾ, djalwa*) the interior by burning dry grasses or dung to neutralise the occupants, could only be done by smashing the "cake" (*shahd, kurṣ, hiff*) to detach it from the walls; the honey spread on them was recovered with the aid of wooden scrapers (*mashwar, mishwār, miḥbaḍ, miḥdjān, minzaʿa*) of different kinds. The modern hive in storeys (*kafīr*, pl. *kufrān*) with its moving sections, has greatly facilitated this operation; likewise, the fluting (*damgh*) in sheets of the wax forming the bases of the honeycombs, invented in 1857 by J. Mehring, further adds to the simplicity of the handling and considerably reduces the flow of honey. The architecture of the wax comb has never ceased to arouse admiration; the geometry of the assemblage of alveoles or cells (*nukhrūb*, pl. *nakhārīb, thukba*, pl. *thukab*) in hexagonal section in which the eggs (*ʿamiyy*) of the broodcomb are enclosed and the young bees (*abkār*) develop, appears as a work of genius in the eyes of architects, for it does not leave the least interstice or space unoccupied, and the Arab authors see in this also divine inspiration.

In every land and at every time of the year, the beekeeper (*ʿāsil, ʿassāl, naḥḥāl, murabbī 'l-naḥl*, Maghrib *djabbāḥ*) has always had to struggle against the many parasites and enemies of the bees, both within the hive and outside it. On the inside, he has to eliminate the intruders attracted by the honey: ants, mice, field-mice, shrews and, in particular, the death's-head moth (*Acherontia atropos*; *ṣaml al-simsim, abu 'l-hawl al-asmar*). The parasites of the larvae are formidable, including the meloe (*Meloe variegatus*) and its carnivorous larva or triongulin (*muḥrika, milwad*) and the bee louse (*Braula coeca; dimmat al-naḥl*). The wax is also attacked by the wax moth (*Galleria grisella; ṣaml al-naḥl al-ṣaghīr, nāriyyat al-shamʿ al-ṣaghīra*) and the wax mite (*Galleria cerella; ṣaml al-naḥl al-kabīr, nāriyyat al-shamʿ al-kabīra*). However, the larvae of the clarion (*Clerus apiarius; būk al-naḥl*) were for a long time wrongly considered to be parasites of the hives. Early methods of combatting parasites amounted to fumigation with sulphur and sprinkling with salt. As for the exterior enemies of the bee, they are firstly certain wasps and, notably, the bee eater hornet (*Philantus apivorus; dabr al-naḥl, ilk al-naḥl*) which kills the bees to feed its larvae. The danger is even greater with certain insectivorous birds such as the bee eaters (*Merops apiaster* and *M. superciliosus, M. orientalis; warwār, khudḍār, khuḍayrāʾ*, Maghrib *yāmūn*), woodpeckers (*Picus viridis, P. syriacus; nakkār, karrāʿ, nākūba*, Maghrib *tabbīb, nakkāb, bū kabbūs*) who, with their sharp beaks, do not hesitate to perforate the hives; and, especially, the terribly rapacious honey buzzard (*Pernis apivorus; ḥawwām al-naḥl*, Maghrib *bghəl al-summān*) who, as its name indicates, feeds solely on bees and wasps. Against these winged predators nothing can be done except to surround the hives with protective trellises.

As honey is made from different gathered nectars and as some time passes between its production and its collection, it may appear in several colours and various consistencies. On its formation, it is very runny (*wadīs*) and smooth-flowing (*saʿābīb*), and this is the new honey (*ṭirm, ṭārim, ṭarim*); then it congeals and hardens (*ḥamīt, djals*). In the combs of a hive, it stays fluid (*dhawb, shuhd*), whereas wild honey (*ʿasal al-barr, ḍarab, ḍaraba*), exposed to the air, becomes thick and white by natural alteration (*iḍṭirāb*). In the lands of Islam, among the most-appreciated honeys were the one called *balla* taken from the flowers of the honey mimosa (*Acacia mellifera; sanṭ ʿasalī, ẓubba*, Yemen *samur*) and the one called *ʿaraba* plundered from the wild lavender (*Lavandula vera; khazam, khuzāma*). From Morocco to India, each region favourable for bee-keeping had its famous honey, traded locally and exported. The Moroccan Sous also produced the excellent *maṭānī* (see E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 179) rivalling the honeys of Kabylia, Egypt and Persia. Besides, the geographer al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century [*q.v.*]) notes the commercial activity in honey and wax from Fās, Tahert, Algiers, Constantine, Djidjelli, Mostaganem and Bône. He also mentions the important apiarist work of the rural populations of the region of Barḳa and the mountains of Cyrenaica, whose honey used to go directly to the market in Alexandria. In Egypt, furthermore, Cairo used to receive, at the beginning of summer and by river, the honey of Ḳūṣ and Lower Egypt; the Egyptian beekeepers each year were able to carry out a removal of the hives, by boats, to areas where selected plants were the most abundant. The Egyptians used to consume large quantities of honey; it was, with dry raisins (*zabīb*), a principal element in the drink called *shamsī* of which they were very fond (al-Maḳrīzī-Bouriant, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 125) as well as in another alcoholic drink, *bitʿ*, a mixture of honey and wine. In the 4th/10th century, at the court of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh (366-86/976-96), the annual consumption of honey was five *kinṭār*s (about 225 kg) (see Rodinson, *Cuisine*, 152). In the same period, the geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī reports (tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé*, 82) that the Egyptians "gain glory from their mead (*sharāb al-ʿasal*) which is preferred in their land to the wine of Babylon on account of its sweetness, its perfume and its heady

power". Later (85-6), he adds: "The Egyptians say, It is in our country that there are the most slaves, honey in combs, sugar and candy and money... They also say, We have wax, honey and ostrich feathers". Within the Near East, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Arabia equalled the Mediterranean countries in honey production, but, like that of Cairo, the scale of consumption of the large towns and capitals, Baghdād and Damascus, necessitated additional imports from Persia, with its famed honey from Iṣfahān, whether in combs with the wax, or virgin and pure (see Ch. Pellat, *Tabaṣṣur*, 160) or in an extracted dry form (*khushkandjubīn*). It is known, moreover, that in Persia, in the 7th/13th century, the tax on beekeepers was paid in kind, in the form of so many thousands of litres (see A. Mazaheri, *Vie quotidienne*, 250-1), which shows production at a very high level.

The role of wax as fuel for lamps was not inferior to that of honey for feeding the Muslim populations, and one only has to recall the etymology of the French *bougie*, a corruption of the name of the Algerian port of Bidjāya [*q.v.*] which, in the Middle Ages, was one of the principal centres in the Maghrib for commercial relations with the Christian countries; wax there constituted one of the main products for export from the end of the 7th/13th century, an age in which the wax candle replaced the smoky and nauseating tallow candle. In the 12th/18th century, the English archaeologist-traveller Thomas Shaw mentioned (*Voyages*, i, 112) with regard to "Boujeiah"/ Bidjāya/Bougie: "The Kabyles also bring there on every market day a large quantity of oil and wax, which is transported to Europe and the Levant". On Bona/Bône (now al-ʿAnnāba [*q.v.*]) he also remarks (119): "...there is sent out from Bona by sea a large quantity of corn, wool, leather and wax". Finally, he mentions (122), on this wax trade, the bank of the "Compagnie des Français en Afrique" established in La Calle and exporting to France and Italy. The need in Christendom for wax resulted especially from the high consumption of candles by chapels, churches and cathedrals, as much for lighting as for the rites and ceremonies of the cult. This wax market began, in the 13th/19th century, to experience some decline after the discovery, by Chevreul, in 1811, of stearic acid which, in the commercial form of stearin, replaced the bees' produce for candles and tapers. While passing through Judaea, Shaw noted there (*Voyages*, ii, 61) the abundance of wild honey which, he laments, was at that time no longer collected, the agricultural countryside being completely abandoned.

The extraction of the wax was carried out, as at present, according to the process of liquefaction with boiling water and pressing. But before obtaining the wax, it was necessary to purify (*taṣfiya*) the honey extracted from the combs by filtering (*tarshīḥ*) through cloths to rid it of its dross of debris (*djathth*), its scum (*khirshāʾ*) and dead bees (*maḥārīn*), so as to obtain a perfectly virgin honey (*mādhī*) which was preserved in water-skins of different capacities (*misʾab, badīʿ, ḥamīt, ḥumt*, Tamaḥaḳ *akerebreb*) to facilitate its transport. The prudent beekeeper only took a third of the honey from the hive, the rest being the nourishment necessary (*kuwwāra, ās, wathan*) for the occupants until the following season. The treatment of the harvested combs, firstly those empty of honey (*makhārib*), was clearly the same as that of olives for the extraction of oil. Pressing with a screw (*miʿṣara, miʿṣār*) worked by hand was the most widespread in the countryside and, notably, in Kabylia (see A. Hanoteau, *La Kabylie*, i, 535-7). The combs emptied of honey are packed tight in pressing bags (*talālīs*, Kabyle *tisnatin*) of horsehair or alfalfa, then put in boiling water and pressed; the liquefied wax ran into the pots serving as moulds to form, on becoming cold, loaves ready for sale. The whitening of the wax by grailing was not practised.

We are not able to enumerate all the pastries, side-dishes and sweets in which honey formed an essential ingredient, each land of Islam having its own specialities. It was the main sugary substance along with dates, for sugar cane (*ḳaṣab hindī, ḳaṣab al-sukkar*) was only cultivated in the delta regions of the Euphrates and Nile, and sugar from beet (*shamandar, shawandar, bandjar, ṣawṭala*, Maghrib *lift ṣūrī, lift ḥalū*) was not made until the beginning of the 13th/19th century. A very early Arab foodstuff was *talbīna*, a mixture of honey and flour or bran and which, according to a *ḥadīth* reported by ʿĀʾisha, was "a tranquilliser (*madjamma*) for the sick". It is certain that honey possesses many specific virtues, and ancient Greek and then Arab therapeutics recognised almost all of them. Al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, ii, 348) cites some of them for us, the majority of which are recognised by modern medicine. In the words of the Ancients, honey, a hot and dry element, is diuretic and laxative; it is a powerful tonic, an effective antidote against poison and rabies and an excellent preserver of perishable goods, meats and fruits, when they are brushed with it. Mixed with musk, it is a beneficial eye-lotion to cure cataract and other eye infections and, made into a salve, it gets rid of nits and lice. Finally, massaging with wax or chewing it helps to relieve worries and anxieties. Nowadays, medical authorities recognise in honey its richness in dietetic elements, its beneficial action in cardiac equilibrium, its hepato-protective and sedative role, its antiseptic properties and its effectiveness in increasing the rate of haemoglobin of the blood. The same authorities conclude that the regular use of honey is a ticket to health and that it should be made part of the daily diet of sportsmen. We may thus conclude that the Ḳurʾānic statement "From the bodies of the bees comes forth a drink of various hues which is a healing for men" is amply confirmed.

In the literary field, bees and honey have not attracted much attention from Arab poets; they have not, on this theme, equalled the lyricism in Latin of a Virgil (*Georgics*, Book iv, 565 ff.) or a Columella (*De re rustica*). Before Islam, it is in the works of the two famous "vagabond" poets (*ṣuʿlūk*, pl. *ṣaʿālīk*), al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*] and Taʾabbaṭa Sharrᵃⁿ [*q.v.*], that we find mention of the gathering of wild honey. The former evokes, in his *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* (verse 30), a familiar scene of his wandering life spent close to nature, that of the gatherer of honey (*muʿassil*) from the wild swarm. The second poet did not hesitate to go to plunder the honey in a grotto of the territory of the Banū Hudhayl, his enemies; he narrowly missed becoming a victim, for the Hudhalīs, taking him by surprise, barred the entrance of the grotto to him, but he managed to escape from them through a crack in the rock in which he emptied his honey, letting himself slide on it with his waterskin. He boasted of this enterprise in ten verses (see *Madjānī ḥadītha*, i, 16). In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Hudhalī poet Abū Dhuʾayb [*q.v.*] composed two fine poems on the subject of wild bees and the collection of their honey, a familiar occupation of the people of his tribe. Thereafter, we must wait until the 4th/10th century when the Andalusian Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035 [*q.v.*]) assigns five verses to the plunder-seeking bee (*Dīwān*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1963, 141), while Kushādjim (d. after 350/962 [*q.v.*]) describes in six verses a candle given to him as a present (*Dīwān*,

Baghdād 1970, 235). The wax candles of the court of the Artuḳid prince of Mārdīn, al-Manṣūr Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī (693-712/1294-1312), excited the admiration of the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677-752/1277-1351 [*q.v.*]), who composed about thirty verses on them in which he uses fifteen images to define them (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1962, 273-6). In the 7th/13th century, we find, in rhymed prose, an apology for the bee and wax (*ishārat al-naḥl, ishārat al-shamʿ*) in the *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ḥikam al-ṭuyūr wa 'l-azhār* of ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī [*q.v.*] (see *Madjānī 'l-adab*, Beirut 1886, iv, 136-8). In current usage, the bee has only been made the subject of two proverbial metaphors; owing to its remarkable sense of direction, it has been said *ahdā min naḥla* "a better guide than a bee", and its untiring activity in going and coming has led it to be compared to the traveller exhausted by long journeys who returns *anḥal min naḥla* "thinner than a bee". Finally, the contradiction, in an individual, between his words and deeds has been stigmatised in this image: *kalām ka 'l-ʿasal wa-fiʿl ka 'l-asal* "language [sweet] as honey and action [violent] as the point of a pike".

In botany, bees and honey are evoked in ten Arab names of plants, some useful for the hive, some dangerous for its occupants. We find: (a) *al-thawl* "swarm" for the yellow wood sorrel (*Oxalis corniculata*); (b) *al-naḥlī* "pertaining to bees" for the moon trefoil (*Medicago arborea*) which is sown intentionally in the vicinity of hives; (c) *zahr al-ʿasal* for the honey flower (*Melianthus major*); (d) *turbat al-ʿasal* or *turāb al-ʿasal* "honey ground" for the mangosteen tree (*Garcinia mangostana*); (e) *ḥāfiẓ al-naḥl* "guardian of the bees" for the euphorbium gum thistle (*Euphorbia resinifera = E. officinarum*); (f) *ḳātil al-naḥl* "bee-killer" and *maḳābir al-naḥl* "cemeteries of the bees" for the water lily (*Nymphaea coerulea*) whose flower, on closing, imprisons the bees who plunder there; (g) the same name "bee-killer" is also given to the summer savory (*Satureia hortensis*); (h) *al-ʿasal* "honey" for the esel wood (*Cadaba farinosa*); (i) the same name "honey" is also given to the African salsola (*Suaeda monoica*); (j) *ʿasal al-naḥl* "honey of the bees" for the lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*); and (k) in the Maghrib, *al-ʿassāliyya* "honey-bearer" is the name of the giant fennel (*Ferula communis*).

Derived from *ʿasal*, the adjective *ʿasalī* describes the yellow shade "honey colour"; similarly, the adjective *naḥlī* taken from *naḥl* designates a dark brown "bee colour". In mediaeval falconry, in Egypt, the name *saḳāwā naḥlī*, bee-coloured lanner falcon, was applied to two neighbouring Mediterranean species, Eleonora's falcon (*Falco eleonorae*) and the sooty falcon (*Falco concolor*), both having a very dark brown coat.

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(F. VIRÉ)

NAHR (A.), pls. *anhār, anhur*, etc., running water, hence a perennial watercourse, river, stream of any size (thus opposed to a *wādī*, a watercourse filled only at certain times of the year or a *sayl*, periodic torrent).

1. In the Middle East. Al-Masʿūdi lays down that "all running water is a *nahr*, the place where water flows out is a spring (*ʿayn*); and the place where a great amount of water is found is a *baḥr*" (*Murūdj*, i, 281 = §304). In fact, the latter term [*q.v.*], or its equivalent borrowed from the Hebrew, *yamm*, was accordingly applied not only to the seas and oceans but also, uniquely, because of its outstanding size, to the Nile [see NĪL] (al-Masʿudī, *op. cit.*, ii, 360 = §1777). In addition to being applied to natural running waters (e.g. the Nahr al-Sind, Nahr Balkh, Nahr al-Urdunn, etc.), *nahr* could be used for artificially-contrived running watercourses, i.e. canals and navigations, this usage being especially frequent in low-lying, extensively-irrigated Mesopotamia (e.g. Nahr al-Ubulla, Nahr Ṣarāt, Nahr ʿĪsā, in the last instance named after the constructor of the canal, the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, uncle of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr).

Nhr appears in all the Semitic languages, including Akkadian (*nāru*), Ugaritic and Epigraphic South Arabian (*ʾnhr* "irrigation channel", Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic dictionary*, 94), with the exception of the Ethiopic ones. Fraenkel surmised that *nahr* first came into Arabic when the Bedouins of riverless Arabia came into contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia and their rivers and canals (*Aram. Fremdwörter*, 285).

It is, of course, a frequent term in the Ḳurʾān, running waters, streams and fountains being features of Paradise (see, e.g., II, 23/25, III, 13/15 *et passim*), no doubt forming a pleasing vision for the first Muslims, whose background was that of the parched Arabian peninsula, where the few running waters and springs were precious sources of rest and refreshment for men and their herds.

Bibliography: See A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, iii, Paris-The Hague 1980, 113 ff. See also for water in general, its legal aspects and its role in irrigation, MĀʾ; for subterranean irrigation channels, ḲANĀT; for navigation on rivers, MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA; and for water-raising devices on rivers and canals, NĀʿŪRA and SĀḲIYA.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Muslim India.

Canals were certainly known in India before Muslim times, but there was a great extension of their use in the early Dihlī sultanate, certainly under Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ and his son Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (some details in the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ms. Bankipore, 159-61). The canal systems were greatly expanded under Fīrūz Shāh of the Tughluḳ dynasty, the best known man-made example

being his west Djamnā canal (later re-excavated and re-aligned under Shāhdjahān); "man-made" is used here because former river-beds, cleared of silt, which might fill up during the annual rains, were in use as natural canals. The man-made canals were of two classes, "perennial" and "inundation", the former drawing off water from a river at about low-water level, sometimes with the help of a weir (although this may reduce the water-supply lower downstream); inundation canals take water from rivers at a level considerably higher than the normal low-water level, and consequently provide water only in the ice-melt and flood seasons, say from May to September.

The essential purpose of the canals was for irrigation (few are navigable to any great extent), the intention of which was to bring larger areas under cultivation and thereby engender more revenue to the state; private construction of canals was therefore encouraged, and jurists decreed that the constructor was entitled to *ḥaḳḳ-i shirb* as 10% of the gross produce; if the canal had been constructed by the state on the sultan's behalf, then the sultan's *ḥaḳḳ-i shirb* went into his own privy purse. Shams al-Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., 129-30, gives details of these rulings, which have been ably interpreted by I.H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehli*[4], Karachi 1958, Appx. G. The development of agriculture by irrigation and other means was regarded as so important by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ that he brought it under a special ministry, the *dīwān-i amīr-i kūhī* (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., *passim*, see Index.

Other important canals constructed in the days of Muslim rule were the east Djamnā canal of the early 12th/18th century, Fīrūz Shāh's Satladj canal, the Mughal inundation-canals taken from the upper Ravī, the Khānwā in the Indus delta, and many more. The original works are now hard to trace, since they have been incorporated in a vast extension of canal resources made in British times. A comprehensive account of these works is in *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], iii, 326-54; see also O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*, London 1954, 204-8, 465-77. ʿAlī Mardān Khān's canal, which took water for the Red Fort at Dihlī, tapped the Djamnā some 100 km/60 miles upstream (see MĀʾ. 12).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see W.E. Baker, *Memoranda on the western Jumna canal* ..., London 1849.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-**NAHR** [see NUDJŪM].

NAHR AL-**ʿĀṢĪ** [see AL-ʿĀṢĪ].

NAHR AL-**MALIK** [see DIDJLA].

NAHR ABĪ FUṬRUS, the name used by the mediaeval Muslim writers for the modern river Yarkon which runs into the Mediterranean through Tel Aviv about 5 km. to the north of Jaffa. In the Bible it is called *Me Yarkon*, probably "the Green Waters" (Joshua, xix. 46). In the later Middle Ages and in modern times, the river assumes a new Arabic name, that of Nahr al-ʿAwdjāʾ, "the Crooked River". The Crusaders called it "La Grand Rivière" (G.A. Smith, *The historical geography of the Holy Land*[4], London 1897, 116 n. 6).

The name Abū Fuṭrus is the Arabic corruption of Antipatris, the fortress and town built in about 20 BC by Herod, in honour of his father Antipater, on the site of ancient Afeq (Josephus, *Wars*, Bk. 1, ch. xxi, 9; Acts, xxiii, 31). The site of Afeq-Antipatris—a hill near the springs which constitute the sources of the river—has been, through the ages, one of the most important strategic positions on the major route connecting Egypt with Syria. In modern times the river sources at Antipatris are called Raʾs al-ʿAyn or fountain head. The river forms the southern border of the Biblical plain of Sharon and northern border of Judaea. In the 12th century BC it was the northern border of Philistine settlement along the coastal plain of Palestine. Some of the Muslim writers refer to the river as the border between Djund Filasṭīn and Djund al-Urdunn (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 425-6, cf. idem, *Buldān*, 327), or as belonging to both the provinces of Filasṭīn and Urdunn (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 75-6 = §§ 2297-8). This reference is rather strange because the border between the provinces of Filasṭīn and Urdunn was the same as the Byzantine border between Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda, namely along the Valley of Jezreel and Beth Shean (Baysān) (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 59).

The river being wide and deep, even in the summer could not be forded along the 30 km. of its running waters. In many places, especially near its sources, its vicinity was covered with swamps. The river, and the sand dunes to the north and south of it, decided the main course of the *Via Maris*, the major road between Egypt and Mesopotamia, which has remained the same since ancient times almost to the present day. Running along the Mediterranean coast after Gaza, the route turned inland in a north-easterly direction, and following the river-bed until Afeq-Antipatris, it turned northwards and eastwards towards Damascus (Smith, *op. cit.*, 116). The general direction of the route in the vicinity of the river from east to west explains the reference of the sources to the travellers and armies, moving along this route, as coming either from the east or from the west. Yāḳūt and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ note that many great battles were fought along the river banks and that the winner was always the army that came from the west.

The examples which are given by these sources are: the victory of the ʿAbbāsid army led by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās over Marwān II (132/750); the success of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh in his battle against the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (271/884); the capturing of Aftakīn the Turk by the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz (367/977); and the killing of Abū Taghlib Ḥamdān by the Fāṭimid general al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ (Yāḳūt, iv, 831).

Abu 'l-Fidāʾ adds that in his time, the early 8th/14th century, the citadel of Madjdalyābā to the east of the river sources was in ruins. The citadel was built over the ancient site of Migdal-Afeq 'Αφεχοῦ πύργος, (Josephus, *Wars*, II, xix, 1) the twin fortress of Antipatris, built directly on the sources of the river. In 1863 the French traveller V. Guérin visited the village of Madjdalyābā and noticed the remnants of a church and a Greek inscription commemorating it or some other *martyrion* in the area. The fortress of Madjdalyābā was used by the Crusaders and must have been destroyed with the rest of the coastal fortifications by Baybars or one of his immediate successors. Under the later Mamlūks or the early Ottomans, a village grew around the ruined castle, which was partly rebuilt. In modern times the village was called Madjdal Ṣādiḳ. In 1948, during the first Arab-Israeli war, the village was deserted and fell into ruins.

Nahr Abū Fuṭrus figures in the Islamic eschatological tradition. According to a tradition attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*], the Muslims will have to fight the Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] near this river (*maʿkiluhum min al-dadjdjāl nahr abī fuṭrus*, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329, i, 52).

The passages concerning the river in Yāḳūt and

Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, 48) refer to some of the major events which happened in the vicinity of the river. In 132/750 it was the scene of the final attempt of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, to hold out against the ʿAbbāsid army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī in Syria. Unable to secure the support of the Arab tribes in Palestine, Marwān was compelled to withdraw to Egypt, where he found his death. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī captured some 80 members of the Umayyad royal family and cruelly massacred them at Abū Fuṭrus, probably in the fortress of either Ra's al-ʿAyn (Antipatris) or Madjdalyābā (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 47-8, 51; al-Masʿūdī, Murūdj, *loc. cit.*; idem, Tanbīh, 329; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 327; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 425-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ, iii, 131).

Early in 271/884, al-Muwaffaḳ [*q.v.*], the brother of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtamid, tried to break the Ṭūlūnid power in Syria, soon after the death of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and the succession of his son Khumārawayh [*q.vv.*]. The ʿAbbāsid army met the Egyptians near Abū Fuṭrus and initially won the day, causing Khumārawayh to flee to Egypt. However, an Egyptian ambush, left behind under the command of Saʿd al-Aʿsar, fell upon the unsuspecting army of al-Muwaffaḳ, winning a crushing victory for Khumārawayh and securing his rule over most of Syria. The Battle came to be known as the "Battle of the Water-Mills", *waḳʿat al-ṭawāḥīn*, probably after the water-mills on the river (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, 1982, vii, 414-15; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 321; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, iii, 50).

In 365/975 Aftakīn, the Turkish *mawlā* of the Buwayhid Muʿizz ad-Dawla, took over Damascus and tried to cross swords with the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz Nizār, who had just assumed power after the death of his father al-Muʿizz. Aftakīn got the support of the Carmathians in Syria, and together they made an attempt to attack a few of the coastal cities of Lebanon and Palestine. Some of the Bedouin tribes of the area joined Aftakīn as well. In 367/977, al-ʿAzīz and his general Djawhar met Aftakīn near Abū Fuṭrus ("in the vicinity of Ramla"); they beat his armies and compelled the Carmathian leader to withdraw to al-Ḥasā. In spite of the victory, al-ʿAzīz was highly interested in the services of Aftakīn, who was taken to Egypt in great honour (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 656-61; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 54 and index).

Another attempt at snatching Syria from the Fāṭimids was made by Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh b. Nāṣir ad-Dawla the Ḥamdānid, who represented the Mawṣilī branch of the dynasty. He made common cause with the ʿUḳaylids of Syria and moved into Palestine, where he was met at Abū Fuṭrus by the Egyptian army of al-ʿAzīz under his general al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. Abandoned before the battle by his ʿUḳaylid allies, he was defeated and fell into the hands of the Bedouin leader of the Banū Ṭayyi' in the vicinity of Ramla, Daghfal b. al-Mufarridj b. Djarrāḥ, who killed him and sent his head to Cairo (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 699-700).

The next event connected directly with Abū Fuṭrus is a battle fought there between the Durūz leader Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*] and the Bedouin leader of northern Palestine Aḥmad b. Ṭurabāy. After returning from a five-years' exile in Europe in 1618, Fakhr al-Dīn II continued his policy of widening his rule over the *sandjaḳs* of Nābulus and ʿAdjlūn. The Bedouin family of Ṭurabāy led by Aḥmad created a coalition of Bedouins and peasants in order to check his move southwards from the Lebanese coast. In 1622, the two armies met on the Abū Fuṭrus river, now called al-ʿAwdjā', and Fakhr al-Dīn's army was defeated. The defeat put an end to his plans to capture northern Palestine and marks the beginning of the deterioration of his power (al-Khālidī, *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Maʿnī*, Beirut 1936, 139 ff.).

During the operations in Palestine in the First World War, one of the major battles between the British army (mainly the 52nd Division under General Hill) and the Turks was fought on 20 and 21 December 1917, at the end of which the bridges over the river were captured to create a new British front, from which the attack on the Turks in Samaria and Galilee began.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources quoted, see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 55; V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, Paris 1880, index; M. Gil, *Palestine during the first Muslim period*, 634-1099 [in Hebrew], Tel Aviv 1983, i, 293-4 and index; M. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine in the 16th and 17th centuries*, in *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman period*, ed. M. Maʿoz, Jerusalem 1975, 28-29. (M. SHARON)

NAHRWĀL, also NAHRWĀLĀ and NAHLWĀR, corruptions in the Muslim chronicles of the place-name Anhilwād, Skr. Anahilwāda, the chief Muslim town of Gudjarāt before the foundation of Aḥmadābād; it was also known as Anahilwāda-Paṭṭana, whence the name of the moden town as simply Pātan [*q.v.*].

AL-**NAHRAWĀLĪ** (NAHRAWĀNĪ), ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāḍī Khān Maḥmūd, al-Makkī, al-Ḥanafī, al-Ḳādirī, al-Kharḳānī, eminent 10th/16th-century Meccan *muftī*, *ḳāḍī*, teacher, *ḥadīth* scholar and chronicler of Mecca and early Ottoman Yemen. He was born in 917/1511-12 in Lahore, India, into a scholarly family, originally from Aden but long established at Nahrawāla (present-day Patan) in Gudjarāt [*q.v.*]. (Several accounts, including old ones, name him al-Nahrawānī.) His early education was obtained from his father, a *muftī* and *ḥadīth* scholar. The young Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was removed by his father to Mecca, where he studied under several scholars, including the Yemeni chronicler al-Daybaʿ (d. 944/1537), before journeying in 943/1536-7 to further his education in Egypt. There he encountered many outstanding teachers, among them some students of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), and was introduced to the Ottoman governor, Khosrew Pasha Dīwāne [*q.v.*] and to al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (d. 950/1543), formerly the last shadow ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The Mecca of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn lay within the Ottoman sultan's realm, a reality which he embraced and exploited. An early-acquired fluency in Turkish enabled him to cultivate acquaintanceships among the many Ottoman officials visiting or posted in the region. Also, his knowledge of Turkish and skill in Arabic formal composition (*inshā'*) brought him employment by the Sharīfs of Mecca in their dealings with the Ottomans. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn became the most sought-after guide for Mecca's Ottoman visitors, whose generous compensation he used for accumulating choice manuscripts. His favour among the empire's rulers earned him lucrative teaching positions and recognition as *muftī* of Mecca. In Djumādā I 975/November 1567 he was awarded the first Ḥanafī professorship in Sultan Süleymān's newly-completed college for the four orthodox rites, a handsomely rewarded appointment which, with the *muftī*-ship, he held for the rest of his life.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn travelled twice to Istanbul and was

each time presented to Sultan Süleymān (r. 926-74/1520-66). In 943/1536-7 he accompanied the vizier of Bahādur Shāh [*q.v.*] of Gudjarāt on his mission to secure Ottoman military assistance for his master. His second trip, in 965/1557-8, was for the Sharīf of Mecca, who sought unsuccessfully to have a troublesome Ottoman official replaced. Travelling through Syria and Anatolia, he recorded the details of his journey for inclusion in his book *al-Fawāʾid al-saniyya fi 'l-riḥla al-Madaniyya wa 'l-Rūmiyya*. Among his experiences were an encounter, near Kütahya, with Prince Bāyezīd on the eve of hostilities with his brother, attendance in Istanbul at the funeral of the sultan's wife, Khürrem [*q.v.*] (Djumādā II/April 1558), and a meeting with the celebrated *shaykh al-Islām*, Abū 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.v.*].

The probable date of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's death in Mecca was 26 Rabīʿ II 990/20 May 1582. He was apparently survived by at least one son, Muḥammad, who composed a book (*Ibtihādj al-insān...*) for Ḥasan Pasha, the long-serving Ottoman governor of Yemen (988-1012/1580-1604). Best known among his relatives, however, was a nephew, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn (961-1014/1554-1606), who succeeded him as *muftī*. Although Ḳuṭb al-Dīn himself never visited Yemen, two brothers, a nephew, and a son served there as *ḳāḍīs*.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's several compositions deal chiefly with religion, literature or history, and are described by al-Djāsir and Brockelmann. Some, including those on Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*) and *ḥadīth* (*al-Djāmiʿ li-kutub al-sunna al-sitta...*), were lost when fire destroyed his home and library in 959/1552. The *al-Iʿlām bi-aʿlām bayt/balad Allāh al-ḥarām*, a chronicle of Mecca completed in 985/1577, was translated into Turkish by the poet Bāḳī [*q.v.*] and published by Wüstenfeld. Containing several excursuses, including one on the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (978-9/1570-71), it was abridged and extended by his nephew ʿAbd al-Karīm (*Iʿlām al-ʿulamāʾ al-aʿlām...*). His chronicle on Yemen, entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ʿUthmāniyya li 'l-aḳṭār al-Yamaniyya* and later changed to *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, he completed in 981/1573 and shortly recast. It was commissioned by the Ottoman vizier (and later five times grand vizier) Sinān Pasha (d. 1004/1596 [*q.v.*]), when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn accompanied him at Mecca in 978/1570-71 following the reconquest of Yemen. Sinān provided him with details of his eighteen-month campaign (976-8/1568-70) and (possibly later) an epic poem on the subject composed in Turkish (*Futūḥ-i Yaman*) by Muṣṭafā Rumūzī, an Ottoman official in Yemen; yet Ḳuṭb al-Dīn devoted half of his chronicle to Yemen's history from the beginning of the 10th/16th century. Two Turkish renderings of it were made, one before 998/1590, and it has been published by al-Djāsir.

Bibliography: Details of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's life emerge in both *al-Barḳ* and *al-Iʿlām*, particularly in the latter, which was first published by F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1857; and a useful collection of information is found in the introduction to the published version of *al-Barḳ* by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Ghazawāt al-djarākisa wa 'l-atrāk fī djunūb al-djazīra*, al-Riyāḍ 1967. Other sources are Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-ḥabab*, Damascus 1973, ii, 439 ff. (who met Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in Aleppo); al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, Beirut 1945-59, iii, 44-8 (whose father met Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in Mecca and Damascus): ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1268/1852, 268 f.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 126, 239 f., ii, 1098, 1298, 1513, 1832; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1351/1932-3, viii, 420 ff.; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, ii, 57 f.; S. de Sacy, in *Notices et extraits*, iv (1788), 412-504 (a paraphrase of *al-Barḳ*), 538-91; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, Abtheilung 3, pp. 81 ff.; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1962-70, iv, 285-90; Brockelmann, II[2], 500-1; S II, 514-15; Babinger, 89 ff.; A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1974, 213 ff.; H. Yavuz, *Yemen'de Osmanlı hakimiyeti*, Istanbul 1984, 216 ff.

(J.R. Blackburn)

AL-NAHRAWĀN, a town and canal system in the lower Diyālā (Tāmarrā) region east of the Tigris River in al-ʿIrāḳ. The lower part of the canal may have been originally the lower course of the Diyālā and irrigated the land east of Ctesiphon, where fan-like settlement patterns in the Parthian period already suggest the existence of branch canals. In the 6th century A.D., a major canal system was created by the Sāsānid ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) who dug a long feeder canal, the Ḳātūl al-Kisrawī, from the east bank of the Tigris near the later Sāmarrāʾ that joined the Diyālā below Baʿḳūba. Some 30 km/20 miles downstream a branch canal was drawn from the right bank to the Tigris that eventually became the lower course of the modern Diyālā, while the main canal was directed to the southeast below the town of Djisr al-Nahrawān (mod. Sifwa), which became the Nahrawān canal proper. A huge Sāsānid weir (*shādhurwān*) was built at al-Ḳanṭara above Iskāf (or Uskāf, modern Semak), below which settlements fanned out along branch canals. The administrative district of Bāzidjān Khusraw was created along the Nahrawān canal system for the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khosraw founded by Anūshirwān at Ctesiphon/al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*] in 540. The NRVAN mint-mark attested for Hurmizd IV (579-90) may stand for al-Nahrawān, where there was a Sāsānid treasury in 16/637, and may have survived as the post-reform Islamic mint of al-Djisr.

Djisr al-Nahrawān (or simply al-Nahr) was the location of a battle between the caliph ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and the Khawāridj under ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb [*q.v.*] on 9 Safar 38/17 July 658. Of 2,800 men left with ʿAbd Allāh after defections, eight fled during the battle, 400 were wounded, carried off the battlefield and pardoned by ʿAlī, and the rest were killed.

In early Islamic times, the weir at al-Ḳanṭara was rebuilt and the Nahrawān canal system reached its greatest development and density of settlement. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries there were three tax districts of Upper, Middle, and Lower Nahrawān. Baʿḳūba was in the upper district. The town of Djisr al-Nahrawān was divided by the canal with markets, a *masdjid*, and *khān*s on both sides. Below it the canal passed the upper Shādhurwān, Djisr Būrān, ʿAbartā, Iskāf Banī Djunayd (divided into upper and lower Iskāf) and emptied into the Tigris at Mādharāyā below Djabbul.

This canal system was subject to retraction and restoration from the 4th/10th century onwards. In 326/937-8 Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] breached the Nahrawān and diverted it into the lower Diyālā in a vain attempt to impede Badjkam's march against Baghdād from Wāsiṭ. The taxes were ruined, people died of hunger, and sites in the middle and lower Nahrawān region were abandoned wholesale until Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] closed the breaches fourteen years later and the survivors returned. In spite of efforts by the Saldjūḳ governor Bihrūz to restore the Nahrawān between 534/1139-40 and 536/1141-2, according to Yāḳūt the

irrigation system was ruined by fighting among the Saldjūḳs. Reduced water flow and silting led to the general abandonment of the countryside by the 7th/13th century when the canal system no longer functioned.

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For the battle of al-Nahrawān, see Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 543. 559; Dīnawarī, 215-24; Ṭabarī, i, 3367-8, 3380-85, ii, 17, 20, 31; Balᶜamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique*, Paris 1938, iii, 689, 691, iv, 10; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *al-ᶜIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo, 1363/1944, i, 17; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 313; E. Salem, *The political theory and institutions of the Khawarij*, Baltimore, 1956, 17.

(M. MORONY)

NAḤW (A.), a word signifying "path, way" in the literal and "fashion, manner" in the figurative sense, which has become the technical term used to denote "grammar". The scholar al-Khʷārazmī declares that this art (*ṣināᶜa*) is called *grammatikē* in Greek (*Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, 42), and the lexicographer al-Azharī observes that the Greeks describe *naḥw* as "the science of words and the study of this science" (quoted by Ibn Manẓūr in the *Lisān al-ᶜArab*).

The majority of sources agree in seeing Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī [*q.v.*] as the founder of Arabic grammar. It was at the request of the caliph ᶜAlī and of the governor of ᶜIrāḳ, Ziyād b. Abīh, that he undertook the composition of the first grammatical work, having heard Arabs and Persians making mistakes in reciting the Ḳurʾān or in expressing themselves (see the refutation in Pellat, *Milieu*, 130, n. 5). As to the reason for which this science was called *naḥw*, the sources differ; according to some, ᶜAlī submitted a portion of his own grammar to Abu 'l-Aswad, who asked his permission to do as (*naḥwa*) he had done; according to others, on completion of his book of grammar, Abu 'l-Aswad said to the people: "Follow (*unḥū*) this path (*naḥw*)" (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 40; al-Zadjdjadjī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. M. al-Mubārak, 89-90; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Iḳtirāḥ*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, 84-5).

1. *Definitions*

Numerous definitions of *naḥw* have been proposed by grammarians, of which four are particularly worthy of mention, being apparently the most representative: (a) "By grammar, I mean that the speaker who has learned it, follows the path (*naḥw*) of the language of the Arabs; it is a science which the Ancients have inferred (*istakhradja*) from meticulous examination (*istiḳrāʾ*) of the language of the Arabs, in such a way that beginners in this language will be made aware of the purpose (*gharaḍ*) to which it aspires" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Uṣūl*, ed. A. al-Fatlī, i, 35); (b) "The object, in grammar, is the distinction (*tabyīn*) between correctness (*ṣawāb*) and error (*khaṭāʾ*) of expression, according to the method (*madhhab*) of the Arabs, by means of analogy (*ḳiyās*)" (al-Rummānī, *al-Ḥudūd*, ed. M. Djawād, 38); (c) "The grammar of Arabic is the act of following the way (*samt*) of the language of the Arabs in its behaviour (*taṣarruf*), in flexional endings and other matters, such as the dual, the plural, diminution, the broken plural, annexation and relativeness, etc., so that one who is not a native speaker of the Arabic language may be the equal in clarity (*faṣāḥa*) of those who are, in speaking it (*naṭaḳa*)" (Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, ed. M. al-Nadjdjār, i, 34); and (d) "Grammar is the science of norms (*maḳāyīs*), inferred (*mustanbaṭa*) from the meticulous study of the language of the Arabs" (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Lumaᶜ al-adilla*, ed. ᶜA. ᶜĀmir, 44).

2. *Origins*

It was the Semitist A. Merx who was the first to claim that Arabic grammar has borrowed from Aristotelian logic the tripartite division of speech, the distinction of genres, the concepts of content (*ẓarf*) and of state (*ḥāl*), the notions of time and of agency (*Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, Leipzig 1889, 137-53). Subsequently, H. Fleisch also admitted that the first Arab grammarians could have borrowed Aristolelian concepts, observing however that the logic of grammarians is quite unrelated to that of philosophers (*Esquisse d'un historique de la grammaire arabe*, in *Arabica*, iv 1 [1957], 1-22). M.G. Carter, on the other hand, has dismissed the hypothesis of Greek influence and has showed the close links which exist between grammar and law (*fiḳh*), in the domains of method and terminology (*Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl [1972], 69-97). For his part, C. Versteegh has undertaken to illustrate the influence of Greek grammar and logic on Arabic grammatical thinking (*Greek elements in Arabic linguistic thinking*, Leiden 1977), whereas the author of the present article has shown that the terminology of Sībawayhi was totally different from the terminology used by the translators of the *Hermeneutics* and the *Poetics*, the two works in which Aristotle addresses grammatical ideas (G. Troupeau, *L'origine de la grammaire arabe à la lumière du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* [in Arabic], in *Journal of the Jordan Academy of Arabic*, i [1978], 125-38; idem, *La logique d'Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ et les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *Arabica*, xxviii [1981], 242-50). Finally, A. Elamrani-Jamal has criticised the "Greek hypothesis" in relation to the origins of Arabic grammar, and has examined the relationship between logic and grammar in the works of philosophers of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries (*Logique aristotelicienne et grammaire arabe*, Paris 1983).

Without denying the influence which Aristotelian logic might have exercised on the grammarians of Baghdād from the 4th/10th century onward, it may be supposed that the grammar took shape, unaffected by any foreign influence, simultaneously with other Islamic sciences such as exegesis and law, which originated during the first half of the 2nd/8th century in the two great intellectual centres of southern ᶜIrāḳ, Baṣra and Kūfa.

3. *The schools*

According to Arab tradition, the grammarians of Baṣra and those of Kūfa allegedly formed two distinct

and rival "schools", each having its own grammatical system (*madhhab*); subsequently, following a meeting of grammarians representing these two "schools" in Baghdād, in the 3rd/9th century, a third "school" came into being, its representatives operating a synthesis of the two former, through blending (*khalaṭa*) their systems.

While this traditional point of view was adopted by G. Flügel (*Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862), it was rejected by G. Weil (*Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, Leiden 1913), who showed the artificial and belated nature of this division into three "schools". But it remains true that even if the systems of the grammarians of Baṣra and of Kūfa were fundamentally the same, they nevertheless presented certain divergencies which should not be ignored.

These divergencies were first manifested in the area of terminology, the Kūfans using a number of terms different to those of the Baṣrans, for example: *madjrī* (= *munṣarif*); *khafḍ* (= *djarr*); *ʿimād* (= *faṣl*); *maknī* (= *muḍmar*); *nasaḳ* (= *ʿaṭf*); *ṣifa* (= *ẓarf*); *ṣila* (= *ḥashw*). Differences also appeared in the context of general concepts, such as the nature of words, since, unlike the Baṣrans, the Kūfans considered that the noun of the agent (*ism al-fāʿil*) belongs not to the category of the noun but to that of the verb, and that it expresses present time (*fiʿl al-ḥāl*); similarly, they considered that it is the noun of the action (*maṣdar*) which is derived from the verb and not the converse.

But it is especially in the sphere of flexional endings that the differences between the two systems abounded, since it has been observed that in the *K. al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-khilāf* of Ibn al-Anbārī, 61 out of 122 questions (i.e. a half), dealt with problems of rection (*ʿamal*) and of the governor (*ʿāmil*).

4. *Development*

At the end of the 2nd/8th century all the grammatical material drawn from pre-Islamic poetry and from the Ḳurʾān was codified in two seminal works, of which only the first survives: the *Kitāb fi 'l-naḥw* of the Baṣran Sībawayhi (d. 177/793) and the *K. Ḥudūd al-naḥw* of the Kūfan al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822).

In the 3rd/9th century, these two works were taught in Baghdād, which had become the centre of grammatical studies, the first by al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and the second by Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); by virtue of the clarity of his teaching and the conciseness of his *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, in which he presented a simplified version of the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, al-Mubarrad imposed the Baṣran method in the ʿAbbāsid capital.

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, it was Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/928), the youngest disciple of al-Mubarrad, who guaranteed the definitive establishment of the Baṣran method in Baghdād, introducing the divisions of logic in the *K. al-Uṣūl* and its abridged version the *K. al-Mūdjaz*; but some grammarians still followed the method of Kūfa, while others blended the two methods; al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 338/949), who was their pupil, composed, besides a manual, the *K. al-Djumal*, one of the first works on the causes of grammatical phenomena, the *K. al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw*.

The second half of the 4th/10th century was a veritable golden age of grammatical studies in Baghdād, where three grammarians of Muʿtazilī leanings were teaching: al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), renowned for his major commentary on the *Kitāb*; al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), author of the *K. al-Īḍāḥ wa 'l-takmila*, a treatise dedicated to the Būyid prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla; and al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), also the author of a commentary on the *Kitāb*, of whom it was said that he blended logic with grammar and who composed one of the first collections of grammatical definitions, the *K. al-Ḥudūd*. The greatest grammarian of this period was without doubt Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), whose manual the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* and three other important works have survived: the *K. al-Munṣif*, on morphology, the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, on methodology, and the *K. Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb* which, despite its title, does not deal with syntax but with phonetics. A contemporary of Ibn Djinnī, the Persian Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), deserves mention for his innovative treatise on philology intitled *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha*, named after the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād to whom it is dedicated.

The 5th/11th century is marked by a dearth of grammatical production, after the proliferation of the preceding century; the only writer worthy of mention seems to be the Persian al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078), author of the *K. al-ʿAwāmil al-miʾa*, which was to be one of the first studies of Arabic syntax to become known in the West, since it was translated into Latin by Erpenius at Leiden in 1617.

The 6th/12th century saw a resumption of grammatical production, first with the Persian al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), author of a clear and concise study, the *K. al-Mufaṣṣal*, which was to be the subject of a copious commentary by a scholar of Aleppo, Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643/1245); then with another Persian, al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213), author of a small manual, the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*, which was subsequently to be the object of numerous commentaries; as to the ʿIrāḳī Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181), whose *K. al-Inṣāf* has already been mentioned, he was also the author of a manual in the form of questions and answers, the *K. Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, and of a treatise on methodology, the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla*.

In the 7th/13th century, the Egyptian Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 647/1249) abridged al-Zamakhsharī's treatise in two opuscules, the *K. al-Kāfiya*, on syntax, and the *K. al-Shāfiya*, on morphology, which were both to be the object of commentaries by the Persian al-Astarābādhī (d. 688/1289); for his part, the Syrian Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273), condensed grammar in two works, one in prose, the *K. Tashīl al-fawāʾid*, and the other in verse, the *K. al-Alfiyya*, a poem of about a thousand verses, belonging to a genre inaugurated a short time previously by the Egyptian Ibn al-Muʿṭī (d. 628/1231); during the same period, in the West, the Andalusian Ibn ʿUṣfūr (d. 670/1271) presented the two branches of grammar in the *K. al-Muḳarrib fi 'l-naḥw* and the *K. al-Mumtiʿ fi 'l-ṣarf*.

Finally, in the 8th/14th century, the Egyptian Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360) composed two short treatises with his own commentary, the *K. Shudhūr al-dhahab* and the *K. Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, as well as a considerably more thorough work, the *K. Mughnī 'l-labīb*, which was to become, and has remained until this day, the standard manual for the teaching of Arabic in the universities of the Arab countries.

5. *Divisions*

Following the lead of Sībawayhi in the *Kitāb*, the authors of grammatical works divide the matter of *naḥw* into a large number of chapters (*bāb*). In spite of their apparent disorder, these chapters may be grouped within two major divisions, according to a logical order which appears in a particularly neat fashion in works such as the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrādj and the *K. al-Muḳarrib* of Ibn ʿUṣfūr.

The first division of *naḥw* is devoted to the study of the behaviour (*madjārī*) of the ending of words in articulation (*kalām*). It comprises nine sections in which the endings (*awākhir*) of the three types of Arabic word (nouns, verbs and particles) are

examined successively, according to their inflexion (*iʿrāb*) or their basic form (*bināʾ*):
(1) the ending of nouns inflected (*muʿrabāt*) in the governing function (*ʿawāmil*):
a. nouns raised (*marfūʿāt*) by the vowel /u/;
b. nouns rectified (*manṣūbāt*) by the vowel /a/;
c. nouns drawn out (*madjrūrāt*) by the vowel /i/.
(2) the ending of nouns assimilated (*mushabbaha*) to inflected nouns.
(3) the ending of nouns dependent (*tawābiʿ*) on other nouns for their inflexion.
(4) the ending of inflected nouns variable (*munṣarifa*) or invariable (*ghayr munṣarifa*) with the suffix *-nūn*.
(5) the ending of invariable nouns (*mabniyyāt*).
(6) the ending of inflected verbs in the governing function:
a. verbs raised (*marfūʿa*) by the vowel /u/;
b. verbs rectified (*manṣūba*) by the vowel /a/;
c. verbs with vowel cut off (*madjzūma*).
(7) the ending of invariable verbs.
(8) the ending of invariable particles.
(9) the ending of words modified by factors other than inflexion.

The second division of *naḥw* is concerned with study of the transformation (*taṣrīf*) of the forms (*abniya*) of words in themselves, in vocabulary (*lugha*). This division comprises two parts in which the following are described:
(1) morphological transformations which influence the form of words: diminutiveness (*taṣghīr, taḥḳīr*), brokenness (*taksīr*) for the plural, annexation (*iḍāfa, nasab*), derivation (*ishtiḳāḳ*) of verbs and nouns from the verbal noun (*maṣdar*);
(2) phonetic transformations which influence the phonemes of words: augmentation (*ziyāda*), substitution (*ibdāl*), suppression (*ḥadhf*), conversion (*taḥwīl*) and insertion (*idghām*).

It is this bipartite division, inherited from the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, which is to be found in all Arabic grammatical works, even though, within these two major divisions, the order of the constituent parts may vary slightly.

Bibliography: To the references indicated in the course of the article, the following may be added: F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, *Grammatik*, Leiden 1984, 1-27; C. Versteegh, *Arabische Sprachwissenschaft* (*Grammatik*), in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1987, 148-76. (G. TROUPEAU)

NĀʾIB (A.), literally "substitute, delegate" (*nomen agentis* from *n-w-b* "to take the place of another"), the term applied generally to any person appointed as deputy of another in an official position.

1. In pre-modern usage.

The term was used, more especially, in the Mamlūk and Dihlī Sultanates, to designate (*a*) the deputy or lieutenant of the sultan, and (*b*) the governors of the chief provinces. In the Mamlūk system the former, entitled *nāʾib al-salṭana al-muʿaẓẓama wa-kāfil al-mamālik al-sharīfa al-islāmiyya*, was the vice-sultan proper, who administered all the territories and affairs of the empire on behalf of the sultan. This was, however, only an occasional office, and its holder is to be distinguished from the *nāʾib al-ghayba*, the temporary governor of Cairo (or Egypt) during the absence of the sultan, or of Damascus during the absence of the *nāʾib al-salṭana*. The six *niyābas* of Syria which replaced the Ayyūbid *mamlakas*—Damascus, Ḥalab, Tripoli, Ḥamā, Ṣafad and al-Karak (their number was from time to time increased by the erection of Ghazza and other districts into separate provinces)—were each administered by a *nāʾib al-salṭana* (also entitled *kāfil al-mamlaka*), who was an "*amīr* of a thousand", the *nāʾib* of Damascus being superior to the others. At the end of the 8th/14th century, Egypt also was divided into three similar *niyābas*: Alexandria (from 767/1365-6), Upper Egypt (*al-wadjh al-barrī* or *al-ḳiblī*) and Lower Egypt (*al-wadjh al-baḥrī*). The plain title of *nāʾib* was held by the commandants of the citadels of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥalab, etc., who were not under the jurisdiction of their respective governors, and by various *amīrs* of lesser rank holding subordinate commands. (For an instance of more recent use, see SHĀMIL.)

In the Dihlī Sultanate, the *nāʾib* was the powerful minister who was the deputy of the king himself. The earliest reference to the office seems to be the appointment of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Aytigīn as deputy on the accession of Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh in 637/1240 (Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., 191). In fact, the support of the nobles was conditional upon the appointment of this person to the deputyship. Although this was a separate office from that of the *wazīr*, nevertheless under powerful *nāʾibs*, like Malik Kāfūr in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī and Khusraw in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, its existence was not conducive to the growth of the powers of the *wazīr*.

In its most common acceptation, in Persian and in Turkish as well as later Arabic, *nāʾib* signified a judge-substitute, or delegate of the *ḳāḍī* in the administration of law. In modern Arabic political usage, it denotes a parliamentary deputy, so that *madjlis al-nuwwāb* means "chamber of deputies" [see MADJLIS and 2. below]. In modern legal usage, *al-nāʾib al-ʿumūmī* is the public prosecutor. *Nāʾib* is further found in military usage as a term, with *shāwīsh*, for the rank of sergeant.

The form *nawwāb* (possibly a frequentative or intensive adjectival form, not however used in Arabic, but more likely a *pluralis dignitatis* connected with *nuwwāb*, pl. of *nāʾib*) became much used in Indo-Muslim practice as the titles Nawwāb or Nawāb; for this, see NAWWĀB.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard histories: E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, Paris 1840, i/2, 93-9; M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicum*, Paris 1903, i, 209-28 (analyses the epigraphic evidence): M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923. (H.A.R. GIBB*)

2. In modern politics.

Until the early 19th century, *nāʾib* had carried only the traditional meaning of official deputy, the lieutenant of a ruler, governor or judge. The term has retained this import, and is still used in this sense in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Meanwhile, with the Middle Eastern exposure to Western political ideas, *nāʾib* —in Arabic usage only— has acquired the additional meaning of people's representatives in government.

Like so many modern Arabic political expressions, *nāʾib* gained its new sense first through the discussing of political phenomena abroad. Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] seems to have been the first to employ it with such meaning in the 1830s, applying it to members of the French *Chambre des Députés* (Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz*, 3rd ed. Cairo 1958, 141; idem, *al-Kanz al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1834, 22, 57). Resorting to calque, he chose the word *nāʾib* to render the French *député*, which carried the double meaning of "appointed official" and "popular representative". Thereafter the term was occasionally used with this new denotation, but it gained broad currency only following the creation of the Egyptian *madjlis shūrā al-*

nuwwāb (Consultative Council of Deputies) by the Khedive Ismāʿīl in 1866. The membership of this institution, having been assembled through a combined procedure of appointment and election, clearly reflected a novel concept, and its designation as *nuwwāb* lent the term a similarly novel, if somewhat ambiguous implication. Lasting until 1882, the Khedive's Council was the only official body in the region whose members were so formally designated prior to World War I.

Assemblies of deputies have emerged in the Middle East under different régimes since the disintegration of the Ottoman empire, their membership formed through various mechanisms. The name *madjlis al-nuwwāb* has often been applied to such institutions, whether unicameral bodies or lower houses of bicameral ones. Thus were named institutions in monarchical Egypt (1923-52), Iraq (1924-58) and Libya (1951-69); mandatary, then independent Syria (1932-63); Sudan (1951-8); Lebanon (since 1926); Trans-Jordan, then Jordan (since 1946), and Morocco (since 1962). Members of similar bodies with other names—*madjlis al-shaʿb* ("people's assembly"), *madjlis al-umma* ("nation's assembly") etc.—have likewise been commonly known as *nuwwāb*. In their representative nature, political role and public standing these bodies have varied broadly in the Arab states, according to their respective political realities.

Bibliography: For the 19th century evolution of the term and concept of representation, see A. Ayalon, *Language and change in the Arab Middle East*, New York 1987, ch. V. For Ismāʿīl's *madjlis shūrā al-nuwwāb*, and the development of representative institutions in the 20th century, see MADJLIS, 4, and the Bibl. therein. (A. AYALON)

NĀʾILA [see ISĀF].

NĀʾILĪ, properly PĪRĪ-ZĀDE (after his father Pīrī Khalīfe Muṣṭafā Čelebi, a celebrated Ottoman poet of the 17th century, d. in 1077/1666-7. To distinguish him from the 19th century poet and Mewlewī adherent Ṣāliḥ Nāʾilī of Monastir (who died in 1293/1876 in Cairo) he has since been called Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm, "old Nāʾilī", the later poet being referred to as Nāʾilī-yi Djedīd, "new Nāʾilī".

Nāʾilī was born in Istanbul presumably about the beginning of the 17th century (as we are led to assume based on indications in his *Dīwān*). He enjoyed a good education, upon the completion of which he entered the government office of finances called *maʿden ḳalemi* as clerk. This was to be his life-long job, and he ultimately became *bash-khalīfe* there (thus following in his father's footsteps, a clerk and *khalīfe* in the same office). Unable to secure a more important post, he had to content himself with the life of a civil servant of restricted means until towards the end of his life he was sent into exile by the grand vizier Ḳöprülü-zāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha for unknown reasons. Allusions in one of his *ḳaṣīdes* point to his having later been allowed to return to Istanbul. Nāʾilī died in 1077/1666-7; the location of his tomb cannot be ascertained.

Nāʾilī was a weak, delicate man of feeble constitution, inclining to hypersensitivity and pessimism. There are indications in his *Dīwān* that he belonged to the Khalwetī order. Nevertheless, he was not only one of the greatest Ottoman poets of the post-classical period but one of the most interesting and important poets in the entire history of Turkish literature. He was an innovator, but mainly in the field of style and language, being the pre-eminent follower of the *Sebk-i hindī* [see SABK-I HINDĪ] style in Ottoman poetry.

Nāʾilī's characteristics are a polished, elegant, individual style of great gracefulness, succinctness of expression and a language full of Persian words, constructions (often of considerable length, such as e.g.: *djihān-ī wāzhgūn-naʿl-i maḥabbet*, "the land of love with the horseshoes turned backwards"; horses used to be fitted with horseshoes turned backwards in order to confuse pursuers) and metaphors, many of which were new to Turkish usage. A good number of his verses contain so many foreign elements that they are unintelligible to a Turk who does not know Persian. An example from a *ghazel*:

Zūr-ī bāzū-yī nigāhuñ dest-bürd-i ʿishwedür
Čāk-rīz-i djeyb ü dāmān-ī taḥammüldür baña

"The force of your glance's arm is coquetry's victory;
It is the tearing into pieces from collar to hem of
(my) endurance to me."

Furthermore, Nāʾilī's language is so compact and free from all redundance that the meaning is often hard to decipher at first sight, and some of his verses become intelligible only when one has recourse to interpreting them in a Ṣūfī sense. However, the use of *taṣawwuf* ideas and allusions, at which Nāʾilī is a master, is only a matter of inspiration and style for him; he cannot be called a Ṣūfī poet. His poetic imagination was not as powerful as his mastery of language and style, but he influenced both his contemporaries and later poets down to the 19th century.

Nāʾilī's literary work consists only of a *Dīwān*, put together by the poet himself. It was printed in Būlāḳ in 1253/1837 (only about a third of his poems were printed, however). All of his work is included in the critical edition prepared by Haluk İpekten (Istanbul 1970) (for the preparation of this critical edition, all known 31 mss. of the *Dīwān* were studied). The complete *Dīwān* consists of two *münādjāts*, ten *naʿts*, 29 *medḥiyyes*, a *merthiye* written in the form of a *terdjīʿ-i bend* on the death of his brother who died young, four *müseddes*, one *terkīb-i bend*, one *takhmīs*, 390 *ghazels*, one *müstezād*, 18 *ḳiṭʿas*, eight *rubāʿīs*, five *beyts*, eleven *sharḳīs* and six *tārīkhs*.

Most of Nāʾilī's religious poetry is in the *ḳaṣīde* form. Of the ten *naʿts*, eight are in honour of the Prophet and one each in honour of ʿAlī and of Ḥusayn; 27 of the 29 *medḥiyyes* are also *ḳaṣīdes* (the other two being a *ḳiṭʿa* and a *naẓm*). Nāʾilī's *medḥiyyes* are dedicated to Murād IV and Meḥemmed IV [*q.vv.*] to the grand viziers Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha [see MEḤMED PASHA, SULṬĀN-ZĀDE], Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha, Ṣāliḥ Pasha, Hezār-pāre Aḥmed Pasha, Ḳöprülü-zāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ], to the *shaykh al-islāms* Zekeriyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi, Bahāyī Efendi [see BAHĀʾĪ MEḤMED EFENDI], Meḥmed Emīn Ṣunʿī-zāde Efendi, to various *defterdārs* and others.

Nāʾilī's most important work is, however, his collection of 390 *ghazels*. These *ghazels*, the majority of which are of only five verses, have been considered samples of *münakkaḥiyyet*, the art of expressing oneself in such a way that words and meaning are perfectly balanced. In some of them there is a lightness of tone that reminds one of Nedīm [*q.v.*], in others a pessimistic, and at times philosophising, vein calling to mind Nābī [*q.v.*]. Thus first and foremost, Nāʾilī is considered a poet of *ghazels*.

His *sharḳīs* have a special importance in that they are the first poems of this genre and in that he wrote them in a very simple language (with passages such as *bizümle yār söyleshmez*, "the beloved does not speak with us") that is totally different from the elaborate language of his other poems.

Bibliography: Riḍā, *Tedhkire*; ʿĀṣim, *Dheyl-i Zübdet el-eshʿār*; Güftī, *Teshrīfāt el-shuʿarāʾ*, Mudjīb,

Tedhkire; Ṣafāyī, *Tedhkire*; Belīgh, *Nukhbet el-āthār li-Dheyl Zübdet el-eshʿār*; Sheykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ el-fuḍalā*; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 529; *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, ii, 443-5; Müstedjābī-zāde ʿIṣmet, *Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm*, Istanbul 1318; idem, *Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm*, in *Khazīne-yi fünūn*, ii (1312), 320-3, 326-9 (*Eslāf*, no. 76); Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308, 312-3; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, iii, 467-9; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 304-11; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. *Nāʾilī*; H. İpekten, in *İA*, s.v. *Nâʾilî*; A. Gölpınarlı, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm*, Istanbul 1953; İ. Kutluk, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1962; idem, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîmʾin sanatı ve kişiliği*, in *Belleten*, (1963), 269-305; H. İpekten, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm divânı, edisyon kritik*, Istanbul 1970; idem, *Nâʾilî, hayatı, edebî kişiliği ve bazı şiirlerinin açıklamaları*, Erzurum 1987. Unpublished theses: H. Kayı, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm divanının edition critiqueʾi (tenkitli neşri)* (Istanbul 1941-2, Türkiyat Ens., T 143); M. Merzifonluoğlu, *Nâʾilî-i Kadîm ve gazellerinin tetkiki* (Istanbul 1950-1, Türkiyat Ens. T 362; N. Vardarlı, *Nâʾilî divânı transkripsiyonu ve edisyon kritiği*, (Ankara 1951, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi).

(E.G. Ambros)

NAʿĪM al-DĪN of Temesvár, Timişoara, Ott. Ṭīmīshwar, Ṭīmīshwarī al-Ḥādjdj Ibrāhīm (1107/1695-?), Ottoman author, with the penname (*takhalluṣ* [*q.v.*]) Naʿīm(ī).

Born in Ṭīmīshwar [*q.v.*] as an offspring of a typical borderer family, he left his native town after the Habsburg conquest of 1716 and spent his further life in the service of high dignitaries (Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, Ghāzī al-Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn Pasha, Nāʾilī ʿAbd Allāh Pasha) as *dīwān kātibi*. Works: (1) *Ḥadīḳatü ʾl-shühedāʾ*, finished in 1157/1744, but enlarged by an appendix (*dhayl*) of 1178/1764, is of a mixed character, containing a compilation of Ḳurʾānic verses and traditions concerning the topics of *djihād*, *ghazā*, *shahāda* [*q.vv.*], etc., illustrated by examples from the biographical literature on the Prophet and his Companions or from hagiographical sources, sometimes also from the local oral tradition of the Hungarian borderland; a survey of Ottoman history 1094-1157/1682-1744, based on Meḥmed Rāshid's [*q.v.*] chronicle, but enlarged by references to historical events, based on eyewitnesses or on his own experience; biographical data on his chiefs; autobiographical notices; popular songs (*türkü* [*q.v.*]) of folk-minstrels (*ʿāshiḳ* [*q.v.*]) like Gewherī [*q.v.*] (elegy on the death of one of the author's ancestors, Aḥmed Agha of Eger) and Derwīsh ʿAshiḳ Ḥasan (songs on the fall of Buda 1686 and Belgrade 1688 and the siege of Temeshwar 1688-90); poems of his own; etc. (2) *Pend-nāme*, finished in 1182/1768, a short didactic *mathnawī* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, vii, p. vi; ix, 208; *Bosna ve Hersek wilāyeti sālnāmesi*, vii, Sarāy Bosna 1306/1889, 40-56; Babinger, 279-80; A.S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Beyʾin Ġazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956, 149-51; *Türkiye yazmaları toplu kataloğu*, xxxiv/1, Ankara 1981, 111.

(M. Köhbach)

NAʿĪMĀ (1065-1128/1655-1716) Ottoman historian.

Muṣṭafā Naʿīm, known by the *makhlaṣ* Naʿīmā, was born in Aleppo, probably in 1065/1655, the son of a Janissary commander. As a young man he entered, *ca.* 1100/1688-9, the palace corps of *baltadjīlar* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul and received a thorough scribal education, developing particular interests in literature, history and astrology. He may also have attended classes at the Beyazīd mosque. Graduating from the *baltadjī* corps, he was apprenticed to the *kātibs* of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, and appointed secretary to Ḳalaylīḳoz Aḥmed Pasha, also a former *baltadjī*. He remained a member of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn kātibleri* for the remainder of his career, serving in various administrative posts.

Sometime around 1110/1698-9, Naʿīmā was commissioned by the Grand Vizier ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn [Köprülü] Pasha [*q.v.*] to complete the Ottoman history left in draft form by the *müderris* Shāriḥ al-Menārzāde Aḥmed Efendi (d. 1067/1657 (Naʿīmā, *Tāʾrīkh*, i, Istanbul 1281/1864, 10-11). His principal remuneration at this period was a daily wage of 120 *aḳče* drawn upon the Istanbul customs revenues; this was augmented in the usual way by ad hoc gifts from the Grand Vizier as sections of the history were presented to him. Naʿīmā's work on the history had probably ceased by the time of his appointment in mid-1116/late 1704 to the post of *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi*, with the principal scribal rank of *khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*] (Djemāleddīn, *ʿOthmānlî taʾrīkh ve müwerrikhleri* (*Āyīne-yi ẓurefā*), Istanbul 1314/1896, 43).

Thereafter Naʿīmā's career fluctuated. In 1118-9/1706-7 he was exiled from Istanbul by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] (Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altınay], *Menfada Naʿîmâ Efendi*, in *TTEM*, v (1931), 52-5), probably because some of his astrological forecasts had offended certain powerful individuals. After his return he held simultaneously the posts of *teshrīfātdjī* and *ḳalyonlar defterdārî*, and in 1124/1712 was again promoted to be *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi*. While still high in the favour of the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed *defter emīni* [*q.v.*] (1125/1713) and shortly thereafter *bash muḥāsebedjisi*. However, rumours, spread maliciously, of his opposition to the same Grand Vizier's Morea campaign of 1714-15, resulted in temporary demotion to the post of *silāḥdār kātibi* (Ṣafar 1127/March 1715). Restored for a third term as *Anadolu muḥāsebedjisi* in mid-1127/June 1715, he was finally demoted later that year to the post of provincial *defter emīni* for the Morea, where he remained. Naʿīmā died at Patras in 1128/1716, and was buried there. (The fullest original sources for Naʿīmā's life are: Sālim, *Tedhkire*, Istanbul 1315/1897, 681-2; Shehrī-zāde Saʿīd, *Newpeydā*, Istanbul University Library ms. TY 3291, fols. 21a-22b, quoted in (Ṭayyār-zāde) ʿAṭā, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, Istanbul 1293/1876, 36-40; and the information given at various points by Naʿīmā in the *Taʾrīkh*, for which see L.V. Thomas (ed. N. Itzkowitz), *A study of Naima*, New York 1972, *passim*.).

Naʿīmā's reputation as a leading Ottoman historian rests upon his *Rawḍat al-Ḥusayn fī khulāṣat akhbār al-khāfiḳayn*, dedicated to ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha, terminated *ca.* 1704, and known generally as *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*. The work is a compilation in largely traditional, annalistic format, covering 1000-70/1591-1660, and including the by then customary obituaries of significant individuals. It contains almost all of Shāriḥ al-Menārzāde's chronicle and was strongly influenced by the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]. Both independently and also through these two principal sources, the *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā* draws upon most of the major Ottoman histories of the late 16th and the 17th centuries, including those of Ḥasan Beg-zāde, ʿĀlī, Pečewī, Wedjīhī, and Ḳara Čelebizāde ʿAbd ül-ʿAzīz, as well as many other lesser-known writers and some oral informants. Naʿīmā's own comments and assessments appear regularly, particularly with regard to significant issues and where his sources conflict. A substantial introduction, setting out Naʿīmā's views on history and

government, bears similarities to the 17th-century reform memoranda, or *lāʾ iḥat* literature, but acknowledges particularly the influence of Kātib Čelebi's *Düstūr al-ʿamel*, and Ibn Khaldūn's theory of the rise and decline of states (Thomas, *A study of Naima*, 68-83; C. Fleischer, *Royal authority, dynastic cyclism, and "Ibn Khaldunism" in sixteenth-century Ottoman letters*, in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, xvii/3-4 [1983], 199-203).

Naʿīmā's aim was to produce a reliable and accurate history, written in a graceful yet accessible prose style, which would be a source both of information and of instruction for Ottoman statesmen. A widely-read and highly-regarded history, the *Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā* was one of the first Ottoman printed works, being published in two volumes by İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa [*q.v.*] in 1147/1733 (the first volume of which was reprinted in Istanbul in 1259/1843). Second and third editions, each in six volumes, were published in Istanbul in 1280/1863-4 and 1281-3/1864-6 (on the mss., editions, and partial translations, see Babinger, 246; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları kataloğu*, ii, Istanbul 1945, 200-7; M. Münir Aktepe, *Naima Tarihi'nin yazma nüshaları hakkında*, in *TD*, i/1 [1949], 35-52).

Naʿīmā also collected material for a continuation of the history to 1110/1698-9, but his drafts appear not to have survived. A daybook of contemporary events apparently kept by him during at least the Grand Vizierate of ʿAmūdja-zāde Ḥusayn Pasha (1109-14/1697-1702), and perhaps for almost a decade beforehand, served as a source for the historian Rāshid (*Taʾrīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282/1865, 449 ff.). Naʿīmā's only published writing on contemporary affairs is an account of the *Edirne waḳʿasi* and the deposition of Muṣṭafā II [*q.v.*] in 1115/1703, which was printed as an appendix to the *Taʾrīkh*.

Although Naʿīmā is traditionally regarded as the first Ottoman official historian, or *weḳāyiʿ-nüwīs* (later *waḳʿa-nüwīs* [*q.v.*]), he does not refer to himself specifically as such, and it is doubtful whether either the title or the post were formally instituted until Rāshid was appointed, in 1126/1714, to continue Naʿīmā's work (Thomas, *A study of Naima*, 36-42; Bekir Kütükoğlu, *İA*, art. *Vekayi-nüvis*).

Bibliography: For an extensive list of primary and secondary sources, see the bibl. to M. Cavid Baysun, *İA*, art. *Naima*, upon which the present article draws heavily. (Christine Woodhead)

NĀʾĪN, Nāyin, a small town (lat. 53° 05' E., long. 32° 52' N., altitude 1,408 m/4.620 feet) on the south-western edge of the Great Desert of central Persia and on the road connecting Yazd with Iṣfahān and Ḳum. The town seems to have a pre-Islamic history, but nothing is known of this. The mediaeval Islamic geographers place it in the *sardsīr* or cooler upland regions and describe it as administratively within Fārs (al-Iṣṭakhrī) but as dependent on either Yazd or Iṣfahān. According to Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 69, tr. 77, its citadel (whose ruins are still visible) had walls of 4,000 paces in circumference. The geographers also mention silver mines in the adjacent mountains, and in Ṣafawid times a fine kaolin clay of the Nāʾīn region was used for making porcelain at Ḳāshān (see H.E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 149); today, Nāʾīn is a notable centre for carpet-weaving.

Nāʾīn is notable for its ancient Friday mosque, dating back to the 4th/10th century (*ca.* 349/960), containing a fine early 8th/14th century *minbar*; see S. Flury, *La mosquée de Nāyin*, in *Syria*, xi (1930)m 43-58, and M.B. Smith, *The wood Minbar in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, Nāīn*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 21-8, with an *Epigraphical notice* by P. Wittek at 33-5. The modern town of Nāʾīn is the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the same name in the province of Iṣfahān; agriculture there was until recently by *ḳanāts*. The town had a population in *ca.* 1960 of 6,235.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 129 = § 29.31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 207, 285; Schwarz, *Iran*, 12, 21, 659; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, x, 193-4. (C.E. Bosworth)

NĀʾĪNĪ, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Gharawī (1277-1355/1860-1936), a prominent Shīʿī religious leader, an active supporter of the Persian constitutional revolution of 1324/1906, and a noted constitutionalist ideologue. He was born into a religiously distinguished family of Nāʾīn [*q.v.*] where his father, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, and his grandfather, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Muḥammad Saʿīd, both in turn held the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*. He received his primary education in Nāʾīn; and then, in 1294/1877, he moved to Iṣfahān, pursuing his studies in *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (fundamentals of Islamic law), Islamic philosophy and theology under the then noted teachers including Ḥādjdjī Shaykh Muḥammad Bāḳir Iṣfahānī (d. 1301/1883) and the latter's son, Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī Iṣfahānī, known as Āḳā Nadjafī [*q.v.*] (for his life and activities, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, art. *Aqā Najafī*, in *EIr*). Nāʾīnī migrated to ʿIrāḳ in 1303/1885, and after a short stay in Nadjaf he went to Sāmarrāʾ where the then greatest *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the Shīʿa, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1313/1895), was residing.

While there for eleven years, Nāʾīnī continued his Islamic studies under Shīrāzī and other *mudjtahids* such as Sayyid Ismāʿīl Ṣadr and Sayyid Muḥammad Fishārakī Iṣfahānī. Owing to the fact that Nāʾīnī was associated with Shīrāzī also as a secretary, it is possible that he was involved in the widespread campaign led by Shīrāzī against the tobacco concession of 1308/1890 signed by the then ruler of Persia, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (see, *inter alia*, Ibrāhīm Taymūrī, *Ḳarārdād-i 1890 Régie*: *taḥrīm-i tanbākū awwalīn muḳāwamat-i manfī dar Īrān*, Tehran 1949). After Shīrāzī's death, Nāʾīnī moved to Karbalā and then, in 1316/1898, to Nadjaf where he became one of the special companions of Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] who, after Shīrāzī became a great *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* and the leading figure in the Persian constitutional revolution (Hairi, art. *Āḵūnd Mollā Moḥammad-Kāẓem Ḵorāsānī*, in *EIr*).

It was in association with Khurāsānī that Nāʾīnī began his constitutionalist activities, which included the writing of his celebrated book, *Tanbīh al-umma wa-tanzīh al-milla* ("The admonition and refinement of the people") (Nadjaf 1327/1909). In this, which proved to be very precise, systematic, coherent and fairly comprehensive, Nāʾīnī as a leading *Ithnā ʿasharī* Shīʿī *mudjtahid* argued that constitutionalism, despite its being a Western idea, was in harmony with Shīʿism. As a matter of fact, Nāʾīnī's argument in favour of constitutionalism, and particularly the Persian constitutional revolution, was a response directed against the position of the anti-constitutionalist groups led by a prominent Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Tehran, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (1258-1327/1842-1909 [*q.v.*]).

Nūrī had declared that constitutionalism would destroy the Islamic beliefs and practices and would lead Islam to ruin, and called the Persian constitutional law "the book of errors" (*ḍalālat-nāma*). Meanwhile, in 1326/1908, the then despotic Ḳādjār ruler, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (reigned 1325-7/1907-09 [*q.v.*]), bombarded parliament, punished the constitutionalists and abrogated the new constitutional

régime. It was in reference to these developments that Nūrī strongly supported the Shāh as "the just King" and "the King of Islam", and thus prayed to God for him: "Do corroborate our king and his army; eternalise his life; immortalise his kingship and rule". (Hairi, *Shaykh Faḍl ʿAllah Nūrī's refutation of the idea of constitutionalism*, in *MES*, xiii [1977], 327-39).

In refuting the position of the anti-constitutionalists in general and that of Nūrī in particular, Nā'īnī argued that in the absence of the Twelfth *Imām* whose rule, according to the Twelver Shīʿa, is just, ideal and perfect, the Persians may establish either a despotic or a constitutional form of government. Despotism imposes tyranny and oppression, and involves all types of evils and lawlessness, whereas constitutionalism brings law, benevolence, and justice. It goes, therefore, without saying that under the then circumstances one's obvious religious and national duty was to overthrow the despotic rule of the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] and to establish a constitutional form of government which may be at the same time not in contrast to Islam (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977).

To ensure harmony between Islam and the Persian constitution, Nā'īnī, of course, fully endorsed the second article of the supplementary fundamental law which ruled: "...there shall at all times exist [in Parliament] a committee composed of not less than five *mujtahids*...so that they may...reject and repudiate, wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the sacred law of Islam" (E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 372-3). Nā'īnī, however, dissociated himself from every constitutionalist activity because the Anglo-Russian meddling in Persia was overwhelming and the deviation of the Persian political system from constitutionalism was obvious, so that Nā'īnī is said to have collected copies of his book on constitutionalism and thrown them in the Tigris River (personal interview with Nā'īnī's son in 1970).

In 1339/1920, Nā'īnī and other Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* of ʿIrāḳ participated in the ʿIraḳī uprising of that time and opposed British mandatary rule in that country. This resulted in their exile to Ḳum, where Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī [*q.v.*] had just founded the circle for religious studies (*ḥawḍa-yi ʿilmīyya*). Soon, however, Nā'īnī and other banished *ʿulamā'* returned to ʿIrāḳ after signing statements in which they committed themselves not to interfere in ʿIrāḳī politics (ʿAlī al-Wardī, *Lamaḥāt idjtimaʿiyya fī ta'rīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-ḥadīth*, Baghdād 1976, vi, 261-2). From then on, no open political activities by Nā'īnī in the form of opposition to the rulers either of Persia or of ʿIrāḳ are heard of. Rather, he had friendly relations with Riḍā Shāh and the ʿIrāḳī kings Fayṣal and Ghāzī (Hairi, *Shīʿism*, 149-9; Muḥammad Muḥsin Shaykh Āghā Buzurg, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1954, i, 595). Instead, he concentrated upon teaching *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* for the rest of his life, through which he trained some of the subsequent Shīʿī *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* such as Ḥādjdjī Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khu'ī who until his death in 1992 lived in ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: The only book devoted entirely to Nā'īnī's political life and thought written in any Western language is Hairi's *Shīʿism*. In addition to the works cited in the article, see Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1960, xliv, 258, no. 2012; Muḥammad Hādī Amīnī, *Muʿdjam ridjāl al-fikr wa 'l-adab fī al-Nadjaf khilāl alf ʿām*, Nadjaf 1964, 435; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥudjdjat Balāghī, *Ansāb-i khāndānhā-yi mardum-i Nā'īn: madīnat al-ʿurafā' wa kitāb-i shaṭrandj al-ʿurafā'*, Tehran 1949, 51-3; idem, *Kitāb-i farhang-i Nā'īn*, Tehran 1949, 101-2; idem, *Tārīkh-i Nā'īn*, Tehran 1949, 188-9; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamā' wa 'l-udabā'*, Nadjaf 1964, i, 46-9, 284-8; Vanessa Martin, *Islam and modernism: the Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989; Manūčihr Khudāyār Muḥibbī, *Pīshwāyān-i madhhab-i Shīʿa*, in *Waḥīd*, iv, no. 11 (1967), 994-5; Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tabrīz n.d., vi, 127; Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawī Iṣfahānī al-Kāẓimī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa fī tarādjim mashāhīr mudjtahid al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1968, 254; Mahdī Nā'īnī, *Sharḥ-i zindigānī-yi marḥūm-i āyat Allāh Nā'īnī aʿlā Allāh maḳāmahū*, in *Nā'īn-ī bīdār* (29 April 1955), 1-2; ʿAlī Naḳī al-Naḳawī, *Āyat Allāh al-Nā'īnī wa-mawḳifuhū al-ʿilmī bayn al-ṭā'ifa*, in *al-Riḍwān*, ii, no. 8 (1936), 18-20; Fereshteh M. Nouraie, *The constitutional ideas of a Shiʿite Mujtahid: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī*, in *Iranian Studies* (1975), 234-47; Humā Riḍwānī (ed.), *Lawāyiḥ-i Āḳā Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī*, Tehran 1983.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

NAITIAS or Na'itas, originally Nawāts, meaning seamen, is a regional Indian term applied to Muslims of Arab and Persian descent who settled on the coast of Konkan (the coastal plain of Mahārāshtra state; hence they are also known as Konkanī Muslims) and in Kanara (region along the Malabar [*q.v.*] coast of the Arabian Sea in what is now western Karnātaka state; see K.B. Faridi, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, ix, pt. 2, Gujarat population, Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay 1899, 14-15). They are the descendants of the earliest Muslim trading communities on the western coast of India. Flourishing maritime trade with India during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate provided Muslim merchants with new opportunities, and the Muslim population of Konkan and Kanara was augmented by adventurers and political refugees. The Arab historian al-Masʿūdī, who visited Ṣaymūr (the ancient port Chaul, south of Bombay) in 304/916-17, found 10,000 Muslims living there, many having migrated from Baṣra, Baghdād, Sīrāf, ʿUmān and other places; while others were descended from earlier Muslim settlers who had intermarried with the indigenous population (*Murūdj*, ii, 85-6 = § 515). The Muslim community enjoyed a measure of internal autonomy; they were allowed to build mosques and appointed a *ḳāḍī* to decide their disputes. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the western coast in the middle of the 8th/14th century and met several religious leaders of the Naitias, has left a vivid description of them. He states that they were pious, devout, and followed the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. They were engaged in maritime trade and were powerful at sea and were able to fight naval battles. In the city of Hinawr (also spelled Hannaur and Honavar, situated on the coast of Malabar), which was ruled by Sultan Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, there were thirteen schools (*maktab*) for girls and twenty-three for boys (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 66). Measured by the number of its schools, the Muslim community of Hinawr must have been very large.

In what is now the city of Bombay, the Naitias first settled on Māhīm [*q.v.*], the northernmost of the seven original islands, which was a military outpost of the sultans of Gudjarāt (1407-1534) and an important trading centre. In 1534, the islands of Bombay were taken over by the Portuguese, which led to a large migration of Naitias from the mainland of Konkan into Bombay, where they established a sizeable colony

(S. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Bombay 1909, ii, 23-4, 34-5). As the city grew from a settlement of rock and swamp to the proud position of the commercial metropolis of India under the British, the Naitias became the most influential Muslims in the city and retained that powerful position until the 19th century, when other Muslim trading communities started migrating into Bombay. They speak a dialect of Marāthī [*q.v.*] called Konkani (spoken in coastal Mahārāshtra south of Bombay, in Goa and on the Mysore coast). Some members of the community have played an active role in politics of both Mahārāshtra and Karnātaka states and have served in the Congress Party ministries.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1431-2), who is buried in Māhīm and who belonged to this community, is considered to have been the greatest exponent of Ibn al-ʿArabī in India. He also wrote several commentaries on Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, and a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Tabṣīr al-raḥmān wa-taysīr al-mannān* (Dihlī 1286/1869-70; see *Maharashtra State Gazetteers. Language and literature*, Bombay 1971, 457; his name is given as ʿAlī al-Mahaymi).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see Nawwāb ʿAzīz Djang Bahādur, *Taʾrīkh al-Nawāʾiṭ*, Ḥaydarābād 1922; S. Edwardes, *The rise of Bombay*, Bombay 1902, 60; H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867-72, i, 77, 85-6, ii, 85; Farishta, *Taʾrīkh-i Farishta*, tr. J. Briggs, *Rise of Mohammedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910, ii, 370; M. Lombard, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur*, Paris 1971, 222; Eng. tr. Joan Spencer, *The Golden age of Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, 221; Satish Misra, *The rise of Muslim power in Gujarat*, London 1963, 193-5. Some of the information given is derived from personal interviews. (I. Poonawala)

NAḲĀ (A.), a term connected with *nuḳāwā*, a generic noun denoting alkaline plants utilised for washing linen and whitening cloths. These are plants which grow stems without any leaves; as soon as they dry up, they become white. They give linen a dazzling white colouring.

By analogy, the term denotes also a "rite of reconciliation" which was used in the Ḥidjāz and which was used for righting injuries. This was done in the following manner: The party causing the offence stops on the threshhold of the aggrieved party, holding a knife in each hand, and says: *al-naḳā naḳānā wa 'l-naḳā naḳiyyu 'l-ridjāl alladhī kamānā* "May (the rite of) *naḳā* whiten us! The *naḳā* is the whitest of men who will have covered us". After having pronounced this formula, the offender's face became white. The aggrieved person had then to appear at the door and cover the supplicant's hand with a *ṣimāda* (a cloth used for covering the head underneath the turban). Then he would kill a sheep and celebrate the reconciliation (cf. W. Robertson Smith, in *Jnal. of Philology*, xiv [1886], 126).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(T. Fahd)

NAḲĀʾIḌ (A.) "contradicting poems, flytings", pl. of *naḳīḍa* (from the verb *naḳaḍa* "to destroy, undo, rebut, oppose"), synonymous with *munāḳaḍāt* (from the verbal form III *nāḳaḍa*): a form of poetic duelling in which tribal or personal insults are exchanged in poems, usually coming in pairs, employing the same metre and rhyme. It is thus part of invective poetry or *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. Such duels were an established form in pre-Islamic times, and had their origin in the slanging-matches between members of different clans or tribes which took the place of, or formed the preliminaries for, a fracas or battle. Originally, the term may have referred to the "undoing" of the magical power of invective verse.

The genre reached its apogee in the Umayyad period with the *naḳāʾiḍ* of al-Akhṭal, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*], which were popular with rulers and common people, and remained so with philologists and critics on account of their highly entertaining content and their poetic and linguistic skill. Sometimes the poems are short and monothematic; but very often they are long poems in *ḳaṣīda* form, with a peculiar juxtaposition of different themes: amatory, vaunting and invective verse. They are rich in historical, political and social allusions, but on the whole their political significance is second to their role as entertainment. This they provide by means of funny descriptions, powerful imagery, grotesque exaggerations and gross obscenities; expressed in a variety of dictions ranging from the high-flown and stately to the simple near-colloquial. The "rebutting" implied by the term *naḳīḍa* does not consist in a point-by-point refutation of the opponent's poem. Rather than defending himself against slander and abuse, the replying poet attacks in his turn. Often a number of the rhyme words of the first poem re-appear in the second, but this is not done systematically. The most famous series of *naḳāʾiḍ* in Arabic literature, those of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (both of the same tribe, Tamīm), were made in the course of some forty years. They show little development and revel in the reiterated description of shameful incidents and characteristics. This static character has been called "perhaps the gravest artistic fault" of the genre (Salma Jayyusi, in *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period* (= *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, i), Cambridge 1983, 411).

Among the examples from subsequent periods one could mention *Naḳāʾiḍ Ibn al-Muʿtazz wa-Tamīm Ibn al-Muʿizz* (ed. Aḥmad Sayyid Muḥammad, 2nd ed. Cairo 1981). Sometimes the term *naḳīḍa* is used for what is more properly termed a *muʿāraḍa* [*q.v.*], sc. a poem with the same metre and rhyme as another, made by way of emulation or in order to surpass, without the invective element (see e.g., the first volume of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], ed. E. Wagner, Wiesbaden 1958, 24-105). The old tribal poetic duelling survived, with little changes, into modern times: Saad Abdullah Sowayan, *Nabaṭi poetry: the oral poetry of Arabia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985), 142-4, describes the *riddiyyih* in which two poets alternately improvise a few lines with the same metre and rhyme.

Bibliography: In addition to the titles mentioned in the text, and the relevant titles in the articles on the poets mentioned above and in the article HIDJĀʾ by Ch. Pellat, see also Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Taʾrīkh al-naḳāʾiḍ fi 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1946; Maḥmūd Ghinnāwī al-Zuhayrī, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ: dirāsa adabiyya*, Baghdād 1954. For a list of ancient compilations and commentaries of *naḳāʾiḍ*, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, Leiden 1975, 62-3.

(G.J.H. van Gelder)

AL-**NAḲB** (in Bedouin pronunciation, Nagb), the Negev desert of southern Palestine, in what is now the State of Israel. It stretches from the coastal plains of Madjdal and the southern Hebron hills down to the Gulf of ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*]. The name Negev is originally Hebrew, meaning "the dry land", and is mentioned several times in Genesis (e.g. xii.9, xiii.1, xx.1, etc.) as the place where Abraham often encamped with his livestock and where he dug the well eventually called

Beʾers͟hevaʿ (Ar. Biʾr al-Sabʿ [*q.v.*]). The place-name Nagb is not found in Classical Arabic historical or geographical literature. After Israel adopted Negev as the modern designation for the southern desert of the country, the Bedouins resident there Arabicised Negev to Nagb, which, meaning "a mountain pass" (Classical *naḳb*), has popularly been thought to derive from the famous pass through which the former Mecca-bound Egyptian pilgrim caravan descended from the central Sinai heights to the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba.

During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, Gaza (G͟hazza [*q.v.*]) was the centre of administration, at the head of which was a *ḳāʾimaḳām* or sub-district governor. In 1901, the Ottomans built Beersheba, which has been the administrative centre of the Negev ever since.

The earliest recorded Bedouin tribe in this area was the Balī, who aided the Byzantine emperor Heraclius to fight the invading Muslim forces (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2347, 2392). The D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām, who aided ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to invade Egypt, may also have lived there (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Nihāya*, 193). The present-day D̲j̲ubārāt were there by the 14th century A.D. (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *al-Bayān*, 169) and the Wuḥaydāt by the 16th century, when they expelled the ʿĀyid, that had dominated the southern sector for 300 years (al-D̲j̲azīrī, 461). Throughout the ages, the Negev was a refuge for Bedouin groups from north-west Arabia fleeing from vengeance or drought, who appended themselves to local tribes and confederations, some eventually growing and gaining tribal independence, such as the ʿUḳba tribe and the Ẓullām confederation.

The major contemporary Bedouin confederations in the Negev, the Tiyāhā and the Tarābīn, originally came there with the invading army of Bonaparte, in 1799, driving the dominant Wuḥaydāt confederation north. They were subsequently joined by the ʿAzāzna. Throughout the 19th century, these confederations fought each other over territory and, internally, over leadership, the al-ʿAṭāwna and the Huzayyil contending to head the Tiyāhā, and the al-Ṣūfī and Abū Sitta vying within the Tarābīn. These wars continued until 1890, when the final tribal borders were set.

During the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, most of the Bedouin population fled the Negev to neighbouring countries, only 13,000 out of 65,000 remaining; but by 1990, the Bedouin population was again put at 65,000, almost all of whom had become sedentary.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad al-D̲j̲azīrī, *Durar al-farāʾid al-munaẓẓama fī ak̲h̲bār al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ wa-ṭarīḳ Makka al-Muʿaẓẓama*, Cairo 1964; Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-iʿrāb ʿammā ʿarada Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, Cairo 1961; idem, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1958; ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Biʾr al-Sabʿ wa-ḳabāʾilihā*, Jerusalem 1934; E. Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev*, Manchester 1967; C. Bailey, *The Negev in the nineteenth century: reconstructing history from Bedouin oral traditions*, in *Asian and African Studies*, Jerusalem, xiv (1980); idem, *Dating the arrival of the Bedouin tribes in Sinai and the Negev*, in *JESHO*, xxviii (1985).

(C. BAILEY)

NAḲD (A.), the portion of the dowry handed over at the conclusion of a marriage, see MAHR. In modern Arabic, it has the sense of "money", see SIKKA.

NAḲḌ AL-MĪT̲H̲ĀḲ (A.), denotes the act of violating a religious covenant (*ʿahd* or *mīt̲h̲āḳ*), occasionally used in S̲h̲īʿism and, more commonly, Bahāʾism [*q.v.*], where the standard English term is "covenant-breaking". The terms *ʿahd* and *mīt̲h̲āḳ* are Ḳurʾānic (II, 27, 63, 83; III, 81; VIII, 56; XIII, 20, 25; XVI, 91, etc.), where they refer to God's general covenant with men or His prophets, or to specific covenants, such as that with the Banū Isrāʾīl [see MĪT̲H̲ĀḲ]. In S̲h̲īʿī tradition, the Prophet entered into a specific *mīt̲h̲āḳ* concerning the succession of ʿAlī. Each Imām in turn enters into a covenant concerning his successor, who must be appointed in his lifetime by means of an explicit declaration (*naṣṣ*). The imāmate itself is "a known covenant (*ʿahd*) on the part of God to named individuals" (al-Kulaynī, ii, 54:3). (For other uses, see al-Aḥsāʾī, ii, 15, 39-40, 41, 42).

In Bahāʾism, the terms are generally used of two covenants: that of God with men concerning His successive prophets and that of each prophet or *waṣī* concerning his successor. In the latter sense, loyalty to the covenant and, more specifically, the individual appointed by it (the *markaz al-mīt̲h̲āḳ*) constitutes a central motif in Bahāʾī doctrine.

The Bahāʾī covenant system closely resembles that of S̲h̲īʿism. Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bahāʾ Allāh appointed his eldest son ʿAbbās (ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ) as his *waṣī*; ʿAbbās in turn appointed a grandson, Shoghi Effendi, as the first of a succession of "Guardians" (*walī-yi amr Allāh*); Shoghi died childless, and authority passed six years later to an elected body, the *bayt al-ʿadl al-aʿẓam* (Universal House of Justice).

The punishment for challenging the authority of the central figure or body is wholesale excommunication. Numerous individuals and small groups have been expelled from the body of the movement, but no important sects have yet developed. In the absence of an explicit law of apostasy, the precise compass of *naḳḍ al-mīt̲h̲āḳ* has yet to be determined. In Western Bahāʾī writing, the S̲h̲īʿī origins of the covenant motif are routinely ignored and the system treated as though it is unique.

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(D. MACEOIN)

AL-NAK̲H̲AʿĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. YAZĪD, AL-KŪFĪ, ABŪ ʿIMRĀN, a Successor (*Tābiʿī*), Kūfan traditionist and lawyer, who enjoyed a certain fame, b. *ca.* 50/670, d. *ca.* 96/717. His informants were above all ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [*q.v.*] but also Anas b. Mālik and ʿĀʾisha [*q.vv.*]. He seems to have been part of the latter's circle, and transmitted from her a fair number of items concerning in particular the behaviour of women and husband-and-wife relations, beginning with her own marriage with the Prophet. It is not without significance that a number of these items of information were critically examined by an Ibn Ḳutayba.

But it is above all as a jurisconsult that Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲h̲aʿī played a major rôle. He appears to have been one of the first great defenders of the use of *raʾy* [*q.v.*], personal judgment, whose use he nevertheless only envisaged when tied closely to tradition. His teaching seems to have strongly influenced, through the intermediacy of pupils like Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, various front-rank jurists, above all Ḥanafī ones, but

also those belonging to other law schools, such as Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī, al-Shāfiʿī and even Saḥnūn [*q.vv.*], who accord him quite a large place in their works.

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(G. LECOMTE)

NAKHĀWILA [see AL-MADĪNA. 3].

NAKHČIWĀN, NAKHČUWĀN, the name of a town in Transcaucasia which is also the chief town of a region of the same name, until the early 19th century a largely independent khanate and in former Soviet Russian administrative geography part of the Azerbaijan SSR but an enclave within the Armenian Republic. Both town and region lie to the northwest of the great southern bend of the Araxes river, since 1834 here the frontier between Persia and Russian territory. The town of Nakhčiwān is situated in lat. 39° 12' N. and long. 45° 24' E. The region is mostly mountainous, with peaks rising up to 12,808 ft./3,904 m, except for the plains along the Araxes, and is in the seismically highly active zone which extends from northern Persia into eastern Turkey.

The town Ναξουάνα is mentioned in Ptolemy, v., ch. 12. The Armenians explain the name of Nakhčawan (Nakhčuan) by a popular etymology as *nakh-idjewan* "(Noah's) first stopping-place" (although the name is apparently compounded with *awan* "place") and locate the town in the province of Vaspurakan (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 122), or in that of Siunikh. According to Moses of Chorene, i, ch. 30, Nakhičewan was in the area peopled by Median prisoners (*mar*) in whom we should see the ancestors of the Kurds of this region (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 200: *nahr al-Akrād*). In the early Arab sources we find the form Nashawā, al-Balādhurī, 195, 200; Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148; al-Samʿānī, 560: Nashāwā. In the Saldjūḳ and Mongol period, the predominant form is Naḳdjuwān (as early as Ibn Khurradādhbih, 122).

The town was conquered under ʿUthmān by Ḥabīb b. Maslama. It was rebuilt under Muʿāwiya by ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim. In 87/705 the Arabs hanged a large number of Armenian notables, and thereafter the town acquired a Muslim character. For a short time (about 900) the power was in the hands of the Bagratuni, but the town was reconquered by the Sādjids [*q.v.*] and belonged henceforth to the domain of their vassal, the *amīr* of Golthn (Ordūbād [*q.v.*]); cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, preface, 79, 93, 99-101, 115, text, 300, 362, 567. It figures in the wars of the Daylamī period (Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148) and in the events of the Saldjūḳ period (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, under 514/1120).

Nakhčuwān is more particularly associated with the family of Īldegizid Atābegs of Ādharbāydjān (531-632/1136-1225 [*q.v.*]), cf. Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1894, 875-6), whose main centre it was, as is shown by the fine buildings: (*a*) the tomb (*mashhad*) of *al-raʾīs al-adjall Rukn al-Dīn Djamāl al-Islām muḳaddam al-mashāʾikh Yūsuf b. Kathīr* (?), dated 557/1162-3; (*b*) the tomb built by Shams al-Dīn Nuṣrat al-Islām Ildegiz for the *malika Djalāl al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muʾmina Khātūn* (probably his wife, former wife of the Saldjūḳ Ṭughrïl II, d. 568/1172-3, see Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 472); on Ildegiz's stay at Nakhčiwān in 568, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 290; (*c*) the portico (now in ruins) built in 582/1186 by the Atābeg Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad Pahlawān b. Ildegiz. Some localities depending upon Nakhčiwān (Erndjak, etc.) were given in fief to the Georgian prince Elikum Orbelian by his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan. When the Khʷārazmshāh Djalāl al-Din exercised power in Ādharbāydjān, Nakhčiwān belonged to al-Malika al-Djalāliyya, daughter of Muḥammad Pahlawān (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 76, 266. 300). Under the Mongols the town was devastated, as is attested by Rubruck who visited it in 1253, ed. 1839, 384, cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 82. The town suffered also from the wars between Turkey and Persia (under Murād IV); Ewliyā Čelebī, ii, 240, Tavernier (1664), ed. 1713, i, 53-5, and Chardin (1673), ed. 1711, i, 179, found it in ruins. Nakhčiwān was only rebuilt after 1828 when the khanates of Eriwān and Nakhičiwān were ceded to Russia. Under the Persians, Nakhičiwān (with the district of Āzā-Djirān = Ordubād) was directly under Ādjarbāydjān and not Eriwān. Kalb ʿAlī Khān of Nakhičiwān was blinded by Āḳā Muḥammad, founder of the Ḳadjār dynasty. The last chief of Nakhičiwān before the Russian occupation was Karīm Khān Kangarli. The *nāʾibs* appointed by the Russians were Iḥsān Khān and Shaykh ʿAlī Beg. The *maḥall*s of the khānate were: Nakhičiwān, Alindja-čay (Armenian Erndjak), Mawāzī-khātūn, Khok, Daralagez, and those of Āzā-Djīrān: Ordūbād, Akulis, Dasta, Bilāw and Činanāb. Among the dependencies of Nakhčiwān, Djulfa (since 1828) on the Russian-Persian frontier is very well known (Armenian Djuta) with the ruins of the old town and of an old bridge (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 399; *pul-i Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk*) and the bridge on the Tabrīz-Djulfa railway (built in 1906).

In 1834, after the Russian occupation, the khanate (the town and 179 villages) numbered 30,323 inhabitants (besides 11,341 inhabitants of Ordūbād and its 52 villages) (Dubois). In 1896 the town numbered 7,433 inhabitants (4,512 Muslims and 2,376 Armenians) and the district (*uyezd*) 86,878. In 1913 the town had 8,946 and the district 121,365. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greater part of Nakhičiwān was in 1924 made into an autonomous republic dependent on the Azerbaijan SSR, with an area of 2,124 sq. miles/5,500 km^2. The town of Nakhčiwān, lying on the Yerevan-Baku railway and now an industrial centre of some significance, had in 1970 a population of 33,000, whilst the republic of the same name depends largely on irrigated agriculture and stock-raising, with some mining, and in 1970 had a population of 202,000, mostly Muslim and Azeri Turkish-speaking.

Nakhičiwān on the Don in the present-day Russian Federation is the settlement of Armenian colonists founded in 1780 on the Don and is at the present day a suburb of Rostov.

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(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

NAKHL (a.), substantive of a collective nature (unit. *nakhla*, pl. *nakhīl*) denoting the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) of the order *Palmae*, sub-order *Coryphineae*. In Persian it is *nakhl* or *khurma*, in Turkish *hurma aghadjī*, in Hebrew *tāmār* and in Tamahak, according to the sex, *azzayl/tazzayt*, *émellé/tamellalt*, *tadamant*.

This attractive tree with dioecious flowers is probably one of the first to be known and exploited by mankind in the hot and arid zones of Africa and the Orient. The important role which has always been played by the date palms and their fruits [see tamr] in the diet of sedentary and nomadic populations of these zones is attested, in Arabic, by the rich terminology devoted to them. Regarding the tree itself, each element of its structure is defined by one or several terms which, for the most part, have been retained in the local dialects.

After germination of the stone of the date (*nawāⁿ*; Tamahak, *akebbu*, pl. *ikebba*), there emerges from the sand a turion (*fasīla*, *sālī*, *wadiyya*; Tamahak, *alkem*) which can be transplanted. The young cultivated plants (*ashāʾ*) are arranged in rows to form and orchard (*ṣawr*, *ḥāʾish*). When the stem of each (*djidhʿ*) has its crown of young palms within reach of human hand, it is known as a *ḳāʿid* (Tam., *tegheleft*, *tesakent*) and, above the height of a man, it is called *raḳla*, then *ʿaydāna*. When, after five to six years, it has attained its final height, which can be between 15 and 20 m., it becomes the *bāsiḳa* or *ʿawāna* if it is a single isolated tree. The date palm planted beside water is called *kāriʿa* or *mukraʿa*. If it leans excessively and is in danger of being uprooted, it needs propping up and, when supported, it becomes *rudjabiyya*. In old age, the date palm loses its garland of palms and bears no more fruit; it becomes desiccated and is then *saḥūḳ* or *ṣunbūr*, suitable for felling. The overall mass of foliage (*khūṣ*) in a cluster consists of some fifty broad leaves serrated in pinnate fashion; the leaf or palm (green, *shaṭba*, dry *saʿaf*; Tam., *takarart*) has a firm central stem known as *djarīd* which, when stripped of the leaf, is used for various purposes. It is this *djarīd*, used in the manner of a javelin, which gave its name to the well known equestrian sport (see djerīd and L. Mercier, *La Chasse*, 204-12) which has been so popular in Abyssinia, the Near East and Turkey, from the period of the Mamlūks to the present day, rivalling the game of polo [see ṣawladjān] and the "bouzkachi" of the Afghans and Mongols. The inflorescence, in spike or spadix form (*talʿa*, *ḍabba*) is enveloped in a bract (*ḳināba*, *ḳunnāba*), the spathe (*kāfūr*, *kufurrā*, *kathar*) which opens with the blossoming of the flowers (*ḍaḥk*, *gharīḍ*, *ighrīḍ*; Tam., *aghatū*, *eherer*). Those of the male date palm (*fuḥḥāl* and pl. *dhukkāra*) produce pollen (*lāḳāḥ*) which, in natural conditions, is transported by the wind and honey-gathering insects and deposited in the calyx of the female flowers to fertilise them. Natural fertilisation (*talḳīḥ*, *djibāb*) is often imperfect, being too dependent on chance, and at a very early stage humans developed a procedure for artificial pollination (*tadhkār*, *taʾbīr*) of female date palms, climbing the tree and shaking a bundle of male flowers over the female flowers to ensure good fertilisation. This practice was followed by the Babylonians, according to Herodotus, and was later mentioned by Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, and by Pliny; it is still in use in commercial palmeries. The fertilised female date palm is called *maʾbūr* and at its first pollination it is described as *muhadjdjana*. Certain date palms can be precocious in producing (*bakūr*, *bakīr*, *mutahadjdjina*) while others bear fruit only in alternate years (*sanhāʾ*). It can also happen, according to the atmospheric conditions of the season, that the dates of a productive tree fall when they are still green; the tree is then described as *khaḍīra*.

The attention required by cultivated date palms amounts to no more than an annual pruning or thinning-out of the foliage (*ṣirām*, *djibāb*, *djidād*, *djirām*, *shimrākh*, *ḳiṭāʿ*) of male trees, when the palms become dry; all that is left of these are stumps cut short at the base (*kirnāfa*, *karab*). Shoots growing from the trunk are also removed and some are replanted to assure the continuity of the palmery.

The date palm is often cited in the Ḳurʾān (19 mentions) as an example of the beneficence of Divine Providence towards humanity; it is often associated here with the vine, the olive, the pomegranate and with cereals. Worth recalling is this touching legend evoking the miracle of the birth of Jesus Christ (sūra XIX, 24-26): the Virgin Mary retires alone beneath a palm-tree to give birth to her child and the latter having arrived, she laments, driven to despair by her desolation and loneliness; but the God-child, placed at the foot of the tree, is immediately able to speak and advises his mother to shake the tree; succulent dates fall from it in profusion, while a spring of fresh and limpid water emerges from the sand. Refreshed and nourished, the Virgin takes heart and, strengthened by divine support, she rejoins her kinsfolk with her child.

Besides dates, the date palm provides other useful products. In dietary terms, the pith of the young trunk or palmite (*kathar*, *djadhab*, *sidhāb*, *djummār*), white and of starchy consistency, resembles cheese and is a delicacy still much appreciated by gourmets. Similarly, when boiled, the outer bounds or "palm-cabbage" taste rather like artichoke. The sap rising in the trunk may be extracted, providing the drink known as "palm-wine" (*lāgmī*); it is obtained either by pollarding the tree and surrounding the cut section with a receptacle which fills rapidly, or by slashing the stem vertically, and collecting the secretions in a manner similar to the procedure used for the extraction of rubber. This very sweet and refreshing liquid has the disadvantage of fermenting quite quickly, becoming charged with alcohol which renders it intoxicating; as such, Muslims must abstain from consuming it. In the field of craftsmanship, the dried folioles of the palms are collected by the basket-maker (*khawwāṣ*) who weaves them into mats (*ṭalīl*, pl. *ṭilla*, *ṭulul*, *aṭilla*) and small baskets for dates (*dawkhala*, pl. *dawākhil*). The ligneous fibres (*khulb*, *latīf*) of the trunk are very durable and provide the material for stout cables and ropes much used by fishing fleets and coastal trading vessel; after carding, this fibre provides excellent packing material (*disār*) for the caulking of ships and the stuffing (*ḥashw*) of mattresses and cushions, especially those of pack-saddles and stools. Finally, for the carpenter (*nadjdjār*), the large trunks, well dried and squared, constitute the base material for building work in the form of girders, rafters and pillars.

For the desert populations, the palmeries (*ḥadāʾiḳ al-nakhl*) have always been centres of sedentarisation and

civilisation. In Biblical times the date palm was quite abundant in Palestine, and Phoenicia or "land of palms" owes to it its name, from the Greek φοινιξ. Theophrastus and Pliny agree in attesting the abundance of date palms in Judaea, and this is confirmed by other historians, Strabo, Pausanias, Tacitus and Aulius Gallus. These testimonies explain the representation of the date palm on the Roman and Hebrew coinage struck in this country, as a symbol of prosperity. It is thus that the city of Jericho was known as the "city of palms", and Strabo described its rich palmery with admiration. Similar evidence is to be found in accounts of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in various periods, until the 17th century. The enclosed valley of the Jordan and the region of the Dead Sea also enjoyed this source of nourishment, as did the outskirts of Jerusalem, Samaria and Galilee. According to the remnants of Egyptian and Assyrian monumental decorations, it may be asserted that the date palm was to be found in abundance from the Nile to the Euphrates. Solomon had built the city of Tadmur (Palmyra) "city of palms" between Damascus and the Euphrates; it was destroyed by the Emperor Aurelian in 273 A.D. For their part, Muslim geographers and travellers of the Middle Ages have not neglected to mention in their accounts the great palmeries and oases [see WĀḤA] from the Maghrib to ʿIrāḳ and Persia. It is necessary only to follow Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who, in the 8th/14th century, travelled throughout the Muslim world, from Morocco to the Indies, to have, by means of his valuable *Riḥla*, a virtually exhaustive list of the great palmeries of the period, most of which still exist today. In particular, he notes the comparable excellence of the dates of Baṣra and those of Sidjilmasa and Iwalaten, in southern Morocco. At the present, the renown of the succulent *daglāt al-nūr* "fingers of light" of Algeria and Tunisia [see BISKRA; NAFṬA], exported to all parts of Europe, needs hardly to be stressed.

The coverage and shade provided by the palmery create conditions favourable to animal as well as vegetal life. Thus the date palm has its share of arboreal guests who use it both as a habitant and a source of food. Among these, the most common is the Palm Rat or Alexandria Rat (*Mus alexandrinus*) which, as a result of maritime trade, has spread as far as Italy. It builds its nest at the top of the tree and, when hunted, it blows itself up like a balloon and, consequently, can drop to the ground without suffering any harm [see FAʾR]. It is often confused with the Cabbage-Palm Rat (*tunba*; Tam., *akkolen*) which in fact is a small squirrel (*Euxerus erythropos*) living on dates; its flesh, when pounded, is administered in pellet form to camels as a remedy against fits. In the Indies, the Cabbage-Palm Squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*; *sindjāb al-nakhl*, *djulhum*) and the Reddish Rat (*Mus rufescens*) are found in a date palm habitat. In addition to these small mammals, a considerable population of fruit-eating passerines and wild doves is to be found nesting in the clumps of palms.

In the domain of art [see FANN], with the prohibition by Islam of pictorial representation, the date palm lost the role of being the favourite decorative motif accorded to it in architecture by earlier civilisations, Chaldaeo-Assyrian as well as Egyptian. The same applies to the symbolic quality of the palm, representing victory and joy and carried by all participants in Jewish and Christian religious festivals; only Palm Sunday survives as a vestige of this culture. In Christianity, currently, the palm, associated with laurels, still represents a mark of high distinction given as a reward for exceptional services to society and it constitutes the crown of religious martyrs.

In modern botany, the Arabic system of classification applies the term *nakhl* to a score of other palmaceous trees which are to be found from Asia to America, through the simple transposition of their vernacular names. These species are, for the most part, cultivated as elements of arboreal decoration (gardens, parks, avenues etc.) and, in each case, *nakhl* is accompanied by a qualificative; thus, the Eleis or Oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is defined as *nakhl al-duhn* and the Wax palm (*Ceroxylon*) is the *nakhl al-shamʿ*. These definitions are, understandably, not to found in the writings of the ancient Arab authors who, besides the date palm, were familiar only with the Coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), known as *nardjīl rānidj*, *shuʿṣūr*, and the Doum palm (*Hyphaene coccifera* or *thebaica*). On rare occasions, al-Masʿūdī used the expression *nakhl al-nardjīl* for the Coconut palm (*Murūdj*, §§ 269, 368, 872); the Doum palm is called *dūm*, *khidlāf*, *khazam*, *wakl*.

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(F. VIRÉ)

NAKHLA, the name of two valleys on the way from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif, distinguished as Shaʾmiyya (Syrian, northern) and Yamāniya (Yemenite, southern). The name is presumably due to an abundance of palms (*nakhl*) in the valleys. On a height in Syrian Nakhla there was an idol of al-ʿUzzā which was specially venerated by Ḳuraysh and Banū Kināna. Some regarded the circumambulation of al-ʿUzzā as an essential for the completion of the *ḥadjdj* to the Kaʿba. Three Samura trees were closely associated with the deity. After the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to cut down the trees and destroy the idol. At another point in Nakhla there was an idol of Suwāʿ. On his way back from al-Ṭāʾif shortly before the *Hidjra*, Muḥammad halted at Nakhla, and the incident recorded in the Ḳurʾān (LXXII, 1, 2; XLV, 29-32), when djinn became believers, is said to have occurred. Nakhla is best known as the goal of an expedition in 2 A.H. led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh. This was the first occasion on which a Muslim killed a pagan and the Muslims captured a Meccan caravan. The Muslims violated the sacred month of Radjab, but this was condoned by a revelation (II, 217). After the battle of Ḥunayn, Muḥammad passed through Nakhla al-Yamāniya, and a mosque was built there.

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(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

NAKHLĪ (see ḤĀFIẒ TANISH, in Suppl.].

NAKHSHAB, a town in the district of Bukhārā, also called Nasaf by the Arab geographers (cf. the similar evolution of Nashawā from Nakhčiwān). The town lay in the valley of the Kashka-Daryā, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ²460, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 444: Kashk-rūdh, which runs southwards parallel to the Zarafshān (river of Samarḳand) and runs towards the Amū-Daryā [*q.v.*] but before joining it disappears in the sands. Nakhshab lay on the road joining Bukhārā to Balkh four days' journey from the former and eight from the latter (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 344). In the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī (325) the town consisted only of a suburb (*rabaḍ*) and a ruined citadel (*kuhandiz*). The river ran through the centre of the town (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ²502, tr. 481).

The Mongols from the time of Čingiz-Khān (1220) used the region of Nakhshab for their summer encampments. The Čaghatayids Kebek (1318-26) and Ḳazan (killed in 1347) had palaces built there, as a result of which the whole district was called Ḳarshī ("palace" in Mongolian) [*q.v.*]. Ḳarshī is often mentioned in the time of Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma* i, 111, 244, 259, etc.), but it was eclipsed by Kish [*q.v.*] or Shahr-i Sabz, the birthplace of Tīmūr, 3 days' journey above Ḳarshī. The citadel of Ḳarshī was of considerable strength and valiantly resisted Shaybānī Khān (cf. *Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioransky, 29) and ʿAbd Allāh Khān of Bukhārā (in 965/1558). From the 18th century onwards, Ḳarshī began to rise at the expense of Kish, and before 1920 was the second town of the khānate of Bukhārā with a population of 60-70,000.

The problem of identifying the ruins in the district of Ḳarshī was studied on the spot by L.A. Zimin, who formulated his conclusions as follows: 1. The ruins of the ancient Nakhshab are around the hill of Shulluktepe (cf. Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Nādiri*, on the events of 1149/1736-7) which marks the site of the old citadel, already in ruins in the 10th century. 2. As a result of the erection of the Mongol palaces somewhere to the south of the river, the town begins to shift southwards, and at the end of the 14th century, when Tīmūr built a citadel there, it must have occupied in part the site of the modern Ḳarshī. 3. The remains of this citadel (which Shaybānī Khān and ʿAbd Allāh Khān besieged in vain) should be sought near the ruins of Ḳalʿa-yi Zahāk-i Mārān (about 2 miles southwest of Ḳarshī).

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 470-1; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 134-42 (mentions about 60 villages dependent on Nakhshab); idem, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, Petersburg 1912, 126 (valley of the Kashka); L. Zimin, *Nakhshab, Nasaf, Ḳarshī*, in *ʿIḳd al-djumān* (Festschrift for V. Barthold), Tashkent 1927, 197-214. On a pseudo-local history, see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: a history of Nasaf?*, in *60. doğum yılı münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 165-8. (V. MINORSKY)

NAKHSHABĪ, SHAYKH ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN (d. 751/1350), a famous Persian author (not to be confused with the famous Ṣūfī Shaykh Abū Turāb Nakhshabī, d. 245/860). Very little is known of his career.

His *nisba* suggests that he came from Nakhshab [*q.v.*], but he went to India where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Farīd, a descendant of the celebrated Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgūrī. The *Akhbār al-akhyār* of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (Dihlī 1309/1891-2, 104-7) says that he died in Badāʾūn after a long and contemplative life and that his tomb is there. Nakhshabī was a prolific writer who used his knowledge of Indian languages to translate Indian books into Persian. His best known work is the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* ("Book of the Parrot"), very popular in India and Central Asia, based on the Sanskrit *Çukasaptatī* (partly translated into Greek by D. Galanos, Athens 1851). In the preface to this book, Nakhshabī tells us that one of his patrons showed him an old Persian translation of this work and persuaded him to do it again as the language of the old translation was too simple and artless. Nakhshabī set to work and made a book of 52 chapters (called "nights") replacing some stories which did not seem to him sufficiently interesting by better ones.

The book, completed in 730/1330, is in the usual form of a framework with inset stories and is characterised by unusually fine language and bold metaphors and similes. Nakhshabī's language however seems to have been too difficult and precious for later generations, as by command of the Emperor Akbar, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak rewrote the book in a simplified version (Rieu, 753b). This version, however, was completely supplanted by Muḥammad Ḳādirī (11th/17th century) who reduced it to 35 chapters. Ḳādirī's version became the foundation of a large number of translations into Hindī (Āwārī and Ghawwāṣī), Bengalī (Caṇḍicaraṇa Munshī), Turkish (Ṣarī ʿAbd Allāh Efendi, printed Būlāḳ, 1254/1838-9 and Constantinople 1256/1840-1) and Ḳazan Tatar. There is also a metrical version in Persian by Ḥamīd Lāhūrī (Bland, in *JRAS*, ix, 163). The same theme is taken by a number of popular versions which were disseminated in Persia in cheap lithographs under the title *Čil* (*čihil*) *ṭūṭī* ("40 parrots"). The text of one of these was published by V. Zhukovski (St. Petersburg 1901). Nakhshabī's work was known in Europe as early as 1792, when M. Gerrans published a free English translation of 12 nights. Ḳādirī's version was translated into German by C.I.L. Iken (Stuttgart 1822); this edition contains an essay on Nakhshabī and specimens of his *Ṭūṭī-nāma* by Kosegarten. The Turkish version was translated into German by L. Rosen (Leipzig 1858). So far, no complete translation of the original work of Nakhshabī has been published, although there is a French translation in ms. in Munich. E. Berthels has translated the book into Russian, but this version is also still in manuscript. The eighth night was published in original text and German translation by H. Brockhaus (Leipzig 1843, and in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843, nos. 242, 243, pp. 969 ff.). Nakhshabī's other works never attained anything like the popularity of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* but have almost all come down to us. Among them are: *Gulrīz* "Scattered roses", a tale dealing with the loves of Maʿṣūm-shāh and Nūshāba (printed by Agha Muḥammad Ḳāzim Shirāzī and K.F. Azoe, Calcutta 1912, in Bibl. Ind.); *Djuzʾiyyāt u kulliyyāt* ("Particulars and generals") also called *Čil nāmūs* (Rieu, 740a), an allegory which deals with the descriptions of the various parts of the human body considered as the noblest work of God and as proof of His greatness; *Ladjdjat al-nisāʾ*, a Persian version of the *Koka-sāstra*, an Indian work on different temperaments and sexual intercourse; *Silk al-sulūk*, a collection of sayings of celebrated mystics (lith. Dihlī 1895), and *Naṣāʾiḥ u mawāʿiẓ*, a brief treatise of a Ṣūfī nature (Rieu, 738a). His treatise *ʿAshara mubashshara* is only known from its mention in the *Akhbār al-akhyār* (see above). All the prose works of Nakhshabī are embellished with *ḳiṭʿas* scattered through them, which show that he was also an excellent poet.

Bibliography: On Na<u>khsh</u>abī: J. Pertsch, *Über Nachschabi's Papageienbuch*, in *ZDMG*, xxi, 505 ff.; Benfey, in *GGA* (1858), 529; H. Ethé, in *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 258, 261, 324-6, 335; Elliott, *History of India*, vi, 485; Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 223; Storey, iii/2, 245-6; Mahroo Hatami, *Untersuchungen zum persischen Papageienbuch des Naḫšabī*, Freiburg 1977. Besides the mss. and editions mentioned: Ḳādirī's version in text and English tr. by Gladwin, Calcutta 1800 and London 1801; *Ṭoṭā-kahānī*, a Hindūstānī translation, ed. D. Forbes, London 1852. On *Gulrīz*, see also Ch. Stewart, *A descriptive catalogue of the Orient Library of the late Tippoo Sultān of Mysore*, Cambridge 1819, 85a; *Ladjdjat al-nisāʾ*, in Mehren, *Codices persici*, etc. *Bibliothecae regiae Hafniensis*, Copenhagen 1857, 15, no. xxxvi.

(E. BERTHELS)

NAḲĪB (A.), pl. *nuḳabāʾ*, "chief, leader", of a tribe or other group, a term used in various senses at different times of Islamic history. For its sense as head of the community of ʿAlid descendants, see NAḲĪB AL-ASHRĀF.

1. In early Islamic history. One of the term's usages in early Islamic history is in connection with the preparatory stages of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution of 129-32/746-50. The term *naḳīb* had already established itself in the story of the Prophet Muḥammad's career, when the Medinans negotiating with him about the *hidjra* from Mecca to Medina were asked to appoint 12 *nuḳabāʾ* as representatives, although they do not appear to have filled any functions and it has been suggested that these representatives were introduced into the *Sīra* as parallels to Moses' helpers and Jesus's twelve Apostles (see W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 145, 147-8).

The figure twelve apparently thus became normative, for the historians (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1358) speak of the ʿAbbāsids, then living at al-Ḥumayma [*q.v.*] in southern Jordan, in 100/718-19 nominating 12 *nuḳabāʾ* to further their interests in <u>Kh</u>urāsān. This is dubious, but it does seem that the idea surfaced 30 years later when Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] was organising revolutionary propaganda in the Marw oasis. The *A<u>kh</u>bār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya* (3rd/9th century) enumerates 12 *nuḳabāʾ* or representatives, 7 genuine Arabs and 5 *mawālī*, and including figures who later were prominent in the wars of the Revolution or in early ʿAbbāsid history, such as Ḳaḥṭaba b. <u>Sh</u>abīb [*q.v.*], Ṭalḥa b. Ruzayḳ and Sulaymān b. Ka<u>th</u>īr (ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.<u>Dj</u>. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 216). Outside this nucleus, the sources mention a further 18 regional *nuḳabāʾ*, equal in status to the Marw ones, and a wider body of up to 70 persons who operated also in other towns of <u>Kh</u>urāsān (see M. Sharon, *Black banners from the East. The establishment of the ʿAbbāsid state—incubation of a revolt*, Jerusalem 1983, 189, 192 ff.).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In India. This was an official in the Dihlī sultanate courts of lower rank than the *ḥādjib* (chamberlain), probably best translated "usher". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 221 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 660 ff., describes the role of the *naḳībs* in court ceremonial; at the public audience there might be a hundred of them, under the orders of the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*, who cry *bismillāh* at the sultan's entry; at public meals the *naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ* delivers a formal eulogy of the sultan before the meal commences, and the *naḳibs* escort the food from the kitchens. On the sultan's formal procession from his palace for the *ʿīd* ceremonies, some three hundred *naḳībs* would walk in front of the sultan, each wearing a high conical golden hat, a golden girdle, and carrying a gold-handled whip. The *naḳībs* were used to proclaim orders to the assemblies on these occasions. They had also a military role: the *Ādāb al-ḥarb* of Fa<u>kh</u>r-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], describing a review of the army by the *ʿāriḍ-i mamālik*, shows the *naḳībs* standing with the *ʿāriḍ* at the scrutiny of each soldier and his mount, and the *naḳībs* had charts for assigning to each soldier his correct place in the battle-order, and would shout orders to the troops as required. They had similar duties in the organisation of the royal hunt.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

NAḲĪB AL-A<u>SH</u>RĀF (A.), "the marshal of the nobility (i.e., the descendants of Muḥammad's family, *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*])". *Naḳīb* is derived from the root *n-ḳ-b*, meaning "to bore, to pierce", then also "to investigate, to verify, to examine". Thus *naḳīb* is the person who verifies something with regard to its correctness; following from this, *naḳīb* is an expert (*ʿarīf*) in his business, acting as trustee (*amīn*) and protector (*kafīl*) (cf. *LA*, s.v. *n-ḳ-b*).

Although the term *a<u>sh</u>rāf* (one of the plurals of *<u>sh</u>arīf* [*q.v.*]) originates from pre-Islamic times when, among the Arab tribes, it meant those free men who could claim an eminent position (*<u>sh</u>araf*) because of their pure descent (*nasab*) from illustrious ancestors that gave superiority by either birth or acquired merit (*ḥasab*) to its possessors [see ḤASAB WA-NASAB], *naḳīb al-a<u>sh</u>rāf* is an Islamic creation. The historical development of the *naḳīb* and his office (*niḳāba*) has so far not found appropriate attention by scholars. There is no work exclusively focusing on *naḳīb al-a<u>sh</u>rāf* throughout the different regions and periods in Islamic history.

1. In the central Islamic lands.

The institution was most certainly established by the ʿAbbāsids, who were concerned with the justification of their caliphate by linking their claim to legitimate rule with the concept of *<u>sh</u>araf*, embodied since the rise of Islam in the offspring of Muḥammad's family. According to one *ḥadī<u>th</u>*, his family included both the descendants of ʿAlī (and his brothers) and of al-ʿAbbās; a tradition on which the ʿAbbāsids based their contention of membership in Muḥammad's family and thereby also in the group of *a<u>sh</u>rāf*. Ever since then, the *a<u>sh</u>rāf* have been broadly divided into two branches, the Ṭālibids (after ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib) or ʿAlids [*q.v.*] and the ʿAbbāsids [*q.v.*] (for more details, see <u>SH</u>ARĪF). It is very doubtful that the office of *naḳīb al- a<u>sh</u>rāf* already existed under the Umayyads, as was assumed by one scholar (A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, repr. Aalen 1966, i, 449, n. 1). However, the date of appearance of the office is quite unknown. References to *naḳībs* are not earlier than from the 3rd/9th century. Yet, for the following centuries the office of *naḳīb* is reported time and again. It evolved into an institution with considerable influence, both socially and politico-religiously (H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 64-5; Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225)*, Berlin-New York 1975, 153-4 and *passim*). Quite often, the office became hereditary in one family; for example, in Nī<u>sh</u>āpūr during the 5th/11th century (R.W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 234-40).

Since some time towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, all larger towns had their *naḳībs* who were supervised by a chief *naḳīb* (*naḳīb al-nuḳabāʾ*). In principle, each *naḳīb*, himself from among the *a<u>sh</u>rāf*, was appointed by the government's representatives. Until

the 4th/10th century, all members of the *ashrāf*, both ʿAbbāsid and Ṭālibid-ʿAlid, were probably headed by one *nakīb*. By the end of that century, each branch had its own *nakīb*. This can be explained by the gradual decline of the ʿAbbāsids' influence on the one hand, and the rise and spread of the different forms of Shīʿism (politically represented, for example, through Būyid rule, through the Fāṭimid caliphate, etc.), to which the Ṭālibids (or ʿAlids) adhered, on the other (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, repr. Hildesheim 1968, 145; H.L. Bodman, Jr., *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1963, 85-6).

Whatever the origin, development and organisation of the office, the functions of the *nakīb* are better known, at least as far as they are stated in the law books by al-Māwardī and Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (5th/11th century). According to them, the duties of the *nakīb* comprised genealogical, material and moral matters, the latter partly overlapping with the realm of the judge (*kāḍī* [*q.v.*]). The *nakīb* had to keep a register of nobility, to enter births and deaths in it and to exclude false claimants from intrusion into the corps of *ashrāf*. He had also to prevent the women of noble blood (*sharīfas*) from marrying men not their equals in nobility. The *nakīb* was enjoined to urge the financial claims of the *ashrāf*, in particular, on the state treasury concerning their pensions. Further to this, he had to watch over the proper administration of endowments (*awkāf*) established for the *ashrāf*. With regard to morality, the *nakīb* was liable to control the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excess and to admonish them to avoid anything detrimental to their prestige.

Following the jurists, there were two types of the post of *nakīb*, the special position (*al-nikāba al-khāṣṣa*) and the general one (*al-nikāba al-ʿāmma*). Perhaps this division was only theoretical, but it pointed to the different quality of functions attributed to the *nakīb*. Within the general *nikāba* fell considerable judicial powers, including the execution of Kurʾānic punishments (*ḥudūd*, pl. of *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]) and the judgement of litigations between *ashrāf* (al-Māwardī, *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1883, ed. Cairo 1960, ch. 8; French tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 199-207; Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ, *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1938, ch. 5 [both texts correspond with each other]; see also E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1960, 554-8). The close relation between the (general) *nakīb* and the judge became also apparent in terms of organisation: comparable to the chief judge there was a chief *nakīb* (cf. L. Massignon, *Cadis et naqibs bagdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li [1948], 106-15).

For the post-ʿAbbāsid periods, the history of the *nikāba* is even worse investigated, with the exception of 18th century Aleppo and of Egypt under Ottoman rule and after. In Aleppo, the *ashrāf* and the *nakībs* constituted a vital political force vis-à-vis the Ottoman provincial government and the troops of the Janissaries (H.L. Bodman, Jr., *op. cit.* 86 ff., 103 ff.). In Egypt, the *nakīb al-ashrāf* rose from a relatively low position at the end of Mamlūk and the beginning of Ottoman rule to become an influential functionary in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Yet, from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] onwards, the *nakīb* was curtailed again, only to become further reduced to a mere honorific in the present century (M. Winter, *The Ashrāf and Niqābat al-Ashrāf in Egypt in Ottoman and modern times*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xix [1985], 17-41; for the Ottoman period, see also H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/2, London 1957, 93-4, 100 ff., and esp. for Damascus, see Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in politics. Damascene factions and estates of the 18th and 19th centuries*, Stuttgart 1985, 124 ff., 194 ff.).

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2. In Muslim India. See HIND. ii. Ethnography, and NAKĪB. 2. In India.

NAKĪḌA [see NAKĀʾIḌ].

NAKĪR [see MUNKAR WA-NAKĪR].

NAKĪR [see MUNKAR].

NAKKĀRA-KHĀNA, NAKĀRA-KHĀNA (P.), kind of military band. The origins of the *nakkāra-khāna*, so-called after the *nakkāra* or kettle-drum, which was one of the instruments of the military band belonging to rulers and military leaders, are obscure. There are references to it from an early period when it appears to have been synonymous with the *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*]. Originally, its purpose was probably military and it retained this function in the Persian army until modern times. It also had ceremonial functions and these tended in the course of time to overshadow its military aspect. It was part of the ceremonial of the caliph and in the early centuries reserved for him alone. It was composed of various instruments, kettle-drums, horns, trumpets and reed pipes, and played five times a day at the times of prayer at the caliph's residence [see NAWBA], hence the expression *nakkāra-i saḥarī* (or *nakkāra-i ṣubḥ*), the *nakkāra* played at the time of the dawn prayers, which is frequently found in later Persian texts. The *nakkāra-khāna* also played on special occasions such as when news was received of a military victory or at other times of public rejoicing, hence the expression *nakkāra-yi shādmānī* and *nakkāra-yi shādiyānī* (*shādiyāna*), also met with in Persian texts. In 967/1559-60 Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered the *nakkāra-yi shādiyānī* to be played for three days when Georgia was granted to ʿĪsā Khān, who had been converted to Islam (Kāḍī Aḥmad Kumī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāķī, Tehran AHS 1359/1980-1, i, 412). Sometimes the *nakkāra* might be suspended as a sign of mourning [see ṬABL-KHĀNA].

When the caliphate began to fragment, governors and semi-independent rulers were granted, or arrogated to themselves, the right to the *nawba* and had their own *nakkāra-khānas*. In 368/978-9 the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ gave the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla the right to three *nawbas*, to be played at the time of the morning, midday and evening prayers. The Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaķī does not apparently mention the *nakkāra-khāna*, though musicians were

associated with the royal court and played on special occasions such as receptions for envoys and friendly rulers (cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 270). The Saldjūḳ sultans marked their sovereignty by exercising the privilege of the *nawba* and granted this also to subordinate rulers and governors, as had the caliphs. Both the caliph and the sultan might, and sometimes did, refuse the *nawba* to those who demanded it [see ṬABL-KHĀNA]. The right to play drums was occasionally granted to officials of the bureaucracy, who, so far as they had private armies, presumably also had military bands. in 427/1035-6 the Ghaznawid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd gave various honours to his chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) Sūbāshī when he appointed him *ḥādjib-i buzurg*, or chief minister, including the right to drums (*ṭabl wa duhul*) (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad AHS 1350/1971, 427). In a draft document for the appointment of a *wazīr* in the *Dastūr al-kātib* by Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī (8th/14th century) the recipient is granted various insignia, including the right to drums (*ṭabl*), a standard (*ʿalam*) and the *naḳḳāra* (ed. A.A. Alizade, ii, Moscow 1976, 76).

The Īlkhāns and their followers, like preceding rulers, had military bands. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, describing the ceremonial observed by the military forces of Abū Saʿīd (d. 756/1355), states that each of his *amīrs* had trumpets, drums and standards. When Abū Saʿīd mounted, drums, trumpets and pipes were sounded for his departure. His chief wife and the other princesses (*khawātīn*) and the *wazīr* all had their own drums which were beaten at the appropriate time (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 342-4). The playing of military music whenever the ruler set out was probably normal practice. Muʿīn al-Dīn Zamčī Isfizārī states that "it had always been the custom that when Shāhrukh Sulṭān [d. 850/1447] went anywhere on horseback *naḳḳāračīs* would go before him beating kettle-drums" (*Rawḍat al-djannāt fī awṣāf Madīnat Harāt*, ed. S.M. Kāẓim Imām, Tehran AHS 1339/1960-1, ii, 85). Isfizārī also mentions that when a number of *amīrs* came to Yādgār Muḥammad in Rādkān in 895/1489-9 the kettle-drums of joy (*naḳḳāra-yi shādiyāna*) were beaten and on the following day the *khuṭba* was read in his name (*ibid.*, 350). Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, describing the celebration of the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* in Bukhārā in 910/1504-5, states that the *naḳḳāračīs* played drums, pipes and other instruments to announce the arrival of the Özbeg sultan, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, and that drums, pipes and standards preceded him as he rode from the *muṣallā* to the Čahār Bāgh (*Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 192-3, 196).

Under the Mamlūks, Ottomans, Great Mughals of India and the Ṣafawids the *naḳḳāra-khāna* continued to be one of the insignia of rule [see ṬABL-KHĀNA]. In the capitals and major cities it was played from an elevated place over the entrance of royal residences or over the city gates. In Cairo under the Mamlūks in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries it was played over the Bāb Zuwayla, the southern Fāṭimid gate of the city. In Iṣfahān under the Ṣafawids and later it was played from a balcony above the Ḳayṣariyya, the entrance to the bazaar on the north side of the Great Maydān. In provincial towns which had had independent or semi-independent dynasties, tradition believed the site of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* to have been in the citadel (*arg*) or in some high tower. Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī mentions a high tower in Yazd known as the *naḳḳāra-khāna* (*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, i, 85). A.V. Williams Jackson states that some ruins on a high ridge about two miles distant from Hamadān were called the *naḳḳāra-khāna* (*Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 173).

Each provincial leader who aspired to independence or semi-independence probably had a *naḳḳāra-khāna* in his residence. Capture of this by enemies signalled defeat. When Shāh ʿAbbās marched on Ḳazwīn in 995/1587 to assert his sovereignty, the opposing army having scattered, the employees of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* took their instruments into the city and sounded them in the name of Shāh ʿAbbās (Iskandar Beg, *Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 370). Provincial rulers under the Ṣafawids received, as they had in former times, or arrogated to themselves, the right to the *naḳḳāra*. When the ruler of Diyār Bakr came with his followers to Ismāʿīl in 910/1504-5, he had with him his standards and *naḳḳāra* (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *op. cit.*, i, 90). Humāyūn, the Great Mughal, when he took refuge with Ṭahmāsp in Ḳazwīn, was given various gifts, including drums, standards and the equipment for a *naḳḳāra-khāna*. Ṭahmāsp also gave a standard and a *naḳḳāra* to Bayrām Khān, one of Humāyūn's followers (Iskandar Beg, *op. cit.*, i, 99). It would appear that different contingents of the Ṣafawid army each had, as in the Īlkhānid army, a military band. When Ṭahmāsp reviewed the army in 936/1529-30, he ordered all the *naḳḳāra-khānas* which were at the royal camp to play and to lead the various contingents in the review (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī, *op. cit.*, i, 198). Shortly after the accession of Shāh Ṣafī in 1038/1629 there was an abortive rebellion in Gīlān, headed by Kālindjār Sulṭān, whose followers gave him the *laḳab* ʿĀdil Shāh and played the *naḳḳāra* in his name. (ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī Gīlānī, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1349/1970, 262 ff.).

Chardin, describing the coronation of Shāh Ṣafī II (Sulaymān) in 1077/1668 states that the *naḳḳāra* was played from two balconies on the top of the Ḳayṣariyya in Iṣfahān. It sounded, he wrote, "more like the noise of war than musick" and lasted twenty days and nights without intermission (*The coronation of Solyman III*, 51, published with *Travels of Sr. John Chardin into Persia and ye East Indies*, London 1686). Thévenot, who was in Iṣfahān in 1664-5 states that the *naḳḳāra* was played at sunset and midnight from balconies or galleries over the gate of the bazaar at the north side of the *maydān* (*Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 79). Tavernier, who visited Persia several times between 1632 and 1668, states that the *naḳḳāra-khāna* played at midnight, sunrise and sunset for a quarter of an hour in all towns where the ruler resided and in those which had *khāns* as governors. It was played from an elevated place in the town so that the noise could be heard throughout the town. It was also played on festivals and when a new governor was appointed (*Voyages en Perse*, repr. Geneva 1970, 287-8). Both Tavernier and Du Mans allege that the *naḳḳāračīs* would send one or two or more of their number, according to the status of the persons involved, to play at the door of a house where the birth of a boy had taken place and did not cease to play until they received their due (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 123). Kaempfer, who was in Persia in the reign of Shāh Sulaymān, states that the *naḳḳāra* was played daily at sunset and two hours before sunrise. It was also played when the new moon appeared, on religious holidays and at royal banquets. There were in all some forty drummers, pipers and other musicians (*Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs: 1684-1685*, German tr. W. Hinz, Tübingen-Basel 1977, 157).

Although the *nakkāra-khāna* was still one of the essential insignia of rule, it was by the 10th/16th century increasingly associated with less formal aspects of court life and with singers and dancers. This is indicated by a diploma for the *nakkāračī* Ustād Muḥammad contained in the *Sharaf-nāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd, *muḥtasib* and later *ṣadr* at the court of Ḥusayn Baykara (d. 922/1516), who became keeper of the great seal in 1501 (text in facsimile with introduction, commentary and bibliography by H. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). The document states that Ustād Muḥammad was to hold office as the head of the *nakkāra-khāna* jointly with a certain ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who was the leader (*mukaddam*) of the headmen (*kalāntarān*) of the *nawbatiyān* of the court. The pipers, trumpeters and other musicians were to consider him their headman (*kalāntar*). Various groups or corporations were also placed under him, including storytellers (*kawwālān*), bathkeepers (*ḥammāmiyān*), barbers (*dallālān*) and others (Doc. no. 15 and see Roemer's commentary, 174-5).

According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, the *nakkāra-khāna* seems to have been united with the *mashʿal-khāna*, the palace lighting department. The accessories of the band were kept in that department (facs., text ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, ff. 51b-52a). The *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Mīrzā Rafīʿā states that in Ramaḍān the chief astrologer (*munadjdjim-bāshī*) and other astrologers would go to the *nakkāra-khāna* on those nights when the shah declared that the *nakkāra-yi saḥar* should be sounded and at their indication the *nakkāra-khāna* would play (*Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā*, ed. Muḥammad Takī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran University, *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, xvi/3 [1968], 310). There was also at the Ṣafawid court a master of musicians (*čalidjī bāshī*). He was in charge of musicians and dancing-girls attached to the court and was under the *mashʿaldār-bāshī* (Du Mans, *op. cit.*, 24, Kaemper, *op. cit.*, 87). Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp the role of the *ahl-i ṭarab* was played down. He dismissed a number of them, retaining only a certain Ustād Ḥusayn Shustarī and Ustād Asad, who was the *surnāʾī* of the royal *nakkāra-khāna*. Towards the end of his life, he also turned out some more musicians from the royal court, imprisoned Ustād Ḥusayn several times and finally made him swear that he would only play the *surnā* in the royal *nakkāra-khāna* (and not in musical assemblies) (*Tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, i, 190). However, the restrictions on the *nakkāra-khāna* and its associated musicians were temporary. The *Dastūr al-mulūk* states that the *čalidjī-bāshī* was head of the *ahl-i ṭarab*. It was his duty to ensure that a number of musicians were always at the royal court whether the Shah was in residence at the capital or on an expedition (xvi/5 [1969], 559). Although special groups of singers and dancers were attached to the court, there were many other groups of entertainers who were attached only loosely, if at all, but who, on special occasions, joined in celebrations. This was also the case in the 19th century. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Taḥwīldār, writing in 1877, includes among the various classes of the population of Iṣfahān the *ahl-i ṭarab* and the employees of the *nakkāra-khāna* (*Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Iṣfahān AHS 1342/1962-3, 126). The latter presumably received payment from the governor.

In the 19th century the *nakkāra-khāna* continued to have a ceremonial role. It was one of the royal offices (*buyūtāt-i salṭanatī*) (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagānī-i man*, Tehran AHS 1324/1945-6, i, 39, 562). According to E. Aubin, the *iḥtishām-i khalwat* nominated the head of the *nakkāra-khāna* in the provincial towns. In Tehran the *nakkāra-khāna* consisted of about one hundred musicians and a dozen or so dancers. Their annual cost to the state was 6,000 *tūmāns*. The head of the *nakkāra-khāna* in Tehran, Kāsim Khān Bāshī, whose father had held the office before him, also presided over the corporation of dancers and musicians (*La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 230-1).

After the grant of the constitution there was an attempt to stop the *nakkāra-khāna* on the grounds that it was old-fashioned or obsolete and the wages of the *nakkāračīs* were withheld. However, they were undeterred and continued their daily celebrations without pay, until some months later the payment of their wages was resumed (Mustawfī, *op. cit.* i, 563). When Riḍā Shāh seized power, he took possession of the *nakkāra-khāna* to mark his sovereignty and removed it from the gate of the citadel to the Maydān-i Mashk, where it remained (*ibid.*, 563-4). The custom of playing the *nakkāra-khāna* survived in Tehran, Kazwīn and Yazd until the late 1930s. In Mashhad there had formerly been two *nakkāra-khānas*, one of which played in the name of the contemporary ruler and the other, attached to the shrine of the Imām Riḍā, played in the Imām's name. The *nakkāra-khāna* of the shrine was abolished in AHS 1315/1936-7. In Tehran in 1937 the *nakkāra-khāna* still played daily at sunset in the balcony of the gateway at the south end of the Maydān-i Mashk and at *saḥar* in Ramaḍān. At some time after the grant of the constitution the *nakkāra-khāna*, which then numbered some one hundred persons, broke away from the *ahl-i ṭarab*. It had a strong hereditary tendency and a corporate organisation. It appointed its own *kadkhudā*, to whom a small contribution was paid in return for which he settled disputes between the members of the corporation. Gradually the *nakkāra-khāna* dwindled in numbers. By AHS 1314/1935-6 it had only fourteen members. In the following year its numbers decreased to nine owing to the death of five persons. The government, wishing, no doubt, to bring what they regarded as an old-fashioned custom to an end, refused to allow them to increase their number. At that time each member of the *nakkāra-khāna* had to hold a government licence. Each received a small wage and two suits of clothes annually from the *iḥtishām-i khalwat*, who was no longer a member of the court but now belonged the Ministry of the Interior. The *nakkāra-khāna* in Kazwīn consisted of only two persons in 1937 and came under the municipality. Formerly its members had received a small wage from the governor. The members of the *nakkāra-khāna* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, prior to its dissolution, were paid a nominal wage in cash and kind by the shrine.

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(A.K.S. LAMBTON)

NAḲḲĀSH [see GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN].

AL-**NAḲḲĀSH**, MĀRŪN B. ILYĀS (b. Sidon, 9 February 1817, d. Ṭarsūs, 1 June 1855), pioneer of modern playwriting in Arabic. A Maronite, al-Naḳḳāsh belonged to that Christian group which had already begun to display cosmopolitan tendencies, particularly in Beirut, where he resided from 1825 onwards, eventually assuming several positions in municipal administration. He knew Arabic, Turkish, Italian and French well. As a merchant, he travelled frequently, e.g. in 1846 he visited Egypt and then Italy, where he attended theatre and opera performances. His own theatrical activity, which extended over less than a decade, resulted in the writing and production of three high-quality, full-length plays. In late 1847, al-Naḳḳāsh introduced the première of his first play with a long speech in *sadj*ᶜ about Oriental backwardness, followed by his own views about the role of theatre and opera in reforming this situation; according to him, these new genres ostensibly provide entertainment but bear reform as well: "Human failings are revealed in these plays, so let the wary draw their lesson... while enjoying them... Plays are truly a terrestrial paradise."

To a certain extent, al-Naḳḳāsh applied these criteria to his own plays. Of these, *al-Bakhīl* ("The miser") was performed at his own home in Beirut in late 1847; likewise, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-mughaffal aw riwāyat Hārūn al-Rashīd* ("Abu 'l-Ḥasan the artless, or, the tale of Hārūn al-Rashīd") in late 1849 and subsequently; and *al-Salīṭ al-ḥasūd* ("The envious wicked one") at a public building in Beirut in 1851 and subsequently, after a *firmān* had permitted him to inaugurate his own theatre-hall. The text was enlivened by music, both vocal and instrumental; men (mostly from al-Naḳḳāsh's own family), dressed as women, played the female roles. The audience, too, was almost exclusively male, as attested by David Urquhart (see *Bibl.*, below). Thus he established patterns for theatrical performances, including stage terminology, which remained in force throughout most of the 19th century.

The five-act *al-Bakhīl* was inspired by Molière's *L'avare*, although the plot and humour were adapted to Beirut and the names of the *dramatis personae* Arabicised—up to the inevitable concluding moral: "Let every miser learn his lesson!" Most of this comedy was written in literary Arabic, in verse and *sadj*ᶜ, except for the vernacular which better suited the roles of several characters. These features, too, served as models for many playwrights in Arabic. In the three-act *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-mughaffal*, perhaps the first original full-length play in Arabic, al-Naḳḳāsh was inspired by one of the tales in *Alf layla wa-layla* which recounts the story of a caliph-for-a-day. He developed the plot more intricately, in *sadj*ᶜ and prose, presenting the naïve character as a full-fledged one (see H. Ben Halima, in *Arabica*, xi [1964], 73-9). Finally, the three-act *al-Salīṭ al-ḥasūd* described the deeds and sentiments of an excessively jealous suitor whose beloved had been promised to someone else by her father. The play, in prose and verse, displays some inspiration from Molière (chiefly from *Le Misanthrope* and *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*), but the plot, locale and characters again maintain a Syrian-Lebanese flavour. Al-Naḳḳāsh's methods and style have since certainly been imitated and possibly surpassed, yet he remains renowned for having introduced new patterns into the Arabic theatre.

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NAKKĀSH ḤASAN (PASHA), Ottoman painter (d. 1031/1622?).

Raised and educated in the Topkapî Sarayî, he is one of the few court painters whose names have been successfully attributed to specific manuscripts in 16th and early 17th century Ottoman ateliers. At the same time, his official political career is well documented. The first record of his career appears in a document from 989/1581, where he is identified as assigned to the *ketkhudā* of the Treasurer, ʿOthmān Agha, in the Topkapî Sarayî. He appears in palace payment records as Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan in 996/1588, 998/1590 and 1003/1594. By at least 1006/1597, Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan is listed as *agha* and again in 1012/1603 he is cited in gift and payment records as *ikindji ḳapîdjî bashî* Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan Agha and again as *Yeni Čeriler Aghasî* Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan Agha (Meriç, 56-7). He is said to have been made a *pasha* (Uzunçarşılı, 569, and Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, 42). His death is recorded as 1031/1622 (Uzunçarşılı, 569). This record indicates that he was a product of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], since an education as a palace page was a common route to such positions (see C.G. Fisher and A. Fisher for more detailed descriptions of palace promotion). If so, this is one of the few clues that at least some pages were trained and/or worked as painters [see NAKKĀSH-KHĀNA]. Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, 42, reports that in 1014/1605 Naḳḳāsh Ḥasan was ordered to "make the Bursa Palace ready" for a visit by Sultan Aḥmed I. He also drew the plan for a *tughra* for Aḥmed I, now housed in Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, GY 1394.

The fourteen years that separate the first two dates in his recorded career are those in which specific references and several attributions are made to paintings done by him for royal manuscripts. As early as 990/1582, he is associated with the *Sūr-nāme* (TSK H. 1344). He is also connected with three *Shāh-nāmes* (TSK A. 3592, R. 1300, and Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi 1965). Tanındı notes the reference made to him as the painter by the calligrapher Talʿīḳ-zāde in the colophon of the *Egri fetḥnāmesi*, otherwise known as the *Shāh-nāme* of Meḥemmed III (TSK H. 1609). Finally, his name is associated with the team who produced the monumental six-volume *Siyer-i Nebī* of Murād III (TSK H. 1221, H. 1222 and H. 1223; New York Public Library, Spencer Collection 157, and Chester Beatty Library 419) and the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* (TSK A. 3632). As his political career advanced, he seems to have closed his active career as a painter.

Bibliography: C.G. Fisher and A. Fisher, *Topkapı Sarayı in the mid-seventeenth century: Bobovi's description*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, x (1985 [1987]), 5-81; Carol G. Fisher, *The pictorial cycle of the "Siyer-i Nebi": a late sixteenth century manuscript of the life of Muhammad*, Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University 1981, unpubl.; Rifik Melûl Meriç, *Türk nakış sanatı tarihi araştırmaları: I. Vesikalar*, Ankara 1953; Zeren Tanındı (Akalay), *Nakkaş Hasan Paşa*, Kültür Bakanlığı, *Sanat* iii/6 (1977), 14-25; idem, *Siyer-i Nebi: İslâm tasvir sanatında Hz. Muhammad'in hayatı*, Istanbul 1984. İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954. (Carol G. Fisher)

NAKKĀSH-KHĀNA (A. and P.), the name of the Ottoman royal painting atelier.

The *naḳḳāsh-khāna* has been a source of curiosity for many Ottoman scholars. Although the word *naḳḳāsh* may be translated in several ways, including "an artist who embellishes surfaces", "illuminator of manuscripts", "an embroiderer", "wall decorator" (Redhouse, 863), *naḳḳāsh-khāna* in the 16th-18th centuries seems to refer to the palace scriptorium (Rogers and Ward, 120-4).

The 16th century and later documents portray an organisation of craftsmen under state supervision of the *Ahl-i ḥiref*. Similar sub-organisations also existed in the provinces for provincial governors. The *Ahl-i ḥiref* contained workers from a variety of professions, only one of which was the *Djemāʿat-î naḳḳāshān*, which loosely covered artisans creating designs of a variety of decorative schemes. Quarterly payroll registers for the *Ahl-i ḥiref* were prepared and several survive (Atil, 30; Meriç, 1953). Registers listing holiday (*bayram*) gifts from master craftsmen to the Ottoman court survive from the 16th and 17th centuries (Meriç, 1963).

Where the *naḳḳāshān* plied their craft is unknown. Until recently, scholars assumed that painters assigned to royal manuscripts worked within the precincts of Ṭopḳapî Sarāyî or in its provincial equivalents. Filiz Çağman suggest that this was so at least throughout the 16th century (Çağman). Now it seems likely that, at least from the 17th century, these may have served as gathering spots for commissioned works produced in various parts of the Ottoman empire (Atil, 32). There is no evidence for the placement of a large painting atelier in the palace itself. In his extensive analysis of the palace organisation, Uzunçarşılı noted that such cultural activities as poetry, calligraphy, and music went on in the palace, but fails to mention any painting ateliers. Bobovi made no mention of such an atelier in his detailed description of the Ṭopḳapî Sarāyî, although this former palace page provides much detail on virtually all rooms identified in the first three palace courtyards. Because of his exacting detail, the existence of the ateliers within the walls of the palace proper is doubtful (Fisher and Fisher, 1987, 118-20). Gülrü Necipoğlu notes that to the left of the first courtyard were extensive artisan shops which seem to have been used by artists involved in the extensive palace repairs (Necipoğlu, 251-3). Finally, Ewliyā Čelebi describes the plethora of guilds and workshops outside the palace walls that are used both by the palace officials and by the bourgeoisie of the town (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 607-12).

The disbursement of the workshops has led several scholars to investigate or document the connections of painting ateliers with outlying Ṣūfī *tekyes* (Fisher, diss., 93-7) where manuscripts were commissioned by Murād III and later transported to Ṭopkapî Sarāyî, or with provincial centres such as Baghdād, where manuscripts were made for such patrons as Ṣoḳollu Meḥmed Pasha (Milstein, 1984, 130-1, and Milstein, 1990) that may have supplemented the city guild ateliers.

Bibliography: E. Atil, *The age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1987; F. Cağman, *Sanat tarihinde doğundan Batıya: Unsal Yücel anısına sempozyum bildirleri*, Istanbul 1989; S. Eldem and A. Feridun, *İsmail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı saray taşkilâtı adlı eserden notlar*, Istanbul; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1896; A. Fisher and C. Fisher, *Topkapı Sarayı in the mid-seventeenth century*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum* (1987); idem, *A note*, in *Muqarnas* (1985); C. Fisher, *The pictorial cycle of the "Siyer-i Nebi"*, diss. 1981, unpubl.; R. Meriç, *Türk nakiş tarihi araştırmaları. I. Vesikalar*, Ankara 1953; idem, *Bayramlarda padişahlara hediye edilen san'at eserleri ve karşılıkları*, in *Türk san'atı tarihi araştırma ve incelemeleri*, i (Istanbul 1963), 764-86; R. Milstein,

Islamic painting in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem 1984; idem, *Miniature painting in Ottoman Baghdad*, Costa Mesa 1990; G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The formation of an Ottoman imperial tradition*, diss. 1986, unpubl.; idem, *Architecture, ceremonial and power. The Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1991; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; *Yeni Redhouse sözlüğü: Türkçe-Ingilizce*, Istanbul 1974; J.M. Rogers and R. Ward, *Suleyman the Magnificent*, London 1988.

(CAROL G. FISHER)

NAKL (A.), transport.

1. In the central Islamic lands and North Africa.

See for this ʿARABA; BARĪD; DJĀMŪS in Suppl.; FARAS; FĪL; IBIL; KĀRWĀN; KHĀN; MAWĀKIB; MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA; TIDJĀRA.

2. In India.

Travel on foot is obviously such an everyday occurrence between village and village that it receives scant mention in the texts; pilgrimages might be made on foot entirely, for pietistic reasons, such as Akbar's to the tomb of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī from Āgrā to Adjmēr, but generally foot-journeys are the accompaniment to a baggage-train. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, on his journey into India, writes of selling the horses which drew the wagons, replacing them by camels; and his journey cannot have been without comfort, for "everybody eats and sleeps in his waggon while it is actually on the move, and I had in my waggon three slavegirls" (*Riḥla*, iii, 1, tr. Gibb, iii, 539).

Transport depending on foot includes the various litters, *ḍōlī*, *miyāna* and *palkī*. The *ḍōlī* is a simple rectangular frame or bedstead, usually suspended by the four corners from a bamboo pole and carried by two or four men; when used by women there are usually curtains hanging from the bamboo. They were much used for the transport of sick persons, and in war to carry casualties off the battlefield. A form where the frame is supported on two poles is used as the bier (*djanāza*) to transport a corpse to the burial-ground, and an upright chair may similarly by carried by four men to carry someone up a steep hillside. Simpler than the *ḍōlī* is the *ḍandī*, essentially a hammock slung from a pole (the word *andor/andora* in old Portuguese descriptions of the same vehicle seems to be the Hindi *hinḍōlā/hanḍōlā* "swing"). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 386-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 740) refers to *ḍōlī*-bearers plying for hire outside the gates of royal and other houses, and to the possibility of longer journeys being carried out by relays of *ḍōlī*-bearers. The *palkī* "palanquin", is an enclosed variety of litter, its central pole having an upward curve to afford more head-room for the passenger. In its common form it was in use for considerable journeys, relays of palanquin-bearers being provided at *ḍāk*-stations [see BARĪD]; Colonel Yule, one of the authors of *Hobson-Jobson*, underwent "hardly less than 8,000 or 9,000 miles of travelling in going considerable distances" by such vehicles (*Hobson-Jobson*, 659b). A more elaborate form, with its carriage and pole covered with plates of silver, was in use in royal processions [see MAWĀKIB. 5. In Muslim India], and specimens of such are to be seen in Indian museums. A smaller form of *palkī*, called simply *miyāna* "middle-sized", was provided with side-curtains rather than the box enclosure. Runners of the postal service (*ḍāk*) carried not only the post but could also be used for the rapid transport of luscious fruit from Khurāsān, or to carry water from the Ganges near Hardwār to the sultan at Dawlatābād (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 3-4).

The Indian armies and hunting camps were regularly supplied by the *bandjārās*, dealers rather than mere commissariat carriers, who travelled all over the country with large droves of laden cattle, who could of course move over rough country where carts were impracticable. All kinds of animal were used for pack transport: horses, donkeys, mules, camels, cows, elephants, and even sheep. Donkeys regularly carried laundry for *dhōbīs*, earthenware goods for potters, and were slung with panniers of earth or gravel for the gangs of road-builders; pack-horses and mules carried equipment for the armies in the field (many illustrations in Mughal painting, e.g. in the *Akbar-nāma*), and were regularly used for transporting goods on hill paths. Merchandise from the north-west was brought to northern and even eastern India by the camel *ḳāfila*, the northern two-humped camel being substituted by the one-humped at *sarāʾīs* in Peshāwar or Lahore. Cattle being driven over long distances were often required to carry panniers of goods (as by the *bandjāras* referred to above), and even sheep being driven into India from Tibet or Nepal might carry panniers of rock-salt or borax. Elephants, besides their use as carriers of heavy pieces of artillery, were continually employed to transport logs in forests or timber-yards. For the use of animals in the Indian armies, see ḤARB, vi.

Riding animals were especially common and in use by all classes. Enormous numbers of horses were required by the army, for the cavalry was its backbone; horses were imported from the Arabian peninsula and from the north-west, besides being bred in the royal *pāygāhs*, under the care of an *ākhūr-bek* (see I.H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958, 70-1, with refs. especially to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī and Shams al-Sirādj ʿAfīf). Besides the regular cavalry, foot-soldiers were accompanied by led horses. The importance of horses in the court was signalised by the royal saddle-cover being recognised as one of the insignia of royalty [see GHĀSHIYA]. For the use of horses in processions, see MAWĀKIB. Special riding-camels were also known, employed especially in campaigns in the west in semi-desert territories. Elephants were also used in the armies for the transport of soldiers: Barbosa (*The book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. and ed. M.L. Dames, London 1918, i, 118) writes that "they build wooden castles on the elephants' backs which will hold three or four men with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons..."; the elephants were armoured with steel plates, examples of elephant armour being not uncommon in Indian museums. See also FĪL. Working and processional elephants carried men on a litter on the animals back, either a long platform from which the passengers' legs hang over each side, or a more elaborate boxed-in structure with flat cushions which afforded more protection during tiger and lion hunts, as exemplified in Mughal painting; both these types are known as *hawda*. The seat on processional elephants has the *hawda* covered by a canopy, often jewelled, and is known as *ʿamārī*.

The commonest Indian mode of transport of goods has always been the two-wheeled cart drawn by a pair of bullocks, whose design varies subtly between one region and the next but in any region is remarkably conservative (R.E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilisations of the Indus valley and beyond*, London 1966, shows on pp. 46-7 illustrations of a terracotta model of a cart, 1500-1000 B.C., and its modern Sind counterpart, with little change); long convoys of bullock-carts, often moving at night, were a familiar features of Indian roads before the coming of motor transport. The bullock-cart provided with a domed canopy is the *ratha*, used

particularly by women on journeys—whose escorts may walk on foot beside them, cf. Kipling's description of the Sahiba's pilgrimage in *Kim*. The *ratha* may also be used in formal processions [see MAWĀKIB. 5]. Flat wheeled carts may also be drawn by horses, bullocks, buffaloes, camels and even by elephants (Fīrūz Shāh's banners were so heavy that they had to be carried on elephant-carts). For light transport, especially within towns, small horse carriages (*ekkā*, *tangā*) were in general use (Tavernier's *Travels* describes such carriages, although he does not use either word); they might also be used for longer journeys, when the horses could be changed in relays on the *dāk*-system. More elaborate carriages after European models were introduced at the end of the Mughal period, and in provincial courts such as Lucknow. Mention should also be made of the hand-cart, commonly used to transport goods in towns.

There was also the possibility of transport by water on the great rivers; the canals [see NAHR. 2. India] were for irrigation purposes, and were not navigable. The common river-boat was the *badjrā* (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Budgerow), a sort of barge without a keel, propelled by poles or by oars, on the deck of which cabins might be mounted. For the *ahawrā* which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 109 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 600-2) describes in the river-procession of the governor of Lahārī in Sind, see the account in MAWĀKIB, 5, above. Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, London 1850, describes a royal pleasure-boat on the river Gōmatī at Lucknow as being "made in the shape of a fish". A sort of raft was used by Fīrūz Shāh to transport one of Ashoka's pillars to Dihlī from the Mīrath district, see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, lii), Dihlī 1937, with illustrated extract from the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*. There were also, of course, smaller craft without number on the rivers. Sea transport across the Arabian Sea, especially for the pilgrim traffic to the Ḥidjāz, was by the vessels known as *ghurāb* [see SAFĪNA] and "carrack" (?Ar. *ḳarrāḳa*; see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford 1971, which, although concerned primarily with military aspects, is useful in general, especially regarding the supply of transport animals.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

NAḲSH [see KITĀBĀT].

NAḲSHBAND, KHWĀDJA BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (718-91/1318-89), eponym of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*], a still active Ṣūfī order that has been second in the extent of its diffusion only to the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] (with which it has often been intertwined, especially in India and Kurdistān). The epithet Naḳshband is sometimes understood in connection with the craft of embroidering, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn is said, in fact, to have assisted his father in weaving the embroidered Bukhāran cloaks known as *kimkhā* (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Maḳāmāt-i Shāh-i Naḳshband*, 8). More commonly, however, it is taken to refer to the fixing, in the purified tablet of the heart, of the imprint of the divine name *Allāh* by means of silent and permanent *dhikr*. To the people of Bukhārā, whose patron saint he became, Bahāʾ al-Dīn was known posthumously as *khwādja-yi balāʾ-gardān* ("the averter of disaster"), with reference to protective powers bestowed on him during his novitiate. Elesewhere, especially in Turkey, he is popularly called *Shāh-i Naḳshband*.

Descent from the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ has been attributed to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband, but although the Imām does always appear in his initiatic *silsila*, contemporary and near-contemporary sources make no mention of *sayyid* ancestry. They stress rather the position of Bahāʾ al-Dīn as the seventh in a series of Central Asian masters (*khwādjagān*) of Ṣūfism which was inaugurated by Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140 in Marw). Soon after his birth in Muḥarram 718/March 1318 in the Bukhāran hamlet of Ḳaṣr-i Hinduwān (later renamed Ḳaṣr-i ʿĀrifān, out of deference to him), Bahāʾ al-Dīn was adopted as the spiritual son (*farzand*) of Khwādja Muḥammad Sammāsī, the fifth descendant of Hamadānī. Sammāsī immediately assigned the infant's future spiritual training to his own principal *murīd*, Khwādja Amīr Kulāl. Kulāl counts as Bahāʾ al-Dīn's immediate predecessor in the *silsila*, for it was he who transmitted to him the essentials of the Path: the link of companionship (*nisbat-i ṣuḥbat*), instruction in the customs of the Path (*taʿlīm-i ādāb-i ṭarīḳat*), and the inculcation of *dhikr* (*talḳīn-i dhikr*) (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 381).

Nonetheless, as befitted the founder of a new order, Bahāʾ al-Dīn kept the company of a wide variety of spiritual instructors. Early during his association with Amīr Kulāl, he had a vision in which he saw his six predecessors in the *silsila*, beginning with Khwādja ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghidjuwānī (d. 617/1220), a successor of Hamadānī. This vision amounted to a second initiation, for Ghidjduwānī enjoined on Bahāʾ al-Dīn—among other things—the exclusive practice of silent *dhikr*, as opposed to the vocal *dhikr* in which Amīr Kulāl and his circle customarily engaged. Once back in the world of external reality, Bahāʾ al-Dīn began to comply with this command, but Amīr Kulāl continued to hold him in high esteem. He ultimately pronounced his preceptorial duties to be at an end and freed Bahāʾ al-Dīn to seek out other *shaykhs*, "both Turk and Tādjīk".

The ethnic and linguistic differentiation between Turk and Tādjīk was reflected, in 8th/14th century Transoxianan Ṣūfism, in a dichotomy between the Yasawī order (founded by Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1167 [*q.v.*], another disciple of Hamadānī), which flourished among Turkic speakers, and the Persian-speaking *khwādjagān* and their adherents. Since the Naḳshbandiyya was destined to spread to almost every region of the Turkish world in the space of a few generations, it was appropriate that Bahāʾ al-Dīn should spend part of his apprenticeship with the Yasawī masters who were known to their contemporaries as the "Turkish *shaykhs*" (*mashāyikh-i turk*).

First, however, Bahāʾ al-Dīn spent seven months in the company of another Tādjīk *shaykh*, Mawlānā ʿĀrif Dīkgarānī, perfecting under his guidance the practice of the silent *dhikr*. He next spent two or three months with Ḳutham Shaykh, a Yasawī master resident in Nakhshab, before joining the following of a second Yasawī *shaykh*, Khalīl Atā, for a full twelve years.

The chronological problems posed by the sources (works of hagiography, the Tīmūrid chronicles, and the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) are impossible to resolve, but it seems certain that Khalīl Atā is identical with Ḳadān/Ghazān Khān, a singularly ferocious individual who ruled over the Čaghatayid khanate for roughly a decade. It is tempting to see in Bahāʾ al-Dīn's association with Khalīl Atā the origin of the penchant of several later Naḳshbandīs for establishing ascendancy over rulers, but such an interpretation is excluded by a careful reading of the sources.

After the overthrow of Khalīl Atā, Bahāʾ al-Dīn retired to his birthplace to begin training his own disciples, most of whom came from Bukhārā and its environs. He left the region himself only three times,

twice to perform the *hadjdj* and once to visit Herat. There he met with the ruler, Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and explained to him the principles of his path.

He died on 3 Rabīʿ I 791/2 March 1389, and was buried at Ḳaṣr-i ʿĀrifān. Surrounded by a continually expanding complex of buildings, the tomb became a place of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over Asia as well as the site, for Bukhārans, of spring festivities known as *ʿīd-i gul-i surkh* ("red rose festival"; see O.A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara v XIX veke*, Moscow 1966, 38).

Bahāʾ al-Dīn's principal successors were Khwādja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 802/1393), whom he had honoured with marriage to his daughter; Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), a prolific author who counts as founder of the learned traditions of the Naḳshbandī order; and Mawlānā Yaʿḳūb Čarkhī (d. 851/1447), who originated in the region of Ghaznī. ʿAṭṭār was the leading figure among these three, but it was Čarkhī who proved the most important for the continuation of the Naḳshbandī line; he was the preceptor of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [*q.v.* in *Suppl.*]), under whose auspices the Naḳshbandiyya both established its supremacy in Central Asia and began its expansion in the wider Muslim world.

Bahāʾ al-Dīn left behind no writings (with the possible exception of the litany named after him, *Awrād-i Bahāʾiyya*), and he even discouraged his disciples from recording his sayings. The precise outlines of his teachings are, then, hard to discern, not because of the profusion of hagiographic legend that enshrouds so many Ṣūfīs, but because of the exiguous and sometimes elliptic nature of the sources. It is particularly difficult to establish why he should have become an eponymous figure, the central link in the *silsila* of which he is a part, instead of, for example, Ghidjduwānī. The eight principles of spiritual conduct (*kalimāt-i ḳudsiyya*) first enunciated by Ghidjduwānī have, after all, been reiterated in Naḳshbandī handbooks down to the present; precisely the fact that Bahāʾ al-Dīn added three further principles to the eight would seem to reinforce the primacy of Ghidjduwānī. These three were: *wuḳūf-i zamānī* ("temporal awareness"), the constant examination of one's spiritual state during *dhikr*; *wuḳūf-i ʿadadī* ("numerical awareness"), the enumeration of the times *dhikr* is performed in order to discourage the intrusion of distracting thoughts; and *wuḳūf-i ḳalbī* ("awareness of the heart"), the direction of attention to the physical heart in order to make it participate in the work of *dhikr*.

All three principles relate, then, to *dhikr*; combined with the fact that Bahāʾ al-Dīn set himself apart from the other disciples of Amīr Kulāl through insistence on silent *dhikr*, this suggests that the question of *dhikr* was crucial for the early coalescence of the Naḳshbandī order.

Other features of early Naḳshbandī practice were also linked to the concern for sobriety and anonymity implied by the choice of silent *dhikr*. Among them are the repudiation of music and dance (*samāʿ*); the deprecation of charismatic feats (*karāmāt*); the avoidance of retreats in favour of the keeping of pious company (*ṣuḥbat*); and the shunning of distinctive forms of dress. All these features are highly reminiscent of the Malāmatī movement of Nīshāpūr, and it may be suggested that Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband was the heir to the traditions of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] although not in a formal, initiatic sense.

Other recurrent features of the Naḳshbandī path, such as fidelity to the *sharīʿa* in the political and social spheres as well as in devotional life, and a marked hostility to Shīʿī Islam, were established in later periods; they cannot be traced directly to Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Similarly, the mildly critical attitude to Ibn ʿArabī adopted by some Naḳshbandīs of the Mudjaddidī line cannot be attributed retroactively to Bahāʾ al-Dīn and his circle. Although there is no trace of acquaintance with the concepts of Ibn ʿArabī in the dicta of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, both ʿAṭṭār and Pārsā were enthusiastic exponents of his work.

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(H. Algar)

NAḲSHBANDIYYA, an important mystical *ṭariḳa* [*q.v.*] or order.

1. In Persia

It is a paradox of Naḳshbandī history that although this Ṣūfī order first arose among Persian-speakers and virtually all its classical texts are written in the Persian language, its impact on Persia has been relatively slight. This statement requires qualification only for the period of the genesis of the Naḳshbandiyya when, it might be argued, Transoxania and the eastern reaches of Khurāsān still counted as parts of the Persian world.

The rise of the Naḳshbandiyya to supremacy in Transoxiana appears to have begun already in the time of Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband [*q.v.*] himself, although the nascent order did not yet exercise political influence and in the Kubrawiyya [*q.v.*] it faced a still formidable competitor. Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419), sole adherent of Bahāʾ al-Dīn among the *ʿulamāʾ* of Bukhārā, had to endure the hostility of his colleagues for a number of reasons, not least being his enthusiasm for the works and concepts of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. However, it was also in connection with Pārsā that the Tīmūrids established their links with the Naḳshbandī order, when Mīrzā Shāhrukh secured the return of Pārsā to Bukhārā after a period of banishment. Those links, important for

the ascendancy of the order, were consolidated in the time of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who several times intervened decisively in the political sphere (according both to the chronicles and to the hagiographic sources) and through his numerous disciples made the Naḳshbandiyya supreme in most regions of Transoxiana.

The influence of the Naḳshbandiyya spread during the same period southward to Harāt, partly through the influence of Aḥrār and partly through that of Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d. 860/1456), a third-generation descendant of Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband. Together with the Zaynī order, with which it came to enjoy fraternal relations in Istanbul as well as Harāt, the Naḳshbandiyya dominated the religious and cultural life of late Tīmūrid Harāt. The principal initiate of Kashgharī was the great poet and mystic ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [*q.v.*]), whose rich and varied opus contains a treatise devoted to the Naḳshbandiyya (*Sar-rishta-yi ṭarīḳ-i khwādjagān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1343 sh./1964), as well as many references to the order and its personalities scattered throughout his works. The closeness of Djāmī to his Naḳshbandī preceptor may be measured by the fact that the two men lie buried in a single enclosure in the Khiyābān district of Harāt. Averse by temperament to the formal training of *murīds*, Djāmī nonetheless initiated at least two persons into his line of the Naḳshbandī order: ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Lārī (d. 912/1507) and one of his own sons, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 919/1513). He also brought about the adherence to the order of the well-known littérateur and statesman Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], and inclined Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyḳarā [*q.v.*] to look favourably upon it.

The presence of the Naḳshbandiyya in Transoxiana and Harāt has proved permanent. By contrast, the implantation of the Naḳshbandiyya in north-western Persia that took place in the late 9th/15th century was relatively shortlived. The Naḳshbandiyya was brought to Ḳazwīn by a *murīd* of Aḥrār, Shaykh ʿAlī Kurdī. Originally from ʿAmādiyya, he spent a number of years serving Aḥrār as tutor to his children before settling in Ḳazwīn. He was put to death by the Ṣafawids in 925/1519. At least one of his six *khalīfas* suffered the same fate, while several others fled before the Ṣafawid onslaught. However, Naḳshbandī influence remained strong in Ḳazwīn for several decades and may have been one of the reasons for the relatively long resistance put up by the people of the city against the imposition of Shīʿism. Tabrīz, the first Ṣafawid capital, was also a centre of Naḳshbandī activity, stemming from the presence there of Ṣunʿ Allāh Kūzakunānī (d. 929/1523), a disciple of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maktabdār (d. 892/1486), one of the *khalīfas* of Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī in Harāt. He enjoyed some influence at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court and evidently managed to survive the Ṣafawid conquest. His son, known as Abū Saʿīd-i Thānī, was imprisoned and tortured by the Ṣafawids, but was able to escape and ultimately to migrate to Istanbul, where he found favour with Sultan Süleymān. Another successor of Kūzakunānī, ʿAlī-djān Bādāmyārī, established himself in the village of Bādāmyār near Tabrīz, where his initiatic line continued for two more generations.

There are also traces of the Naḳshbandiyya in Sāwa and Hamadān in the immediate pre-Ṣafawid and early Ṣafawid period. In general, however, the rise of the Ṣafawid state sounded the knell for the Naḳshbandī order in northern and western Persia, for with their strong loyalty to Sunnism the Naḳshbandīs became a special target of persecution. Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, a Sunnī scholar who took refuge with the Ottomans, writes that whenever anyone was seen engaging in *dhikr* or *murāḳaba*, it would be said, "This is a Naḳshbandī; he must be killed" (*al-Nawāḳiḍ li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ*, ms. British Museum Or. 7991, fol. 96a). The Naḳshbandiyya probably survived for a time in Urūmiyya and possibly in other Kurdish-inhabited areas of Persia. Otherwise, the order was so thoroughly extirpated that Mullā Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1110/1699 [*q.v.*]) felt safe in declaring, towards the end of the Ṣafawid period, that the names of the Naḳshbandī masters listed by Djāmī in *Nafaḥāt al-uns* were unknown to all but "the ignorant Uzbeks" (*ūzbakān-i nādān*; quoted in Rasūl Djaʿfarīyān, *Rūyārūʾī-yi faḳīhān va ṣūfīyān dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawiyyān*, in *Kayhān-i Andīshah*, xxiii [Ādhar-Day 1369/November-December 1990], 123).

When in the 13th/19th century Naḳshbandīs again became visible in Persia, it was exclusively in the Sunnī-inhabited regions on the fringes of the country. Haratī resistance to Persian attempts at establishing control over the city were led by a certain Ṣufī Islām, a Naḳshbandī dervish from Bukhārā; although he died in battle in 1222/1807, the branch of the order he founded at Karrukh outside Harāt continued to exercize an influence across the frontier among the Ḥanafīs of Persian Khurāsān. Six years after the death of Ṣūfī Islām, Khwādja Yūsuf Kāshgharī, a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* from Eastern Turkistan, led an unsuccessful uprising of the Yomut and Göklan Turkumāns against Ḳādjār rule. A similar Naḳshbandī-led Turkumān revolt was quashed in Astarābād in 1257/1841. It was also in the first half of the century that Khwādja Muḥammad Yūsuf Djāmī established a still active centre of the Mudjaddidī branch of the order at Turbat-i Djām near the Afghān border.

Infinitely more important than all these developments in the east was the rise of the Khālidī branch of the Naḳshbandī order, established by Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1243/1827), a Kurd from Shahrāzūr. The Khālidiyya supplanted almost entirely all other branches of the Naḳshbandiyya in the Middle East, and in Kurdistān it wrested supremacy from the Ḳādiriyya to become the chief order of the region. Although the principal Kurdish *khalīfas* of Mawlānā Khālid all resided in Ottoman territory, their influence was considerable among the Kurds of Persia, not least during the great Kurdish uprising of 1880 which, led by Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of Shamdīnān, engulfed much of Ādharbāydjān as well as most of Kurdistān. In addition, the Khālīdiyya expanded from Kurdistān to Ṭālish [*q.v.*], the Shāfiʿī enclave on the shores of the Caspian: Shaykh ʿUthman Sirādj al-Dīn of Tawēla—a *khalīfa* of Mawlānā Khālid—initiated into the order a certain Mullā ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḳizildjī from the village of ʿAnbarān in central Ṭālish and instructed him to spread the order in his homeland, which he did with great success. Most Shāfiʿīs in Ṭālish retain to this day an allegiance to the Khālidī Naḳshbandī order.

In 1958, after the overthrow of the ʿIrāḳī monarchy, a namesake of ʿUthmān Sirādj al-Dīn quit Biyāra to establish himself at the village of Durū on the Persian side of the frontier. With the active encouragement of the Pahlawī court, he sought to bring under his sway all three areas of Naḳshbandī presence in Persia—Kurdistān, Ṭālish and Turkumān Ṣaḥrā. In this he had some success, but his activities were brought to an end by the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Shaykh ʿUthmān organised an army to combat the revolutionary government, but it was soon defeated

and he withdrew to ʿIrāḳ. Despite this removal of Shaykh ʿUthmān, the Naḳshbandī order remains strong among the Kurds of Persia (particularly in the region of Mahābād [*q.v.*] and in Ṭālish (especially Hashtpar and its surroundings). By contrast, it is now moribund among the Turkumāns.

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(Hamid Algar)

2. In Turkey

The first implantation of the Naḳshbandiyya among the western Turks took place in the 9th/15th century, less than a hundred years after the death of its eponym. This was an important part of the general expansion of the Naḳshbandiyya outside its Transoxianan homeland, for the order was well placed to gain the loyalty of the Ottoman Turks with its emphatically Sunnī identity and insistence on sober respect for the *sharīʿa*.

The first Ottoman Naḳshbandī was Mollā ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī of Simav, who travelled to Samarḳand where he became a disciple of Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. After his training was complete, he returned to his birthplace for a number of years before reluctantly accepting an invitation to settle in Istanbul. There, at the Zeyrek mosque, he established the first Naḳshbandī centre in Turkey and found himself surrounded by a large number of devotees. Preferring, however, a life of seclusion and scholarship, he left Istanbul for Vardar Yeñičesi in Thrace, where he died in 895/1490. Ilāhī's principal successor was Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī (d. 922/1516), who had accompanied him back from Samarḳand. Under Bukhārī's auspices, three Naḳshbandī hospices were established in Istanbul and the order attracted numerous scholars and littérateurs, the most famous of whom was the poet Maḥmūd Lāmiʿī Čelebi (d. 933/1532 [*q.v.*]) of Bursa. Although the hospices founded by Bukhārī continued functioning into the early 20th century, the initiatic line he inaugurated appears to have died out in the space of a few generations.

Considerably younger than Ilāhī, but like him a *murīd* of Aḥrār, was Bābā Ḥaydar Samarḳandī (d. 957/1550), for whom Sultan Sülaymān Ḳānūnī founded a *tekke* at Eyyüb. This served as a hostel for Naḳshbandīs coming from Central Asia until it was destroyed by fire in 1912.

Naḳshbandīs continued to migrate from Central Asia to Istanbul and other points in Turkey for several centuries, as is indicated by the names of certain *tekkes* such as Bukhārā, Kāshghar and Özbekler. Among them were men of distinction such as Khazīnī, a dervish of triple Naḳshbandī, Yasawī and Kubrawī affiliation, who arrived from Bukhārā during the reign of Sultan Murād III, and ʿAbd Allāh Nidāʾī, an 11th/17th century migrant from Kāshghar who established a *tekke* near Eyyüb.

In general, however, the history of the order in Turkey came to reflect the developments it underwent in India, which was its principal intellectual centre from the time of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī the *Mudjaddid* (d. 1034/1624) [*q.v.*, and see 3. below]. The Mudjaddidī branch of the order established by Sirhindī was first transmitted to Turkey by Shaykh Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī (d. 1141/1729), a *murīd* of Khwādja Muḥammad Murād Maʿṣūm, Sirhindī's son and principal successor. Muḥammad Murād spent about five years in the Ottoman capital towards the end of the 11th/17th century, during which time he gained numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, including the *Shaykh al-Islām* Feyḍ Allāh Efendi, as his followers. The next thirty years were spent primarily in Damascus, but he returned to Istanbul in 1141/1729, dying shortly thereafter. The *tekke* that was established next to the tomb of Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī in the Nishāndjī Pasha district became a fountainhead for the Mudjaddidiyya, not only in Istanbul but also in Anatolia and the Balkans.

A second transmission of the Mudjaddidiya to Turkey came by way of Mecca, which remained until the late 19th century an important centre for the diffusion of the Naḳshbandiyya among pilgrims coming from Turkey as well as many other regions. The representative of Khwādja Muḥammad Maʿṣūm in the Holy City was Shaykh Aḥmad Djūryānī Yakdast, who initiated into the Mudjaddiyya Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn of Tokat (d. 1158/1745). When Muḥammad Amīn returned to Istanbul in 1129/1717, he took up residence at one of the hospices founded by Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī and began initiating members of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Particularly noteworthy among the *murīds* of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn was the polymath Sulaymān Saʿd al-Dīn Mustaḳīm-zāde (d. 1202/1787 [*q.v.*]), who translated the letters of both Sirhindī and Khwādja Muḥammad Maʿṣūm into Ottoman Turkish. The letters of Sirhindī have remained popular reading material among Turkish Naḳshbandīs down to the present, although it is now more commonly an Arabic translation that is used.

Several of the early Turkish Mudjaddidīs also had Mewlewī affiliations, among them being Pertew Pasha and Ḥālet Efendi [*q.vv.*], both of whom exerted considerable political influence during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II.

An entirely new era in the history of the Naḳshbandiyya in Turkey begins with the rise of the Khālidī branch in the first quarter of the 19th century. Before the emergence of the Khālidiyya, the Naḳshbandīs were certainly prominent and respected, both in Istanbul and elsewhere, but they never came close to enjoying the near-monopoly on Ṣūfī activity that they exercised in Central Asia. The Khālidīs, however, made the Naḳshbandiyya the paramount order in Turkey, a position it has retained even after the official dissolution of the orders.

Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1827) was a Kurd from Shahrāzur who obtained initiation into the Naḳshbandiyya in Dihlī at the hands of Ghulām ʿAlī Dihlawī (d. 1240/1824), a *shaykh* of the Mudjaddidī line. Although Mawlānā Khālid was hostile to the local *amīrs* in Kurdistān and acted there as an advocate of Ottoman power, the first appearance of the Khālidiyya in the Ottoman capital was greeted with suspicion. Mawlānā Khālid's first representative there, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, made matters worse by

attempting to exclude non-initiates from public mosques during the performance of Khālidī rituals. The next representative, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sūsī, was, however, able to make inroads among the Ottoman élite. Like other key figures in the history of the order in Turkey, he recruited numerous *ʿulamāʾ*, bureaucrats and men of letters; mention may be made of Mekkī-zāde Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim, several times *Shaykh al-Islām*; Gürdjü Nedjīb Pasha and Mūsā Ṣafwetī Pasha; and Kečedji-zāde ʿIzzet Mollā, *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. It was suggested to Sultan Maḥmūd II by Ḥālet Efendi, the Mudjaddidī-Mewlewī, that this swift expansion of the Khālidiyya posed a danger to the state, and in 1828 all prominent Khālidīs were in fact banned from the city. This period of disfavour was temporary, for in 1833 Mekkī-zade was reappointed *Shaykh al-Islām*.

Much of the impetus behind the early propagation of the Khālidiyya in the Ottoman lands had been political; it was the wish of Mawlānā Khālid to reinforce the allegiance of the Ottoman state to the *sharīʿa* and thus to make of it a viable focus for Muslim strength and unity. This aim gradually slipped beyond reach, and even in the period of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, the *shaykhs* of other orders were more intimately associated with the sovereign than were the Nakshbandīs.

Nonetheless, the Khālidī branch of the Nakshbandiyya possessed a wide popular appeal; it struck root throughout Anatolia, and even in Konya, the hallowed ground of the Mewlewī order, the Khālidīs were supreme. By the close of the 19th century, they had more *tekkes* in Istanbul than any other order.

Among the *shaykhs* of the second half of the century, Shaykh Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Gümüshkhānewī (d. 1894) may be singled out for mention both because of the size and nature of his following and because of the prolongation of his initiatic line down to the present. His *tekke* in the Čaghaloghlu district of Istanbul was probably the most frequented of all Ṣūfī meeting places in the city, being visited not only by members of the Ottoman élite but also by many Muslims from abroad. In addition, Gümüshkhānewī wrote extensively, in both Arabic and Turkish, and by compiling a collection of *ḥadīth*, *Rāmūz al-aḥādīth*, he inaugurated a tradition of *ḥadīth* study still continued by his initiatic descendants in present-day Turkey.

Gümüshkhānewī further distinguished himself by fighting, together with his followers, in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. This example of military engagement was followed by several other Nakshbandī *shaykhs* who fought on various fronts during the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence. Nonetheless, the Nakshbandīs found themselves denied all legitimacy under the dispensation brought in by the Turkish Republic when all the Ṣūfī orders were proscribed in September 1925. The immediate pretext for the ban was furnished by the uprising led in the same year by Shaykh Saʿīd of Palu, a Khālidī *shaykh* of eastern Anatolia. However, the rebellion was more an expression of Kurdish grievances and aspirations then it was of fidelity to the traditional political ideals of the Khālidiyya. Frequently cited as another exemplar of militant Nakshbandī opposition to the Turkish Republic is Shaykh Muḥammad Asʿad (Mehmed Esad, d. 1931). Originally from Irbīl, a physical as well as spiritual descendant of Mawlānā Khālid, he took up residence at the Kelāmī *tekke* in Istanbul in 1888 before being banished to his native city by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He returned in 1908 to take his place among the leading *shaykhs* of the Ottoman capital. In 1931, he was arrested on charges of complicity with those responsible for the notorious Menemen incident. Although the evidence of his involvement was exceedingly slight, his son was executed and he himself died in prison hospital.

Initiatic descendants of Mehmed Esad as well as other Khālidī *shaykhs* continue to be active in Turkey; among those who have died in recent times we may mention Sami Ramazanoğlu (d. 1984) and Mehmed Zahid Kotku (d. 1980). Arrests of Nakshbandīs and other forms of harrassment have remained common, but the subversive potential and aspirations often ascribed to the Nakshbandīs in contemporary Turkey are, at best, grossly exaggerated. It can even be said that certain Nakshbandīs have integrated themselves into the political structure of Turkey by their involvement in ventures such as the National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi) and its successor, the Prosperity Party (Refah Partisi). The present-day significance of the Nakshbandīs in Turkey is to be sought not so much in their political activity as in the support they provide for traditional religiosity, a support greatly weakened by the debilitating trends of more than half a century.

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3. In India

Introduced into India by Khwādja Bāḳī Bi'llāh (972-1012/1564-1603) during the closing years of the 10th/16th century, the Nakshbandiyya order became an influential factor in Indo-Muslim life and for about

two centuries it was the principal spiritual order in India. Though some saints of the *silsila* had visited India during the time of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 631) and Humāyūn (Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār*, ms.), the credit of establishing the first Naḳshbandī *khānḳāh* in India goes to Khwādja Bāḳī Bi'llah who came to Dihlī from Kabul and, in his own words, "planted the *silsila* in India". The Khwādja died at the age of only forty, but he made deep impact on the lives of the people by his unassuming ways and deep humanitarian spirit. He attracted both religious and political figures to his fold. A believer in pantheism, he gave expression to his cosmic emotions in spirited verses (*ʿIrfāniyyāt-i Bāḳī*, Dihlī 1970). Among his disciples, two persons were pre-eminent: (i) Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]), generally known as *Mudjaddid-i alf-i thānī* ("Reformer of the second millennium"), who expanded the order so successfully that, according to Djahāngīr, his disciples reached every town and city of India (*Tūzuk*, ed. Sir Syed, 272-3). (ii) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of Dihlī (d. 1642), who came to be known as *muḥaddith* on account of his contribution to the popularisation of *Ḥadīth* studies in India. Shaykh Aḥmad gave to the Naḳshbandī *silsila* a distinct ideology, a motive power and an effective organisation. He broke away from the earlier mystic tradition in India by rejecting pantheism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) and propounded his theory of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). He raised his voice against the innovations (*bidʿāt*) introduced by the Ṣūfīs, the Emperor Akbar [see DĪN-I ILĀHI] and the *ʿulamā'-i sūʾ* (the worldly *ʿulamāʾ*). He opposed Akbar's experiments to work out a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim religious attitudes, and declared "Muslims should follow their religion, and non-Muslims their ways, as the Ḳurʾān enjoins 'for you yours and for me my religion'" (*Maktūbāt*). As Ibn ʿArabī's approach had sustained these religious trends, Shaykh Aḥmad criticised his views trenchantly. He did not believe in keeping away from the state and the ruler. He struggled hard to bring about a change in the outlook of the ruling classes and carried on a brisk correspondence with Mughal nobles like ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*] Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kōkā [*q.v.*], Farīd Bukhārī and others, and won them over to his point of view. When Djahāngīr ascended the throne, Farīd Bukhārī obtained a promise from him that he would not do anything against the *sharīʿa* (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, 204; *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, 3). However, in 1619, acting on the mischievous reports of his opponents (Dārā Shukōh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, 197-8), Djahāngīr imprisoned him in the Gwāliyār fortress. He was set free after a year but remained with the Emperor for some time. He spoke in the court on themes like prophethood, the Day of Judgement and the instability of reason. Shaykh Aḥmad's work was zealously carried forward by his sons and descendants. Awrangzīb came under the influence of Naḳshbandī saints and showed deep respect to Khwādja Maʿṣūm (whose collections of letters contain several letters addressed to him) and Khwādja Sayf al-Dīn, Khwādja Muḥammad Naḳshband and others. In the ideological shift of the Mughal state as typified in the differing approaches of Akbar and Awrangzīb, the Naḳshbandī saints played an important role.

The Naḳshbandī mystic ideology differed from other mystic *silsilas* in several respects: (a) It developed a dynamic, active and assertive outlook as opposed to the quiet, unobtrusive and cosmic approach of the Čishtīs. Even their litanies and practices were coloured by this approach. (b) It closed the channels of ideological contact with other religions by rejecting Ibn ʿArabī's thinking. Bernier found the country in the grip of a bitter controversy between the supporters and the opponents of the pantheistic approach. The *Maʿāridj al-walāyāt* gives the text of a *fatwā* issued against Sirhindī's views. (c) Its belief in the need for providing guidance to the state created a new situation which bridged the gulf between the Ṣūfīs and the state on one side but gave birth to new problems on the other. (d) While other *silsilas* had propagated their teachings through *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (utterances of *shaykhs*), the Naḳshbandī saints communicated their views through *maktūbāt* (letters). The Naḳshbandī mystical thought may, therefore, be studied in the compilations of letters left by Shaykh Aḥmad, Khwādja Maʿṣūm, Khwādja Naḳshband, Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī and others. (e) While the earlier saints had propounded the idea of *walāyāt* (spiritual territories assigned by the mystic master), the Naḳshbandīs propounded the concept of *Ḳayyūmiyyat* (a type of spiritual axis on whom the world depended for its functioning). This concept, instead of strengthening the *silsila*, honeycombed its structure and diffused its activities. The *Rawḍat al-ḳayyūma* reveals the anarchy of thought caused by this concept.

In the 12th/19th century two Naḳshbandī saints made significant contributions to the *silsila* by restating some of its basic ideological postures. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1762 [*q.v.*]) sought to bring about a reconciliation between the conflicting approaches of Ibn ʿArabī and Shaykh Aḥmad and declared that difference between their approaches was one of simile and metaphor. Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān (d. 1782 [see MAẒHAR]) adopted a broad and catholic attitude towards Hinduism and accepted the Vedas as a revealed book. Shāh Walī Allāh played an important role in revitalising the religious sciences, particularly *Ḥadīth*, and by translating the Ḳurʾān into Persian, particularly for soldiers, artisans, etc., as he himself says in the Preface to *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. He developed a new *ʿIlm-i kalām* (scholasticism) which aimed at a fresh interpretation of Islamic teachings in the light of the new problems of the age (see M. Iḳbāl, *The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*). He played a significant role in the political developments of the period. His political letters addressed to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, Muḥammad Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk and others reveal a clear understanding of the contemporary political situation (*Shāh Walī Allāh kay siyāsī maktūbāt*, ed. Nizami, ²Delhi 1969).

Ḳāḍī Thanāʾ Allāh Pānīpatī (d. 1810), a disciple of Mīrzā Maẓhar, made significant contribution to religious literature. His book on *fiḳh*, *Mā lā budd min* (ʿAlawi Press, Shāhpur 1270 A.H.) and his exegetical study of the Ḳurʾān (*Tafsīr-i Maẓharī*, Nadwat al-Muṣannifīn, Dihlī 1962-70) came to be widely appreciated. His treatise *Irshād al-ṭālibīn* (Mudjtabāʾī Press, Dihlī 1915) contains an exposition of Naḳshbandī mystic principles. Other spiritual descendants of Mīrzā Djān-i-Djānān, like Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī, Shāh Abū Saʿīd (author of *Hidāyat al-ṭālibīn*, Mudjtabāʾī Press, Dihlī n.d.), and Shāh Aḥmad Saʿīd (author of *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍābiṭa fī ithbāt al-rābiṭa*, Meerut 1331 A.H.), played an important part in propagating the Naḳshbandī ideology. The descendants of Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī resented British occupation of the country and supported anti-British attitudes and activities.

Of the mystic orders that have flourished in India, the Naḳshbandī-Mudjaddidī *silsila* alone attracted the attention of the people of Afghānistān, Turkey and Syria. The *khānḳāh* of Shāh Ghulām ʿAlī (d. 1824) had, according to Sir Syed, thousands of visitors from

different Asian and African countries (*Āthār al-ṣanādīd*, Karachi 1966, 209). His disciple Khālid Kurdī established the order in Damascus and made it a significant factor in the life of the people. (A. Hourani, *Shaikh Khalid and the Naqshbandi order*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, Columbia, S.C. 1972).

Khwādja Mīr Nāṣir (d. 1758), though associated with the Mudjaddidi-Naḳshbandī *silsila*, founded a new order called *Ṭarīḳa-yi-Muḥammadi*. His son Khwādja Mīr Dard (d. 1776) wrote *ʿIlm al-Kitāb* (Anṣārī Press, Dihlī 1308 A.H.), a work characterised by deep insight in mystical thought, and gave a new orientation to the Naḳshbandiyya discipline. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd of Rāē Barēlī (d. 1831 [see AḤMAD BRĒLWĪ]) also originally belonged to the Mudjaddidī order, but set up a new method, the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Nubuwwat*, broadly within the framework of the Naḳshbandiyya. An important aspect of the Naḳshbandiyya order was its virility of thought and capacity to differ from its elders. Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī differed from his mentor on the question of pantheism; Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān disagreed with his elders on their approach to Hinduism, and Shāh Ghulām ʿAli differed from him on this point. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd disagreed with Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1823) on the concept of *taṣawwur-i shaykh* (visualising the spiritual mentor in spiritual practices).

Thus the main characteristic of the Naḳshbandiyya *silsila* in India has been its rejection of innovations (*bidʿāt*) and its involvement in political struggles.

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

NAḲSHE (Gr. NAXOS/AXIA), Turkish name of the largest Aegean Cycladic island (1981 pop.: 14,037), east of Para [*q.v.*] and north-west of Amorgos, celebrated since Antiquity and the Middle Ages for its products (wine, olive oil, dairy ones: cf. Vakalopoulos, ii², 492-3; iv, 473-4); in mid-12th century, al-Idrīsī refers to its extensive cattle raising (*Opus geographicum*, 642: Naḳsiyya). Its chief port and capital, Naxos or "Chora", on the western coastal ancient and mediaeval settlements, became a centre of commerce in the Latin and Turkish periods (early 13th-early 19th centuries), while several Byzantine, post-Byzantine and Frankish monuments, chiefly churches and fortifications, survive. In Byzantine years (cf. Elis. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire Byzantine, 8e-12e s.*, Paris 1988, 216 ff. and s.v.; further refs. in A. Savvides, *Notes on Naxos and Paros—Antiparos in Byzantine times* [in Gk.], in *Pariana*, xliii [1991], 227-37), with its capital at the southern castle of "Apalȳres", Naḳshe suffered from Arab raids, mostly from the Cretan amīrate [see IḲRĪṬISH], since it lay in a crucial spot of the major south-eastern Mediterranean trade routes (Constantinople-Aegean-Crete-Syria-Egypt); the raid of 904 carried off Naxiot captives to Crete, while Naḳshe paid tribute to the *amīr* (see V. Christides, *Conquest of Crete*, Athens 1984, 6, 128, 131, 165-6, 167), though by 910 it was in Byzantine hands (Malamut, 62, 82). Clear traces of Muslim influences on Naxiot frescoes are recorded in that period (Christides, 128 ff.) and, apart from the surviving Byzantine coinage (Malamut, 210, n. 10), of particular importance is a rare Saldjūḳ coin, probably of Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*], discovered on Naḳshe (mid-1950s) and associated with Christian refugees from Antalya and Alanya [*q.vv.*], who settled on the island (early 13th century) in view of the Saldjūḳ advance in south-western Anatolia (refs. in Savvides, in *Byzantinos Domos*, iii [1989], 159-60).

Turcoman raids, mostly associated with the Aydîn Oghullarî [*q.v.*], commenced in the early 1300s, almost a century after the foundation of the Latin Archipelago Duchy with Naḳshe as capital (1207-1566). In 1304 and 1309-10 the Sanudo Duke assisted the Genoese to capture Chios [see SAKÎZ] and the

Hospitallers to seize Rhodes [see RODOS], driving the Turcomans off those islands; yet raids on Naḳshe are recorded in 1324 and 1326, which were intensified after 1340, since the Duke had participated in the planned 1343 crusade against Aydîn; in 1341 ʿÖmur Beg abducted 6,000 Naxiots and obtained tribute (refs. in M-L, ii, 352-3, 357, n. 1, 358-9; Melas [see PARA], 9-10; Frazee, 90-1), but the *amīr*'s menace ceased following the 1343 sack of Izmīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The Crispo dynasty faced new raids (late 14th century onwards) and Buondelmonti *ca.* 1420 sadly records the island's depopulation to the effect that there were no husbands for Naxiot women (ed. Legrand, ch. xvii, 56, 58; M-L, ii, 371; Melas, 18-19; Vakalopoulos, i^2, 130). The first Ottoman raid under the *ḳapudan pasha* Čalî Bey occurred in 1416 [see PARA], but Venetian control over the Duchy was recognised by Meḥemmed I, Murād II and Meḥemmed II [*q.vv.*] in the treaties of 1419, 1426, 1446, 1451 and 1454 in return for a tribute (M-L, ii, 377-8, 383, 388; D. Pitcher, *Hist. geogr. of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 67, 84). In the Turco-Venetian war of 1463-79, extensive raids hit the island (particularly in 1477) and, according to some western sources, Naḳshe and Para were Turkish in 1479 (cf, Setton, ii, 237, n. 43), though the 1479 pact rather ratified the previous *status quo*; soon, however, Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] protested to the Venetian Senate that the Duke harboured western pirates (the Genoese Spinola had briefly captured it in 1431) (M-L, ii, 378, 389 ff., 394; Pitcher, 85). In the 1499-1503 war there was another raid on Naḳshe, which is mentioned in the 1503 pact (refs. in M-L, ii, 399; Krantonelle, 91), yet in 1517, despite a recent treaty renewal, the Crispo Duke was abducted by Turkish corsairs and later launched desperate appeals to Venice (1521, 1523, 1532), while in 1532 money and gifts convinced the pirate Kurtoghlu not to sack the island (M-L, ii, 402, 405; Krantonelle, 62, 69-70, 79, 102, 111, 121, 399). In the extensive raids of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*] in the Cyclades (1537-8) the Duke was spared, through Naḳshe was looted for 3 days (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Eng. tr. Mitchell, 58; *Byzant. Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, i, nos. 56/17, 70/52; ii, 575-6; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*^{5}, ii, 1988, 375, 459), though some Greek sources record that upon its capitulation (11 Nov. 1537) the island agreed to pay *kharādj* and was thus spared the fate of Para [*q.v.*] (*Ecthesis Chronica*, 80; Chronicle of 1603, ed. Amantos, *Hellenika*, i, 1928, 49; idem, *Relations between Greeks and Turks* [in Gk.], i, 167). Khayr al-Dīn actually collected his tribute (1538), while the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540 established Ottoman suzerainty over the Duchy (M-L, ii, 412 ff.). Although the last Crispo secured a favourable *ʿahd-nāme* (29 Aug. 1565) from Süleymān II [*q.v.*], the definitive annexation occurred in 1566, when Piyāle Pasha [*q.v.*] seized Keos and Andros (M-L, ii, 420, n. 2, 424; Vakalopoulos, iii, 219-20, 280 ff.; D. Polemis, *Hist. of Andros* [in Gk.], 1981, 70). Selīm II [*q.v.*] then ceded the Duchy to his favourite, the Jewish adventurer "Duke" Joseph Nasi, who ruled through an administrator until 1579 (C. Roth, *The house of Nasi, Duke of Naxos*, Philadelphia 1948; M-L, ii, 422 ff.; Vakalopoulos, ii^2, 43, 347; iii, 233 ff., 238 ff., 274 ff.; Slot, *Archipelagus*, 88 ff.), a period that witnessed the devastating raid of Uludj Beg in 1572 on Naḳshe and Para (Vakalopoulos, iii, 259, 274).

A new era for the Cyclades commenced with the *ʿahd-nāmes* of 1580 and 1646 [see PARA]; Naḳshe became the seat of the first *sandjaḳ beg*, "*Soleiman bei de ducat di Naxia, signor di Andro*" (1579-80 or 82) (cf. Vakalopoulos, iii, 286-7; Slot, 98 ff.); from now onwards the Sultanate leased the island to Turkish *sandjaḳ begs* or to Greek-Italian notables (as "dukes"), like Constantine Cantacuzenus (1582), John Choniates, "Duke of Axia, Paros and Andros and voivode of all the Aegean" (1598), Otural Bey, whose taxing exertions resulted in his dismissal by the Porte (1606), and Gasparo Gratiani (1617-18), an ambassador of the Ottomans to Vienna (cf. Vakalopoulos, iii, 287 ff.). On the other hand, from the 1640s, several Jesuits and Capuchin friars, driven away from Istanbul by Murād IV, arrived on the island, where a period of thriving Catholic monasticism began [see PARA]. In mid-1651 or 1652 the Venetians defeated between Para and Naḳshe an Ottoman fleet bringing supplies to the besiegers of Crete during the Turco-Venetian war of 1645-69 (details in PARA), yet Ottoman rule in Naḳshe had in fact been loose since the 1646 *ʿahd-name*, regulating local government through a *voivode* and 6 annual local notables; a series of raids by French pirates between 1675-8 resulted in the abduction of many Christian and Muslim settlers from Naḳshe, wherefrom additional refugees began to emigrate to Smyrna, as recorded early in the 17th century by Coronelli [see PARA].

The Passarowitz Treaty (1718 [see PASAROFČA]) ended the Latin presence in the Cyclades, with the Venetians forced out of Tenos (Slot, 250 ff.); it was in 1770, during the Turco-Russian war of 1668-74, that the Russians seized the island, with Para and Antiparos, until expelled by the Ottomans in 1774. In the 1821 Greek War for Liberation, the Naxiots, contrary to the Parians, did not participate fervently, probably on account of the influence of the local Latin element, yet Naḳshe, which suffered heavily from Cretan and Kassian pirates (1823-4, 1825-7), received many refugees from Chios, Psara and other islands. Finally, several Naxiots distinguished themselves elsewhere in Greek uprisings until the incorporation of their island to the Kingdom of Greece in 1830 (see Vakalopoulos, iv, 717, 736, 895; vi, 112, 118, 513, 516, 940, 954, n. 211; vii, 383, 392, 805, 811 ff.).

Bibliography: Older references in P. Zerlentes, *On the island and city of Naxos* [in Gk.], *BZ*, ix (1902), 491-9; W. Miller, *Lichtle's "Description of Naxos"*, in *Byzant.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, vi (1927-8), 432-50; D. Paschales, *Naxos* [in Gk.], *Megale Ellenike Enkyklopaideia* (= *MEE*), xviii, 31-3 (fundamental). On the Latin period (1207-1566) see W. Miller (Gk. tr.-add. S. Lampros), *Latins in the Levant* [= M-L], i-ii, repr. Athens 1960, chs. xvii-xviii; J. Naupliotes-Sarantenos, *The duchy of Naxos and the Sanudo dynasty* [in Gk.], in *Deltio Eraldikes & Genealogikes Etaireias Ellados*, vi (1986), 65-127; C. Frazee, *The island princes of Greece. The dukes of the Archipelago*, Amsterdam 1988, chs. ii-vii; on the Turkish raids (late 14th-early 18th centuries), see A. Krantonelle, *Hist. of piracy in the early Turkish domination, 1390-1538* [in Gk.], Athens 1985, and B. Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus: les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane, c. 1500-1718*, i-ii, Leiden 1982 (based on important archival material). On the Turkish era see also [in Gk.]: D. Paschales, *The Cyclades during the Turco-Venetian wars of 1644-69 and 1684-99*, in *In memory S. Lampros*, Athens 1935, 132-9; idem, *Privileges and administration in Cyclades during Turkish domination*, in *Andriaka Chronika*, i (1948), 120-50; *The conquest of Cyclades by the Turks*, in *Epeteris Etaitreias Kykladikon Meleton* (= *EEKM*), i (1960), 215-33; J. Della-Rocca, *Naxian law during Turkish domination*, in *EEKM*, vii

(1968), 426-81 (on Turkish administration and taxation); A. Katsouros, *Naxiot notarial documents of the 17th c.*, in *EEKM*, vii (1968), 24-337; *The Turks of Naxos*, in *EEKM*, ix (1971-3), 153-80. General references in A. Vakalopoulos, *Hist. of mod. Hellenism* [in Gk.], i-vii, Thessalonica 1961-86 (period 1204-1828); K. Setton, *Papacy and Levant, 1204-1571*, i, Philadelphia 1976 (13th-14th centuries); ii, 1978 (15th century); iii-iv, 1984 (16th century); cf. C. Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece, 1453-1821* [in Gk.], repr. Athens 1990. Finally, see various contributions in the Gk. journals *EEKM*, i-xi; Naxiaka, i-xxii; *Kykladika*, i-xxxiii. Further references in PARA. (A. SAVVIDES)

NAKŪR (Nukūr) was the name of a town in northern Morocco (Rīf) situated approximately 140 km./90 miles (by road) to the west of Melilla [*q.v.*], in a plain which extends between two small coastal rivers, joining at a place called Agdal [on this term, see ĀGDĀL], then separating before flowing into the Mediterranean, the Nakūr and the Ghays/Ghīs; a *ribāt* [*q.v.*] had been constructed on an elevation. The town itself was built some 10 km/7 miles from the Mediterranean coast among inlets which sheltered a number of small harbours. The best known, al-Mazimma, was situated at the rear of a bay protected by several islands; the Spaniards gave it the name of Alhucemas [see *EI*[1], s.v.] the French, that of Albouzeme/Albouzemes and modern Moroccans call it al-Ḥusayma [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; this locality has become a popular seaside resort, having in the past been devasted three times, as noted by Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 277-8).

Nakūr was surrounded by a wall of coarse brick and possessed a large mosque, of which the roof was supported by pillars of thuya (abundant in the region, as was cedar), prosperous markets, gardens and orchards of pears and pomegranates.

The history of the town is inseparable from the somewhat turbulent history of a principality of which it was the capital and which was governed for several centuries by the descendants of a companion of the conqueror ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ (d. 63/683 [*q.v.*]) called Ṣāliḥ b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī—although this South Arabian origin for him is disputed by al-Yaʿḳūbī (*K. al-Buldān*, 357, tr. Wiet, 222), who associates him rather with the Berber tribe of the Nafza [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, this ancestor of the Ṣāliḥids established himself at Tamsāmān, on the coast, and succeeded in converting the population of the region which belonged to the Berber groups of the Ghumāra and the Ṣanhādja [*q.vv.*]; but these new converts were not slow to apostasise and to expel Ṣāliḥ from the principality which he had founded in 90/709, under the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (88-98/705-15 [*q.v.*]), taking as their leader a certain Dāwūd al-Rundī (who probably was not a native of Ronda). Ṣāliḥ was nevertheless reinstated and, on his death, the date of which is unknown, his son al-Muʿtaṣim succeeded him. Later, following a series of various somewhat confused vicissitudes, his grandson Saʿīd b. Idrīs b. Ṣāliḥ founded in 143/761 the town of Nakūr to serve as capital of the small state. He was obliged to face numerous rebellions, but retained his throne until his death in 188/804. He left some ten sons, of whom the one who seems to have been the eldest, Ṣāliḥ, succeeded him. At an unknown date, one of his brothers, named Idrīs, rebelled against him, but he was captured and executed. In 244/858, Nakūr suffered a violent attack on the part of the "Northmen" [see MADJŪS, at V, 1119a] who sacked the town and took prisoner the women of the Ṣāliḥid family; the latter were ransomed by the *amīr* of Cordova Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86 [see UMAYYADS OF SPAIN]); al-Andalus in fact maintained cordial relations with Nakūr since the time that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya b. Hishām, known as al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], fleeing from the ʿAbbāsids, had spent some time in the principality before embarking for Spain in 138/755. The chronology is far from certain, and it is possible that a link is missing from the genealogy of Abu 'l-Muṭarrif ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who, described as a brother of the founder of Nakūr, became famous in Spain; he was a devout man, a *faḳīh* who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca four times. Having landed at Malaga with a small army to oppose ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn (d. 306/918 [*q.v.*]), he fell into an ambush, but succeeded in escaping and was able to continue his *djihād* under the orders of the Umayyad general Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbda, in whose company he perished on 14 Rabīʿ I/4 September 917.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) describes the principality of Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī in some detail; according to him "it extends over a distance of ten days' march, amid numerous constructions, fortresses, villages, staging-posts, cultivated land, herds of cattle, pastures". There does not seem to be any exaggeration here, except perhaps in relation to the dimensions of the territories of Ṣāliḥ.

The latter must have died in 250/864, after a very long reign, and he was succeeded by his son Saʿīd, who was obliged to confront a mutiny on the part of the Slavs (Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*]); the latter, Slavonic slaves purchased in order to constitute a kind of praetorian guard, demanded their freedom and civil rights. Their movement was suppressed, and they were forced to take refuge in their cantonment, the Ḳaryat al-Ṣaḳāliba, while awaiting their punishment. Some cousins of Ṣāliḥ, who had been involved in the rebellion, were condemned to death, thus provoking one of the conspiracies which are a feature of the history of the Ṣāliḥids.

Although a sister of Ṣāliḥ, Umm al-Saʿd, had married, in Nakūr, a descendant of Fāṭima, related in fact to the Idrīsids who were under threat from Ḳayrawān, a certain Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Al-Ḥasan (b. al-Ḥasan) b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Saʿīd rejected an invitation from the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh (285-323/898-934 [*q.v.*]) to recognise his authority. The Fāṭimid Imām reacted vigorously to this defiance and ordered his vassal Maṣāla b. Ḥab(b)ūs to invade the territory of the Ṣāliḥids. A member of the family, a certain Ḥamad b. ʿAyyāsh, having betrayed Saʿīd, Nakūr fell into the hands of the invader on 3 Muḥarram 305/26 June 917; the town was sacked, the women and children taken captive; the head of Saʿīd, who had died fighting after a spirited resistance, was sent to Ḳayrawān with those of many of his relatives, and the Fāṭimids mounted them on pikes and displayed them on the walls of Raḳḳāda. Those members of the family who succeeded in escaping took refuge at Malaga and Pechina; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III invited them to settle at Cordova, but they preferred to remain on the coast, closer to their homeland, to which they hoped to return. Having spent some time travelling through the territory of the principality, Maṣāla left in Nakūr a governor named Dalūl, supported by a small garrison of Fāṭimid troops (*mashāriḳa* [*q.v.*]), who ultimately abandoned their leader. It was then that the three sons of Saʿīd—Idrīs, al-Muʿtaṣim and Ṣāliḥ—who had found refuge in Spain, separately took to see to return to Nakūr. The first to arrive, Ṣāliḥ, landed near Tamsāmān and was greeted with enthusiasm by the Berbers of the region, who gave him the title al-Yatīm and marched with him against

Nakūr; they captured Dalūl and his supporters and hanged them. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, informed of this success, congratulated Ṣāliḥ and promulgated throughout Spain the news of the recovery of the principality and of its capital, which in fact seem henceforward to have been placed under the sovereignty of the Umayyads who, as mentioned previously, had a long-standing relationship with the Ṣāliḥids.

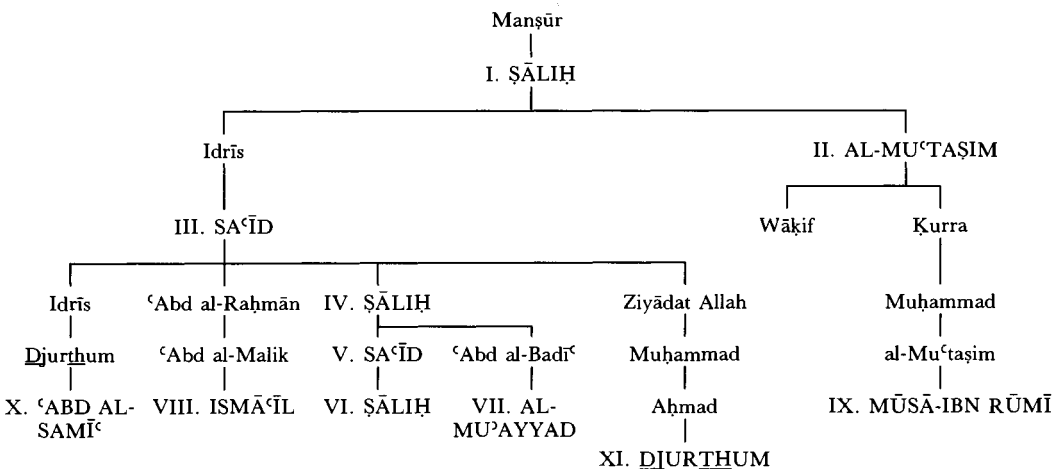
However, in 308/920-1, Maṣāla recaptured Nakūr, which he held for a short time. Ṣāliḥ died and was succeeded by his grandson, al-Muʾayyad b. ʿAbd al-Badīʿ b. Ṣāliḥ, who was attacked in 316/928 by a vassal of the Fāṭimids, the lieutenant and successor of Maṣāla, Mūsā b. Abi ʾl-ʿĀfiya (d. 327/938 [*q.v.*]), then governor of a province of which the capital was Guercif [see GARSĪF], and Nakūr was razed the following year. Abū Ayyūb Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Idrīs b. Ṣāliḥ, a grandson of the hero of the *djihād* against Ibn Hafṣūn, regained power and rebuilt the town. Since the Fāṭimids had no intention of allowing the Umayyads to retain a bridgehead on the coast of the Maghrib, al-Ḳāʾim (322-34/934-46 [*q.v.*]) entrusted to a Slav named Ṣandal the task of recapturing Nakūr; after an exchange of letters and envoys—some of whom were executed by Ismāʿīl—the Fāṭimid officer arrived to lay siege to the capital in Shawwāl 323/September 935 and captured it after eight days of fierce fighting. Ismāʿīl and almost all of his supporters lost their lives, and the women and children were taken away in captivity. Once more, the inhabitants of the town, who had been expelled from it, succeeded in returning, executed the governor appointed by Ṣandal and sent his head to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (324/936). After the defection of Mūsā b. Abı ʾl-ʿĀfiya, who went over to the Umayyads in 320/932, the loss of Nakūr was strongly resented by the Fāṭimids. The citizens had taken as their leader a member of the ruling family, Mūsā, known as Ibn Rūmī, but he was expelled by one of his kinsmen, ʿAbd al-Samīʿ, and went into exile at Pechina with his supporters. In 336/948-9, another Ṣāliḥid was to be called to power, Djurthum (?) b. Aḥmad, who reigned until Dhu l-Ḳaʿda 360/September-October 971. It was during his reign or that of his predecessor that Ibn Ḥawkal visited the region; he says (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 75) that Nakūr had lost some of its importance, but retained reasonable proportions, and he speaks of its port, al-Mazimma. Two centuries later, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] locates 20 miles from the town of Bādis (*Opus geographicum*, v, Naples-Rome 1975, 533) the port of Dū Dhukūr, "an ancient town, today (548/1154) in ruins, called Nakūr in the history books", which is rather surprising.

After 360/971, information regarding the town becomes rather obscure. It seems that the last Idrīsid *amīr* [see IDRĪSIDS], al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (343-63/954-74 and 375/985), established himself at Nakūr, before yielding to the Umayyads in 362/973. The town must subsequently have passed into the hands of the Zīrids [*q.v.*], since historians relate that in 388/998, al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*]), in the course of his campaign against Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya (see H.R. Iris, *Zirides*, index), sent his general, the Slav Wāḍiḥ, to Morocco, and the latter occupied a number of towns including Nakūr (*Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 29). It is probable that the descendants of the last Ṣāliḥid to be cited by name were able to recover their throne and to retain it until 410/1019-20, at which date they were obliged to go into exile in Malaga. They returned, however, to Mazimma, whence they were expelled by Yaʿlā b. al-Futūḥ al-Azdādjī of Orania. The descendants of the latter were still in residence there at the time when al-Bakrī was writing his *Description* (460/1068). In 477/1084, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (453-500/1061-1107 [*q.v.*]) captured and definitively destroyed Nakūr, the site of which is today only of archaeological interest (see A. Makinasi, *Reconomientos arqueológicos en el Rif*, in *Tamuda*, vii/1-2 [1959], 156-8).

Information is lacking regarding the social, economic and intellectual life of the town, but it may be supposed that it was not greatly distinguished fromt the rest of Morocco. It is known only that a few *dirhams* were struck there between 372 and 397/902-1007 (see G.C. Miles, *The coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, New York 1950, 52-3) and that close commercial relations had been established with Spain, and in particular with Malaga, which was the nearest port. From a cultural point of view, Berber was certainly the language of the people, but Arabic was not unknown, and it may be supposed that poets frequented the court; proof of this is constituted by a fragment attributed, in 305/917, to a certain Aḥmad b. al-Marwazī, whose patronym could also (if this reading is correct) be an indication of the prestige enjoyed by the little principality of Nakūr.

Bibliography: The principal sources are Bakrī,

Approximative genealogical table of those Ṣāliḥids who reigned

- Manṣūr
  - I. ṢĀLIḤ
    - Idrīs
      - III. SAʿĪD
        - Idrīs
          - Djurthum
            - X. ʿABD AL-SAMĪʿ
        - ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
          - ʿAbd al-Malik
            - VIII. ISMĀʿĪL
        - IV. ṢĀLIḤ
          - V. SAʿĪD
            - VI. ṢĀLIḤ
          - ʿAbd al-Badīʿ
            - VII. AL-MUʾAYYAD
        - Ziyādat Allah
          - Muḥammad
            - Aḥmad
              - XI. DJURTHUM
    - II. AL-MUʿTAṢIM
      - Wāḳif
      - Ḳurra
        - Muḥammad
          - al-Muʿtaṣim
            - IX. MŪSĀ-IBN RŪMĪ

Kitāb al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib, ed. and tr. de Slane, Description de l'Afrique septentrionale, 2nd ed., Algiers 1911-13, repr. Paris 1965, Ar. 90-9, tr. 180-97; Ibn ʿIdhārī, Bayān, i, 176-81; see also Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ, ed. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, i, 193; E. Fagnan, Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb, Algiers 1924 (45: Waṭwāt, Manāhidj al-fikr; 211: Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, Iftitāḥ al-Andalus); Ibn Ḥayyān, Muḳtabis, v, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid 1979, index; K. al-Istibṣār, partial ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 136; Ibn Khaldūn, ʿIbar, tr. de Slane, index; Mouliéras, Le Maroc inconnu, i, 94-5; G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie, 21; Ch. Diehl and G. Marçais, Le monde oriental de 395 à 1081, Paris 1944, 424; E. Lévi-Provençal, HEM, i-iii, index (detailed account); J. Bosch Vilá, Los Almoravides, Tetouan 1951, 31, 124; Idris, Zīrīdes, 11-16 (passim); M. Talbi, Emirat aghlabide, 378, 392-3; F. Dachraoui, Le califat fatimide au Maghreb, Tunis 1981, 150, 151, 163. The general historians of the Maghrib, and especially, of Morocco, generally mention Nakūr.

(Ch. Pellat)

NĀḲŪS (A.), pl. *nawāḳīs*, a kind of rattle once used and in some places still used by Eastern Christians to summon the community to divine service. It is a board pierced with holes which is beaten with a rod. The name, which comes from the Syriac *nāḳōshā*, is not infrequently found with the verbs *ḍaraba* or *ṣakka* in the old Arabic poets, especially when early morning is to be indicated, e.g. ʿAntara, app.; Labīd, 19, 6; *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 215; Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, 178, v. 6; al-Aʿshā, in Nöldeke's *Delectus*, 26; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xix, 92. According to tradition, Muḥammad hesitated between this instrument and the Jewish trumpet before deciding on the call to prayer by the *muʾadhdhins* [see ADHĀN].

Bibliography: Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2466; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 276; G. Jacob, in *6. Jahresbericht d. geogr. Gesellsch. zu Greifswald*, 1896, 4; idem, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 22, 233; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 346 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, iii/2, 87.

(Fr. Buhl)

NALDRUG, a small town in the former ʿUthmānābād district of Ḥaydarābād State, situated in 17°49′N., 76°29′E., now in Mahārāshṭra; its fort, standing above the ravine of the Bōrī river, is one of the best fortified strongholds in the Deccan. The name also appears as Naldurg, perhaps the better form (*durg* = Skr. *durga* "fort").

It does not figure in the Deccan campaign of Muḥammad b. Tughluk, and so probably came into Bahmanī possession after the imperial forces had withdrawn, in the late 8th/14th century; its stone fortifications, which appear to be of Bahmanī work although elaborated later under the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpur, may have replaced an earlier Hindū (? Čālukya) mud fort. Thereafter, Naldrug incurs frequent mention in the dynastic squabbles of the Deccan, lying as it does on the border of the ʿĀdil Shāhī and Niẓām Shāhī territories of Bīdjāpur and Aḥmadnagar respectively, having later even attracted the attention of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkonḍā. Thus Muḥammad Khān, the brother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II Bahmanī, in rebellion in 840/1436, is reported to have occupied Naldrug as well as Mudgal, Rāyčūr, and Shōlāpur; after the fragmentation of the old Bahmanī kingdom, when Naldrug became a bone of contention between the rival sultanates, there was a war between Ḳāsim Barīd and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān in 897/1492, when Ḳāsim was humiliated; in 914/1508 Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh unsuccessfully demanded Naldrug from Yūsuf as his price for neutrality against the rival claims of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and ʿAlī Barīd. In 938/1531 Amīr Barīd had entered into an alliance with Burhān Niẓām Shāh against Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh and marched on Naldrug, but was defeated by Ismāʿīl; Vidjayanagara entered the contest when in 970/1562-3 the lands of Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar were invaded by Rām Rādj of Vidjayanagara, now allied to ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur; but Rām Rādj withdrew after his camp was flooded in the rains, whereupon ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh withdrew to Naldrug and carried out some rebuilding, including a dam across the river Bōrī, to improve the water supply to the garrison. In 989/1581, after the death of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh, Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh attempted to recover Shōlāpur and Naldrug, now with the help of Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golkonda; but the allied forces, on seeing Naldrug's great strength, moved rather to Bīdjāpur itself; the siege of Naldrug, however, was prolonged under the next Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultan, Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, the following year.

In 1003/1595 Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of Bīdjāpur invaded the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom; in an ensuing battle at Naldrug Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shāh was killed. But there was now a greater danger on the horizon, and the ʿĀdil Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī forces were allied at Naldrug against the Mughals. During the Mughals' Deccan campaign the Niẓām Shāhī sultanate was in 1046/1636 invaded by Shāhdjahān's general Shāʾista Khān, who after his success turned his attention to the ʿĀdil Shāhī kingdom, conquered Naldrug and occupied the region between Shōlāpur and Bīdar, although the Mughal success was then short-lived; in 1087/1676 the Mughal general Bahādur Khān failed in a further siege against Naldrug, although Naldrug fell to the Mughals the following year; this was of course an important possession for the Mughals in view of the growth of the hostile Marāṭhā [*q.v.*] power. There seems to be no record of when Naldrug finally came into the possession of the Marāṭhās.

The fort is an imposing building, but now disfigured with mean squatters' buildings. An interesting addition to its fortifications is a multi-lobed circular bastion on the south wall, similar to but smaller than the one at Golkonḍā fort. The water-palace and other palace buildings, and the mosque, have not been adequately described or published, but an inscription in the water-palace (Pānī maḥall) refers to the erection of a dam in 1022/1613 (*EIM* [1917-18], 3). There are illustrations of the Pānī maḥall and the multi-lobed bastion in *ARAD Hyd.*, 1327F./1917-18, Pl. III. A survey of Naldrug, with further descriptive work, is badly needed. Besides those within the fort, there are several mosque buildings in the vicinity of Naldrug, which appear to be of the late ʿĀdil Shāhī style and period.

Bibliography: The above is mostly extracted from Muḥammad Ḳāsim "Firishta", *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, *passim*, and Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, *passim*; for the ʿĀdil Shāhī period only, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubayrī, *Basātīn-i salāṭīn*, and Hāshim Beg Astarābādī, *Futūḥāt-i ʿĀdil Shāhī*, which also covers the Mughal period in the Deccan (portions of the latter tr. S.K. Basu, in *JBOHS* [1938]); G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions of the Bijapur kings ... from Naldrug*, in *EIM* (1917-18), 1-3

(J. Burton-Page)

NĀMA (P.). a Persian word, derived as an adjective from the common Iranian root *nāman-*, "name". Already in Middle Persian the form *nāmag* can be

found also as a substantive referring to an inscription, a letter or a book. In the orthography of Pahlavī, the word could be written either phonemically, as *n'mk'*, or by means of any of two heterographs: SHM-k', which was based on the Semitic word for "name", and MGLT', i.e. the Aramaic *m^e gill^e ta*, "scroll" (cf. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, 1091). It occurs also in compounds, especially in the titles of books. Some of these denote certain genres of writings, e.g. *kār-nāmag* ("book of deeds"), *pand-nāmag* or *andarz-nāmag* ("book of admonition"); others specify the subject-matter of a particular text, such as *Khudāy-nāmag* ("The Book of Kings"), or contain the name of the main protagonist of a story, like the title of the eschatological *Ardā Wirāz-nāmag* ("The Book of Arda Wiraz").

These usages of the word lived on in Islamic times when *nāma* became in many ways the equivalent of the Arabic *kitāb* [*q.v.*], especially in the titles of books. The straightforward Persian titles often contrast with the much more extensive and flowery style of titles in Arabic. Sometimes the former came into use as an alternative title to an Arabic one, as in the case of Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* which is also known as *Siyar al-mulūk*; the title *Saʿdī-nāma* occurs next to the more poetic Persian title *Būstān*.

As an independent word *nāma* continued to have the generic meaning of a letter, frequently occurring in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. A specific connotation is that of a royal edict or diploma, as in the expressions *nāma-yi khāḳānī* or *nāma-yi humāyūnī*. In the sense of a register it is used in the religious notion of the *nāma-yi aʿmāl*, the book recording good and bad deeds which will be brought forward at the Day of Judgement.

In the traditional lexicography of Persian, a number of other meanings are given which need not be discussed here. In present-day Persian, *nāma* continues to be a very productive morpheme. It helped to form neologisms (e.g. *asās-nāma* "statute", *shinās-nāma* "identity card", *guwāhī-nāma* "certificate"), but also to give contemporary meanings to words already existing in the classical language (e.g. *dānish-nāma* "encyclopaedia", *rūz-nāma* "journal, daily newspaper", *lughat-nāma* "dictionary").

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NAMĀRA, the name of several places in the Near East.

According to the *LA*, the root *n-m-r* has, amongst its meanings, that of sweet, drinkable, abundant water, suitable for beasts and for irrigating crops. This explains why a certain number of settlements, provided with a *ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*] and which have developed around a source of water, a well or a natural reservoir of water (*birka*), are called Namāra, Nāmir, Namr or Nimrā. R. Dussaud and F. Macler noted that during Antiquity, there were in Syria a good number of sites bearing this name. The best known are four places localised in the Ḳibliyya, the southern fringe of the province of Dimashḳ [*q.v.*] or Damascus, forming part of the vast rural region (*rustāḳ*) of the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*]. The relief of the Djabal al-Durūz [*q.v.*] is characterised by numerous volcanic cones which are also landmarks visible a long distance away.

Links between the villages are by roads or by tracks marked out by low walls of stones in order to prevent people from losing their way in the zones of lava flows, and in order to facilitate the passage of camels, which find difficulty in picking their way through terrain scattered with lava blocks of varying size. Since Roman times there have been roads with paving or stone surfacing, important parts of which were used during the centuries before the appearance of the motor car.

1. The Namāra in southern Syria which is situated, like Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ [*q.v.*], Ḳalʿat al-ʿAlka and Djabal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.] on the fringe of Roman Arabia (*Provincia Arabia*) in the *ḥarra* [*q.v.*] of al-Ṣafā, a strenuous day's march to the east of the oasis of Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] and of Tarba. According to N. Pigulevskaya, Namāra is a little distance from the ancient route transformed by Diocletian into the *Strata romana diocletiana*.

Namāra is situated at the extreme edge of the steppe, in an oasis of the Wādī 'l-Shām, a wide and long valley which begins in the region of Mushannaf to the northeast of the Djabal al-Durūz and crosses a plain covered with blackish stones coming from the lava flows of volcanoes long since extinct, before losing itself in the fertile Ruḥba depression. The basalt region of the Ḥawrān benefits in winter and spring from abundant rains, which bring floods into the valley, this latter being dry the rest of the year, and filling man-made reservoirs (*aḥwāḍ*, sing. *ḥawḍ*) which, since early Antiquity, have helped to conserve the water. Namāra, whose *ḥawḍ* had, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, one of the best supplies of water in the region, lasting practically for the whole year through, was probably, like the post of Djabal Says, one of the stages on the road followed by the caravans starting from Tadmur [*q.v.*] or Palmyra and heading for Boṣrā [*q.v.*] or for Filasṭīn [*q.v.*]. The alluvial soils which soaked up water allowed the cultivation of high-yielding cereal crops without irrigation, and these excited the greed of nearby nomads.

Built on a height in the middle of the valley at the Wādī 'l-Sawṭ confluent, the post of Namāra protected the road coming from the northeast and leading to Boṣrā, whilst Ḳaṣr Burḳuʿ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] guarded the east and Ḳaṣr Azraḳ controlled access from the south. Namāra's function was to protect the security of caravans and the flocks of pastoral nomads in the Ruḥba. Its strategic role is marked by a small Roman fort and a rectangular Romano-Byzantine guard tower built on the model of those which guarded the main routes converging on Syria. In Antiquity, this type of tower assured the rapid transmission of information by neans of signals visible from other posts. Namāra's importance is further confirmed by the title of *Nemārāh ha-Sulṭān* which appears in Safaitic texts, as noted by G. Ryckmans.

From the 2nd century A.D., the Romans took control of the Bathaniyya [*q.v.*], whose Arabo-Nabataean population became their tributaries before becoming liable to the *kharādj* of the incoming Muslims. Its defence was the responsibility of the Third Cyrenaican Legion stationed at Boṣrā, whose garrison included units of camel riders (*dromedarii*) recruited locally, thereby explaining the presence of Nabataean soldiers at Namāra, attested by numerous Safaitic graffiti rudely traced by them on neighbouring pieces of rock. Although Namāra was abandoned by the Romans at the beginning of the 4th century, as the presence near the site of the tomb of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] indicates, the military system established there by them was not changed and actually benefited in the following century by the incorporation of Arab nomads into the army.

After the victory of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] over the Byzantines in the summer of 13/634, the Muslims occupied the Ḥawrān region. Two years later, after the success of the commander Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] at the battle of the Yarmūk, Namāra was integrated within the *djund* [*q.v.*] of Dimashk from the time of the Umayyads' advent to power.

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The inscription of Imru' al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]

Around 1 km to the southeast of the fortified post of Namāra, Dussaud discovered in 1899 the famous "Nabataeo-Arab" inscription in the name of "Maru 'l-Ḳays bar ʿAmru... king of all the Arabs" and dated 7 Kaslūl 223 of the Boṣrā era (= 7 December 328). The power of Imru' al-Ḳays, son of the founder of the Lakhmid dynasty, stretched from southern Syria to the northern part of the Arabian peninsula. Dussaud thought that this inscription came from the period of ancient Arabic, since it was "written in Nabataean characters but in practically pure Arabic". C. Rabin, for his part, thought that a western dialect was involved. In fact, M. Sartre points out that we have an Arabic text transcribed in the Nabataean alphabet; he further believes that the dead man buried on 7 December 328 must have himself assumed the title of "king of all the Arabs", which would thus confirm the departure of the Romans since the beginning of the 4th century A.D. This inscription, of which Pigulevskaya has given a translation slightly different from that of the *RCEA*, attests, she says, to the fact "that the Ghassānids and Lakhmids [*q.vv.*] did not enjoy a stable position as allies of Iran and of the Empire".

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2. Namāra (Waddington, nos. 2172-85), now called today Nimrā, in one of the six rural districts (*rustāḳ*) of the Ḥawrān in the middle of a region covered with lava flows to the east of the Djabal Durūz. This Druze village is situated to the east of Ṭafḥa and Shahba (the ancient Philippopolis), to the south of Shakka, to the west of the oasis of Taymā' and to the northwest of Mushannaf. The large number of prehistoric sites in this region bears witness to a very old occupation of sites favoured by the basalt nature of the soil which, thanks to 300 mm of rain annually, gives a good cereal yields.

The actual village, with a population in 1945 of 824, is built like an eagle's nest at *ca.* 1,400 m.

altitude, at the top of a tell which dominates the high valley of the Wādī Nimrā which, from this spot onwards, assumes the name of the Wādī Liwā and which forms, downstream, the eastern limit of the Ladjā' [*q.v.*], the ancient Traconitides. A Roman road made use of this valley, marked out by Ṭafḥa, Shahba, Umm al-Zaytūn, Khalkhala and Burāḳ, from where the Roman road continues northwards to Damascus, whilst the flow of the wādī eventually forms, further to the east, the Baḥriyyat Burāḳ, a fine natural reservoir of water, situated to the south of Shukrāniyya. A track came from the north via Shaḳḳa to Namāra, from where another one led towards Taymā', Tarba and Mushannaf, where it took a southwards direction to join Ṣalkhad by means of Sala (ancient Salamamistra), whilst there branched off towards the east a track which eventually joined Namāra (1) via the Wādī al-Shām, where the terrain covered with lava chips made painful going, during the dry season, for the camels of caravans and mounted troops.

At the crossing point of the Wādi Liwā there developed a lower quarter of Namāra; at the foot of the lava streams there are still remains of a fortified tower from the Roman period, which had the function of protecting this obligatory crossing place.

A short distance downstream, on the right bank of the wādī, traces of a church have been found: an unornamented building, like the greater part of the Christian buildings of the Ḥawrān of the early period. This church is reminiscent of the basilica of Ṭafḥa a little further away to the west. Moreover, below the fording place, there is on the left bank a large, ruinous building called Dayr al-Shahīb which, a long time ago, was transformed by the local inhabitants into a rudimentary defence point. In this region, the local ways of communication, providing links between the villages and in greater part dating from Antiquity, have lasted up to our own time. There are some tracks possible for vehicles, in particular, between Namāra and al-Ḳrayya.

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3. Modern Nāmir (Namr, Nimr) al-Hawā'

This lies at an altitude of 580 m. to the south of Izraʿ, southeast of Shaykh Maskīn, north of Khirbat al-Ghazāla, northwest of Ḥarak and northeast of Adhriʿāt [*q.v.*].

Like Namāra (1), Nāmir is situated in a region where the nature of the soil and the amount of rainfall have furnished, since Antiquity, an appreciable agricultural richness and have provided its *ḥawḍ* with a respectable amount of water. In Hellenistic times, this place was called Εὔτιμη. In 4th century A.D., Eusebius of Caesarea called it κώμη μεγίστη ἐντῇ βαταναίᾳ in his *Onomasticon* (138, 114). At the opening of the 5th century, St. Jerome cites it as an important settlement (*vicus grandis*). It was at that time a centre for the Nabataean nomads with their large tents to gather together. In mediaeval times, under the Mamlūks [*q.v.*], Nāmir was included administratively in the *wilāya* of Adhriʿāt (the chief town of the Bathaniyya). In 1925, at the time of the rebellion in the Djabal al-Durūz, Nāmir al-Hawā' found itself on the no. 3 road which linked the Djabal with the port of Ṣaydā via Izraʿ. At the present time, this place is situated 3 km/2 miles to the west of the Syrian Darb al-Ḥadjdj and the Damascus-Ḥidjāz railway.

Bibliography: Waddington, no. 2476; J. Mordtmann, *Arch. epigr. Mitt.*, 1884, 180 n. 1; Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO*, i, Paris 1888, 4; G. Schumacher, in *ZDPV* xii (1886), 291, xii (1897), 221; von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer*, ii, 1889-1900, 56; Dussaud and Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Safa*, 139 ff.; Eusebius, *op. cit.*, 138, 11; idem, *Régions désertiques*, 48; Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 341, 360; Guide Bleu, *Syrie-Palestine*, 348; G. Hölscher, art. Ναμαρίων, in *PW*, xvi/2, col. 1611; E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1971, 412, maps figs. 52 and 53.

4. The name Namāra (Namr, Nam(a)ra, Nimré) appears on an ancient military boundary marking the frontier between the territory of Djāsim (Gasimea) and its own one. Namr is situated in the large, undulating plain of the Nuḳra, the veritable granary of Syria. It is probably the ancient city of the land of Canaan. Cited in the Bible under the name of Nimré (Numbers, xxxii, 3, and Samuel, v, vi) or of Beth Nimreh (Numbers, xxxii, 34,36), it appears there as a strong urban centre, with grazing grounds for sheep, surrounded by meadows suitable for herds. Over the centuries, it experienced various fortunes; in the 13th century B.C., notably, it suffered a violent conflagration and was reconstructed in 1230 B.C. by one of Jacob's grandsons.

Namr lies to the south of ʿAḳrabā [*q.v.*], the ancient residence of the Ghassānid princes and at the foot of the Djabal al-Ḥāra (1,127 m in altitude) which dominates the plain of the village of al-Ḥāra (Εὔτιμη) which is on the southern side, at the foot of this height, to the east of the Nahr ʿAllān, an affluent of the Yarmūk, to the north of Nawā and to the west of the Ladjā'. According to Dussaud, Namr, which was a place of some importance in a region dominated by

the Monophysites, subjects of the Ghassānids, would be a more fitting place to be qualified as κώμη μεγίστη ἐντῇ βατανaίᾳ than Namāra (2), situated to the north-west of Mushannaf. The confusion seems to arise from an indication given by Eusebius of Caesarea which Waddington (no. 2176), Thomsen and Nöldeke followed.

Al-Masʿūdī places Namr some miles to the north of Djābiya [*q.v.*] and Nawā in the district of the Djawlān [*q.v.*]. The troops of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], setting off to campaign in Egypt, encamped on several occasions in this proximity, notably in 563/1168 and 565/1170.

Bibliography: Wetzstein, *op. cit.*, 90; Nöldeke, *Zur topographie und Geschichte der Damascenischen Gebiete und des Haurangegend*, in *ZDMG*, xxix (1875), 419 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 33; Chauvet and Isambert, *op. cit.*, iii, 816; Dussaud and Macler, *Syrie Moyenne*, 48; Clermont-Ganneau, in *RAO*, i, 3-5; R. Dussaud, *Topographique historique*, 333, 341; N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, i, 262, 265, 327; Sartre, *Trois études*, 1982, 186, map; G. Hölscher, *op. cit.*, col. 1611.

(N. Elisséeff)

NAMĀZ [see ṢALĀT].

NAMĀZGĀH (P.), "place of prayer", in India an alternative name for *ʿīdgāh*, the open structure built usually to the west of a town, consisting solely of what in a mosque would be the western wall, with *miḥrāb*(s) and *minbar* and, essentially, within a spacious enclosure which should be capable of accommodating the entire adult male Muslim population; the wall-structure may stand at the western end of a large paved area (*ṣaḥn*), but there is usually no *ḥawḍ* for ablutions. The structure is used only for the celebration of the two *ʿīd* festivals (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.vv.*]), and no special sanctity attaches to it; this may account for the destruction of many old *ʿīdgāhs*.

The *namāzgāh*/*ʿīdgāh* in Muslim settlements in India is often a substantial building of some artistic merit, e.g. the Bahmanī *ʿīdgāh* at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*]; the splendid *ʿīdgāh* at Čandērī (not described *s.v.*) in Mālwā with its *miḥrāb* wall, canopied *minbar* in typical Mālwā (e.g. Māndū, Čandērī) style, and tapering end buttresses with domes; the early Tughluḳid Kharērā *ʿīdgāh*, near Sirī in old Dihlī (from the *minbar* of which Tīmūr possibly held his open-air court; an earlier *ʿīdgāh* to the west of Ḳilʿa Rāy Pithorā has also been suggested, further from Tīmūr's battlefield. The *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 443, does not state the location precisely); the very early (possibly of the time of Iltutmish, with Khaldjī and Tughluḳid additions) *ʿīdgāh* of Badāʾūn, with octagonal end buttresses, domed, the central *miḥrāb* under a half-dome faced with a tall arched opening almost double the height of the main wall; there is a tall canopied *minbar* and, most unusually, an arched opening beside the *minbar* leading to the rear of the structure (K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983, 68-9 with plan and elevation, and Pl. 29); the vast *ʿīdgāh* at Dihlī (presumably of Fīrūzābād, situated north-west of the Ḳadam Sharīf, see DIHLĪ, map on p. 258), probably of Tughluḳid times but with later additions, stands within a well-fortified enclosure. At Gulbargā, the growth of the town is expressed by the presence of *three ʿīdgāhs* to the west of the town (J. Burton-Page *et alii*, *Gulbarga: a memoir*, in preparation). There are many more fine *ʿīdgāhs* all over the country, but unfortunately few have been published.

The word *namāzgāh* is also used for those small areas seen in sparsely-populated regions in Balučistān and the North-West Frontier region, sometimes simply a square or rectangle demarcated by whitewashed stones, with a larger stone at the western end to designate the *ḳibla*, and where there is no pretence of an enclosure.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also MUṢALLĀ.

(J. Burton-Page)

NĀMIḲ KEMĀL [see KEMĀL MEḤMED NĀMIḲ].

NAMIR and **NIMR** (A.) (fem. *namira*, pl. *anmār, numūr, numur, numr, nimār, nimāra, anmur*; Maghrib *nmer*, pl. *nmūra*), masculine noun designating the panther (*Panthera pardus*) better known, in Africa, by the name of "leopard" (from *leo-pardus*; Old French leupart, liepart, lyépart; Old English leparde, lebarde, libbard). In Berber, it is called *kinas, agarzam*, in Morocco, *aghilas* in Kabylia, and *damesa, anaba, washil* in Tamahaḳ. In Turkish it is known by the name of *pars* and in Persian as *palang*.

This large feline, the most ferocious of the family, along with the lion and tiger, is ubiquitous in hot climates and frequents the scrub, thick forests and high wooded uplands; it appears in numerous geographical varieties in Africa as well as Asia, and one also finds, in the Islamic lands, the varieties *P.p. panthera* in the Maghrib, *P.p. leopardus* in West Africa, *P.p. reichenowi* in Cameroon, *P.p. chui* in Uganda, *P.p. shortridgei* in Central Africa, *P.p. melanotica* in South Africa, *P.p. adersi* in Zanzibar, *P.p. antinorii* in Eritrea, *P.p. nimr* in Abyssinia and Arabia, *P.p. jarvisi* in Sinai and Palestine, *P.p. minor* in Syria, *P.p. tulliana* in Asia Minor, *P.p. dathel* in Central Persia, *P.p. saxicolor* in North Persia and *P.p. sindica* in Baluchistan, not to mention those of India and Asia.

Besides the generic name *namir*, al-Damīrī gathered (ii, 364-5) some ten names (*kunya*) given to the panther, with *abū* for the male and *umm* for the female. The lexicographers added (Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 65) some archaic words such as *abrad, arḳaṭ, ʿusbur, ḍardjaʿ, muʿīl, kalad*; the word *ghaylas* (Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) was borrowed from Berber and *ḳablān baṣtā* from Turkish *kaplān* "tiger". In the Maghrib, *tultī* (= *thulthī*) designated the panther as well as the tiger (*babr*). The female of the panther was also called *fazāra, khutaʿa* and *khaythama*. The nouns *khathʿam, sindaʾa* and *sabantā* are polyvalents for the panther, lion and wolf (*dhiʾb*).

The Arab naturalists and encyclopaedists of the Middle Ages merely repeated with regard to the panther the sayings of the Greek and Latin authors, including Aristotle and Pliny the Elder, as they did for the cheetah (*fahd* [*q.v.*]); i.e., they reiterate the fables of which these two carnivores, among others, were made the subject in Antiquity, as a result of ignorance and imagination. Among the most improbable of these inventions was the origin of the giraffe (*zarāfa*), a product of mating the female panther and the camel, hence its name written in Persian as *ushtur-gāw-palang* "camel-cow-panther". Further, it was asserted that the young of the panther had, at their birth, a viper coiled round the neck. Al-Djāḥiẓ (3rd/9th century), who reports these beliefs (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 222, vi, 34, 128, vii, 128, 241) does not fail to refute them and categorise them as absurdities, but al-Ḳazwīnī (7th/13th century) (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 249) and al-Damīrī (8th/14th century) (ii, 364-5) and others after them still echo these stories . On the other hand, al-Djāḥiẓ, no doubt through an error of the Arab translator of Aristotle (*History of animals*, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 600), substituted (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 228) the cheetah for the panther in the name leopard's bane, panther strangler (*Doronicum pardalianches*) and made it into *khāniḳ al-fuhūd* "cheetah strangler" instead of *khāniḳ al-namir* "panther strangler", which is the meaning of παρδαλιαγχές, for the Greeks did not know

the cheetah. From Aristotle is also borrowed the statement that the panther gives off an agreeable odour to other wild animals and that it knows how to use it to attract its prey. Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamad̲h̲ānī (3rd/9th century) himself suggests that the cheetah may be the result of crossing the lioness and the male panther (*Abrégé*, 107). The polygraph poet Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im (4th/10th century), in his treatise on hunting (*Maṣāyid*, 211-12) states that there are two breeds of panthers, one of a large build with a short tail, the other of a small build with a long tail; this theory was repeated word-for-word by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (8th/14th century) in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā fī ṣināʿat al-ins̲h̲āʾ* (Cairo 1913 ii, 37). However, wiping the slate clean of all these erroneous interpretations, a single author, in the 6th/12th century, the famous knight Usāma b. Munḳid̲h̲ (d. 584/188 [*q.v.*]), who was personally as fully familiar with the cheetah, which he owned, as with the panther that he encountered on several occasions, was able to make a clear distinction between these two carnivores (*Iʿtibār*, 110-11) and to outline the anatomical differences which make the two species quite distinct: the structure of the skull, elongated in the panther, short and rounded in the cheetah; eyes very different in shape and colour; dissimilar coat, flecked with plain black spots in the cheetah; eyes circling a black spot in the panther.

In the case of the panther, we cannot speak of hunting methods as with large game, but of processes of capture and destruction, when it was able to strike terror into the population and cause serious depredations among the flocks. The authors are unanimous in recognising that, unlike the lion who, once satiated, runs off and is very little on the offensive, the panther is in all circumstances extremely aggressive and particularly dangerous due to his jumps of prodigious length and his aptitude for climbing large trees in order to crouch in them and lie in wait for his victims. To get rid of this undesirable visitor, several stratagems were in use. Firstly, there was the camouflaged pit (*ruḳba, zubya, ṭinʾ*) with live bait, a goat or sheep, tied up near to it; but the innate distrust of the beast often thwarted this trick. Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im notes that the panther is fond of alcoholic drinks and that the hunters, making it drunk, thus had it at their mercy. The most widespread of the processes of destruction was a direct attack on it with the boar-spear and side arms; a good precaution, adds the author, was to coat oneself with hyena fat, which was believed to possess a talismanic virtue. In his huge encyclopaedia on hunting (*al-D̲j̲amhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara*, mss. Escurial, Ar. 903, and Ayasofya, 3813) composed around 638/1240, the Bag̲h̲dādī ʿĪsā al-Asadī gives details as to the manner of tackling the panther, and the Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, in his abridgement of al-Asadī of 773/1371 (*Uns al-malā*, Fr. tr. F. Viré, *De la chasse*, Paris 1984, 83-4) reproduces the text in full. One learns also that he who wanted to measure himself against the animal had to wear a very thick felt jacket (*lubbād*), with a protective hood pierced with two holes so as to see, and to put on leggings of the same material going from his feet to the top of this thighs. The sleeves of the jacket had to come right down to the fingers. Thus clothed, the man would defend himself with three daggers, one at each hip and one against his chest, then with a strong, very hard, wooden cudgel at each end of which was fixed a metal ring, and a solid leather strap linked these two rings. Once the panther was spotted, the man would go right up to it and, before it leapt, he would turn his back to it, leaning slightly forward to receive the animal on his shoulders. As soon as it set out to bite savagely into the felt, the hunter would skilfully throw his wooden cudgel backwards, over his head and that of his attacker such that it would fall across the latter's back! Scarcely was the stick in place before the man would push with both arms suddenly and violently forwards on the leather strap; under traction, the cudgel, becoming a vice, crushed the vertebral column of the beast, neutralising it instantaneously. If the cudgel did not fall down well across the panther's back, it became useless, and the man could only lie down, face to the ground and use the dagger to stab the belly and flanks of the beast who clung to his back. Indeed, such a method required, apart from muscular power, a rare courage and composure. The author does not say if there were many bold men to risk themselves in this dangerous exercise. Less hazardous was the method of encircling the beast with archers letting fly at it volleys of arrows. A popular belief held that in order to put a panther to flight it was sufficient to show it a human skull. Here we meet again the fictions of Antiquity, such as the idea, among the Greeks, that the panther, intoxicated by absorbing leopard's bane or "panther strangler", sought a remedy for it by swallowing human excrement; so the hunters hung some up for it in a container very high in a tree and the beast strove to jump in vain to seize its antidote which, with the effect of the poison, quickly led it to total exhaustion, if we are to believe Aristotle. The geographer al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century), speaking of the towns of Malindi and Mombasa on the coast of Kenya (*Opus*, i, 59-60), mentions that the natives (*al-Zand̲j̲*) hunt the panther, which is very abundant in this country, with red-haired mastiffs and that, as a precaution, they get the sorcerer who is called *maḳanḳā* who has the power to bewitch the ferocious beasts, a procedure which, they claim, removes much of the danger.

In the whole of Africa, the main concern of panther hunters was to obtain intact skins of the animal of a kind that would be saleable; also, the best method of capture was and still is the trap-box snare (*rud̲j̲ba, bud̲j̲d̲j̲a, ag̲h̲wiya, mig̲h̲wāʾ, mug̲h̲awwāʾ*), built of solid masonry with an entrance concealed by a heavy flat stone which acts like a portcullis; this, running between wooden boards, was kept raised by a latch tied with rope to the live bait (often a dog) attached to the inside of the box. The panther, in leaping on the bait which struggled, pulled up the latch, and the suspended stone fell down immediately between its grooves, enclosing the beast in the box. In Gaboon, the inhabitants construct, with strong, high stakes in a palisade, a narrow zigzagging corridor (*wad̲j̲ra*) leading to a cul-de-sac where the live bait is tied up. As soon as the panther is caught in this type of corral, the entrance of it is shut with a portcullis fence worked by a draw-string, and the beast remains at the mercy of the hunters, for the narrowness of the passage prevents it from jumping and turning round. In the same region, the panther is also caught with a trap working with a horizontal snare which closes up the animal's paw (see E. Mérite, *Les pièges*, Paris 1942, 74 f.). In Kabylia, in the last century, when the remains of an animal devoured by a panther were found, they were removed and replaced by a large piece of meat crossed with strings tied to the triggers of guns levelled at the bait. When the beast returned to its prey, it was literally shot to bits and fell down struck.

The panther or leopard is of so refractory a nature that it is one of the hardest animals to tame, indeed, impossible in the case of many specimens captured in their wild state; also, the question of its supposed

training to hunt gazelles belongs in the field of invention and is due to the constant confusion made, in the travel accounts of Westerners in the Middle Ages, between the panther and the cheetah. Thus it is Marco Polo who reports (*La description du monde*, Paris 1955, 29) that the Great Khān has "lions, leopards and wolves trained to catch animals" and that they are transported in chariots to the hunting grounds. There is never, in the Arab authors, any echo of this training, and we can only recall the anecdote taken from the "Book of flying birds" (*Kitāb al-Djawāriḥ*) of Ghiṭrīf b. Ḳudāma (2nd/8th century) and taken up by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 37-8 = § 475); it throws into relief the intractableness of the panther and the sullen hostility of the two monarchs of the time, that of Byzantium and that of Persia. Thus a certain "Caesar" sent to a Chosroes an eagle supposed to be trained to fly at wild asses, wolves and foxes. But the eagle, as soon as it arrived at the Persian prince's court, set out to seize the latter's son and killed him. In order not to be left behind, Chosroes sent to Caesar a ferocious panther, presenting it to him as being a cheetah perfectly trained to hunt gazelles and deer; the result was that the beast, on coming out of the cage, leapt on a son of Caesar and tore him to pieces. The two rulers were thus even with each other, victims of each one's crafty policy.

As he does for each animal cited, al-Damīrī does not fail to list the specific virtues of some anatomical elements of the panther. Its head attracts, wherever it is buried, a crowd of rats and mice. Its gall, which is a mortal poison never to be swallowed, can be used as an eye-lotion and cures cataract and increases sharpness of sight. Eating five *dirhams* of panther meat immunises against snake venom. The melted fat of the feline made into a pomade heals every wound, new or old; the smell of this fat puts all panthers to flight. Burning panthers' hair drives off scorpions, and stock made from its penis soaked in spirits stops urinary incontinence and all bladder ailments. For the sufferer from haemorrhoids, it is beneficial to sit constantly on a panther skin. Always, the panther skin was regarded by jurists as impure (*nadjis*) both before and after tanning, and so could not be used as a prayer carpet; moreover, a prophetic *ḥadīth* states that the angels do not frequent gatherings in which there is a panther skin. Another *ḥadīth* goes further in proscribing sitting on any skin of a carnivore. Ibn Manglī adds (*op. cit.*) that one should abstain from sitting on a panther skin, as this can incite one to the vice of passive sodomy (*ubna*). By contrast, according to him, panther meat, although illicit for consumption a priori, is salutary in the case of hemiplegia, and its blood, made into a lotion, makes freckles disappear. There results from the preceding prohibitions that for Muslims, the panther skin could not serve as a saddle cloth for mounts (*ṣuffa, mīthara, bidād*), any more than any material dyed purple.

Among all the Arab poets, hardly anyone other than Kushādjim wrote verses on the panther; he devoted to it an *urdjūza mashṭūra* of eighteen hemistichs (*Maṣāyid*, 211; *Dīwān*, 97-8) praising the beauty of its spotted coat in unusual and rare words.

It is evidently for its splendid coat that the panther excited the covetousness of man and his eagerness to produce it, in order above all to make clothing from it, as is the case among certain African peoples; among them, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī cites the people of Ghāna, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 2 = § 845) the people of the Zandj (Somalia, Eritrea and Kenya). Very quickly, the skins of the leopard and the African panther, became, with ivory, objects of trade and export to the lands of Europe and Central Asia. Al-Masʿūdī mentions furthermore the important import into the Near East and Turkey of leopard skins for the saddlery of cavalry. Al-Idrīsī notes (*Opus*, iii, 311) the tanneries treating these skins in Barḳa [*q.v.*], a port from which they were exported; they reached there from East Africa (the land of Sofāla) by transit caravan through the Libyan oasis of Awdjila [*q.v.*]. In the Maghrib, Ḳayrawān and Gafsa were, for tanning, two reputed centres, which is confirmed, in the 10th/16th century, by Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, iii, 80, 163-9); all these leopard skins went to the Turks of Central Asia, Byzantium and as far as the peoples of the Danube and southern Russia (see M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse*, 578). For the Near East, Aden was the centre of trade in the skin of the leopard called *barbarī* (sc. of Berbera), from its place of origin; via the Arabo-Persian Gulf, the skins reached Baghdād and Cairo, where they were given a final dressing. Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ provides interesting comments on the choice of these skins from Berbera (*Tabaṣṣur*, tr. Pellat, 158) in these words: "(12) The best skins of panthers (*numūr*) are those of Berbera (*barbarī*), with spots on the flanks (*muwashshaḥ*), the clear parts being very spotless, the black parts very dark, with long spots recalling the plumage of a starling (?) (*sābānī*). The most sought-after skins are those which contain in the middle of the back a small, very evident, black point. If the black spots are joined by a light black streak (*shaẓiyya*), it is even more beautiful. A skin containing red with shiny (*yaḳak*) white and very dark black is more beautiful and more expensive. The panther skins of Berbera are small and one of them is hardly sufficient to cover a saddle; the maximum price of a skin is 50 *dīnārs*. The skins of the Maghrib and India are wider and larger, but they do not fetch a high price and are not of superior quality. The most beautiful skins are those with designs." It is also known that skins came from India and, even, live animals, as the author later confirms: "(14) Imports from India are: tigers (*babr*), panthers (*nimr*), elephants, panther skins...", and "(15) Imports from Barbary and the borders of Maghrib include panthers." These animals were certainly destined for the menageries of some great rulers. In the 4th/10th century, the caliph al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32) was particularly interested in wild animals, creating, near his "Palace of the Pleiades" (*Dār al-Thurayyā*), a zoological and hunting park (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*), of which the menagerie numbered a hundred animals; it was thus a reminiscence of the famous parks of the emperors of Persia. Al-Maḳrīzī (9th/15th century) informs us (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 587) that the live captured panther served, in Nubia, as tribute (*baḳṭ* [*q.v.*]) in kind; also, after the suppression of the revolt of the Nubian king Dāwūd by the sultan Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*] in 674/1276, the annual tribute was three elephants, three giraffes, five female panthers, a hundred redhaired camels and four hundred cattle. As for modern times, the inconsiderate tapping practised for one or two centuries of the natural stock of panthers in order to satisfy tastes for luxury (saddlery, military uniforms, decoration of living rooms, feminine fashion) and the curiosity of the public (amusement parks, menageries, circuses) has led to a limiting and severe control of captures, indeed, to a total protection of the species in the East as well as in the states of the Maghrib and in the great natural reserves of Africa and Asia.

The name of the panther is connected with the noun *numra*, pl. *numar* "small spot", synonym of *nukta*, on account of its hide, which is dotted with spots

and, after the external appearance of the animal, *namir* was applied to a "dappled" cloud, just as the derived adjective *anmar* describes the dappled grey coat of the horse; *namira* also designates the black and white variegated cloak, as well as the black ink of the writing contrasting with the white of the page. Apart from analogies with the typical coat of the panther, its irascible and vicious character is at the origin of the following metaphor *fulān labisa li-fulān djild al-namir* "So-and-so wore the panther's skin in regard to so-and-so", to define a break in relations between two individuals who have become hostile to one another, hence the meaning of the verbs *namira, nammara, tanammara*, synonyms of *ghaḍiba* "to be irritated, angry".

Among the nomads are to be found the tribes of Namir, Numayr, Numāra and Anmār, the latter being a section of the Khuzāᶜa; all these tribal groups derive their names from patronyms such as Nimr, Namir, Nimrān, Numāra, quite current in the pre-Islamic period.

Toponomy also supplies mentions of places where the panther was once present. Thus in Palestine, in the land of Moab, are to be found Tell Nimrin and the *wādī* of the same name, a tributary of the left bank of the Jordan, 15 km/10 miles to the north of the Dead Sea. This valley sheltered, in Antiquity, panthers and cheetahs, which justifies the name Bethnemra (*Bayt al-namira*) or Nemra for a locality of the place mentioned in the Biblical texts and now disappeared. Similarly, to the south of the Dead Sea and on its eastern bank, in the land of Kerak, runs the Nemeira Wādī (*Wādī Numayra*), whose marshy and bushy approaches provided a haunt for wild beasts.

In botany, the name of the panther is associated with several plants. As mentioned above, *khāniḳ al-namir* "panther strangler" and *ḳātil al-namir* "panther-killer" designate the Panther strangler, Leopard's bane (*Doronicum pardalianches*, compositae); the same two names are also given to two ranunculuses, the Wolf's bane (*Aconitum lycoctonum*) and the Monk's hood (*Aconitum napellus*). The roots of these three plants were once used in the making of poisoned bait to kill harmful carnivores. These two names are found applied to the Black chameleon (*Cardopatium corymbosum*, compositae). The expressions *shadjarat al-namir* (in the Yemen) "panther tree" and *ḥaniyyat al-namir* "panther arch" describe the African asparagus (*Asparagus africanus*, liliaceae). Finally, the Ochna (*Ochna inermis* and *O. parvifolia*, ochnaceae), shrubs of tropical countries, are called *ᶜuyūn al-namir* "panther eyes" because of their flowers.

In the field of art, the motif of the panther seems to have been slightly eclipsed by those of the lion and cheetah; confusion between panther and cheetah reigned, most often, in the mind of the artists. In miniatures, carpetwork and ceramics, one recognises, however, the panther in the representations of the wild Persian-style parks and in the scenes of hunting such as was practised by the Sāsānid rulers. Some very realistic animal "designs" of the Tīmūrid-Persian school (9th/15th century) show us the animal in its jungle. In embossing techniques, these same hunting scenes, more or less stylised, are found with the engravings decorating caskets and pyxidia in ivory, ewers in rock crystal and glass, containers and other utensils of copper and bronze, sometimes encrusted with precious metals. We will only draw attention to a plate (Benaki Museum of Athens) of Egyptian Fāṭimid provenance (end of the 5th/11th century). The motif which decorates it is presented as being "the man with the panther" (D. and J. Sourdel, *Civilisation*, 380, fig. 143); of a purely Hellenistic, indeed Christian, inspiration; we see here a "sage", one knee on the ground, speaking to a spotted animal, a panther or cheetah, docilely seated and attentive to the man's speech. It is possibly a reminiscence of the Prophet Daniel in the lion's den or of a Christian delivered to the ferocious beasts of the Roman circus. Finally, Mamlūk heraldry was familiar with the panther as an emblem in the armorial bearings of the sultan Baybars I, which are found engraved on bronze panels from the door of his *madrasa* (664/1266) in Cairo and now kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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(F. VIRÉ)

AL-NAMIR (NAMR) B. **TAWLAB** AL-ᶜ**UKLĪ**, Abū Rabīᶜa, a *mukhaḍram* [*q.v.*] Arabic poet, who probably died before 23/644 at an extremely advanced age (al-Sidjistānī, *Muᶜammarīn*, 70, makes him live 200 years, and cites six verses in which he speaks of his great age; other authors refer equally to his senility). The generosity of which he seems to have given proof on various occasions makes one think that he was rich and powerful within his tribe, which he represented in heading a delegation to the Prophet at Medina. The oldest sources (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 137, in the first place) reproduce a letter which Muḥammad is supposed to have addressed to him and which contained the *amān* given to the Banū Zuhayr b. Uḳaysh on condition that they respected the requirements of Islam. However, the circumstances in which this document is brought forward at the Mirbad [*q.v.*] of Baṣra by a Bedouin with dishevelled locks who is said to be no other than al-Namir, make it very suspect, all the more so given the fact that if this last person's grandfather was in fact called Uḳaysh, there does not exist any clan called Zuhayr b. Uḳaysh. The mention of the Mirbad is nevertheless an authentic detail, since the

poet settled at Baṣra, where he seems to have spent the last years of his life.

Al-Namir (according to Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *apud* al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 185, and Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 193, one should read al-Namr) was not a very prolific poet, but his *dīwān*, transmitted by his grandson Ḥammād b. Rabīʿa b. al-Namir, was nevertheless made the subject of several recensions by al-Aṣmaʿī, Ibn al-Aʿrābī and al-Sukkarī (in al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 158 = ed. Cairo, 224) and of a commentary by Ibn Ḥabīb (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1299, i, 155), not to mention the fact that it was known as far as al-Andalus (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 397). Some fragments of his work, cited in a certain number of biographical and literary texts, were brought together by F. Krenkow, *Three poems by an-Namir ibn Taulab al-ʿUklī*, in *RO*, xvii (1951-2), 122-37, with an Eng. tr.; subsequently, an attempt to reconstitute them has been made by N. Ḥammūdī al-Ḳaysī, *Shiʿr al-Namir b. Tawlab*, Baghdād 1968.

Ibn Sallām places him in the eighth class of the pre-Islamic poets and considers him to be *faṣīḥ*. His wisdom, emphasised by Abū ʿAmr Ibn al-Aʿlā who calls him al-Kayyis, inspired him with lines from which posterity drew various proverbs and proverbial sayings. One part of his work is devoted to his wife who, held captive among the Asad, had been offered to him by his brother al-Ḥārith b. Tawlab; since she hated him, she finally took refuge with her own family, and he felt from this a sorrow which the news of her death renewed afresh within him; she was called Djamra (var. ʿAmra and even Ḥamza) bint Nawfal al-Asadiyya. He also mourned the death of his brother, but his position within his tribe freed him from the necessity of composing panegyrics and satires.

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NAML (A.), substantive of a collective nature (unitary noun *namla*, pl. *nimāl*, *namul*, *numul*) denoting ants (Persian *namal*, *mūr*, Turkish *karınca*, Tamaḥaḳ *anellugh*, pl, *inellughen*, Hebrew *nemālah*, pl. *namālim*. These hymenopters living in organised societies comprise more than 1,600 species worldwide, and are divided into two groups: "formicines" (genera *formica*, *camponotus*, *lasius*) which do not possess an aggressive sting, and "myrimicines" (genera *myrmica*, *tetramorium*, *aphenogaster*) which are thus equipped. These classifications being of interest only to specialist entomologists, the majority of laymen, in the Arab and Berber world as elsewhere, differentiate between the numerous species of ant only according to the external criteria of size, colour and behaviour. For the city-dweller as for the nomad, there are only large or small ants (*dharr*, *dabāⁿ*) or, in addition, those which sting or bite and the harmless ones, although certain of the latter are capable of spitting a corrosive liquid, formic acid (*ḥamḍ al-naml*), causing severe burns. Similarly, attention is often paid only to the colour, with black ants on the one hand and yellow-red ants on the other. Arabophone naturalists of the Middle Ages such as al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Damīrī, reproducing the statements of Aristotle, Pliny the Elder and Aelianus, added nothing to these forms of distinction. Their only contribution was to supply the nicknames (*kunya*) given to ants in local dialects including, for the male, *abū mashghūl* and, for the female, *umm tawba* and *umm māzin*.

Since early Antiquity, ants have been an object of admiration on account of their prescience, the feverish activity with which they provide for their sustenance and the perfect organisation of their societies. The Bible refers to them as an example (Proverbs, vi. 6-8, xxx. 24-5). With the arrival of Islam, Muslims were obliged to consider them a privileged "race" (*umma*), since the Ḳurʾān, in the sūra *al-Naml* (XXVII, 18), recalls the legend attributed to Solomon who, arriving with his army in the "Valley of the Ants" (*Wādī 'l-naml*) in Syria, is supposed to have heard the sentinel of the local population calling to his companions to return with all possible speed to the ant-hill (*ḳaryat al-naml*, *djurthūma*, *manmala*) to avoid being trampled underfoot by the soldiers. Solomon smiled, seeing here a direct message from the Most High who had granted him the supernatural gift of understanding the language of animal and, in particular, that of the birds. In corroboration of this divine protection enjoyed by ants, a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad prohibits the killing of the following four animal species: the ant, the bee [see NAḤL], the hoopoe (*hudhud*) and the shrike (*ṣurad*). However the exegetes of the four judicial schools of Islamic orthodoxy permit the destruction of small ants (*dharr*) when they intrude upon the human domain and attack foodstuffs, causing significant damage in homes, shops and gardens or when they display aggression with stings and bites; the only means of repression formally prohibited is the use of fire. Al-Damīrī suggests a number of conjuratory talismanic formulas for inducing ants to abandon the places that they have invaded (*manmūl*, *arḍ namila*); these formulas are similar to those used for repelling grasshoppers [see DJARĀD]. The same author also describes certain practical and effective measures for being rid of unwelcome ants; these include smothering the ant-hill with cow-dung or depositing there the excrement of a cat. If extermination is the object, it is sufficient to place on the site a piece of calamite or "Lover's stone" (*ḥadjar al-maghnāṭīs*) or to sprinkle it with ground carraway (*karāwiyā*) or cumin (*kammūn*) or to spray with rue-water (*sadhāb*) or tar-water (*ḳiṭrān*) or to grind sulphur (*kibrīt*) in the vicinity. Finally, ants will not approach an object on which the stained linen of a menstruating woman has been placed.

According to Ḳurʾānic law, the consumption of ants is absolutely forbidden, as is the consumption of the cocoons or false "eggs" (*bayḍ*, *maʾzin*, *māzin*, *ḥawrāʾ*, *ḥawriyya*, *ʿadhrāʾ*) and of the foodstuffs (*zibāl*, *zubāl*) which the workers transport with their mandibles and their feet.

The "specific qualities" (*khawāṣṣ*) attributed to ants tend to be negative. Thus the cocoons, if ground to a powder and applied to the skin, prevent any growth of hair. In order to disperse and put to flight a group of persons, it is enough to throw at them a few of these cocoons; a concoction of these taken in the dose of a single *dirham* entails severe intestinal disorders. Finally, an ointment composed of seven large ants soaked for a day and a night in a solution of calomel (*duhn al-ziʾbaḳ*) and smeared on the sexual organs is reckoned to be a powerful aphrodisiac. In oneiro-

mancy, to see ants arriving in one's house with their stocks of provisions is an omen of prosperity, while seeing them leave presages misfortune. An invalid who dreams of ants covering his body is sure to die.

The feverish activity and small size of ants have given rise in Arabic to a number of adages in the form of analogies; examples include *aḥraṣ min al-naml* "more greedy than the ants", *aḍʿaf wa-akthar wa-akwā min al-naml*, "more feeble, more prolific and more vigorous than the ants", *arwā min al-naml* "more prescient than the ants", *alṭaf min dharra* "more slender than a small ant, *ashamm min dharra* "having more flair than a small ant", *aḍbaṭ min namla* "more tenacious than an ant".

The Arab philologists of the Middle Ages have recorded, in reference to ants, certain local nomenclatures; thus for example *djathla* denotes both the Reaper ant or Robber ant (*Formica sanguinea*) and the Amazon ant (*Formica rufescens*). The Fierce ant (*Formica animosa*) is called *kaʿaṣ* and *kaʿsāʾ*; winged males and females are distinguished from wingless workers with the terms *rimma, mūk, duʿāba, duʿbūb, shayṣabān, tathradj*. Considering only the colour, there is the range of black ants with *fāzir, habashiyya* for *Formica nigra, F. fusca, F. Fuliginosa* and *ʿudjrūf, djuʿrūf* for the *F. Camponotus*. In the range of the yellow-fawn and the brown-red, *namla fārisiyya* is idenfified with the light *Formica flava* (or *Lasius flavus*) and *djaʿbī, sumsuma, simsima, ʿukfān*, qualify the dark *Formica rufa, F. pratensis, F. truncicola, F. sanguinea*. In Tamāhak, the Tuaregs distinguish only between the large ant with *aheberhebar*, pl. *iheberhebāren*, and the small with *kaidedekkūm*, pl. *kaidedekkūmen*.

Among mammals, the order of edentates (*athram*, pl. *thurm, adrad*, pl. *durd*) feeds almost exclusively on ants and termites (*araḍ, suraf*); these animals are described as *ākilāt al-naml* "ant-eaters" (myrmecophageous in entomological terms) and may also be called *dubb al-naml* from the English term Ant-bear. The most common of these edentates identified in Arabic are: (a) *umm ḳirfa* for the Scaly Ant-eater (*Manis tetradactyla*) of western Africa; (b) *nāmila* for the Great Ant-eater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*) of South America; (c) *khinzīr al-arḍ, abū aẓlāf, dawbal* and *abū dhakan* for the Aardvark or Earth-pig (*Orycteropus afer*). Found in Australia and New Guinea is the *kunfudh al-naml*, Porcupine ant-eater, also called *nadnāḍ* "long-tongue", terms applied to the three species of *Echidna*.

Finally, ants encounter some formidable enemies among birds, with the Woodpecker family and in particular with the Wryneck (*Jynx torquilla*) which is called *lawwāʾ, abū luwway, mulawway* according to Arabic dialects and which is not much larger than a sparrow.

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NAMRŪD, also Namrūdh, Nimrūd, the Nimrod of the Bible, is associated in Muslim legend, as in Haggada, with the story of the childhood of Abraham. The Ḳurʾān, it is true, does not mention him but probably, as in many other cases, only from dislike of mentioning names. That the legend of Namrūd was known is evident from the following verses. "Do you not see how he disputed with Ibrāhīm about the Lord who had granted him dominion? When Ibrāhīm said: It is my Lord who gives life and death, the other replied: I give life and I slay. When Ibrāhīm said: God makes the sun rise in the east; do you make it rise in the west; then the liar was humbled" (II, 260/258). The Ḳurʾān exegists are probably right when they see Namrūd here disputing with Ibrāhīm and also when they refer to Namrūd the verse: "What did Ibrāhīm's people answer? They only said: Kill him, burn him; but God saved him from fire" (XXIX, 23/24). The legend is already richly developed in al-Ṭabarī, but it is at the beginning of the romance of ʿAntar in the Abraham midrāsh that we find its most luxurious development.

Al-Ṭabarī already numbers Namrūd among the three or (with Nebuchadnezzar) four kings who, like Sulaymān b. Dāwūd and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, ruled the whole world. His astrologers told him that a child would be born who would overthrow his kingdom and destroy his idols. Ibrāhīm thus becomes one of those heroes of legend who are persecuted from the moment of birth by a tyrant, to whom they are destined to prove fatal, like Moses, Gilgamish, Semiramis, Sargon, Karṇa (in the *Mahābhārata*), Trakhan (King of Gilgit), Cyrus, Perseus, Telephus, Aegisthus, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus, Jesus (see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 437-55). Ūsha, the wife of Āzar of Tārikh (Terakh), is able to deceive Namrūd and his searchers. Ibrāhīm is born in concealment; maturing rapidly, he engages in a religious disputation with Namrūd; Namrūd cannot be God, for God gives life and death. Namrūd replies that he can do this also, for he can execute or pardon a man condemned to death. Namrūd has Ibrāhīm thrown into the fire; it becomes a cool health-resort. An angel keeps Ibrāhīm cool, at which Namrūd marvels, like Nebuchadnezzar at the preservation of the three young men in the fiery furnace (Daniel iii, 24-5). Namrūd resolves to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in his heaven. He feeds four young eagles on meat and wine till they are of a great size, ties them to the four corners of a chest, fastens a spear at each corner with a piece of meat on the point and sits in the chest; the eagles, trying to reach the meat, fly higher and higher. The mountains appear like ant heaps and later the whole world looks like a ship in the water. It is in vain, however, for he falls to earth. Next, he builds a tower in order to reach the god of Ibrāhīm, then the tongues are confused; in place of one Syriac tongue, 73 arose. God's angels admonish Namrūd. But he equips his armies against God. God sends an army of gnats against him, who eat the flesh and drink the blood of Namrūd's men. A gnat enters Namrūd's brain through his nose. For 400 years he had exercised his tyrannical rule, and for 400 years he was tortured by the gnat until he died.

Muslim legend derives the name Namrūd from *tamarrada*, sc. he who rebelled (against God). But there is another derivation, viz. from *namira* "leopardess or female panther" in that version of the Namrūd legend in which Namrūd is suckled by this animal. This ver-

sion resembles the Romulus and Remus story (Jean de l'Ours) and culminates in the Oedipus story for Namrūd, brought up unknown, kills his father and marries his mother. Al-Kisāʾī has preserved this version and it is given at greater length in the introduction to the romance of ʿAntar.

Namrūd's father Kanaʿān b. Kū*sh* has a dream which troubles him; it is interpreted to mean that his son will kill him. The child is born, a snake enters his nose, which is an ominous sign. Kanaʿān wants to kill the child, but his mother Sul*kh*aʾ entrusts him secretly to a herdsman; the latter's flocks scatter at the sight of the black flat-nosed infant. The shepherd's wife throws the child into the water; the waves wash him to the bank where he is suckled by a female panther. Already dangerous when quite a boy, as a young man he becomes a robber leader, attacks Kanaʿān with his band, kills him (without knowing that he is killing his father), marries his own mother and becomes king of the country and later lord of the world. Āzar (already in the Ḳurʾān the father of Ibrāhīm) builds him a marvellous palace flowing with milk, oil and honey, with mechanical singing birds —in the mediæval epic, the wonderful feature of the Chrysotriclinium in Byzantium. The lore of astrology, the inheritance of Idrīs and Hermes, he acquires by force from the pupils of Idrīs. Iblīs teaches him magic. He was himself worshipped as a god. Then dreams, voices and omens frighten him. In spite of all Namrūd's cruel orders, Ibrāhīm is born, brought up and soon shatters the belief in Namrūd. Namrūd throws those who believe in God to the wild animals, but they do not touch them. He denies them food; the sand of the desert becomes corn for them; on every grain of it is written "gift of God". Namrūd throws Ibrāhīm into the fire but he is unharmed. Namrūd builds up a pile of fuel, the flames of which burn the birds for miles round— it is impossible to approach it. Iblīs then designs a ballista which hurls Ibrāhīm on to the flaming pile. Ibrāhīm spends the finest time of his life there under blooming trees and amid rippling brooks. Namrūd then decides to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in heaven. Starved eagles fly up with his litter, until he hears a voice saying that the first heaven is 500 years in width, it is 500 years between heaven and heaven, then comes infinity. Namrūd shoots an arrow against God; the arrow comes back stained with blood. Namrūd suddenly becomes grey and old and falls to the ground. But he prides himself on having slain God. Then a gnat puts an end to his life.

The history of the Namrūd legend. Very little can have been taken from the Bible. Ḳurʾān expositors and collectors of legends call Namrūd *d̲jabbār* (tyrant) no doubt after the *gibbor* applied to Namrūd in the Bible (Gen. x. 6); Geiger also sees in *d̲jabbār ʿanīd* (xi, 62) an allusion to Namrūd. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 217) also describes Namrūd as a *mutad̲jabbir*. Muslim legend and Haggada (*Targ. S̲heni* on Esther I, i; Midr. Hagadol, ed. Schechter, 180-1; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, N. I) make Namrūd ruler of the world. From Haggada comes the association of Namrūd with the Tower of Babel and, in particular, with the childhood of Abraham, and with the latter's rescue from the fire (*Gen. Rabba*, xlix, l.). The death of Namrūd caused by the gnat is also based on Haggada, which makes Titus, the destroyer of the Temple, die in this way. Nebuchadnezzar comes to a similar end (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, 97-9). The flight to heaven, especially, in the romance of ʿAntar, with the intervals of 500 years, recalls the ascent of Nebuchadnezzar in the Talmud (*Chagiga*, p. 13a). But the flight has far more resemblance to that of S̲hāh Kay-Kāwūs as described by Firdawsī (ed. Mohl, ii, 31-4). The Namrūd legend borrows from many directions. Al-Ṭabarī (i, 253) mentions that Namrūd had been identified as the Persian Ḍaḥḥāk [see ZAHĀK], but he refutes this idea (i, 323, 324). Bible, Haggada and Persian epic were further developed, the marvels increased, an early history was invented, Namrūd made an Oedipus, and in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* he becomes the hero of a romance. The Muslim Namrūd legend then found its way into the late Jewish legend of Abraham. Bernard Chapira (see below) has published one such in Hebrew and Arabic. He is certainly wrong in taking seriously the authorship of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār; this is one fiction out of many thousands. But the mutual influence of Haggada and Muslim legend is indisputable. The later *Midrās̲h*, as M. Grünbaum has clearly shown, *Pirḳē R. Elieser, Tanna de bē Eliyahu, Midrās̲h Haggādōl, Sēfer haiyās̲hār, S̲hēbeṭ Mūsār* of R. Eliyah Hakkohen from Smyrna, is influenced in the section of Abraham and Nimrod by Muslim literature.

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(B. HELLER)

NĀMŪS (A.) is a word of many meanings.

1. As a religious and philosophical term. In St. John's Gospel, xv. 26, the coming of the paraclete is announced. In the preceding verse a passage from the Psalms referring to the haters is quoted and ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν given as source. The verses in the Gospel from xv. 23 on were already known to Ibn Isḥāḳ in an Arabic version which came from a Syriac one, as the reproduction of "paraclete" by *al-manaḥmānā* shows. In the same source the word νόμος was left untranslated, for we find it in Ibn His̲h̲ām (150) in the form of *nāmūs*. Biographical tradition makes Waraḳa b. Nawfal expressly assert the identification of Muḥammad with the paraclete promised by Jesus mentioned in the passage from the Gospel. The oldest forms of the tradition giving this episode represent a combination of the Gospel passage with sūra LXI, 6. In later developments of the tradition, the idea of a paraclete gradually falls into the background till it was finally interpreted as the name of an individual and even received an epithet. Thus we read in Ibn His̲h̲ām, 153, that Waraḳa replied as follows to his cousin who asked him about Muḥammad's first vision: "If thou hast reported the truth to me then truly the greatest *nāmūs* has come to him, who used to come to Mūsā, and then he (Muḥammad) is the prophet of this *umma*, etc." In al-Ṭabarī the "greatest *nāmūs*" is in a gloss expressly said to be D̲jibrīl.

As the personal interpretation is not sufficiently explained by meanings, known to be really old, of the

true Arabic word *nāmūs* (root *n-m-s*), which exists alongside of the Greek loanword, and meanings like "the trusted one, confidant of a secret" seem rather to come from the Greek loanword already known in its reference to Djibrīl (against Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), it was natural to look for a specific use of the word νόμος which admitted of a personal interpretation and could at the same time have been known to the Arabs. Nyberg was reminded by the *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (see below) of the pseudo-Clementine writings; and Tor Andrae derived the *nāmūs* of the Waraḳa tradition from the νόμος αἰώνιος of the pseudo-Clementines, which according to the book Κήρυγμα Πέτρου was revealed to Adam, and afterwards again appeared to all prophets worthy of such an honour, lastly, to Moses and to Jesus. However startling the agreement of the conception of νόμος αἰώνιος with the later forms of the Waraḳa tradition, the question still remains open, by what way a personal conception of νόμος could have entered Islam. Baumstark quoted a passage from the liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, ἐκάλεσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, and observes that the liturgy was the authoritative one in the Bedouin camps and must have existed in an Arabic translation. It is really quite natural to understand νόμος personally here. No explanation of our Waraḳa tradition can on the other hand be obtained from Mandaean writings, as Lidzbarski has already pointed out in his translation of the *Ginzā*, 247-8.

That there is a true Arabic word *nāmūs* has already been mentioned. The dictionaries give such varied meanings for it that we can only consider as old and original those that are confirmed by quotations. This holds for the meanings "hiding place, hunter's hut, monk's cell" probably also for "buzzing insect, midge" as *nomen agentis* from *n-m-s* to "buzz" (for this sense, see section 2. below). On the other hand, not only the meaning "cunning" and its derivatives must be secondary, but also the already-mentioned meanings referred to persons, the latter especially because the word, so far as we know, is used also in the later literature predominantly in the material sense and the person connected with the idea is called *ṣāḥib al-nāmūs*, etc. (counter-example: Dozy, s.v.). Just as the material meanings predominate generally, so also does the meaning of the Greek loanword predominate, apart of course from the old poetry, from which the meaning "midge" and particularly the word *nāmūsiyya* "mosquito net" have survived into the modern vernacular. Below we shall therefore deal only with the development of meaning of the Greek loanword.

The favourite meaning is divine law, with or without the addition of *ilāhī*. This law is revealed through the prophets, and only men of prophetic spirit can be *wāḍiʿ al-nawāmīs* in this sense. The double character, political and religious, of the Muslim constitution naturally very much favoured this conception. Thus, for example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, Cairo 1903, 280, gives as the first among the *ʿulūm sharʿiyya*, *ʿilm al-nawāmīs al-mutaʿallaḳ bi 'l-nubuwwa*. Ibn Sīna expressly observes in his encyclopædia *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, Cairo 1328, 230-1) in treating of politics that the pertinent works of Plato and Aristotle understand by νόμος not "cunning" and "deceit", corresponding to the usage of the vernacular, but *sunna*, revelation, etc., for the laws of the community are dependent on prophecy and the divine law; similarly Sprenger, *Dict. of technical terms*, i, 40. Abu 'l-Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī devotes the fourth of his *Muḳābasāt* to the *nāmūs ilāhī* (ed. Cairo 1929).

Here we may mention Miskawayh's definition which is also of literary interest. In connection with his discussion of the function of the *dīnār* as a measure of the equivalence (*ʿadāla*) of service and reward (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, *maḳāla* iv, Cairo, Khayriyya, 1322, 38; Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, *Traité d'éthique*, Damascus 1969, 181-2), he quotes an alleged saying of Aristotle according to which the *dīnār* is a just *nāmūs*. *Nāmūs*, he adds, in striking contrast to Ibn Sīna, means in Greek, *siyāsa* and *tadbīr*; Aristotle says in the *Eth. Nic.*. that the greatest *nāmūs* proceeds from God, the second is the judge, the third the *dīnār*; the first, as a condition for just settlement between the claims of men, is the example which the two others follow. The well-known filiation of the Muslim books on Hellenistic ethics has resulted in this explanation finding a place in later derivatives from Miskawayh, e.g. in Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, i, 2, 7 (Tabrīz 1320, 152), also Ḳinālīzāde ʿAlī b. ʿAmr Allāh al-Ḥinnāʾī, *Akhlāḳ-i ʿalāʾī* (1248, i, 78), and each more fully than the preceding. As a result of these expositions, al-Ṭūsī in the economic part of his book (ii, 2, 254), calls gold briefly the smallest *nāmūs* (tr. in Plessner, *Der* οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers "Bryson"*, 1928, 63); and Ḳinālīzāde also follows him (ii, 7).

The *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ can only be briefly outlined here. In part i, 56 (Bombay ed.), the *nāmūs* is defined as a spiritual kingdom (*mamlaka rūḥāniyya*) which is upheld by eight kinds of men. God appears as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. *Ṣāḥib al-nāmūs* is from the context Muḥammad, in so far as one can identify from the context any individuals in the pages of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ. A few pages later, Muḥammad is described as the *wāḍiʿ al-nāmūs*. In part iv, 57, the angels appear as teachers of the *aṣḥāb al-nawāmīs*. Any one who does not guide his life according to the commands and prohibitions of the latter has no share in divine *nāmūs* (iv, 147). This spiritual kingdom is the element of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ; they slept in the cave of their father Ādam [*q.v.*] for a long period until the fore-ordained time (*mīʿād*) came under the rule of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs* (Muḥammad?), and they perceived their spiritual state (*madīna*) which was raised in the air and from which Adam and his wife had been banished (iv, 107). If the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ by common effort and uniform self-instruction succeed in building a perfect spiritual state (*fāḍila*, cf. al-Fārābī), this state will belong to the kingdom of the Lord or the greatest *nāmūs*, who has dominion over souls and bodies (iv, 211). The *nāmūs* thus even becomes a kind of divine being, where there is a discussion of the "philosophic service of God", which represents the higher stage in comparison with that of the Muslim teaching regarding obligations and duties. This philosophic service of God had been, they say, practised by the ancient Greeks on the first, middle, and last day of the month. The night of the first day was divided into three parts. The first was spent in worship of *nāmūs*, the second in meditation on the *malakūt*, the third in humble prostration before the Creator, confession of sins and repetition of prayers by Plato, Idrīs and Aristotle until the break of day (iv, 273 ff.). Nevertheless, the *nāmūs* here has not exactly taken the place of God. But in several passages of the encyclopædia he is represented as giving names. Thus he calls the spirits of the planets angels (ii, 97; cf. iv, 244); he does the same with the natural forces (ii, 102) and (iii, 10) with the nature of origin and decay. Above the spheres (*dawāʾir*) of the three kingdoms of nature and of man is the sphere of the divine *nāmūs*, whose members deal with the affairs of the *nawāmīs* and the divine revelations and which corresponds to the "sur-

rounding" (ninth) sphere of the astronomers (iv, 251). As the *nāmūs* and the ability to become creative in him involves a special organisation of man, he has found an allegoric place in the physiology and psychology of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'; here indeed the conception changes from page to page. Thus in the first part of the work (second half, 48), five kinds of soul are described, two above and two below that of man. The former two are the soul of the angels and the divine (*ḳudsiyya*) soul, one of which is the stage of the soul of wisdom, the second that of *nāmūs* prophethood. On the very next page the one is the intellectual soul of wisdom and the other the *nāmūs*-like angel soul. On p. 54, we find the following gradation: nature, soul, intellect, *nāmūs*. Nature receives through the soul free will, through the intellect the power of thought and through the *nāmūs* commands and prohibitions. The parts of the soul are as follows: vegetable, animal, logical (human), intellectual (wise), *nāmūsiyya*, angelic, which latter serves the *nāmūs*. Here again there is the tendency to personification. It is in keeping with this when in iv, 119 (cf. also iv, 146), the story of Socrates in prison (in agreement with the Greek tradition and mentioning the *Phaedo*), it is related that Socrates will not escape from prison for fear of the *nāmūs*; he justifies his attitude with the words "He who does not respect the *nāmūs* is slain by it". When, immediately afterwards, the *nāmūs* is identified with the *sharīʿa*, it is difficult to say whether this is serious or only done out of caution. It is nevertheless remarkable that the sixth essay of the fourth part which treats of the nature of divine *nāmūs*, of the qualifications for prophethood and the qualities of a prophet, does not contain the word *nāmūs* at all, but instead of it always has *sharīʿa*. The Ikhwān have spiritual powers of their own; these form a series of four stages, the third of which is the *ḳuwwa nāmūsiyya*; man attains it at 40 and it is the special characteristic of kings and rulers. Possessors of this power are called the distinguished and noble (*fuḍalā'*, *kirām*) brethren. Above it is only the *ḳuwwa malakiyya* (iv, 134-5).

The origin of the meaning "cunning" cannot be given with certainty; it possibly comes from the Arabic meaning "place of concealment". That it was particularly common in the spoken language is evident from the quotation given above from Ibn Sīna. In any case, this meaning has undergone a remarkable amalgamation with the Greek "law" in the literature of magic, for the word is there used for magical formulae, particularly those which are based on illusions of the senses. The pupil of al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] in his *Dhayl* on the latter's *Tadhkira*, s.v. *sīmiyā'* (iii, Cairo 1924, 56), gives the *namāwīs* as the first section of the science known by this name. But the meaning of the word is not limited to this kind of magic formulae.

Through translations from the Arabic, the word entered the Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages with the meaning "law, religious law (of other peoples), morality, propriety"; in the latter meaning it has survived in the modern Hebrew vernacular. It is interesting to note that in the modern dialect of Mecca, a similar change of meaning is found; according to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, no. 10, *nāmūs* means the "spotless, honourable name", which one has among men; its opposite is *ʿār*, "shame".

The word *nāmūs* also occurs as the title of a book; cf. Ivanow, *Catalogue*, i, 335-6.

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2. In zoology. Here, *nāmūs* is a masculine noun used in the collective sense (unity, *nāmūsa*) denoting the totality of dipterous, nematoceratous insects or mosquitoes and embracing the family of Culicidae, which includes Gnats (*Culex pipiens*), Anopheles (*Anopheles maculipennis, A. pharaonensis*), Stegomiae (*Stegomia fasciata*), Aedes (*Aedes cantans, A. aegypti*) and Phlebotomi (*Phlebotomus papatasi*). In all these species, only the females bite humans and animals to feed on their blood.

The root *n-m-s* evokes either the notion of being hidden, of concealing oneself, since mosquitoes emerge only at night and spend the day immobile in dark and damp places, or the notion of the colour grey, the adjective *anmas* being a synonym of *armad* and *akdar*. Besides the sense of mosquitoes, *nāmūs* is the "hide" or the ditch in which the hunter squats to watch for game; it has the same sense as *ḳarmūṣ, zarb, zarība, ḳutra*. In fact, with reference to mosquitoes, *nāmūs* (less often *nāmis*) is a term exclusive to Egypt and to the Maghrib; it seems to have been unknown in the Near East and it has gradually superseded *baʿūḍ* which, with *barghash* and *khamūsh*, was the only term known in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad to denote harmful insects. Thus it is said in the Ḳur'ān (II, 24/26): "Allāh does not disdain to give a parable about a gnat (*baʿūḍa*) or that which is greater." In ʿIrāḳ, mosquitoes are called *baḳḳ*, a collective term which in the Maghrib denotes bed-bugs (*Cimex lectularius*), while in Syria Culicidae and Phlebotomi are known as *djirdjis* or *ḳirḳis*.

The life of the mosquito is linked to an aquatic environment, and its larva (*duʿmūṣ*, pl. *daʿāmīṣ*) can develop only in stagnant water; thus the places infested with mosquitoes (*mabʿaḍāt*) in the lands of Islam are the marshy zones of the deltas of the Nile and of the Tigris-Euphrates, the *baṭā'iḥ*, the domain of the buffalo (*djāmūs* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). This creature protects itself from the attacks of the mosquito by keeping itself immersed or by covering itself in mud, as is also the practice of elephants, bovines and the wild boars of Africa and Asia. Al-Damīrī relates (*Ḥayāt*, i, 127 f., ii, 339) that in ancient times the tyrants of Mesopotamia used to leave to the mosquitoes the task of executing, with their bites, those whom they had condemned to death, leaving them, with hands and feet tied, in the marshes. Describing this region of the *Baṭīḥa* [*q.v.*], al-Djāḥiẓ recounts (*Ḥayawān*, v, 399-400) the quick death of a sailor who, following an argument, was thrown into the marsh by

his drunken ship-mates and suffered the same fate. He also mentions that, according to legend, the city of Antioch possessed a talisman against the scourge of the mosquitoes infesting the valley of the Orontes.

The permanent danger presented by mosquitoes and in particular the Anopheles is the transmission of paludism or malaria with its telluric fevers [see MĀLARYĀ], by injection of the coccidium *Laverania malariae*, a parasite of the red blood-corpuscles which affects the liver, the spleen and the blood, identified by the bacteriologist A. Laveran (1845-1922). Paludism, with its endemic nature in marshy regions, was defined in Islam as "three-day fever" (*ḥummā 'l-g̲h̲ibb*) or "four-day fever" (*ḥummā 'l-ribʿ, ḳild*) according to the cycle of its recurrence; in a more general fashion it was known by the names *ḥummā ʿad̲j̲amiyya, ḥumma 'l-murūd̲j̲, buradāʾ, burūda, bardiyya, sak̲h̲ūna, sak̲h̲āna*. Individual means of protection against mosquitoes were restricted for a very long time to the use, at night, of a mosquito-net (*killa, nāmūsiyya*), fine muslin isolating the bed of the sleeper. One remains sceptical as to the efficacy of the remedy prescribed by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, in the margin of *Ḥayat*, i, 303) to subdue the four-day fever, which consists of making three pills of wax, wrapping a mosquito in each and swallowing them on the day that the fever is due to return. The discovery in 1820 of quinine (*rūḥ al-kīna*), extracted from the bark of the quinquina (*Cinchona*) brought an enormous advantage in the treatment of paludism [see MĀLĀRYĀ]. As for preventive measures against the mosquitoes, the only effective method is to destroy their larvae by treating stagnant waters and marshes with petroleum and to suppress the bushy vegetation which grows there, its humid foliage being the day-time refuge of the adults. Among other plants, this applies especially to the *diflā*, rose-laurel/oleander (*Nerium oleander*). On the other hand, certain odoriferous plants (*rayāḥīn*) have the effect of repelling mosquitoes with their emissions of perfume; this would apply, so it is said, to the *ḥabaḳ*, basil (*Ocimum basilicum*), a herb dear to all Muslim populations and carefully cultivated in pots in every household from Morocco to Indonesia. In dwellings, fumigation with dried herbs still takes place. In the natural world, gnats (*s̲h̲arrān*) and mosquitoes have enemies for which they provide the staple diet; by day, these are swallows (*k̲h̲uṭṭāf*, pl. *k̲h̲aṭaṭīf, sunūnū*) and swifts (*samāma*, pl. *samāʾim*) and, by night, nightjars (*subad*, pl. *sibdān*) and bats (*k̲h̲uffās̲h̲*, pl. *k̲h̲afāfīs̲h̲, waṭwāṭ*). Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ suggests (*Ḥayawān*, iii, 320, vi, 400) that, in households, flies can be useful because they chase and devour mosquitoes that have perched on the walls; but he does not forget the equally important role played, in this respect, by spiders (iii, 336, iv, 295, v, 411, 415).

In literature, mosquitoes have given little inspiration to poets, which is understandable. However, al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ has been able to collect (*Ḥayawān*, v, 402-9) a few scattered verses, most of them in *rad̲j̲az* metre and by anonymous writers, evoking the rustlings of the nocturnal dance of these "long-nosed creatures" (*d̲h̲awāt al-k̲h̲arāṭīm*), all grey (*rumd*), elusive and bloodthirsty, the sleeper's nightmare. In contemporary usage the mosquito, by its tiny and fragile constitution, has given rise to metaphors such as *aḍʿaf min baʿūḍa* "more puny than a mosquito" and, to define something practically impossible to obtain, the saying is *aʿazz min muk̲h̲kh̲ al-baʿūḍ* "more rare than the marrow of a mosquito". Still with the notion of insignificance, a *ḥadīt̲h̲* of the Prophet states *lā yazinu ʿind Allāh d̲j̲anāḥ baʿūḍa* "(this) will not weigh, for Allāh, even as much as (the weight of) a wing of a mosquito", referring to the Day of Judgment and the wealth accumulated by the powerful of this world. On the other hand, seeking to show that this present, lower world has some importance for Allāh, the Prophet also said: "If, for Allāh, this world weighed no more than the wing of a mosquito, He would not grant an infidel one mouthful of water." Finally, to express a cheated hope, the Moroccans have the following saying, complete with assonance: "I thought I saw a fig-tree bearing figs (*karmūs*) and now I see it was only a ruin infested with mosquitoes (*nāmūs*)!".

Bibliography (in alphabetical order of author): Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1928-9; D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa, Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, Beirut 1965, s.v. *baʿūḍ*; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, in the margins of Damīrī; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabischen Zoographie*, Berlin 1991, index s.v. *Mücke*. (F. VIRÉ)

NĀNAK, commonly called GURŪ NĀNAK, Hindū religious reformer, born in the village of Talwandī some 50 km/30 miles south-west of Lāhawr, in 874/1469, some half a century after Kabīr [*q.v.*] and died in 945/1538; there is much in common between the two teachers, both in the rejection of formal Hinduism and in the acceptance of ideas derived from Islam, especially an uncompromising monotheism. The Talwandī district was well forested, and the young Nānak is said to have resorted often to the religious recluses who had settled there, Hindū and Muslim. He is said to have learnt Persian, in order to assist his father in accountancy, and also to have rejected investiture with the Hindū sacred thread, and to have spent many years in wanderings and meditation; he attracted followers, and the poems used in their worship have been preserved in his *Ādī Granth*, including many by other religious reformers, but especially Kabīr.

Nānak cannot be said to have influenced Islam in India directly, although an indirect influence is tangible through his effect on the intellectual climate of his age; for this saw the growth of the *bhakti* movement in Hinduism, a movement directed to individual freedom of religious thought and to the perception of the relationship between God and Man, to the displacement of priestly authority and dependency on formalised and ritualised expressions of worship. There was much contact between Hindū and Muslim mystics, as frequently observed in the Indian hagiographies, and many Ṣūfīs encouraged friendly relations; the growing popularity of the monism of Ibn al-ʿArabī did much to make the acceptance of Hindū mysticism easier for liberal Ṣūfīs. (None, perhaps, went as far as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī, whose *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Hindī* sought to reconcile the expressions and symbols of the *bhakti* poets with the doctrines of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd*.) There was, moreover, considerable contact between Hindūs and Muslims at a more popular level. There is a percipient account of this period in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, esp. 59 ff. Nānak himself attracted many legends, not excluding his visit to Mecca in the pilgrim dress, all of later invention.

Nānak's followers were distinguished by the title of "pupil", Skr. *śiṣya*, Pand̲j̲ābī *sikkh*, Hindī/Urdū *sīkh*, and their involvement with Islam became political rather than religious. For these see SĪKH.

Bibliography: The fullest account is in M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion*, 6 vols., Oxford 1909. Useful shorter accounts are in N. MacNicol, *Indian*

theism, Oxford 1915, 145 ff., and J.E. Carpenter, *Theism in medieval India*, London 1921, 470-89.

(J. Burton-Page)

NĀNDEŔ, a town situated in 19°9′N., 77°20′E., a former district headquarters in Ḥaydarābād State, now in Mahārāshtra, on the north bank of the River Godāvarī. Once a fort of the Kākatīya dynasty, it was conquered early in the 8th/14th century by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī [see dihlī sultanate], passing through Tughluḳ hands to the Bahmanīs; on the disintegration of the Bahmanī state it passed to the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkoṇḍā, forming a defence on their north-east frontier with the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar, and apparently was later in the possession of the latter since a mosque at Nāndeŕ was built by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*]. In 1009 Ilāhī/1601 the Mughal forces engaged Malik ʿAnbar in battle at Nāndeŕ, putting him to flight (Abū ʾl-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii, 791 f.; tr. iii, 1185-6); it seems that Nāndeŕ finally fell to the Mughals after Shāhdjahān's arrival in the Deccan in 1046/1636. Hereafter its history is vague, until a Marāṭhā clan captured it about 1110/1698. The last Sikh gurū, Govind Singh, pursued by Mughal forces, eventually made his way from the Pandjāb and settled in Nāndeŕ, where he was stabbed by an Afghān in the Mughal service in 1120/1708.

There appears to be no reliable description of Nāndeŕ, which is said to have a Ḳuṭb Shāhī mosque as well as that of Malik ʿAnbar, the shrines of several Muslim saints, and the *gurūdwāra* of Gurū Govind Singh, a pilgrimage centre for Sikhs from all over India. The town is noted for very fine gold-edged muslin.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 349-55. (J. Burton-Page)

NANDURBĀR, an ancient town of India in west Khāndēsh [*q.v.*; Map], situated in lat. 21°22′N., long. 74°14′E., in the valley of the River Tapti and formerly an important trade centre. As Nandigara it is said to have been founded by Nanda Gawlī, a local tribal chief, and it is asserted that it remained in his family "until conquered by the Muhammadans under Muin-ud-din Chishti" (*IGI*², xviii, s.v. 362-3, *Nandurbar*); this sounds improbable, and perhaps refers to an early Ṣūfī settlement. Its possession seems to have changed at various times between Gudjarāt and Khāndēsh. For example, first Rāy Karan, *ca.* 706/1306-7, then ruling Gudjarāt from Anahilwāḍa, escaped from general slaughter and plunder there and went via Deogīrī to Nandurbār, where he is said to have rebuilt the town and the fortress. After 814/1411 the various sultanates of western India become involved in the area. Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt, opposed to Hūshang Shāh of Mālwā, hurried to its defence on the report of the invasion of Nandurbār by Mālwā troops; in 832/1429 Aḥmad Shāh, now allied with Khāndēsh against Mālwā, marched against Hūshang, but moved north hearing of Hūshang's invasion of Gudjarāt, and Nandurbār was occupied by Nāṣir Khān of Khāndēsh; by 841/1437 even the Bahmanīs appeared on the scene, in conflict with Khāndēsh, and a Bahmanī general was chased from Nandurbār by Mālwā and Gudjarāt forces and compelled to withdraw to the Deccan. There were many more examples of such petty squabbles between neighbouring powers, the position of Khāndēsh often being weakened by the fratricidal disputes between members of the royal family. It was not until the mid-10th/16th century that the Gudjarāt sultan formally bestowed the Sulṭānpur and Nandurbār districts on Mubārak Fārūḳī of Khāndēsh; but shortly after this other contenders were appearing on the scene, with the Mughal advance on Mālwā and the depredations of the Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar. Relations were good with the Mughal powers while Rādjā ʿAlī Khān was alive, but after his death in 1005/1597 fighting for the Mughals against a Deccan confederacy, relations worsened until in 1009/1601 Khāndēsh was annexed and became a *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire.

West Khāndēsh and the Nandurbār region appear to have been less disturbed than the east, and the district was so well-known for its fertility (grapes, melons) and its strategic position on trade-routes that an English factory was established, English factors moving here from Aḥmadābād in 1080/1670. But all Khāndēsh declined under the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], and Nandurbār was half-deserted by the time it was occupied by the British in 1816.

Bibliography: Nandurbār is mentioned sporadically, though not at any great length, in the chronicles dealing with Gudjarāt, Mālwā, and Khāndēsh; for these see the *Bibl.* to fārūḳids.

(J. Burton-Page)

NANGRAHĀR, Ningrahār, the name of the province of modern Afghānistān (post-1964 administrative organisation) which covers essentially the basin of the middle Kābul River from the Pakistan frontier near Landī Kōtal to a short distance to the west of the province's administrative centre, Djalālābād [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and the mountain regions on each bank. Before Laghmān and Kunaŕ provinces were carved out from it in 1964, Nangrahār province extended northwards to include Nūristān (L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 156-7).

The name itself goes back to the pre-Islamic period and to Buddhist Gandhara, when it had the form Nagarahāra, whence the Chinese form *Na-ki-lo-ho* in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 284; Abdur Rahman, *The last two dynasties of the Śāhis*, Islamabad 1979, 14). In early Islamic times the region formed part of the kingdom of the Hindūshāhīs before being conquered by Sebüktigin and his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna [see hindūshāhiyya and ghaznawids]. The name appears only sporadically in the Islamic geographers, in particular, in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century), tr. Minorsky, §§ 6.13 and 10.50, tr. 72, 91, comm. 252-3, which describes Nīnhār as a district whose ruler made a show of Islam but whose population were largely idol worshippers. Hence the use of this toponym in modern Afghān administrative geography is a revival. The present population of the province is largely composed of Pashto-speaking Pushtūns, but there are also Pashaʾī speakers [see afghān. i, ii, and dardic and kāfir languages].

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also kāfiristān and lamghānāt. (C.E. Bosworth)

NĀR (a.), pl. *nīrān*, denotes fire, whereas *nūr*, pl. *anwār*, denotes light. In Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, the root *n-w-r* simply denotes "flash", "dazzlement", "florescence", "tattooing", anything, in short, which gives light and anything which stands out clearly. The other Arabic term which signifies light, *ḍawʾ*, is to be associated with the Sanskrit *dev/w* which appears in Zeus, Dieu, *dies*, and expresses the notion of the personification of the luminous and calorific phenomena of nature.

Nār occurs 129 times in the Ḳurʾān, of which 111 are references to the eternal fire of Hell; only six apply to fire as a utility (II, 17, XIII, 17, XVIII, 96, XXIV, 35, XXXVI, 80, LVI, 71), four to cosmogonic fire (VII, 12, XV, 27, XXXVIII, 76, LV, 15), three to

the fire of Sinai (XX, 10, XXVII, 7-8, XXVIII, 29), three to fire as punishment (II, 266, XXI, 69, XXIX, 24), one to celestial fire as proof of the prophetic mission (III, 183), one to fire as a sign of divine omnipotence (LV, 35).

Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) devotes a lengthy section of his *K. al-Ḥayawān* to fire (ed. Hārūn, Beirut 1388/1969[3], iv, 461-92, and v, 4-148, with numerous digressions). This section, intitled "Fires and their varieties" is located at the end of a chapter dealing with the male ostrich, and the connection is established as follows: "The fire of the stomach (of flying creatures) is unlike the fire (obtained) from flint and stone". This statement emerges from an anecdote describing how a precious stone swallowed by a male ostrich diminished in size by a half during the time that elapsed between the swallowing and the discovery of the fact. However, what this stone lost in weight it gained in colour and as a result its value was increased.

In this section al-Djāḥiẓ proposes to study "the full range of knowledge concerning fires and their varieties, concerning the role of each of them, concerning those attributed to non-Arabs and those attributed to Arabs". Furthermore, he declares his intention to speak of fires of religious and non-religious nature, of those who have venerated them and those who have scorned them, of those who have elevated their veneration of fire into the status of a cult. There will also be mention of the places where the cult of fire has been implanted (iv, 461). There follows a list of different types of fire, a list interspersed with long digressions and frequent repetitions.

The present article will proceed to examine material relating to fire in the Ḳurʾān and in ancient Arabic writings, a subject tackled by T. Fahd in *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 9-18, and in *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique*, Leiden 1973, 43-61. Fires will be discussed in the following order: those of religious nature, those of tribal nature, and others.

1. *Nār al-Ḳurbān* ("the fire of the sacrifical offering"), also called *nār al-riḍā* (the fire of acceptance), a fire established by God to test the sincerity of the Children of Israel and the purity of their intentions. This fire recalls Ḳurʾan, III, 183, but also Genesis, iv, 3-5 (the offerings of Cain and Abel) and I Kings, xviii, 21 ff. (Elijah on Mount Carmel). Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, i, 40) establishes a link between this fire and the account in Genesis. He writes: "After Ḳābīl (Cain) had killed Hābīl (Abel) and fled before his father to the Yemen, Iblīs came to him and said: "If the offering of Hābīl was accepted and consumed by the fire, it is because he served the fire and worshipped it; you too should set up a fire which will be for you and for your posterity". He then erected a pyre (*bayt nār*) and was also the first to build (a sanctuary for) the fire and to worship it".

2. *Nār Ibrāhīm* ("the fire of Abraham"). In two instances the Ḳurʾān speaks of the punishment by fire inflicted on Abraham by his polytheist adversaries, before his departure from Mesopotamia (XXI, 69, XXIX, 24). It is not impossible that this fire could be a reminiscence of Daniel, iii, 13 ff. (the three Hebrews in the furnace). Traditional accounts collected by al-Ṭabarī in connection with Ḳurʾān XXI, 69, reveal certain similarities to the Biblical version. Here it is stated: "They imprisoned him in a construction built for this purpose, collected a great quantity of wood and piled it up beneath this construction. Then, Abraham looked up towards the heavens. Heavens, earth, mountains and angels said: 'Lord God, Abraham is about to be burned for our sake!'— 'I know that better than you', God replied, 'If he calls on you for help, grant it.' Abraham addressed God, saying: 'O God, You are the only one in Heaven, and I am the only one upon earth, since no one other than me worships You. I place my trust in You!' He was pushed into the fire. The Archangel Gabriel said then: 'O fire, be for Abraham coolness and protection!' The fire was extinguished at once and Abraham was seen in the company of another man who wiped the sweat from his brow. This man was the angel of the shadow. Abraham came out and was introduced to the king, in whose presence he had not been previously" (*Tafsīr*, xxvii, 29).

3. *Nār Sināʾ* ("the fire of Sinai"). This fire is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (see above), where Moses appears like Prometheus, acquiring fire for the human race. "Have you heard the story of Moses?", Allah asked Muḥammad. "When he saw a fire, he said to his family: 'Stay here! I have just seen a fire; perhaps I shall bring to you a brand (*ḳabas*) from it or I shall find, thanks to it, good guidance'. Having approached it, he heard a voice saying: 'I am your Lord; take off your sandals! You are in the holy Valley of Ṭuwāʾ'" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii, 94 ff.).

4. *Nār al-istisḳāʾ* ("the fire of rogation"), called also *nār al-istimṭār*, refers to a practice dating back to the earliest Antiquity. In times of prolonged drought, the people gathered together all the cattle which they could find; then they tied to their tails and between their knees branches of cisse (*salaʿ*) and calotrope (*ʿushar*), made them climb to a barely accessible peak, set fire to the branches and raised to the sky their cries of supplication. They believed that this could cause rain to fall. The poet al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Ḳaḥdhamī (d. 222/837) says in regard to this: "How great must have been the delusion of those who sought to obtain rain in time of drought by means of *ʿushar*! [How did you conceive the idea] of taking cattle adorned with *ʿushar* as intermediaries between God and you?" (quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 468). For further details, see *Panthéon*, 10 ff. and ISTISḲĀʾ.

5. *Nār al-taḥāluf wa 'l-ḥilf* ("the fire of the conclusion of pacts"). This fire served to give a solemn nature to the conclusion of a pact. The parties gathered around the fire, its usefulness was invoked and prayers were offered to the Divinity, calling upon Him to deprive of it whichever of the two parties might break the alliance. They declared a formulaic oath and approached the fire to the point where they risked being burnt. This actually happened to the Muḥāsh ("the Burnt"), a sub-group of the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 471).

According to al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, i, 111), sulphur and salt were thrown on the fire without the knowledge of the contracting parties, with the purpose of intimidating them with the crackling sound. Hence the name *nār al-hawla* (the fire of intimidation) which is sometimes given to it. A *kāhin* [*q.v.*] presided over the ceremony; it was he threw the salt in the fire (*Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, xx, 39, 1. 38); he is called *al-muhawwil* (the intimidator) and the fire *nār al-ḥilfān* in a verse of al-Kumayt (d. 126/743), quoted by al-Nuwayrī, *loc. cit.* In another verse of Aws b. Ḥadjar (6th century A.D.), this fire is called *nār al-muhawwil* (the fire of the intimidator).

There also existed a pact involving salt called *al-taḥāluf wa 'l-taʿāḳud ʿalā 'l-milḥ*, which could be analogous with the "salt of the covenant" of Leviticus, ii, 13, but which is understood otherwise by al-Djāḥiẓ who gives to the term *milḥ* (salt) two mean-

ings: the first being *marḳa*, "meat soup" and the second *laban*, "milk", while in Arabic lexicography, *milḥ* denotes, in addition to the current sense of "salty" and "briny", "grease" (*s̲h̲aḥm*), "butter" (*samn*), "the sacred thing", in particular the alliance, the pact (*ḥurma, ḥilf, d̲h̲imām*), "knowledge" (*ʿilm*) and "scholars" (*ʿulamāʾ*), in the sense of Matthew, v, 13. *Mulḥa* is the benediction (*baraka*), the witticism (*al-kalima al-malīḥa*); it is also whiteness, by analogy with that of salt and, hence, fine colour, attractive face (*malāḥa*). *Mumālaḥa*, a term whose antiquity is disputed by the author of the *TA* (ii, 233, l. 29), is the act of breaking bread with someone and sharing food, an act which symbolises the establishment of sacred and privileged links by the consumption of salt, present in the food or distributed to the commensals, as among the Hebrews, at the beginning of the meal. It is said that salt (*milḥ*)—currently bread and salt (*k̲h̲ubz wa-milḥ*)—exists between Person A and Person B when they are linked by a pact, an alliance. It is stated in *TA*, ii, 233 l. 13: "The Arabs venerated salt, fire and ash", and a little further on: "The Arabs swore by salt and water on account of the reverence that they had for them" (l. 19).

6. *Nār al-musāfir* ("the fire of the traveller"), also called *nār al-ṭard* ("the fire of return"). It was lit after the departure of an unwelcome guest, in the hope that he would never return. It was applied in particular to those who came to claim blood reparations or to collect the proceeds of ransom or tribute. The following formulaic curse was then declared: "May God take him far away for ever! May he light (*wa-awḳada* in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *wa-awḳadū* in al-Nuwayrī) a fire after him and upon his footprints!"

7. *Nār al-ḳirā* ("the fire of hospitality"). This was one of the most popular themes of ancient Arab poetry, in both eulogistic and satirical contexts. It was lit most often in winter to guide travellers towards a warm haven and nourishing food. The higher the place in which the fire was lit, the greater was the credit accorded to the host (*Ḥayawān*, v, 134-6, numerous verses on this subject). A Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ite poet, Ibrāhīm b. Harma, says in praise of the hospitality of the Hās̲h̲imite clan: "If their guest loses his way, they set up for him, in the blackness of night, red poles (*alwiya*) of fire" (quoted by al-Nuwayrī, i, 113).

8. *Nar al-salāma* ("the fire of safe return"), lit on the return of a traveller, arriving home safe and well and anticipating a successful outcome from his journey (al-Nuwayrī, i, 111, not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

9. *Nār al-ḥarb* ("the fire of war"), also called *nār al-ind̲h̲ār* ("the fire of warning") and *nār al-uhba* ("the fire of preparations for war"), lit on high ground to warn those who were far away and to summon them to a muster. When the attack was imminent and the muster urgent, two fires were lit simultaneously. Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) mentions them in this verse: "There are two fires: the fire of hospitality and the fire of war. You see them both glowing" (quoted by al-Nuwayrī, i, 111; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, v. 133 f., supplies other quotations). Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, ii, 214, speaks of luminous signs which marked the route of the Radrāḍ, linking Nad̲j̲rān with Baṣra.

10. *Nār al-fidāʾ* ("the fire of ransoming"), lit, after a raid, by the victorious tribe. It signified, for the leaders of the defeated tribe, that they could come and reclaim that which the victors were willing to give back, and redeem that for which a price was demanded. This encounter took place at night, on the one hand to spare captive women the shame of exposure in broad daylight, and on the other, to enable the victors to conceal the real value of the things that they chose to keep, those which they were prepared to give back, and those for which ransom was demanded (a fire mentioned by al-Nuwayrī, i, 112; no mention in al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

11. *Nār al-g̲h̲adr* ("the fire of treachery"), lit on al-Ak̲h̲s̲h̲ab, the mountain overlooking Minā, during the Pilgrimage, to denounce the treachery of a patron towards his protegé (*d̲j̲ār*). This was accompanied by a proclamation in these terms: "Such is the treachery of such a one" (al-Nuwayrī, i, 111; not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

12. *Nār Muzdalifa* ("the fire of Muzdalifa"), inaugurated by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], reformer of the cult at Mecca. It served to guide pilgrims in their nocturnal journey between ʿArafa and Muzdalifa, at the very beginning of the Pilgrimage (see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲; mentioned by al-Nuwayrī, i, 109, not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

13. *Nār al-ṣayd* ("the fire of the hunt"), lit for the hunting of gazelles and young ostriches. These animals are dazzled by the fire; similarly the lion, on seeing it, stops and stares at it; the frog stops croaking. Thus, they can be taken by surprise. This fire is also used for seeking out the eggs of the ostrich in hollows and crevices.

14. *Nār al-g̲h̲ūl* ("The fire of the ogre"). The nomadic Arabs believed that ogres (*g̲h̲īlān*), ogresses (*saʿālī*) and d̲j̲inns lit fires to lead travellers astray.

15. *Nār al-salīm* ("the fire of the bitten one, lit., of the safe and healthy, by antiphrasis), lit to keep awake one who has been stung by a snake or a scorpion, or bitten by a rabid dog (al-Nuwayrī, i, 112; omitted by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who speaks instead of the suspension over the bitten person of jewels and small chains which keep him awake with their tinkling, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 24).

16. *Nār al-wasm* ("the fire of branding"), lit for the purpose of branding livestock. It denotes the different marks placed on the herds. When someone was asked: "What is your fire?", he replied: *ʿilāṭ* ("broad mark") on the neck of a camel, or *siṭāʿ* ("long mark") in the same place, or *k̲h̲ibāṭ* ("mark on the thigh") which may be long or broad (as in the case of the Banū Saʿd) or *ḥalaḳa* ("round mark like a ring") on the thigh or at the base of the ear, etc. (cf. Ibn Sīda, *Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, vii, 154-6: *simat al-ibil*). With the aid of these marks of origin, knowledgeable persons could distinguish the qualities and defects of camels offered for sale.

There exists a series of fires which are more in the nature of proverbial or metaphorical expressions. A selection follows:

17. *Nār al-ḥubāḥib*: this denotes any fire which is seen but cannot be put to practical use (the glow-worm, sparks from flint or from horse-shoes). Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ compares it with the *nār al-barḳ*, quoting the saying of an Arab nomad: "The fire of the lightning renews the greenness of the branches, while any other fire burns them", since the lightning presages rain (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 488).

18. *Nār al-k̲h̲ulaʿāʾ wa 'l-hurrāb*: this denotes the absence of fire; since these outcastes and fugitives cannot run the risk of lighting fires, lest they be located.

19. *Nār al-miʿda* (the fire of the stomach): this refers to the organic fire of digestion. Good health depends on its strength, its weakness causes ill-health (al-Nuwayrī, i, 114; not mentioned by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ).

20. *Nār al-ḥummā* ("the fire of fever"). In this regard, it is said: "The fires are three in number: a fire which neither eats nor drinks, this is the fire of the Afterlife; a fire which eats and drinks, this is the fire of fever which consumes the flesh and drinks the blood; a fire which eats and does not drink, this is the fire of here

below" (al-Nuwayrī, i, 114; not mentioned by al-Djāḥiẓ).

21. *Nār al-shawḳ* ("the fire of desire").
22. *Nār al-sharah* ("the fire of greed").
23. *Nār al-shabāb* ("the fire of youth").
24. *Nār al-sharāb* ("the fire of drink").
25. *Nār al-ghaḍā* ("the very hot fire of tamarisks").
26. *Nār al-ʿarfadj* ("the fire of fast-flowering rosaceous plants").
27. *Nār al-ḥalfāʾ* ("the fire of the alfalfa which flares up and withers with equal rapidity").

Finally, two fires of a quite specific nature should be mentioned:

28. *Nār al-iḥtiyāl* ("the fire of guile"). This refers to tricks which priests, guardians of sanctuaries (*sadana*), performed with fire to deceive the people. Al-Djāḥiẓ mentions the trickery of the monks of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with their lamps, pretending that the oil was ignited without fire on the eve of some of their festivals. Al-Masʿūdī states (in *Murūdj*, iii, 405 = § 1288) that, on 5 October, fire descends from Heaven in Jerusalem, in the Church of the Resurrection, but in the *Tanbīh* (ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1938, 123), fire appears on Holy Saturday (*al-sabt al-kabīr*) in the church built by Saint Helena. This appears to be a reference to the Paschal candle.
29. *Nār al-ḥarratayn* ("the fire of the two *ḥarras*, two volcanic regions"). This is a reference to the Ḥarrat laylā of the Banū Murra and the Ḥarrat al-nār of the Banū Ghaṭafān, both situated close to Medina. This fire forms part of the legend of the Arab prophet Khālid b. Sinān who was sent by God to extinguish it (for details, see *Le feu chez les anciens Arabes*, 56 ff.).

Yāḳūt, s.v., lists twenty-two *ḥarras* dispersed between the east of Ḥawrān and Medina. The best known is Ḥarrat al-nār near Khaybar; it was still active at the dawn of Islam, under the caliphate of ʿUmar. Medina is situated between the Ḥarrat Wāḳim, to the east, which last erupted in 652/1254 (the lava failed to reach Medina) and Ḥarrat Wabra, situated to the west of the town, at the start of the road leading to Mecca.

Regarding the cult of fire, Arab polygraphs have accumulated a considerable amount of data testifying to the influence of Iranian culture in Arab circles. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, this cult, deriving from excessive initial veneration, has existed among all peoples. In particular, there was adoration of the celestial fire (Ḳurʾān, XXVII, 24): the cult of the Sun at Sabā; the Sun, the Moon and Venus worshipped by the persecutors of Abraham (Ḳurʾān, VI, 74; XXXVII, 86, XLI, 37). The People of the Book make the appeal to God: "Do not let the fire in my home be extinguished" (cf. Leviticus, vi, 6). This is why fire is lit night and day in synagogues, churches, places of worship (*buyūt al-ʿibādāt, buyūt al-nīrān*, in al-Nuwayrī, i, 107). Well-paid employees of the cult (*sadana*) are assigned to the maintenance of fires in sanctuaries (*buyūt*). Al-Masʿūdī, Murūdj, iv, 72-86 = §§ 1399-1412, supplies a long list of places of worship in the Sāsānid empire, a list subsequently reproduced by heresiographers like al-Shahrastānī and by encyclopaedists like al-Nuwayrī.

Concerning the various philosophical conceptions of fire, inspired for the most part by the *Meteorologics* and the *Treatise on sensation and sensibles* of Aristotle, al-Djāḥiẓ has preserved a lengthy *disputatio* between one of his masters, al-Naẓẓām the eminent Muʿtazilī, and his opponents. It is followed by a series of reflections on fire and on colours (*Ḥayawān*, 5 ff., 81 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies cited in the article, see Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Cairo 1326/1908, extracts from which have been translated by F. von Hammer-Purgstall and published in German in *ZDMG*, v-ix (1852-5), cf. ix (1855), 372-6, where the principal source of information concerning fire is Djāḥiẓ; Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1923-37, i, 103-29; Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo 1331-8/1913-29, i, 409-10, xiv, 398-402 (the Tatars); al-Raghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, ed. Beirut 1961, iv, 622-6; Ālūsī (d. 1342/1923), *Bulūgh al-arab fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-ʿarab*, i-ii, Cairo 1924.

(T. Fahd)

NARĀḲ, Nirāḳ, a small town of Persia (lat. 34° 00′ N., long. 50° 49′ E.), in the modern province of Ḳum, 60 km/38 miles to the west of Kāshān and at the northwestern end of the Kūh-i Kargas. It is not mentioned in the classical Islamic geographers, but has some fame as the origin of the scholar Muḥammad Mahdī b. Abī Dharr Nirāḳī (d. ?1209/1794-5), author of Persian and Arabic works on rhetoric, the Shīʿī martyrs, mathematics, etc. (Storey, i, 219-20, iii, 213; Brockelmann, S II, 824) and of his son Mullā Aḥmad Nirāḳī (d. 1244/1828-9), theologian and poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Ṣafāʾī (Browne, *LHP*, iv, 411).

The modern town is the chief-lieu of a *dihistān*, group of villages, of the same name in the *shahrastān* or district of Maḥallāt. In *ca.* 1960 it had a population of 3,600 (Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, i, 222).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Ḥasan Narāḳī, *Āthār-i taʾrīkhī-yi shahrastānhā-yi Kāshān wa Naṭanz*, Tehran 1348/1970.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NARĀḲĪ, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Aḥmad (1185-1245/1771-1829), a Shīʿī religious leader, a man of letters, a social critic and a religious polemicist, was born in Narāḳ [*q.v.*], a village 60 km/40 miles from Kāshān, Persia. He studied under his father, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Mahdī Narāḳī (d. 1209/1794) who was also a well-known *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*]. After his father's death he migrated to ʿIrāḳ where he continued his studies on Islamic philosophy, theology and jurisprudence and attended the teaching circles of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Āḳā Sayyid ʿAlī, and a number of other disciples of Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir Bihbihānī. It is said that Narāḳī did not study under a sufficient number of professors, and owed his great learning achievements mainly to his own sagacity and intelligence (Muḥammad Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran 1976, 132). Nevertheless, his proficiency in the Islamic sciences not only is shown in his various books he wrote on *fiḳh* and *ʿuṣūl al-fiḳh* but was also particularly admired by Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī [*q.v.*], a disciple of Narāḳī and himself the most prominent Shīʿī religious leader of the 19th century.

Narāḳī spent most of his life in Kāshān where he enjoyed a great deal of social popularity and influence to the extent that he is said to have expelled an oppressive governor appointed by the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 130). This is, of course, not to say that Narāḳī was opposed to the Shāh; rather, he praised Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in most of those books which he wrote for the benefit of the general public and had dedicated some of them to him.

Narāḳī's attitude toward rulership forms the most interesting and thought-provoking part of his writings, and the study of it, though difficult, seems to be of paramount importance. His approach to the problem of government took three different forms. He had great respect for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and depicted him as an example of goodness and excellence, and likened

him to God and called him "the Shadow of God" (Narāḳī, *Taḳdīs*, Tehran, 1954, 4,9). To legitimise and support his rule, Narāḳī went as far as to quote a *ḥadīth* reported on the authority of the Seventh Shīʿī *Imām*, that "if the Shāh is just, do ask God to perpetuate his life; if his is tyrannical, you should ask God to lead him to the right path because your being righteous is dependent upon your sultan's righteousness" (Narāḳī, *Miʿrādj al-saʿāda*, Tehran n.d., 360).

Despite his friendly relations with the Shāh and his legitimisation and admiration of Ḳādjār rule in his popular books, in dealing with the Shīʿī theory of government in a book meant to be read by the student of religion, he refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Shāh's rule. In this line of discussion, Narāḳī refers to nineteen *ḥadīth*s through which he argues that, during the Greater Occultation (*ghaybat-i kubrā*) of the Twelfth *Imām*, and after the death of the latter's four Specified Agents (*nuwwāb-i khāṣṣ*), it is only the qualified *faḳīh*s who carry the authority of the Hidden *Imām* as his General Agents (*nuwwāb-i ʿāmm*) and are genuinely legitimate rulers of the Muslim community (for more details on this subject, see Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿīsm and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 55 ff.). Basing himself on another *ḥadīth* reported on the authority of the Prophet Muḥammad, Narāḳī considers the *faḳīh*s as "the trustees of the Prophet", and warns the Muslims to dissociate themselves from those *faḳīh*s who are tied up with kings (*ʿAwāʾid al-ayyām fī bayān ḳawāʿid al-aḥkām wa-muhimmāt masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*, 1913, 185-8).

As is obvious, this type of argumentation shows a volte-face in Narāḳī's approach to the problem of rulership, and it was the latter line of argument which provided an important source of reasoning for the founder of the post-1979 régime in Persia to formulate his own theory of government put into operation in 1399/1979 ([Rūḥ Allāh Mūsawī], *Ḥukūmat-i Islāmī*, 1971; for an English tr. of this book, see Khumaynī, *Islam and revolution: writings and declarations of Imam Khomeini*, tr. and annotated Hamid Algar, Berkeley 1981, 27-166).

In the third type of his treatment of the problem, Narāḳī not only does not attempt to legitimise the rule of either the king or the *faḳīh* but rather he renounces both of them. In some of his lyrics and mystical poems, he regrets his past activities which were in favour of the Shāh, remarking, "I disdain to be associated with the royal crown and throne" (*zi tādj-u takht-i ṣultanim ʿār ast*) (Narāḳī, *Ghazal-i Mullā Aḥmad Narāḳī mutakhalliṣ bi Ṣafā*, ed. Akhtar Narāḳī, 1972, 118-9, 121). He also condemns all things related to asceticism (*zuhd*), the prayer-carpet (*sadjdjāda*), the rosary (*subḥa*), the religious college (*madrasa*), the people, the Islamic preachers and the *faḳīh*s; he even declares the latter to be barriers to progress (*sadd-i rāh u māniʿ-i takmīl shud*) (Narāḳī, *Taḳdīs*, 104, 279, 323). In fact, being a religious leader, Narāḳī was in practice himself a target of his own criticism.

The explanation for these contradictory views seems to be that Narāḳī in theory believed in the legitimacy of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s rule. In reality, however, power and authority were in the hands of the Ḳādjār ruler who at the same time needed the *ʿulamāʾ*'s support to protect "the Islamic territory" (*bayḍa-yi Islām*) against internal corruption and external invasion. Consequently, Narāḳī gave his full support to Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, especially when the latter was involved in the long, bloody wars with the Russians in the years 1219-28/1804-13 and 1242-4/1826-8. It was in this connection that Narāḳī declared a *djihād* against the Russians (M.T. Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh: salāṭīn-i Ḳādjāriyya*, Tehran 1974, i, 184); and, according to Willock, he even, in 1241/1826, "arrived at the royal camp clad in shrouds" as a sign of his own "preparation for jihad and martyrdom" (cited in Hamid Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 89).

Narāḳī's criticism of Islamic customs, institutions and even the *faḳīh*s suggests that he did not find contemporary Islamic society—as well as the custodians of religion, including himself—on the right path, but since he was not able to break with the community, he acted reluctantly in harmony with its displeasing characteristics.

In the arena of religious polemics, Narāḳī was certainly not inactive. In 1226/1811 when the British Protestant clergyman, Henry Martyn, wrote a treatise in Persian against Islam, a number of Persian men of the pen and religious leaders including Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī, Mullā Riḍā Hamadānī and Narāḳī wrote books in refutation of Martyn. Narāḳī's refutation appears to have enjoyed a wider readership as it was, it seems, the only book of this nature which did not remain in the form of a manuscript. (For a detailed treatment of this subject, consult Hairi, *Nakhustīn rūyārūyīhā-yi andīshagarān-i Īrān bā du rūya-yi tamaddun-i burzhuāzī-yi gharb*, Tehran 1988, 507-45.)

In compiling his refutation, Narāḳī studied the Bible and consulted a group of learned authorities from among the Christians and Jews. It was in this context that he found an opportunity heavily to attack the European way of life. His sharp criticism was particularly directed against the European Christians who permitted the consumption of wine, pork, snake meat, etc., and gave men and women freedom to have physical contact and kiss each other without having been married to each other. Narāḳī also considered the Christians' reverence for the Cross and their worship before it as an idolatrous act (Narāḳī, *Sayf al-umma wa-burhān al-milla*, 1912, 84, 87-8).

Narāḳī finally died of cholera in the village of his birth, Narāḳ, when he was 58 years of age (Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya aw al-laḳab*, Tabriz, n.d., vi, 160-3, and the various sources cited there).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

NĀRANDJ, Arabised substantive borrowed from the Persian *narang* (derived from the Sanskrit, with the meaning of "red") and designating in a collective manner, in parallel with *laymūn*, hesperideous or aurantiaceous fruits, including oranges and lemons (modern Arabic *ḥamḍiyyāt*). The term *nārandj* has passed, at a relatively late stage, along with the introduction of these fruits, into the majority of European languages, sometimes with alterations (loss of the initial *n*). Thus, at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., French adopted the expression "la pomme d'orenge", while Spanish preserved the Arabic form with *naranja*. Arabic dialects have also retained

nārandj, but under the forms *narendj*, *nanerdj* in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and *larendj*, *lārendj* in Morocco. It is surprising that Ibn Manẓūr (7th/13th century) made no mention of the term *nārandj* in his copious *Lisān al-ʿArab*. Furthermore, it should be noted that in some Arabic-speaking countries, *nārandj* is not the prevalent term for the designation of hesperideous fruits; the names in usage are those which refer to their far eastern origin; thus in the Maghrib the expression *letshīna* ("from China", cf. German *Apfelsine*) may be heard. It is believed that Arab caravan-traders would have been responsible for introducing the orange to the Near East and the Maghrib, while the Portuguese would have brought it from the Indies to Spain and Portugal, whence its current name *burtukāl/burtukān* (Turkish *portakal*) which has supplanted *narandj* in numerous local dialects; modern botanical science has created *burtukāliyyāt* to define these fruits. In Western Europe, the Crusaders are credited with the introduction of oranges and lemons, whence, for the latter, the old French name "poncire" (from the Provençal "pomsire" = Syrian apple).

From the scientific point of view, the hesperideous or aurantiaceous fruits are classed in the family *Rutaceae*, and as fruitgrowers began, by artificial means, to increase the number of types and varieties, the latter were distinguished in Arabic by local names other than *nārandj*, which seems to have been applied originally to the Bitter, or Seville orange (*Citrus aurantium amara* or *vulgaris* or *bigaradia*) also called *naffāsh*. The Common orange (*Citrus sinensis Osbeck*) is known, besides *nārandj*, by the names *Abū ṣuffayr, zuffayr*, and in the Yemen, *shamsh*. The Mandarin orange (*Citrus aurantium deliciosa, nobilis, madurensis*) is known as *Yūsuf Afandī, yūsufī*. The Grapefruit tree or shaddock (*Citrus decumana* or *macrocarpa*) is the *zunbūʿ, zanbūʿ*. Among lemons, it is the Cedrate tree or Adam's apple (*Citrus medica Risso*, var. *cederata*) which bears the greatest number of names with *utrudj, utrudjdj, turundj, ṭurundj, utrundj, matk, mutk, mitk, kabbād, kubbād, tuffāḥ māhī, tuffāḥ māʿī* and, in the Maghrib, *ḳars, ḳāriṣ*. As for the Bergamot orange (*Citrus bergamia*), native to southern Italy, although called *laymūn aḍālya*, it is often confused with *zunbūʿ*, the Grapefruit tree; the perfume known as bergamot (*ʿiṭr barghamūt*) is extracted from it. The varieties of lemons are all included in the collective substantive *laymūn, līmūn, līm*, differentiated by the adjectives *ḥāmiḍ* for the Common lemon (*Citrus medica*) and *ḥulw* for the Sweet lemon tree (*Citrus aurantium aurantifolia* or *limetta*). The *laymūn baladī* or *banzahīr* is the Egyptian small lime (*Citrus limonum pusilla*).

The well-known legend of the "Golden apples of the Hesperides" (τὰ Ἑσπεριδῶν χρύσεα μῆλα) guarded by the Nymphs, daughters of Atlas, and the Dragon, plucked away and carried away by Hercules for his eleventh "labour", a truly daunting task, has given rise to various hypotheses regarding the location of this fabulous orange-grove. It is supposedly located in Mauritania Tingitana, near the Phoenician trading-centre of Lixus (Larache), or in Cyrenaica, in the city of Hesperis (Benghāzī), or in Spain, near Gades (Cadiz), or, finally, in the "Fortunate Isles" (*al-Khālidāt*), the Canaries. All these imaginary interpretations are an invitation to contemplate the existence of a distant memory of the introduction, at a very early stage, of certain fruits of this kind into the western Mediterranean region, and the Phoenicians may well have had a hand in this.

It is impossible to ignore the primal place which citrus fruits of all types have occupied and continue to occupy in culinary preparations, as well as in baking, confectionery, perfumery and the making of refreshing drinks; orange-trees and lemon-trees supply flowers, fruits and leaves suitable for all these purposes. Arab authors writing about the culinary art in the Middle Ages have left us a large number of recipes and descriptions in which these fruits play a major role. Thus in the range of perfumes, odiferous powders include a powder made from the Cedrate tree (*utrundja*) and another from orange-blossom (*zahriyya*). Among drinks, orangeade and cedrate syrup were known; acidic juices were obtained from lemons and bitter oranges. Among cooked dishes, familiar examples are chicken with orange, meats with the juice of the bitter orange (*nārandjiyya*) or the lemon (*laymūniyya*) or with the pulp of one or the other (*ḥummāḍiyya*). These fruits could also be salted and preserved. One of the major scented waters obtained by distillation continues to be orange blossom water (*māʾzahr*), an effective means of enhancing the flavour of desserts. Finally, the buds of the blossom of the bitter orange provide, in perfumery, oil of Neroli (*ʿiṭr al-ḳaddāḥ, duhn al-* ...) first extracted, in the 17th century, by an Italian princess of this name.

Arab agronomists, geographers and travellers of the Middle Ages have mentioned, in their works and accounts, citrus fruits and the places where they were cultivated. Thus following al-Idrīsī, in the 7th/13th century the Andalusian Ibn al-ʿAwwām, in his *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*, quoting the *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* [see FILĀḤA], repeats that the Hesperides emanate from India. In the following century, the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, having spent a considerable period of time in that country, specifies three varieties which are cultivated there, one sweet, one bitter and one between the two called *ʿanba*, a kind of sweet lemon the fruit of which is salted while still green.

In literature, oranges and lemons have made some appeal to the imaginations of Arab poets; over the space of three centuries, from the 3rd to the 5th/9th to 11th, at least four major poets are known to have evoked the golden fruits. The first is Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] who, in three verses (*ṭawīl* metre, *-ri* rhyme) compared the orange with the cheeks of young maidens and, in two verses (*sarīʿ* metre, *-ri* rhyme), with a golden ball used in a game of polo which was apparently caught up in the foliage. Lemons are for him, in two verses (same metre, same rhyme), golden phials of perfume. In the following century, in three verses (same metre, same rhyme), clearly patterned on those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Kushādjim [*q.v.*] refers to the contrast between the golden oranges and their emerald foliage. The same poet evokes the same image, in four verses (*munsariḥ* metre, *-īlā* rhyme), for lemons. Also in the 4th/10th century, al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ used this imagery (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 111-16). Finally, inspired by these two predecessors, the Andalusian poet Ibn Khafādja (7th/11th century [*q.v.*]), has composed a fine description of the orange-tree in eight verses (*mutaḳārib* metre. *-ab* rhyme) using the same image of gold against a background of emerald.

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plantes, Beirut², 1401/1981 (s.v. *citrus*), 51-2; Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1390/1970, 242, 388-9, cf. A. Giese, *Wasf bei Kušāğim*, Berlin 1981, 265-7.; H. Leclerc, *Les Fruits de France, historique, diététique et thérapeutique*, Paris 1925, 236; A. Poiteau and Risso, *Histoire naturelle des orangers*, Paris 1819; H.P.J. Renaud and G.S. Colin, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb, Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, Paris 1934, 124-5, no. 279; M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* (1949), 131-2. (F. Viré)

NARBONNE [see arbūna].

NARCISSUS [see nardjis].

NARD (p.), a word of Persian origin designating the game of backgammon (trictrac). The form attested in Pehlevi treatises, *nēv-artakhshēr* "brave Ardashīr", was contracted to *nardashīr* (widely attested in Arabic) and the latter abridged to *nard*. This development is quite probable (cf., for instance, the place name Nēw Hormizd Ardashīr > Narmas(h)īn, see R.N. Frye, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 40); nevertheless the doubts raised by T. Nöldeke (*Persische Studien. II*, in *SBWAW*, Philos.-hist. Cl. cxxvi [1892], 25-6) remain valid, especially in view of the fact that the probably oldest known occurrence (Bab. Talmud, Keth. 61b) already shows the contracted form *nrdshyr*; *nēv-artakhshēr* could possibly be popular etymology. Attempts to explain *nardashīr* from two Persian words, *nard* and *shēlīr*, were already made by Arabic lexicographers and continue to have their supporters.

No detailed old descriptions of the precise rules of the game as played in the past have become known so far. It is doubtful whether the few lost works supposedly dedicated exclusively to *nard* filled the gap. We learn that the board had twenty-four (twice twelve) points (fields, *bayt*), and the game was played with thirty (twice fifteen) men ("dog" *kalb*, Persian *muhra*), see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 99-100; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 157-8 = § 161); a pair of six-sided dice was used, and the pips were indicated by Persian numerals. The word *nard* could also be used to refer to any kind of dicing (Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 36, also 41 [*kūba*]). A strange transformation is its use to translate Greek *orchēseōn hyphēgetas* "dance masters" as *ʿālim bi 'l-nard* "expert in *nard*" (correct *Gambling*, 36, with reference to D. Pingree's edition of Dorotheus, *Carmen astrologicum*, Leipzig 1976, Ar., 79, tr. 234, Greek, 359). According to Murray, *Board-games*, 54, Firdawsī described a somewhat different game as *nard* (Nōshirvān, ed. Mohl, 2792 ff., ed. Moscow, 2714 ff.).

The traditional stories of its origin are didactic and unhistorical. It is said to have been invented for an Indian king or for the Persian Ardashīr in order to depict the universe and time reckoning or to symbolise the dependence of all worldly goods on luck or fate (al-Yaʿḳūbī and al-Masʿūdī).

The game has remained extraordinarily popular through modern times. Its popularity greatly frustrated the jurists, who had little choice but to consider it strictly forbidden gambling. It was obviously a game of chance, in addition to being a diversion that interfered with religious observance; one's sense of time was lost when playing, as Ibn Bādjdja put it (P. Lettinck, *Aristotle's Physics*, Amsterdam 1991, 286). In order to be really enjoyed, it also required the exchange of stakes between winner and loser. A quotation from an *Āyīn-nāma* states that on the highest social levels, playing chess or *nard* without a stake (*khaṭar*) was actually forbidden because it would detract from the players' full concentration (*Books on Chess*, ms. facsimile published by Fuat Sezgin, Frankfurt a/M 1986, 8; cf. *EIr*, I, 692, s.v. *Āʾīn-nāma*). Whether historical or not, a number of important early Muslims could be cited as devoted to *nard*, and it is clear that the game was familiar to Muslims in the 1st/7th century. A tradition such as that playing *nard* without stakes (*ḳimār*) was permissible, while with them it was forbidden, circulated widely (cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 324), obviously as something to fall back on if legal cases of a minor nature should arise, although problems most likely occurred in connection with gambling in notorious public places. One of the negative traditions compared playing *nardashīr* to putting one's hand in pork meat and blood (*Concordance*, vi, 405). This could be modified, in the name of Abū Hurayra, to read: "One who plays *nard* with stakes (*ḳimāran*) is like one who eats pork; one who plays without stakes is like one who puts his hand in pig's blood; and one who watches the game is like one who looks at pork meat" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Cairo 1375, 326-8). However, it does not seem possible for us to document in detail any influence of the jurists' negative consensus on the popularity of the game.

Nard was in no way comparable to chess, with which it is often mentioned in one breath, but in a story that originated in the heyday of the Muʿtazila in the early 3rd/9th century, it was praised—no doubt, with tongue in cheek—as superior to chess, since with its reliance on pure luck, it implied greater trust in God (*Gambling*, 165 ff.). On a less exalted level, *nard*, or some variant of it, was also praised and recommended to scoundrels as superior to chess for defrauding people (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 133, ed. Hārūn, ii, 367, quoting, he says, ʿUthmān al-Khayyāṭ's *Waṣiyya li 'l-shuṭṭār wa 'l-luṣūṣ*).

For artistic representation of the backgammon board, from a Sāsānid silver bowl to the famous manuscript of Alfonso el Sabio and to a *Shāh-nāma* illustration, see, for instance, M. Rosen-Ayalon, in *JSAI*, iv (1984), 78, pls. 4, 7; A. Steiger, *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas*, in *Romanica Helvetica*, x, Geneva-Zürich 1941, pls. 73, 75, showing the use of three dice which distinguishes the Western from the Eastern game; and O. Jacoby and J.R. Crawford, *The Backgammon book*, New York 1970, 12.

Bibliography: T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus, II. Historia Nerdiludii*, Oxford 1694, 1-64; H.J.R. Murray, *The history of board-games other than chess*, Oxford 1952, repr. New York 1978, 113 ff.; R.C. Bell, *Board and table games from many civilizations*, Oxford 1960, repr. New York 1979, 42 ff.; P. Thieme, *Chess and backgammon*, in *Indological Studies... W. Norman Brown*, 1962, 204-16, repr. in *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1971, 413-25; F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, index s.v. See also ḳimār.

(F. Rosenthal)

NARDJIS, the narcissus, in Turkish *nergis*, in Persian *nargis* and also *ʿabhar* (cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 251).

In classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry the narcissus appears both in descriptions of nature and in erotic poetry. Instances of the narcissus as one of the items of the garden can be found in the exordia of panegyric *ḳaṣīdas*, in wine and love poetry (*khamriyyāt*, *ghazaliyyāt*) and, of course, in the specialised genres of garden, flower and spring poetry (*rawḍiyyāt*, *zahriyyāt*, *rabīʿiyyāt*). A number of Arab poets, e.g. Ibn al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.vv.*], discuss the respective merits of the narcissus and the rose in the *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] (altercation, *Rangstreit*) genre, the former poet preferring the rose, the latter the narcissus (a fine example is his *dāliyya*, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār,

Cairo 1973, ii, 643). Word counts of Persian *ghazal* poetry (Ḥāfiẓ, Ḳabūlī) show that "*gul*" (rose) occurs roughly five times as often as "*nargis*" (narcissus). Some poets, e.g. Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿulūmī, Tehran 1970, *bayts* 1628-1711) and in his wake Salmān-i Sāwadjī and others, have used *nargis* for the *radīf* of lengthy *ḳaṣīdas*.

The white colour of the petals and the yellow, red or brownish colour of the crown are the basis for most of the poetic images used in connection with the narcissus. The petals may be compared to stars (e.g. Farrukhī, *Dīwān*, ed. Dabīrsīyāḳī, Tehran 1957, *bayt* 5948), silver dirhams (e.g. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and Ghanī, Tehran n.d., no. 119) or ointment-boxes made of pearl (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1954, 85), and the crown to the moon, a beaker full of wine or the stone cornelian respectively. Most common, however, is the comparison of the narcissus to the human eye. The poets speak of "the eyes of the narcissi" and use "narcissus" as a common metaphor for "eye" (e.g. Abū Nuwās, in Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1972, i, 294; ʿUnṣurī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1945, 128; Nedīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Nihād, Istanbul 1338-40/1919-22, 138). Adjectives used to characterise the narcissus when it is compared to or used as a metaphor for the eyes of the beloved in Persian, Čaghatāy and Ottoman Turkish, are *bēmār/bīmār* (ailing), *mast* (drunken), *khʷāb-ālūd* (sleepy), referring to the languorous lustre of the eyes, or simply *shahlā* (reddish-brown or of a dark blue colour).

As an item of the poetic lexicon of the *ghazal*, "narcissus" has also entered the dictionaries of mystical symbolism, e.g. the *Iṣṭilāḥāt* ascribed to Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*] (cf. *Kulliyyāt*, ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1959, 421) where the expression *čashm-i nargis* (narcissus-eye) is said to stand for "the secret of the states and perfections and the elevation of the rank of the [mystic] ..."

Bibliography: G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung—Die Zahrīyāt, Rabīʿīyāt, Rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī*, Beirut 1974 (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 15); C.H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle*, Paris 1969. (M. GLÜNZ)

In al-Andalus, the narcissus figures among the objects which poets were required to deal with in the course of their more or less official meetings. In this repect, they imitate their eastern colleagues and pile up the metaphors. Three terms are used: *nardjis ḳādūsī* (the meadow narcissus; rare), *n. aṣfar* (jonquil) and above all *bahār* (<*ʿabhar*?). Ibn al-Rūmī's and Ibn al-Muʿtazz's preferences are well known, and Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar [*q.v.*] follows in the way of the first of these in a *risāla* written in defence of the rose (extracts in vol. ii of Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra*, cf. A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fī 'l-Andalus*, 153-6; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 196-200), whilst Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī replies to his compatriot by proclaiming, in *al-Badīʿ*, the superiority of the *bahār*. Still further comparisons are met with, notably that of the violet, which is preferred to the narcissus, or the *bahār* considered as superior to the jonquil. See H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XI^e siècle*, 2nd ed. Paris 1953, index s.v. narcisse. (ED.)

NARGHĪLA [see TÜTÜN].

NARKH (P.), a term used in Ottoman Turkish for the prices determined by official authorities for various goods. Although under Islamic law, buying and selling principally take place with the mutual consent of both sides, and the state's intervention with regard prices is acceptable only in extraordinary circumstances, the Ottomans gave great importance to *narkh* in order to secure the comfort of the public. Thus authors of "books of advice" (*naṣīḥat-nāme*) made frequent reference to this subject (e.g., Lüṭfī Pasha, *Āṣaf-nāme*, Üniv. Ktb. TY. no. 786, fols. 63b-65a; Ālī, *Fuṣūlu 'l-ḥall ve 'l-ʿaḳd ve uṣūlu 'l-khardj ve 'n-naḳd*, Nuruosmaniye Ktb. no. 3399, fols. 2a-b; Hezārfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Tenḳīḥ-i tewārīkh-i mulūk, Telkhīṣu 'l-beyān fī ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿUthmān*, Nuruosmaniye Ktb, no. 3265, fol. 272b; Tewḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, in *MTM*, i/3, [1331], 499, 503-4; Defterdār Ṣārī Meḥmed Pasha, *Neṣāyiḥu 'l-wüzerā we 'l-umerā*, ed. H.R. Ugural, Ankara 1969, 25-7; and Ḳoči Bey, *Risāle*, ed. A.K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 114).

Although *narkh* prices were determined for almost all commodities, food, shoes and some other basic goods were the ones that were most meticulously adjusted.

Normally, the *narkh* for food was given according to the seasonal changes. The prices were determined almost every day for early fruit and vegetables, until they became ripe. On the other hand, the prices for commodities made of meat and milk were fixed only two or three times a year, in the spring, a few days before the first lamb of the year was cut (*rūz-i khiḍir*, May). Bread prices were lowered just after threshing time, and were thereafter adjusted according to the stock level of flour. In order that people could have a good Ramaḍān, the prices for principal foods were reviewed at the end of the previous month, Shaʿbān.

However, in some extraordinary circumstances, such as droughts and floods, wars (Ḥasan Kāfī, *Uṣūlü 'l-ḥikem fī niẓāmi 'l-ʿālem*, ed. M. İpşirli, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 10-11, 253) and blockades (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283, vi, 214), and after changes in the parity of currency, price adjustments were also realised. Prices would go up considerably at times of inflation; following the readjustment of the value of money, called *sikke taṣḥīḥi*, the prices of all goods were re-adjusted (see M.S. Kütükoğlu, *1009 (1600) tarihli narh defterine göre Istanbul'da çeşidli eşya ve hizmet fiatları*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 9; idem, *1624 sikke tashihinin ardından düzenlenmen narh defterleri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 34; idem, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*, Istanbul 1983).

Narkh was to be established under the supervision of the *ḳāḍī*, according to the proposals of craftsmen such as the *kedkhudā*, *yighitbashi*, and the *ehl-i wuḳūf*, and the suggestions of the *muḥtesib*. The price of products that were made using various raw materials were determined by computing the sum of the prices of ingredients and then adding a 10-12% profit margin to this sum. Upon the determination of the *narkh* prices, these figures were recorded in the *ḳāḍī sidjilli*, and were consequently announced to the craftsmen and to the public by *münādīs* (public criers [*q.v.*]). In Istanbul, where there were four *ḳāḍīliḳs*, the prices were determined at the metropolitan *ḳāḍīliḳ*, and thereafter sent to the Üsküdar, Galata and Eyüb *ḳāḍīliḳs*, who in turn informed the courts that were connected to them. The *ḳāḍī* also used to send a copy of the price lists to the *Bash-muḥāsebe Ḳalemi*, an important office where the state's financial affairs were audited.

The conformity of the craftsmen's prices to the given *narkh* were verified by various inspections. The *ḳāḍī*, who was responsible for the administration of the *narkh*, performed his daily controls via the *muḥtesib* and *ḳol oghlanis* in his company, as well as by his occasional inspections. The *ḳāḍī* also attended the inspections by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* (called *ḳola djiḳmak*, which started at

Sultan Ahmed, and continued through the Eminönü-Unkapanı-Zeyrek route). Those found not to conform with the *narkh* were punished if they were not *dirlik* owners; otherwise, they were handed over to their officers (*Tewḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha ḳānūn-nāmesi*, 503-5).

In settlements other than Istanbul, *aʿyān* and *eshrāf* (the chief men) of the town also participated in the determination and control of the *narkh*. As a basis for the prices, the *narkh* values of Istanbul could be sent to the provincial cities (e.g. *Tekir-daghï sidjilli*, dated 1034/1624, 117a, and *Bursa sidjilli*, dated 1050/1640, 122, in Ankara Milli Kütüphane).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Meḥmed b. Aḥmed, *Defter-i teshrīfāt*, Üniversite Ktb, TY, 9810, fols. 60b-63b; *Narkh defteri*, Istanbul Müftülüğü Şerʿī Siciller Arşivi, Istanbul kadılığı sicilleri, no. 201; Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhu 'l-akhbār*, Üniversite Ktb, TY, 5959, fol. 90b; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 120; ʿUthmān Nūrī Ergin, *Medjelle-i ʿumūr-i belediyye*, Istanbul 1922, i, 393-460; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948; H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1950, i/1, 283; Sabri Ülgener, *Tarihte darlık buhranları ve iktisadi muvazenesizlik meselesi*, Istanbul 1951, 65; *Kitābu meṣāliḥi 'l-müslimīn we menāfiʿi 'l-müʾminīn*, ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1980, 94-5; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, XV. *asrın sonunda bazı büyük şehirlerde eşya ve yiyecek fiatlarının tesbit ve teftişi hususlarını tanzim eden kanunlar. I. Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Istanbul el-mahrûsa*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/5, 326-40; *II. Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Bursa*, ii/7, 15-40; *III Kanunnâme-i ihtisab-ı Edirne*, ii/9, 168-77; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1962; Hikmet T. Dağlıoğlu, *Onaltıncı asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1940; Uriel Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 229-34; Halil Sahillioğlu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesesi ve 1525 yılı sonunda Istanbul'da fiatlar*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 1 (1967), 36-40; Barkan, *XVI. asrın ikinci yarısında Türkiye'de fiyat hareketleri*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv/136 (1970), 557-607.

(M.S. Kütükoğlu)

NARMĀSHĪR, Narmāsīr, a town and a district of eastern Kirmān [*q.v.*] in mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south-east of Bam [*q.v.*], adjacent to the southern end of the Dasht-i Lūṭ and on the road connecting Kirmān with Sīstān. The classical Islamic geographers list the district as one of the five *kūras* of Kirmān and describe the town as prosperous and populous, the resort of merchants who travelled from Khurāsān to ʿUmān and an emporium for Indian goods. It had a protective wall with four gates, a citadel and a congregational mosque constructed out of fired brick. As late as the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī describes the town as still in existence, but by the 19th century, when travellers such as E. Pottinger (1810) and Sir Percy Sykes (1895) traversed the area, it had disappeared. Its site seems to be marked by ruins at the site of a small village now known as Čughukābād "Sparrow town", administratively in the *bakhsh* or sub-district of Fahradj.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 459, 463; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 125, comm. 375; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 281; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 141, tr. 140; Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, index; Le Strange, *Lands*, 313; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 228-9; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, index; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii, 113. (C.E. Bosworth)

NARNĀLA, a hill-fort in the Barār region of India [see berār], in lat. 21°15′N. and long. 77°4′E., in the former Ḥaydarābād native state (now in Maharāshtra State), at the southernmost end of the Satpura hills. The fortress is presumably pre-Muslim, since Firishta (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*), states that it was restored and repaired by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī between 828-31/1425-8, and the earliest buildings there appear to be of the Bahmanī period, although later the fort passed into ʿImād Shāhī [*q.v.*] hands. It played an important role in the warfare of the rulers in the Deccan of the Bahmanids, Khāndesh sultans, ʿImād Shāhīs and Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.vv.*], being held for the latter princes 979-1005/1572-97 till its capture by the Mughals [*q.v.*].

The fortifications comprise three distinct but conjoined forts, with a competent and still well-preserved water supply. There are insufficient remains of the old Djāmiʿ masdjid to relate it now to the characteristic ʿImād Shāhī style, although there are features of the excellent main central (Mahākālī) gateway, of 892/1487, which seem to have determined the later mosque architecture: a central arch of fine dressed stone within a larger arch, under a pylon crowned with trefoil merlons, and liberally decorated with stringcourses, embossed medallions and rosettes; there are flanking chambers and galleries, with projecting balconies on corbelled brackets, and fine lattice tracery. This is an architectural achievement of a high order, and important in the development of the ʿImād Shāhī style. The other buildings (*ḥammām, bāradārī*, stables, etc.) are of less value; there is also a small mosque of the time of Awrangzīb.

Bibliography: See also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 379-80; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, A.P. Govt. 1975, with full description of the gateway at 257 and illustration on Pl. xxvi. (J. Burton-Page)

NĀRNAWL, an ancient town of India, in lat. 28°3′N. and long. 76°10′E., in the modern Haryana State, some 80 miles south-west of Dihlī. It was probably (Ishwari Prasad, *Life and times of Humayun*, 95) the birthplace of Shīr Shāh, his family having been associated with the place for some time. But Nārnawl has much older Islamic associations, with the inscription at the *dargāh* of Shāh Wilāyat showing that the saint was living here in and before 531/1137, i.e. over fifty years before the Muslim conquest of Dihli; his *dargāh* shows signs of the pre-Muslim style of coffered-roof construction, familiar from such early sites as Adjmēr and Bayāna (description and discussion in K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Islam builds in India*, Delhi 1983, 89-90), and may well be contemporary with the saint. Indeed, the town could well be earlier, since the approach from a distance reveals it as an obvious *tell*; but unfortunately Nārnawl has not been excavated. In the 18th century it was at times held by Rādjput princes and the Marāthās [*q.v.*]. Its Muslim Nawwāb was involved in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, hence the town was afterwards awarded to the loyal Maharādjā of Patiālā.

There is evidence of all phases of Indian Muslim building, from early Dihlī sultanate, through Khaldjī, Tughluḳid and Lōdī, to early and late Mughal and to Mughal-inspired Rādjpūt. The earlier phases are mostly to be seen in and around the *dargāh* complex; many Lōdī-style buildings, frustratingly but typically undated, occur not only in Nārnawl itself but also sporadically all the way to Dihlī (at, e.g., Rewārī, Sōhnā and Gurgāʾōn); the best example of the late-sultanate styles is in the tomb of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, which stands within the *dargāh* complex. Ibrāhīm was the grandfather of Shīr Shāh, and the building of this

tomb was Shīr's first preoccupation after his arrival in Dihlī, having expelled Humāyūn in 947/1540. It is a tall square structure in polychromatic stonework (sandstone, schist and marble), well decorated with carved and inlaid stone, the dome surrounded by a high octagonal drum with ornate polychrome *guldastas* and with *čhatrīs* at the four corners; the walls, with a slight batter, and the trabeate entrance doorways, continue the traditions of the Lōdī style. Other buildings show the Mughal styles at their most felicitous, with tombs and pavilions set within gardens and tanks, showing again fine stonework, such as the Djal maḥall and the tomb of Shāh Ḳulī Khān, the latter introducing the octagonal type. Within the town there is, among other fine buildings, a particularly fine *hawēlī*, the Čhattā Rā'i Bāl Mukund Dās, with courtyards surrounded by elegant marble pillars, fountains, projecting balconies, richly bracketed eaves, and culminating in a curved-cornice *bāradārī* of the "Bengali" style introduced to north India in the time of Shāh Djahān and later to be so popular in Rādjpūt building. Unfortunately, Nārnawl has not been adequately surveyed, or even photographed, and a monograph on the site would be valuable and instructive.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Narnaul and its buildings*, in *JASB*, N.S., iii (1907), 581-6, 639-44; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 380-1. K.V. Soundara Rajan, *op. cit.* above, provides an imaginative description and discussion, with some good illustrations.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

NARRATOR, NARRATION [see ḤADĪTH, ḤIKĀYA, ḲĀṢṢ, KHABAR, ḲIṢṢA, NĀDIRA, RĀWĪ, RIWĀYA].

NARSHAKHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. ZAKARIYYĀ', historian of the Sāmānid period. Presumably from Narshakh in the vicinity of Bukhārā (cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 77-8), nothing however is known of his life except that he composed in Arabic a history of Bukhārā and presented it to the *amīr* Nūḥ b. Naṣr in 332/943-4; this is the only book of his known. The history was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḳubāwī (sc. from Ḳubā in Farghānā, cf. *ibid.*, x, 322-3) in 522/1128 because, it is there said, people did not want to read the Arabic original; also, Ḳubāwī omitted "tedious" passages, but brought the history up to 365/975-6. Then in 574/1178-9 one Muḥammad b. Zufar abridged this, added information from other works, and presented this to the *Ṣadr* or spiritual leader of the Ḥanafīs in Bukhārā Burhān al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II b. Muḥammad (see Bosworth, art. *Āl-e Borhān*, in *EIr*). Finally, an unknown author added details in the Mongol period about the Mongol conquest of Bukhārā. Thus the Persian text as we know it (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran n.d. [*ca.* 1939]; Russian tr. N. Likoshin, Tashkent 1897, Eng. tr. with comm. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954; cf. Storey, i, 369-70, 1300, Storey-Bregel, ii, 1108-12) must be much altered from its original form and supplemented by other hands.

The *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā* is very valuable for the early Islamic history of Central Asia and for the Ṭāhirid and Sāmānid periods there, with many details from local traditions going back to the pre-Islamic period and with information from otherwise lost works like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Nayshābūrī's *Khazā'in al-ʿulūm* and Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt al-Hamadhānī's *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* and also from the work of the well-known historian ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī [*q.v.*] on the Arab conquest of Transoxania and the rise of the Sāmānids.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 13-15.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NASĀ, NISĀ, the name of several places in Persia. Yāḳūt enumerates Nasās in Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān and the district of Hamadhān in Djibāl, but W. Eilers has assembled a much larger number of Persian place names containing the element *nasā(r)* or containing linguistic elements apparently connected with it. Scholars like Bartholomae and Marquart sought an etymology in Old Iranian *śai-* "to lie" (Grk. κεῖσθαι), with the ideas of "settlement" or "low-lying place"; Eilers however explains it as from NP *nasā, nasa(r), nisā*, "place lying in the shade (e.g. of a mountain)" (*Iranische Ortsnamenstudien*, in *SB Österr. Akad. der Wiss.*, 465. Band, Vienna 1987, 64-71).

1. Nasā in Khurāsān was situated in the cultivated zone which lies north of the range separating Khurāsān from the Turkoman steppes, near the modern Ashkhābād in the Turkmen SSR. It corresponds to the Νίσαια, Νίσαιον πεδίον of the classical authors, celebrated for its breed of horses (Herodotus, iii, 106; cf. Strabo, xi, ch. xiv, § 7). Alexander the Great is said to have built an Alexandropolis at Nisaia. According to Isidore of Charax, ed. W. Schoff, Philadelphia 1914, 8, the tombs of the Parthian kings were in the town of Νίσα. Rawlinson, in *JRAS* (1839), 100, believed he saw in the stock of Turkoman horses descendants of the ἵπποι Νίσαιοι (Avesta, *Vīdēvdāt*, i, 7, seems to have a different locality in view).

According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, the town of Nasā was very like Sarakhs and had much water, many gardens and green places and the country round about was very fertile. Al-Muḳaddasī, 320, 331-2, says that the ten gates of the town were buried in verdure. He confirms the abundance of springs but says the water was not of good quality. Muḥammad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, 22, says that the place was very unhealthy on account of its very hot and humid climate and that the Turks could only live a short time there. According to al-Nasawī, 50, the town had a strong citadel. The number of tombs of *shaykhs* and famous men was so great that the Ṣūfīs called Nasā "little Damascus", cf. Muḥammad b. Munawwar's biography of Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī [*q.v.*], the *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. V.A. Zhukovski, St. Petersburg 1899, 45, written in the 7th/13th century.

Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, places Nasā 5 days' journey from Marw, one day from Abīward and 6-7 days from Nīshāpūr. Of its dependencies, he mentions: i, 480: Bālūz (Fīrūza); i, 857: Taftāzān; iii, 343: Shahristān; iii, 866: Farāwa (= Ḳizil-Arwat); iv, 328: Kawk. Durūn, with the fortress Ṭāḳ (afterwards Yazir) also belonged to Nasā, cf. Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, 37-41. Cf. also the *Ta'rīkh-i Nādirī* of Mahdī Khān (Nādir's stud was at Khurrābād, cf. under the year 1144/1731-2. The ruins of the capital of Nasā are near the little town of Bagir about 12 miles from Ashkhābād and 8 from the station of Bāsmā'īn on the Trans-Caspian railway.

2. The Nasā in the district of Hamadhān is probably the Old Persian Nisāya- , a region in Media, Akkad. ᵏᵘʳNi-is-sa-a-a, Herodotus's "Nisaean plain" (vii, 40), where Darius defeated the false Smerdis, mentioned in that Emperor's Bisutūn inscription, § 13.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 393-4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, index; idem, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 89-90; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103, § 23.9, comm. 326.

For the scholars of Nasā in northern Khurāsān, see Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 84-92, 95-7.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

NASAB (a.) "connection, pedigree, genealogy" designates the most fundamental organising principle of Arab society. It would seem to be an inheritance from the earliest times. Since no convincing cognate has as yet been determined in other Semitic languages, it is not entirely implausible to suggest a prehistoric relationship between the roots *s-b-b* and *n-s-b*, unconsciously reflected in the parallelism of *nasab* and *sabab* "rope, connection" in the *ḥadīth* (*Concordance*, ii, 388).

Genealogy provides the historical validation of kinship and all that it involves. Kinship always dominated group life in human society and to a large extent still does today. In Arabia, the remarkable aspect of genealogy was its connection with tribes rather than individuals. With the coming of Islam and its social imperatives, combined with the enormous increase of people constituting society and the growing reduction of the Bedouin component, it could be expected that the power of kinship would change and diminish. However, kinship continued to remain a most important factor in Muslim society, for reasons such as the enduring determination of "nobility" with its attending privileges on the basis of tribal descent (and descent from the Prophet and ʿAlī) and, for instance, the survival of pre-Islamic social custom, the strong trend toward heredity in the bureaucracy and in the crafts and trades, or the eventual domination of the scholarly establishment at certain periods by family relationships. This contributed to the continuous cultivation of a genealogical literature. By dint of their work, genealogists (*nassāba*, sing. and coll., also *nassāb*, *nāsib*, pl. *nussāb*) exercised a certain influence which at times made their motives suspect; it is not by chance that an emphatic remark of the Prophet that genealogists could be liars is displayed prominently in the *nasab* literature (e.g. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 180, Eng. tr., i, 166; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, ed. Ḥasan, 17; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 12; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, beginning).

It appears clear that interest in genealogy somehow found written expression already in pre-Islamic Arabia, in whatever language this may have been and regardless of whether one accepts or does not accept I. Shahid's argumentation in favour of written pre-Islamic documents dealing with tribal relationships (forthcoming). There can be no doubt that genealogical relations were put into writing in the first century of Islam. Tribal registers for military and tax purposes are reported to have already been commissioned by ʿUmar [see dīwān]. For the activities of the many dimly-remembered early genealogists such as Daghfal or Ibn Sharya [*q.v.*], we have no reliable historical information; at any rate, they appear to have found no expression in authentic published works. But literary genealogical writing—at first, it seems, dealing mostly with individual tribes—is well attested among the earliest Arabic works. In the bibliographies of the historians of the first ʿAbbāsid century (see, for instance, al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, al-Madāʾinī, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb), genealogical works are preponderant. Titles including *nasab*, pl. *ansāb*, were numerous; unfortunately, practically nothing is preserved in its original form. We are on safe ground with the assumption that genealogy, in pre-Islamic times and when books were published on the subject in Islam, was always a repertory of tribal lore going far beyond simple filiations and containing stories (*akhbār*) of all sorts, discussing excellence [see faḍīla] and the political and legal subject of tribal rivalries [see mathālib and mufākhara], and, above all and most basic, featuring poetry. The so far earliest preserved small monograph by Muʾarridj al-Sadūsī (d. *ca.* 200/815-16), edited by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid (Cairo 1960), attests to it, and so does the large standard work, which was never surpassed, the *Djamharat al-nasab* compiled by Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 204 or 206/819-21) on the basis of information gathered by his father Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī (see al-kalbī; recent editions by Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus 1983, vol. i only?) and Nādjī Ḥasan (Beirut 1407/1986); Ḥasan has also edited *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr* (Beirut 1408/1988) and plans to edit Yāḳūt's *Muḳtaḍab* of the *Djamhara*. While the authorship of *Nasab Maʿadd* goes back to Ibn al-Kalbī, its identification as the missing part of the *Djamhara* is doubtful. Scattered quotations of earlier works in the preserved literature hardly allow their reconstruction, as each work's character was governed by the extent to which the various ingredients were represented in it, which holds good also for the subsequent literature (see Shākir's introduction to his edition of al-Zubayr's *Djamhara*, 4-6). Government records such as those referred to probably contained only barebones genealogy without any further material, but they were not meant to be literary or scholarly efforts.

With the 3rd/9th century, the pre-occupation with genealogy was firmly entrenched as part of the literary and historiographical heritage. Apart from family history, it also became a strictly scholarly undertaking as attested, among other things, by the fact that specialised scholars not only wrote on the subject but also copied older works with great care and thus preserved some of them for posterity. *Adab* works such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *ʿIḳd* included a special long chapter on genealogy (which was a subject of much interest in Spain). Genealogy as the prime expression of historical consciousness in Arabia and the source of information for early Muslim history maintained its alliance with historiography. Already al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Djamharat nasab Ḳuraysh* (vol. i, ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir, Cairo 1381) could be called a work of *akhbār* rather than *ansāb* (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 469, cf. similarly Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, introd., of al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*). From near the end of the century, al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* is indeed more historical/biographical than genealogical. Vice-versa, family history and individual biography tried to present as much genealogical information as possible, and much of Shīʿī historiography would naturally rest in a genealogical framework. Although quite different from genealogy, another term from the same root, *nisba*, pl. *nisab* [*q.v.*], the naming after an ancestor or tribe but also after a locality or profession, was seen as the same thing. ʿUmar is supposed to have spoken contemptuously of the native inhabitants of ʿIrāḳ as leading their *nasab* back to their villages (*ʿIḳd*, iii, 312; for the significance of the passage, see R.P. Mottahedeh, in *IJMES*, vii [1976], 161-82), but for the lexicographers as, for instance, al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, xiii, 14-15, the extended understanding of *nasab/nisba* was taken as a fact, as it was in the basic reference work on *nisbas* by al-Samʿānī.

As bibliographical references show, in the 3rd/9th century, if not earlier, attempts began to be made to present the essence of genealogical works in "tree" form (*tashdjīr*, *mushadjdjar*), see al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. Löfgren, i, 6, l. 8, and Löfgren, in *Studi Orientalistici ... G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 94. This procedure became frequent in the course of time, see Rosenthal, *A history*[2], 97-8. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, for

instance, describes it in connection with al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Djamhara*, i, 105, 321, 379. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 14, praises graphic representation in tree form (with its central *ʿamūd* "column") as providing an immediate understanding of genealogical relationships; the Būlāḳ edition reproduces these trees in print.

The Muslim approach to the eternal debate about the greater worth, for society and individual, of either noble descent or personal qualities is succinctly expressed by *ḥasab wa-nasab* [*q.v.*]. The two words were originally allied, since noble descent and noble qualities were celebrated in Arabia as inseparable for true glory. In Islam, they tended to split into contrasting concepts, *nasab* being defined as nobility by parentage and *ḥasab* as nobility in character and deeds; the lexicographers' arbitrary re-interpretation of a verse by al-Mutalammis (ed. Vollers, no. I, v. 2) as embodying the contrast is typical for the process (al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 329a = *LA*). Islam distinctly preferred the egalitarian view (and the religious attitude later found firm support in philosophical ethics). In Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 13, the statement declaring the best person to be the one most pious followed upon a recommendation of "mutual acquaintance", something later understood as the core of *nasab* relationship; ignorance of *nasab* ultimately means exclusion from humanity (e.g. *ʿIḳd*, iii, 312). The reputed radical proponents of equality, the Shuʿūbiyya/Ahl al-taswiya, supposedly argued that "human beings differ in worth not through ancestors and *aḥsāb* but through their deeds and character qualities, their personal nobility and highmindedness" (*ʿIḳd*, iii, 410, cf. Mottahedeh, *loc. cit.*). The continuing debate on the topic is marked by speculations such as that of al-Kindī's pupil al-Sarakhsī who, as befits a courtier, favours the view that noble ancestry plus outstanding achievement constitutes double nobility, while lack of personal achievement vitiates ancestral distinction (al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Ḳāḍī, ix, 198 ff.), and it is, for instance, illustrated by al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Būlāḳ 1286-7, i, 208 ff., where it is seen as a matter strictly concerning individuals and is no longer tribally oriented; noble descent has its advantages, but individual worth is decisive and may even compensate for ancestral misdeeds.

The importance of blood lines in animals such as horses and racing pidgeons was well-known, and treatises were written on them [see ḤAMĀM and KHAYL]. G. Levi Della Vida's standard edition of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Nasab al-khayl* (*Les "livres des chevaux"*, Leiden 1928) has been followed by more recent printings (Cairo 1948; Beirut 1407/1987); see also Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 128, 272.

Bibliography: For the early *ansāb* literature, see *Fihrist*, 89-115; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, Wiesbaden 1964, ed. R. Sellheim, 347 ff. For tribal lore and history, F. Wüstenfeld's *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen 1853-4, has been superseded by W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām Ibn al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, the most complete treatment of tribal genealogy and, in its introduction, the best treatment so far of the problems of Arabic genealogical literature. By its very nature, the subject comes up constantly in studies of Arab history and literature, without having as yet found the exhaustive treatment it requires, but cf., for instance, Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 177-207, Eng. tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, London 1967, i, 164-90; Bishr Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes*, Paris 1932, 81-8; S.D. Goitein's introd. to his edition of Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, Jerusalem 1936; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 95-100; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, *Baḥth fī nashʾat ʿilm al-taʾrīkh ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1960, 39-43, Eng. tr. L.I. Conrad, Princeton 1983, 50-4; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 244-8, 256 ff., ii, 36 ff.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

NASAF [see NAKHSHAB].

AL-**NASAFĪ**, the *nisba* of several religious figures and scholars from Nasaf or Nakhshab [*q.v.*] in the environs of Bukhārā (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 92-4).

I. ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-BAZDAWĪ or AL-BAZDAHĪ (i.e. from the village of Bazda near Nasaf), distinguished philosopher-theologian of the Ismāʿīlīs in Sāmānid Khurāsān and Transoxania, who is generally credited with the introduction of Neo-Platonic philosophy into Ismāʿīlī circles. He succeeded Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī in the headship of the *daʿwa* [*q.v.*] of Nīshāpūr. As a *dāʿī* he travelled to Transoxania and succeeded in converting the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad and several dignitaries of the court to the Ismāʿīlī faith. This success, however, was short lived, and the fortunes of Ismāʿīlīs were reversed when the Turkish army revolted and effected a complete reversal of policy under Naṣr's successor Nūḥ. Al-Nasafī, along with a large number of Ismāʿīlīs and their sympathisers, was massacred in 332/943. For this reason Nāṣir-i Khusraw calls him *Khʷādja-yi Shahīd* and *Shaykh-i Shahīd*.

The *K. al-Maḥṣūl* was the major work of al-Nasafī wherein Neoplatonism was adapted to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. This caused a sharp reaction within Ismāʿīlī circles and raised a bitter controversy. His contemporary Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], the chief *dāʿī* of Rayy, wrote his *K. al-Iṣlāḥ* to rectify the errors in the *Maḥṣūl*. He criticises al-Nasafī with regard to some of his metaphysical conclusions, such as the precedence of *ḳaḍāʾ* over *ḳadar*, the imperfect nature of emanation of the Soul from the Intellect and the dissociation of *sharīʿa* from the first *Nāṭiḳ*, i.e. Ādam. Soon afterwards, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*] wrote his *K. al-Nuṣra*, in which he criticised al-Rāzī but upheld the conclusions of al-Nasafī. This, in turn, led Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*] to compile his *K. al-Riyāḍ fi 'l-ḥukm bayn al-ṣādayn* (i.e. *al-Iṣlāḥ* and *al-Nuṣra*). The *Maḥṣūl* has not survived, but some fragments and excerpts have been preserved in other works. An attempt to reconstruct the contents of the *Maḥṣūl* from those fragments is a desideratum. Two manuscripts, entitled *K. Kayfiyyat kawn al-ʿālam*, to be found in private Ismāʿīlī collections in India, are ascribed to al-Nasafī.

Bibliography: The main sources about al-Nasafī's activities are Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tadjaddud, Tehran 1971, 239-40; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1962, 267-75; These were studied by S.M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1960), 78-80. For a full description of his works and sources, see Ismail Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 40-43.

(I. POONAWALA)

II. ABU 'L-MUʿĪN MAYMŪN B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD...B. MAKḤŪL...AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-MAKḤŪLĪ (d. 508/1114), one of the *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] whose scholastic position is between that of the early period as represented by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who is still endeavouring to find a convenient arrangement and an adequate formulation of the contents of *kalām*, and the younger *mutakallims* who have

at hand the necessary formulas for ready use. At least five works by him are known, including: 1. *Tamhīd li-ḳawāʿid al-tawḥīd* (Cairo, ms. 2417, fols. 1-30; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii, 51), a treatise in which the contents of the creed are proved according to the scholastic method. The first chapter consists of an exposition of the doctrine of cognition, the last of the doctrine of the imāmate. The work closes with a *murshida* which contains the *doctrina de Deo* in an abridged form; 2. *Tabṣirat al-adilla* (Cairo, mss. 2287, 6673; cf. *Fihris... Miṣr*, ii, 8), an elaborate work on dogmatics of nearly the same scheme as the *Tamhīd*; 3. *Baḥr al-kalām*, printed at Cairo 1329/1911 differs from the two foregoing works in so far as it deals with heresies and is polemical. It is identical with *Mubāḥathat ahl al-sunna wa 'l-djamāʿa maʿa 'l-firaḳ al-ḍālla wa 'l-mubtadiʿa* (Leiden, cod. or. 862) as well as with *ʿAḳāʾid* (Berlin, no. 1941; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, ii, 400). The work is preserved in several libraries under one of these titles, and Brockelmann, I², 547, SI, 757, lists two others.

Bibliography: Given in the article; cf. also Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, index, no. 6453.

III. ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR NADJM AL-DĪN AL-MĀTURĪDĪ (d. 537/1142), jurist and theologian. Of his works the only one edited is the *ʿAḳāʾid*, which has the form of a catechism. It became popular and was much commented, probably because it was the first abridged form of the creed according to the scholastic method of the new orthodoxy. In Europe it became known as early as 1843 through the edition by Cureton (*The pillar of the creed*, no. 2). For editions of and commentaries on this work as well as for the other works of this scholar that have come down to us, cf. Brockelmann, I², 548-50, SI, 758-62.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

IV. ḤĀFIẒ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-BARAKĀT ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MAḤMŪD, an important Ḥanafī legist and theologian, born in Nasaf in Sogdiana, was a pupil of Shams al-Aʾimma al-Kardarī (d. 642/1244-5), Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Ḍarīr (d. 666/1267-8) and Badr al-Dīn Khʷāharzāde (d. 651/1253). He taught in the Madrasa al-Ḳuṭbiyya al-Sulṭāniyya in Kirmān, came in 710 to Baghdād and died in Rabīʿ I 710/August 1310 (according to Ḳurashī and Ibn Taghrībirdī : 701) apparently on his way back to Īdhadj (in Khūzistān), where he was buried. His pupils were Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ibn al-Saʿātī, author of the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (d. 694/1294-5), and Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sighnāḳī, a commentator on the *Hidāya* (d. 714/1314-15) [see AL-MARGHINĀNĪ].

The best of his works is thought to be the *Kitāb al-Manār fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, a concise account of the foundations of law (Delhi 1870, Constantinople 1326 and often later); there are numerous later commentaries, but he himself wrote two, one of which is entitled *Kashf al-asrār* (2 vols., Būlāḳ 1316). Out of his original plan of writing a commentary on the *Hidāya* of al-Marghinānī [*q.v.*] there came the law book modelled on it *Kitāb al-Wāfī*, on which he composed in 684/1285 a special commentary, the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (delivered in lectures in Kirmān in 689/1290). He had previously prepared a synopsis of the *Wāfī* entitled *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ* (Cairo 1311, Lucknow 1294, 1312, etc.) which Ibn al-Saʿātī in 683/1284 (this is no doubt the correct reading for 633 in Kaffawī) heard him deliver in Kirmān. This synopsis was used as late as the 19th century in Damascus and at the al-Azhar in Cairo (v. Kremer, *Mittel-Syrien u. Damaskus*, Vienna 1853, 136; idem, *Ægypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii, 51). The best-known printed commentaries on the *Kanz* are: (*a*) *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-Zaylaʿī (d. 743/1342-3) in 6 vols., Būlāḳ 1313-15; (*b*) *Ramz al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) in 2 vols. Būlāḳ 1285 and 1299; (*c*) *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of Mollā Miskīn al-Harawī (written in 811/1408-9), Cairo 1294, 1303, 1312; (*d*) *Tawfīḳ al-Raḥmān* of al-Ṭāʾī (d. 1192/1778), Cairo 1307 etc.; (*e*) the most important: *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ* of Ibn Nudjaym (970/1562-3) in 8 vols., Cairo 1334.

He also wrote a series of commentaries, e.g. two on the *Kitāb al-Nāfiʿ* of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī (d. 656/1258) entitled *al-Mustaṣfā* and *al-Manāfiʿ*; on the *Manẓūma* of Nadjm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1442-3) on the differences of opinion between Abū Ḥanīfa, his two pupils, and al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik entitled *al-Mustaṣfā*, as well as a synopsis entitled *al-Muṣaffā* (finished on 20 Shaʿbān 670/22 March 1272); cf. Brockelmann, I², 550, S I, 761; also on the *Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-dīn* of al-Akhsīkatī (d. 644/1246-7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 13095). On the other hand, he did not write a commentary on the *Hidāya*, as Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 484, say (cf. the story of the origin of his *Wāfī* according to al-Itḳānī (d. 758/1357) in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 419). He also wrote a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taʾwīl* (printed in 2 vols., Bombay 1279, Cairo 1306, 1326).

His confession of faith *al-ʿUmda fī uṣūl al-dīn* (apparently also called *al-Manār fī uṣūl al-dīn*: Ḳurashī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ) became known quite early in Europe from Cureton's edition (*Pillar of the creed*, London 1843). In it he closely follows the *ʿAḳīda* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (see III. above) and also wrote a special commentary on it, *al-Iʿtimād fi 'l-iʿtiḳād*.

Bibliography: The following borrow from the same unknown source: Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, i, 270; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Naẓm al-djumān fī ṭabaḳāt aṣḥāb al-nuʿmān*, ms. Berlin, Pet. ii, 24, fol. 147b; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, no. 86; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arabe 2071, fol. 16a. Also Kaffawī, *Iʿlām al-Akhyār*, ms. Berlin, Sprenger 301, fols. 282a-283b (extract: Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 101); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, index; Flügel, *Classen d. hanafit. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, 276, 323, where the date of death is wrongly given; Brockelmann, II², 250-3, S II, 263-8; Sarkīs, *Dictionnaire de bibliogr. arabe*, col. 1852-3; N.P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York 1916, 176, 181.

(W. HEFFENING)

AL-**NASĀʾĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. SHUʿAYB B. BAḤR B. SINĀN, author of one of the six canonical collections of traditions [see ḤADĪTH], b. 215/830, d. 303/915. Very little is known about him. He is said to have made extensive travels in order to hear traditions, to have settled in Egypt, afterwards in Damascus, and to have died in consequence of ill-treatment to which he was exposed at Damascus or, according to others, at Ramla, in consequence of his feelings in favour of ʿAlī and against the Umayyads. On account of this unnatural death he is called a martyr. His tomb is at Mecca. Al-Nasāʾī's collection of traditions is divided into 51 chapters, each of which is subdivided into *bābs*. As to the subjects, considerable space is given to traditions dealing with the ceremonial duties (*ʿibādāt*); the chapters *iḥbās, nuḥl, ruḳbā* and *ʿumrā* (forms of bequest, donation etc.) do not occur in any of the other collections, although a part of the materials contained in them appears under different heads. On the other hand, chapters on eschatology (*fitan, ḳiyāma*, etc.), on the recounting of

virtues (*manāḳib*, etc.), on the Ḳurʾān, are lacking.

Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 167-9, cf. Brockelmann, I², 170-1, SI, 269-70, mentions nine other works by al-Nasāʾī, either extant or known by citations, in addition to his *Sunna*. These include a work on the virtues of ʿAlī, the *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī faḍl ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, printed Cairo 1308/1890-1; a work on weak and unreliable narrators of traditions, the *K. al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa 'l-matrūkīn*, printed Agra 1323/1905-6 and Allahabad 1325/1907-8; a *Tasmiyat fuḳahāʾ al-amṣār*; a *Tafsīr*; etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 77-8, tr. de Slane, i, 58-9; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 266 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325, 1907, i, 36 ff.; Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, facs. fol. 559, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 87-8; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 141, 249 ff.; idem, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1896), 112; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfiʿî und seine Anhänger*, in *Abh. GW Gött.*, xxxvii, 108-9; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 164. (A.J. Wensinck*)

NAṢĀRĀ, plural of Naṣrānī, rarely Naṣrān, Naṣrāna in the feminine form, a noun which currently denotes Christians in the Muslim Arab world, is used fifteen times in the Ḳurʾān and is interpreted, by the majority of commentators and Arab geographers and lexicographers, as derived from the name of the locality of Nazareth (al-Nāṣira [*q.v.*]) (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾan*, Baroda 1938, 280-1).

This designation refers to the name given to Jesus by his contemporaries, who called him Jesus of Nazareth, or the Nazarene, whence his disciples were initially called "Nazarenes" by the Jews, as is shown in the Acts of the Apostles (xxiv, 5), where Saint Paul is described as "a leader of the sect of the Nazarenes". This name, the most ancient applied to the Christians, is attested in ancient Armenian, and is still in use today in the Malayalam dialect, in the form "Nazranikal", as the name of the evangelist of southern India, St. Thomas.

The name "Nazarenes", preserved by the Ḳurʾān, thus precedes the name "Christians" which appears for the first time, in Antioch, in approximately 50 A.D. (Acts, xi, 26). It is true that in sources later than the apostolic era of Christianity but previous to Islam, there is a distinction made between "Nazarenes" and "Christians", the term "Nazarenes" being then applied to Judaeo-Christian sects which "acknowledged the Messiah as Son of God, but conducted themselves in all respects as Jews", as stated by Theodore bār Ḳūnī, as late as 800 A.D.

This distinction is attested in Iranian sources (inscription of Kartir at Naḳsh-i Rustam, around 286 A.D.), as well as in Greek sources (references, for example, in J.M. Magnin, in the journal *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, 1973-8) and in Syriac sources (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, cols. 1821 and 2444, and S.P. Brock, *Some aspects of Greek words in Syriac*, Göttingen, Symposium on *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, 91-5).

But the term "Naṣārā" does not seem to have had the Judaeo-Christian connotation in the Ḳurʾān, where it appears rather to involve the more ancient denomination mentioned above and continuing in use, in the form "Nazeri", among the Jews, more numerous than Christians in the regions of Mecca and Medina (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, 4th edition, 1978, xii, col. 1521). It recurs in the malediction against the Nazarenes contained in the official prayer of the Synagogue, the Tephilla, in the form codified by Rabban Gamaliel II towards the end of the first century (cf. J. Bonsirven, *Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus Christ*, ii, Beauchesne 1935, 146).

The influence of groups specifically described as "Nazarene", Ebionites or Elkasaites (M.P. Roncaglia, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxi [1971], 101-26) which, it has been claimed, are perceptible in the Ḳurʾān, have led some to believe that the Ḳurʾān was a "Nazarene preaching mission" (cf. *al-Ḳurʾān daʿwa naṣrāniyya*, Paulistes, Harissa 1969, by "al-Ustādh Ḥaddād", a thesis summarised in French by the author, in fact the archimandrite Joseph Dora-Ḥaddād, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxiii [1973], 148-55), but no such conclusions are to be drawn from the presence of the word "Naṣāra" in the Ḳurʾān. Here the word denotes Christians in general, in the eastern groups known to the Muslims, groups which were to be distributed in the classical sources on *al-milal wa 'l-niḥal* into sects: Nestorian (Naṣṭūriyya), Melkite (Malkāniyya) and Jacobite (Yaʿḳūbiyya).

As for the term *masīḥī* (pl. *masīḥiyyūn*), Arabic transcription of the Greek Χριστιανοι, and derived from the name of Christ (*al-Masīḥ*), it was only used, according to the Muslim writer al-Samʿānī (*al-Ansāb*, v, 300), in the 6th/12th century, by Christians among themselves. The forenames Masīḥ, Masīḥī, or ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, provided the *nasab* of a Muslim of the 4th/10th century, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Maṣīḥī of Baghdād. This was also the name of a Nestorian family, also of Baghdād, consisting of physicians and a Catholicos [see MASĪḤĪ]. However, in their works, even Christian writers habitually use the terms al-Naṣrānī and al-Naṣārā when referring to Christians. Only one writer, apparently, Sulaymān al-Ghazzi (6th/end of 11th century), uses either al-Nasrāniyya or al-Masīḥiyya to refer to Christianity.

The other terms used denote either the Byzantine Christians (*Rūm*) or, especially after the Crusades, the western Christians (*Ifrandj*).

Specific histories of the various religious communities.

The doctrinal position of the Ḳurʾān, of *ḥadīth* and of polemicists in regard to Christians in general has been examined in the article AHL AL-KITĀB. Similarly, general aspects of the behaviour of Muslims towards non-Muslims, on the level of institutions and of day-to-day social life, have been dealt with under the heading AHL AL-DHIMMA. The studies cited, both of Tritton and of Fattal, have already given historical examples of the application of different Ḳurʾānic and judicial principles.

Some histories of particular groups have already been or are soon to be the subject of articles, for example the Copts (s.v. ḲIBṬ, AL-ḤĀKIM, FĀṬIMIDS) or the Melkites (s.v. RŪM).

This article will therefore be limited to a summary of the condition of the remaining groups, the Syriacs, divided, as is well known, into two groups: the first, the western or "Jacobite" Syriacs, suspected of Monophysitism, belonging to the patriarchate of Antioch, were particularly well represented in the Syrian region of the formerly Roman and subsequently Byzantine empire, with extensions into the formerly Persian empire. As for the eastern Syriacs, Nestorians, owing allegiance to the Catholicos (*al-djathalīḳ*) of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*]), they were particularly abundant in the former Persian empire, in what are now ʿIraḳ and Persia. They were also to be found in the Arabian Peninsula and, further afield, in Central Asia, extending as far as India, China and Tibet.

Christians of Arabia and the Gulf.

New references regarding Christianity in the Arabian Peninsula are to be added to those—still useful—of the NAṢĀRĀ article in *EI*¹. The following list

is by no means exhaustive: J. Ryckmans, *Le christianisme en Arabie du sud préislamique*, in *L'Oriente christiano nella storia*, Acad. Lincei, quaderno no. 62 (Rome 1964), 413-53; C. Hechaïme, *Louis Cheikho et son livre "Le christianisme dans la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam"*, in *Recherches*, Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, 2nd series, xxxviii (Beirut 1967), especially 54-122; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-islamic Times*, Beirut 1973 (useful for the documentation, with reservations as to interpretation); Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium in South Arabia*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxiii (1979), 25-94; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984; J. Beaucamp and Chr. Robin, *Le christianisme dans la péninsule arabique d'après l'epigraphie et l'archéologie*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, viii (Paris 1981) 45-61; G. Fiaccadori, *Yemen nestoriano*, in *Studi in onore di Edde Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 195-212.

Following Beaucamp and Robin, it is possible to identify two zones of Christianity in the peninsula in the period before Islam: first the south-western corner, comprising the high territories of the Yemen, dominated at that time by the tribe of Ḥimyar and inhabited by a population composed largely of sedentary farmers, speaking a Semitic language distinct from Arabic, South-Arabian; and the rest of the peninsula, inhabited mainly by nomadic herdsmen, speaking Arabic and belonging to fluctuating tribal confederations.

The oases of the South, Nadjrān, Maʾrib and the Ḥaḍramawt, were familiar with Christianity, especially as a result of the Byzantine-Ethiopian invasion of the 6th century. In 518, they had been subjected to violent persecution [see AṢḤĀB AL-UKHDŪD, DHŪ NUWĀS, NADJRĀN, and the studies of Irfan Shahid]. As for the northern Ḥidjāz and the western shore of the Arabo-Persian Gulf, with ʿUmān and the island of Ṣukuṭrā, these had been evangelised progressively from the north, placed by the Sāsānids under the control of the Arabs of Ḥīra [see AL-ḤĪRA, LAKHM], and attached to the diocese of Perside (Fars). They formed, from the 5th century onward, a district with numerous bishoprics (Mashmahīdj, Dayrīn, Māzun (ʿUmān), Hadjar and Yamāma, Hatta (al-Khaṭṭ) and Suḳuṭrā), often having separatist tendencies with regard to the Nestorian see of Madāʾin (cf. J.M. Fiey, *Diocèses syriaques orientaux du Golfe Persique*, in *Memorial Mgr G. Khouri-Sarkis*, Louvain 1969, 177-219, repr. in *Communautés syriaques en Iran et Irak, des origines à 1552*, Variorum Reprints, London 1979.

It is difficult to summarise the fluctuating situation of the communities of the eastern coast. Numerous conversions to Islam came about as a result of heavy taxation, a half of all property according to al-Balādhurī and the letters of the patriarch Īshōʿyabh III (cf. Fiey, *Ishoʿyaw le Grand*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxxvi/2 [Paris 1970], 31-41), especially in Baḥrayn and ʿUmān.

References to the last known bishops of the dioceses mentioned above date from 676. However, there were still Christians in Yamāma and Baḥrayn between 893 and 899, when the Ḳarmaṭī Abū Saʿīd seized power for a brief period and treated the Christians with benevolence.

The see of Mashmahīdj (Samāhidj) still had a bishop in 900 (J. Beaucamp and Chr. Robin, *L'évêché de Mashmahidj dans l'archipel de Bahrayn (Ve-IXe siecles)*, in *Dilmun* [Berlin 1983], 171-96). A Syriac text of 1007 indicates that the ecclesiastical province of Perside still had ten suffragan bishops; unfortunately, the sees are not named. The last Nestorian bishop of Suḳuṭrā is mentioned in 1283.

In the south-west of the peninsula, Ṣanʿāʾ and the Yemen were still served by a bishop between 837 and 850 (Thomas of Marga, *Livre des supérieurs*, iv, ch. 20).

The situation of the Christians of the peripheral Arab tribes has already been surveyed in the articles BAḤĪRA, BOṢRĀ, GHASSĀN and AL-ḤĪRA.

The Christians of ʿIrāḳ in the first centuries of Islam.

The years immediately preceding the Islamic conquest of what is today ʿIrāḳ had seen an important change in the situation of the Christians. Since 486, the Church of the "Lands of the Persians" had been officially Nestorian. However some dissidents, later to reveal themselves openly as Monophysites, had survived and had evolved an embryonic hierarchy. The conquest of the whole of northern ʿIrāḳ by Heraclius, in 628-9, radically altered the situation. Under the shadow of Byzantine military might, and with a Byzantine governor established in Takrīt, the western Syriacs were enabled to establish a community with a Grand Metropolitan (later called Maphrian) at Takrīt itself and eight (later ten) dioceses, covering all of the conquered sector. Although in his own territory Heraclius favoured the Melkites and persecuted the Jacobites, in the annexed territories he pursued a different policy. Here he favoured the Jacobites against the local Nestorian church, which had links with the Sāsānids. The Jacobites thus enjoyed new privileges, while the Nestorians lost their former pre-eminence.

The welcome given in 635 to the conquering Muslims by the two rival groups had the aim of gaining their support, in one case for the preservation of privileges recently gained, in the other, for the recovery of lost ascendancy. In the absence of Byzantine troops to defend the towns, bishops of both camps were seen welcoming the Muslims and offering them hospitality (cf. Fiey, in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, Amman 1987, 96-103).

From the outset, as was to become a common occurrence, the divided Christians exchanged mutual accusations in their dealings with the new authorities. There were few reported cases of forcible conversion on the part of the latter, but the imposition of the *djizya* provoked numerous defections, so numerous that al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yusuf, governing ʿIrāḳ on behalf of the Umayyads, was obliged to forbid the Syriac Nabaṭ of Kaskar-Wāsiṭ to embrace Islam, even inventing bogus *ḥadīths* to this effect (cf. Fiey, *Les Nabaṭ de Kaskar-Wāsiṭ dans les premiers siecles de l'Islam*, in *MUSJ*, li [1990], 51-87).

Further inter-Christian rivalries and the intervention of the physician Sargūna led the Muslim authorities to support the interloper John the Leper against the Nestorian patriarch Ḥnānīshōʿ (685-700), which resulted in a fourteen-year vacancy at the head of the patriarchal see (Mārī, *Akhbār baṭārikat al-mashriḳ*, 63-4; Ṣalība, same title, 59). On the other hand, the governor Khalīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (the "son of the Christian") upheld the authority of the patriarch Pethion (731-40) (Mārī, 66).

For their part, the western Syriac chronicles paint a rather black picture of the tribulations endured by the peasants of Syria (perhaps not only the Christians) under the Umayyad caliphs, against a background of incessant natural disasters and wars between rival princes. A word which constantly recurs in the chronicles, always with an air of doom about it, is "census". For the people this meant new taxes, levied for the building of magnificent palaces from which only the princes benefited, or for the building of canals to irrigate their gardens. Worse still was when the caliph died before the completion of his project,

and all proved to have been in vain. The Christian chroniclers, unlike their Muslim colleagues, saw the world from the point of view of the people, and this was not always rosy (cf. Fiey, *The Umayyads in Syriac sources*, in *Proceedings of the third Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, Amman 1989, ii, 11-25).

Under the ᶜAbbāsids.

During the period of the ᶜAbbāsids, it was not primarily as a result of taxation that the numbers of Christians continued to diminish. The most important factor in conversion to Islam, especially among the educated classes, physicians or *kuttāb*, seems to have been social pressure. Institutionally, the Christian occupied a marginal position and could not be fully integrated into society except through conversion. This was often necessary in order to retain a post or to gain promotion to a higher post.

This fact is made clear in three texts which cover the whole period and thus illustrate the situation in an unbroken sequence. These emanate from the Nestorian philosopher and physician Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 260/873), from the Muslim poet Abū ᶜAlāʾ al-Maᶜarrī (d. 449/1058) and from the Jewish philosopher and oculist Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) (cf. Fiey, *Conversions des juifs et de chrétiens a l'Islam sous les Abbassides, dans les sources arabes et syriaques*, 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Madrid 1990). Such self-interested conversions were treated with scepticism by the Muslims, by the caliph al-Maʾmūn for example, but over the course of time, families continued to observe the new faith adopted by their ancestors.

There were, certainly, blemishes in the record, popular demonstrations accompanied by the pillage and destruction of churches, provoked by the announcement, true or false, of a victory of the Byzantines, or later of the Crusaders, of a massacre of Muslim prisoners, or by the preaching of a fanatic. The Christians, perhaps more vulnerable than the Muslims, were sometimes the victims of extortion on the part of greedy princes, but apart from the execution of a few renegades, there were no massacres of any significance.

It is a fact, however, that Christians gradually disappeared from whole regions of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate, expecially in those where fighting between local principalities, out of the control of central authority, provoked instability.

Any attempt at a quantitative evaluation of defections, based on the examination of names (such as has been undertaken, for example, by R.W. Bulliet in *Conversions to Islam in the mediaeval period*, Cambridge, Mass. 1979) is unlikely to succeed, since names such as ᶜAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were born by Christians as well as by Muslims (cf. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *Names, forenames and surnames of Christians in Islam* (in Arabic), in *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, i, Beirut 1952, 1-22).

As regards the conversions of the common people, documentation is more sparse. There are, however, recorded cases of Muslim demonstrations of popular piety which resulted in large-scale collective conversions. The funeral of Ibn Ḥanbal in Baghdād, in 211/855, is supposed to have induced the conversion of 20,000 Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians.

As for the survival of the dioceses, there seems to be no point in distinguishing (as was done by J. Spencer Trimingham, *op. cit.*) between "Arab" dioceses and "Aramaean-Arab" dioceses; the former, having no roots in Arab consciousness, would have disappeared more quickly. Among the "Arab" dioceses, Sindjār and the western Syriac Beth ᶜArabāye (of which the last see was the Dayr al-Muᶜallaḳ near Balad, to the west of Mawṣil), and which comprised the Ṭuᶜāyē, ᶜAḳulāyē and Tanūkhāyē nomads, is attested until the 8th/14th century, Karma and the diocese of the middle Tigris until the 6th/12th century, and its neighbour Baḥrīn and the Djazīra until about the 3rd/9th century. As for the originally Taghlibī dioceses, that of the south, "ᶜĀna and the tribes" was to last until the 4th/10th century, that of the north, Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar, until 1915; Takrīt remained the see of the western Syriac "Maphrian" until 551/1156. The Nestorian diocese of Balad is attested until the 7th/13th century.

The fact that Christians survived until these various dates does not mean that they felt at ease with their status as *dhimmīs*. It may well be supposed that they dreamed of reversing the situation, throwing off their subjugation and taking power in their turn.

From this point of view, the impact of the Crusades [*q.v.*] cannot be ignored. It is true that the Crusaders did not penetrate as far as Mawṣil and Baghdād, but, just as in former times the Christian envoy of the Sāsānids felt his heart melt when he experienced the noise of the ten thousand semantrons (wooden boards) of the Byzantine camp, so the Syriac Christians may well have dreamed of a terrestrial kingdom, finally established with the help of strangers from foreign lands overseas, a kingdom such as would enable them to mention the names of "Christian kings" in the diptychs even though they had not felt the same emotional attachment towards the Byzantines, who considered them heretics.

Even if it is possible to refute the accusations of Ibn Naḳḳāsh and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya of active collusion of the Christians with the Crusader enemy, except in the territories conquered by the latter, it cannot be denied that the Christians of Baghdād considered as "martyrs" the Frankish prisoners executed there between 1149 and 1195/544-91, and buried in the church of Sūḳ al-Thalātha.

When, in 557/1162, Georgian Crusaders came to Mawṣil for an exchange of prisoners and paraded in the streets of the town on horseback (a forbidden act for Christians), with crosses (also forbidden) displayed on the tips of their lances, a naive Jacobite sculptor was inspired to depict the patron of his monastery (a saint of the 4th century) in Crusader costume, striking down the demon, i.e. "the other", Islam. This small picture (reproduced in J. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, 11, Beirut 1965, before p. 593) says more than any number of texts about the mentality of the time. Al-Mutawakkil had only recently commanded the Christians to place wooden images of the Devil on the doors of their homes, and here the situation was totally reversed, if only in a dream.

The hopes which the Syriacs had pinned on the Crusaders were dashed when, in 583/1187, Salāḥ al-Dīn recaptured Jerusalem. This loss was felt by the Christians, Nestorian as well a Jacobite, as a cause for national lamentation, as the colophons of manuscripts testify. But their sensibilities were wounded most of all when, in 1189, after Salāḥ al-Dīn had sent to Baghdād the official, great cross carried in battle captured from the Crusaders, this cross was buried in the threshold of the gate known as Bāb al-Nūbī al-Sharīf, so that passers-by could trample it underfoot and spit on it. Did whoever was responsible for devising this humiliation evidently remember that the very name of this gate came from the ceremonial entry, in 836, of George, son of the King of Nubia, with bishops and a veritable retinue of horsemen, bearing crosses of gold?

The gulf between Christians and Muslims was now firmly fixed. It became even deeper when the Christ-

ian dream was shattered once more by the capture of Saint Louis, in 1250. The Christians of Baʿlabakk, for example, "veiled and covered the faces of their idols", their icons in other words, as a sign of mourning. The Muslim authorities permitted the Jews to take revenge on them (cf. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbasides*, CSCO, vol. ccccix, Subsidia t. 52, Louvain 1980, Arabic tr. Ḥusnī Zayna, *Aḥwāl al-Naṣārā fī khilāfat Banī 'l-ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1990).

Syriac Christians under the Mongols.

However, other hopes for the Christians were appearing on the horizon. After 1221 a Syriac chronicler noted: "Advance from the north of pagan Turks. Complete and humiliating defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn, the great king of the Turks (of Khʷārazm), by Turks who are called in the Turkish language Tatars, and in Syriac the Huns".

After 1232 the same author (an unnamed citizen of Edessa) noted with interest that these barbarians "were determined to annihilate Turks rather than Christians, Muslims rather than Jews". This was because numerous Mongol tribes, Uighurs, Naimans and Keraits, were in fact Christians.

Initial contacts with the vanguard of the invading hordes were somewhat painful. There were some deplorable massacres among Christians and monks, but in the course of time new developments became increasingly favourable to the Christians. In 1244 Haythum, king of Armenia, made an alliance with the Mongols. The prince of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], failing to gain support from the frivolous caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, capitulated in his turn.

At the same time western envoys, Franciscans and Dominicans, had begun to make contacts with the Mongol princes. Initially these contacts consisted, on the Mongol side, of ultimata demanding universal submission to the "Master of the World", and on the Christian side of exhortations to accept baptism, but relations were established and Eastern Christians participated in diplomatic legations dealing with Europe.

When the Il-Khān Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] was approaching Baghdād, the caliph himself included the Nestorian Catholicos in the delegation sent to meet him. But he was too late. The delegation was not received and, in 656/1258, Baghdād was taken and sacked.

Although Arab chronicles exaggerated the atrocities and the scale of destruction, there were nevertheless some 90,000 deaths. The Christians (and those Muslims who were able to take refuge with them) were systematically spared, on the insistence of the all-powerful Nestorian wife of Il-Khān, Doḳuz Khātūn. The caliphal palace known as Dār al-Duwaydār, as well as the Dār al-Falak and a women's *ribāṭ*, were given to the Catholicos, who established a church there and struck semantrons, which the Muslims considered an impertinence. The euphoric mood engendered among the Christians by this new situation is accurately reflected by an illustration in a Jacobite gospel of 1260, representing the "new Constantine" and the "new Helena", responsible for the "triumph" of the Cross, bearing the features of Hūlāgū and Doḳuz Khātūn (Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, ii, Geuthner 1964, 99, upper right corner).

Christian governors were installed in numerous towns, Mawṣil, Irbil, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, etc.

Only a few days after the completion of the illustrated manuscript which has just been cited (cf. Fiey, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxviii/1-2 [1974], 64-99), a first warning was delivered to the Christians that the reign of the Mongols could not last, this being their defeat at ʿAyn Djalūt [*q.v.*]. It was to take a further twenty years and the battle of Ḥimṣ in 680/1281 for the tide of invasion to be definitively stemmed in Syria, but the Christians were so intoxicated by the prospect of enjoying real power, at last, that they failed to act with circumspection, especially in their dealings with Muslims. They were to pay dearly for having overstepped the "threshold of tolerance". The majority of Christian governors were to be assassinated. (For an analysis of the situation of Christians in Damascus during the brief Mongol occupation of the city in 658/1260 and during the 7th/13th century in general, see L. Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siecle, vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique*, Coll. Recherches, 15 A, Beirut 1988, 306-34, 450-9.)

Among those belonging to this "golden age" of the Syriacs under the Mongols was Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ], the Jacobite Maphrian who, among other scientific activities, collaborated with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and numerous scholars, including a Chinese, in constructing the magnificent observatory of Hūlāgū at Marāgha. He died in 685/1286.

After an initial alarm under Aḥmad Tegüder (see Fiey, *Pourquoi la tentative de rapprochement Mongols-Mamelouks échoua-t-elle sous Tegüder-Ahmad et Ḳalāwūn?*, in *Annales d'histoire et d'archéologie*, Faculty of Letters, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, iii [1984], 1-33), the Islamisation of the Mongols, begun by the common people and continued by the *amīrs*, gained the upper hand in 694/1295. Despite the occupation of the catholical see by an Ongüt Turk from China, Yahwlāhā III (1281-1317), the Christians once again fell into disfavour (cf. Fiey, *Le grand catholicos turco-mongol Yahwalaha III*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xxxviii [1988] 209-28). The reaction of the Muslims against the Christians was often violent, in response to what the Muslims saw as provocations. Thus at Irbil [*q.v.*] in 708/1309, almost the entire Christian population of the town was massacred. Yahwālāhā himself barely escaped death.

The Il-Khānid period in Persia ended in anarchy during the reign of Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1316-35). During the 8th/14th century, the Black Death decimated the Middle East. At the end of the century, came the ravages of Tīmūr; much of Christendom perished at this time. (Cf. C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La paix mongole*, xiii, 1970; Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols*, CSCO, vol. ccclxii, subsidia t. 44, Louvain 1975.)

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(J.M. FIEY)

AL-NASAWĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khurandizī al-Zaydarī (d. 647/1249-50), secretary and biographer of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Mingīrnī (for this name, usually rendered as Mangubirtī, see Jackson, in *Iran*, xxviii [1990], 51, n. 1). He was born in Khurandiz, a fortress near the town of Zaydar and among the dependencies of Nasā in Khurāsān (Yāḳūt, ii, 415); according to al-Nasawī, his family was believed to have held the place from the establishment of Islam in the region (*Sīra*, ed. Houdas, 53). When Nasā became the first town in Khurāsān to fall to the Mongols, al-Nasawī bought off the invaders with gifts including 10,000 cubits (*dhirāʿ*) of cloth, so that Khurandiz was spared. For his aid to a Khʷārazmian official on this occasion he obtained a large *iḳṭāʿ* from Uzlāgh-Shāh, son and heir-presumptive of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 57-9); though in the circumstances it is unlikely that he ever enjoyed the grant. Al-Nasawī entered the service of the new ruler of Nasā, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Zangī

b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ḥamza, who at the time of the Mongol invasion had recovered his patrimony following a period of internment in Kh^w^ārazm (*ibid.*, 50, 99). As Zangī's representative on the staff of Īnānč Khān, a fugitive Kh^w^ārazmian *amīr*, he was present at the victory near Nasā over a Mongol detachment and also at Īnānč Khān's defeat by the Mongols in the plain between Djurdjān and Astarābād in 619/1222-3, after which al-Nasawī returned to Khurandiz (*ibid.*, 65-9). He then became *nāʾib* to Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. ʿUmar, Zangī's successor at Nasā (*ibid.*, 104). In the dispute among the Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh's sons following his death, Nuṣrat al-Dīn favoured Djalāl al-Dīn and declined to read the *khuṭba* for Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who therefore launched against him an army under Īnānč Khān's son Doluḳ (Ṭuluḳ). Al-Nasawī, sent to appease Ghiyāth al-Dīn, learned en route that most of the prince's commanders had deserted to Djalāl al-Dīn; he thereupon joined the latter's forces. The money destined for Ghiyāth al-Dīn was instead presented to Djalāl al-Dīn's *wazīr* Sharaf al-Mulk, who ordered Doluḳ to raise the siege. But within a few days news came that Nasā had fallen and that Nuṣrat al-Dīn had been killed. Al-Nasawī's dependants were massacred and his property pillaged, despite his services to Doluḳ's father (*ibid.*, 106-9).

From this point al-Nasawī's fortunes were closely intertwined with those of Djalāl al-Dīn, who in 622/1225 made him *kātib al inshāʾ* after the fall of Marāgha (*ibid.*, 110). Al-Nasawī came to acquire considerable standing at the Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh's court. Having superseded Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mawdūd as *wazīr* of Nasā, he faced a conspiracy by Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk and his ally Sharaf al-Mulk, but Djalāl al-Dīn upheld al-Nasawī, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk died soon afterwards (*ibid.*, 149-50). In 627/1230 al-Nasawī was sent on an embassy to Alamūt [*q.v.*] to demand that the Assassin leader ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad read the *khuṭba* in the Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh's name; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was allegedly impressed by his boldness. After rejoining his master at Tabrīz, he fled with him into Mūghān on the news that Mongol forces had arrived in pursuit. Al-Nasawī was employed in unsuccessful missions to woo the rebellious city of Gandja and to persuade al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, to furnish Djalāl al-Dīn with reinforcements against the Mongols. During the Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh's final battle with the Mongols in 628/1231, al-Nasawī escaped to Āmid, where he was incarcerated for two months by its Artuḳid [*q.v.*] prince, and thence went to Irbil and Mārdīn before returning by way of Ādharbāydjān to Mayyāfāriḳīn; it was here that he learned of Djalāl al-Dīn's death at the hands of a Kurdish bandit. After staying some years at Mayyāfāriḳīn, he joined the Kh^w^ārazmian general Berke Khān in northern ʿIrāḳ, serving as his *wazīr* until Berke Khān's death in battle with the Egyptians in 644/1246. He spent his last few years at Aleppo (Ḥalab), where he died in 647/1249-50. Al-Nasawī is to be distinguished from another of Djalāl al-Dīn's chancellery officials, Nūr al-Dīn Munshī, with whom he has in the past been identified.

Al-Nasawī wrote two works: *Nafthat al-maṣdūr*, written in 632/1234-5, an account in Persian of his tribulations prior to his arrival at Mayyāfāriḳīn; and *Sīrat al-sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mingīrnī*, a history of the Kh^w^ārazm-Shāh, which dates from 639/1241-2, in Arabic. The latter work is cited by a number of authorities from the middle of the 7th/13th century onwards, beginning with Abū Shāma (*al-Dhayl ʿalā al-rawḍatayn*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawtharī, *Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1347/1966, 101). There exists also a Persian translation dating from the late 7th/13th century (but according to Mīnuwī, no earlier than 660/1261-2); this important version unfortunately omits some material, particularly of an autobiographical nature.

Bibliography: *Sīrat al-sulṭan Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. O. Houdas, *Histoire du sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, Paris 1891, tr. Paris 1895; for some corrections, see J.A. Boyle, *Minorsky's marginal commentary on Houdas's translation of Nasavi's Life of Sultan Jalâl al-Dîn Khwârazm-Shâh*, in *Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 30-6; *Sīrat-i Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, Tehran 1344 Sh./1965 (2nd ed. 1365 Sh./1986), introd.; *Nafthat al-maṣdūr*, ed. Amīr Ḥasan Yazdigirdī, Tehran 1343 Sh./1965; Brockelmann, I², 389, and S I, 552; Storey, ii, 1088-90; Storey-Bregel, ii, 755-8; H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, 13-14.

(P. JACKSON)

NAṢB (A.) "setting up, raising", a technical term of Arabic grammar denoting the vowel /a/ which affects the final consonant of words (nouns and verbs) which are inflected (*muʿrab*). The term does not indicate a function, but the position of the tongue raised (*manṣūb*) in the middle of the palate in order to pronounce the vowel /a/. European grammarians see in this vowel the mark of the accusative case in nouns and that of the subjunctive in verbs. For the Arab grammarians, the /a/ vowel affects the nouns which the speaker mentions in order to increase the concern (*fāʾida*) of the speaker, after a complete (*tāmm*) speech utterance (*kalām*) or a complete noun.

Nouns which are "raised up" by the vowel /a/ after a complete speech utterance are of two kinds. (1) The noun on which an action is exerted (*mafʿūl*), that which specifies time or place, i.e. is identical with the *ẓarf* (*mafʿūl fīhi*), that which is the cause for the action (*mafʿūl lahu*), and that which accompanies it in its operation (*mafʿūl maʿahu*); that which exercises rection (*ʿāmil*) is a verb for which its agent (*fāʿil*) is sufficient (*istaghnā*). (2) The assimilated noun (*mushabbah*) in the name of what is acted upon. This noun can be the same as the agent noun, for which it is a state (*ḥāl*) or a specification (*tamyīz*). That which exercises rection may be a true verb, or a word which has the form of a verb, which can vary and behave like a verb, but which is not a true verb (*kāna* and its sisters), or a fixed and invariable particle (*inna* and its likes). However, this noun may also be something other than the agent and be a part of it, sc. the excepted noun (*mustathnā*); the regent is a verb appropriate for its agent.

As for nouns "raised up" after a complete noun, these are of two kinds. (1) The noun which specifies (*mayyaza*) a noun of lineal measure (*miḳdār*), of surface area (*misāḥa*), of volume (*kayl*) or of weight (*wazn*), annexed (*muḍāf*) to another noun. (2) The noun which specifies a noun of number (*ʿadad*) to which a *nūn* is suffixed (like the tens) or which is built up (*buniya*) with another number (like the units with the tens). In both cases, the regent is the noun made complete by annexation, a suffix or a construction, which prevents the noun specified being itself annexed.

In the verb, only the imperfective aspect can be "raised up", because it is analogous (*muḍāriʿ*) to the agent noun. The Arab grammarians considered that the vowel /a/ which affects the imperfective is determined by two kinds of particles. (1) The particles *an* "that" (after a wish, hope, etc.), *kay* "in order that", *idhan* "then" (if this particle introduces a reply (*djawāb*) and if the verb which follows it refers to the

future) and *lan* as the negation of an action in the future. These four particles determine the vowel /a/ by themselves (*bi-anfusihā*). (2) The particles *ḥattā* "until, in order that", *li-* "so that", *aw* "unless", *wa-* "with the fact that" and *fa-* "with the result that" (only after an order, prohibition, negation, question, wish or offer). These five particles do not determine the vowel /a/ by themselves, but by the implicit (*muḍmara*) and "supposed" (*muḳaddara*) particle *an*, which can only be made explicit (*muẓhara*) by use after the particles *li-* and *wa-*.

Bibliography: G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, 202-3; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. ʿUḍayma, ii, 6-43, iv, 166-72, 299-318; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl*, ed. Fatlī, i, 158-60, ii, 147-56; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo, i, 109-31, ii, 2-117, vii, 15-40. (G. Troupeau)

NASDJ [see bisāṭ in Suppl., ḥarīr, ḳuṭn, libās, ṣūf].

NASHĀṬ, Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Iṣfahān, one of the best Persian poets and stylists of the period of the early Ḳādjārs. He was a physician in Shīrāz and *kalāntār* [*q.v.*] and governor in his native city, devoting his leisure hours to poetry in which he displayed a great facility. He wrote verse in Arabic, Persian and Turkish and was further celebrated for his great skill in *shikasta*. Rumours of his poetical gifts induced the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834) to invite him to Tehran as court poet. There Nashāṭ soon rose to great honour and in 1809 was appointed Munshī al-Mamālik (secretary of state [see munshī]) with the title of Muʿtamad al-Dawla. In this capacity he carried through several important negotiations for the Shāh, such as the restoration of peace among the nomad tribes of Khurāsān in 1812 and 1818. Besides his own poems, he wrote an introduction to Ṣabā's famous *Shāhanshāh-nāma* and drew up a whole series of important diplomatic documents. Specially celebrated is the letter written by him to George III of England in which he expressed regret at the interruption of the friendly relations between England and Persia. He died in 1244/1828-9. He collected his poems into a book subsequently published in Tehran in 1266/1850 under the title *Gandjīna-yi nashāṭ* (the "Treasury of Joy"). Nashāṭ's *ghazals* are all imitations of those of his great predecessors, particularly Ḥāfiẓ, but are distinguished by elegance and simplicity, smooth rhythm and considerable depth of feeling.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G I Ph.*, ii, 313-14; E.G. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 225, 307, 311; E. Berthels, *History of Persian literature* [in Russian], Leningrad 1928, 81-2; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 327-8; the text and English tr., with commentary, of 100 *ghazals* (for some reason only nos. 76-175) has been published by Kh. Sh. Dastur, *Dīwān-i Nashāṭ*, Bombay 1916. (E. Berthels)

NASHAWĀ, name given by the geographers writing in Arabic to the city of Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*].

al-NĀSHIʾ al-AKBAR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Anbārī, called (Ibn) Shirshīr, poet and Muʿtazilī theologian who died in 293/906.

All we know about his life refers to the period when he lived in Baghdād, obviously as a state official (*kātib*); when he left ʿIrāḳ before 280/893, possibly in connection with the downfall of the vizier Ibn Bulbul in 279/892, in order to go to Egypt, he disappears from our sources. He was a man of vast culture, but he used his knowledge mainly for criticism and therefore did not always win friends. He attacked the philosopher al-Kindī [*q.v.*] as well as the logicians and the adherents of Greek medicine; he also found fault with *uṣūl al-naḥw* and the metrical system of al-Khalīl. Al-Marzubānī saw in this an immature quest for originality, but others who had a chance of looking at Nāshiʾ's books admired him for his independent judgement. Even as a Muʿtazilī theologian he remained an outsider. He did not have much in common with his contemporary al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*], who was going to shape the outlook of the Baṣran school and much of later Muʿtazilī scholasticism. He rather shared the ideas of the "Murdjiʾite" wing which was represented during his time by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī. He therefore believed that even mortal sinners will not be eternally punished in Hell as long as they are Muslims, and defined belief as a mere act of consent, without works. He stressed the singularity of God in a way unheard of in the Muʿtazila up to that time, by denying even nominal similarity with creation: God is the absolute Other in contrast to whom man cannot be said to possess positive attributes (like knowing, acting etc.) unless in a metaphorical way. The only exception he made was with respect to the Prophet: when Muḥammad brought forth the revelation he spoke the truth in a veritative, not only in a metaphorical way. Moreover, the metaphorical character of human action did not entail determinism; man has a free will because he possesses a soul which grants him free disposition of his body.

None of Nāshiʾ's books has been preserved in its entirety. But there are excerpts from a doxographical work which seems to have born the title *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* (*fi 'l-maḳālāt*). We also possess a few fragments of his *K. Naḳd al-shiʿr*. The *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal* attributed to him of which the first chapter (on *imāma*) is preserved is spurious; the book may have been composed by Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb. Nāshiʾ's poetry has recently been collected by Hilāl al-Nādjī, in *al-Mawrid*, xi/1 (1982), 89 ff.; no. 2, 61 ff.; no. 3, 43 ff.; no. 4, 27 ff., and xii (1983), no. 1, 57 ff.

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NASHĪD (a., pl. *anāshīd, nashāʾid, anshād*), a piece of oratory, a chant, a hymn and a form of vocal music. The root *n-sh-d* signifies to search for (a lost object), to ask for it, plead for it; and in its form IV *anshada* means to recite poetry. "The original sense of *inshād*", according to the *TA*, "is the raising of the voice (*nishda*), whence derives *inshād al-shiʿr*, a protracted poetical recitation delivered in a loud voice." The term *nashīd*, itself considered as referring to the raising of the voice, probably took on its musical connotation at the time when the melodious recitation of poetry in public became fashionable. The term as it appears in literature relating to music, from the 3rd/9th century onward, denotes, in addition to its general sense of singing, various forms associated with scholarly music. This type of *nashīd* is always placed at the head of a vocal composition, or at the start of a musical performance in the guise of a prelude leading to the main theme, borrowing from it the fragment of text which is essential to its development; the sources assign different lengths to it.

To demonstrate the artistic brilliance of the great

musician Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, the author of the *K. al-Aghānī* (v, 128) relates: "He began the song with a *nashīd* followed by a *basīṭ*; he employed in it the technique of octaviation, he included a refrain ... and all this in the singing of only four words." This testimony reveals that the *nashīd* developing on one or two words constituted a type of vocal improvisation followed by the *basīṭ*, a musical form of metrical character following the specifications of al-Fārābī and of other later authors. The sequence *nashīd, basīṭ*, etc., appears in an extensive form of composition introduced into Spain by Ziryāb. "It was established in al-Andalus that the one beginning a musical performance would intone the *nashīd* at the outset of his song irrespective of the rhythm; he would then bring in the *basīṭ* and conclude with *muḥarrikāt* and *anzādj* (rapid singing with light rhythms) following the rules laid down by Ziryāb" (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 88). Al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (5th/11th century) relates that al-Kindī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib (al-Sarakhsī) and certain others declare that the *nashīd* consists of singing at the beginning of a poem, or at the beginning of a speech which is not in verse, a number of words in an unspecified tempo, and that the *istihlāl* consists of declaiming, at the beginning of a song, a single word in a free rhythm (A. Shiloah, *La perfection des connaissances musicales*, 128-9). Al-Fārābī, in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīḳī al-kabīr*, provides a lucid definition of the *nashīd* and of the *istihlāl*. Speaking of different methods of commencing a song, the author lists: simple vocalisations, octaviation (a highly-regarded technique of interpretation) and preludes based on the text of the song, adding that "The Arabs give ... the name of *istihlāl*, when the words which are adapted to it constitute a small part of the logos, or indeed a larger position which is still inferior to a medium part. This will be the *nashīd* if this portion is a medium part of the logos or a more extensive portion" (R. d'Erlanger, *La musique Arabe*, ii, 85). For the 9th/15th century author Fatḥ Allāh al-Muʾmin al-Shirwānī, the *nashīd* or *nashīd al-ʿArab* is composed of two verses on free notes, then two others on timed notes. The *basīṭ* is, according to him, an isolated fragment sung on a heavy rhythm (*op. cit.*, iv, 233; see also A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979, 331-3).

In the contemporary period, the term *nashīd* (and also *unshūda*) is employed as the equivalent of "hymn"; thus *nashīd waṭanī* or *ḳawmī* denotes a national anthem, *al-nashīd al-umamī*, the Internationale. It seems that this sense of *nashīd* derives from the type of popular usage described in the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, where it is stated that "the people use *nashīd* in the sense of *madḥ* (praise, e.g. hymn)" and also from the translations of Biblical canticles, such as *nashīd* Deborah or *nashīd al-anshād* for the Song of Songs. The term is also employed in specific cases to denote for example official songs, the songs of children, the songs of Boy Scouts and even the serenade (*nashīd laylī*).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Shiloah)

NASHĪṬ, a singer of Persian origin, acquired as a slave by ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*], and who flourished in the second half of the 1st century A.H. in Medina. His Persian style of singing was a great success there, compelling other singers to imitate it, but Nashīṭ himself had to learn the Arab style and songs in order to enlarge his repertoire. He was one of the teachers of the *ḳayna* [*q.v.*] ʿAzza al-Maylāʾ and of the renowned singer Maʿbad b. Wahb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*[1], iv, 61, 63, vii, 188, xvi, 13; H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, London 1929, 48-9, 54-5.

(Ed.)

NASHWĀN b. SAʿĪD b. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī al-Yamanī, an Arab philologist, d. ?573/1178.

The reports on this individual and his career are exceedingly scanty. In Yāḳūt's *Irshād* and in Suyūṭī's *Bughya* he is described in laudatory terms in the usual phrases as a great scholar, authority on *fiḳh*, philology and *naḥw*; he was also distinguished as a historian and poet and was equally versed "in the other branches of *adab*". He compiled a dictionary entitled *Shams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm* in eight (according to others eighteen) volumes which his son later revised and condensed into two volumes; he also wrote a treatise on rhyme, *Kitāb al-Ḳawāfī*, and a book of a religious and philosophical nature, *Kitāb al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn wa-tanbīh al-sāmiʿīn*. We know neither the year nor the place of his birth, nor with whom he studied nor in what places he lived. Only one story of his life has survived and that sounds improbable. Yāḳūt says he was a great chief who besieged cities and fortresses and ruled over a hill-tribe in the Ṣabr range. Al-Suyūṭī takes this story from Yāḳūt. According to al-Suyūṭī, he was a follower of the Muʿtazila. He is said to have died on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 573/13 June 1178. The importance of Nashwān lies in the fact that he was particularly well-acquainted with the South-Arabian tradition. He took up from his predecessor al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*], the task of rescuing from oblivion the legends of the South Arabian kingdoms. He uses these as the basis of his work and gives long quotations from the writings of his predecessor. His famous so-called Ḥimyarite *Ḳaṣīda*, *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Ḥimyariyya*, is based on such traditions of the Ḥimyarite rulers; it celebrates their deeds and the splendour of their ancient kingdom. In the commentary on this poem the annotator gives very full notes, in which he narrates legends of South Arabian princes and their history. Von Kremer supposed, relying on internal evidence, that the author of the *Ḳaṣīda* and the commentator are the same person, i.e. that Nashwān himself wrote the commentary on his *Ḳaṣīda*. At any rate, the commentator, whose name is not given, must have been very well acquainted with Ḥimyarite tradition. In the already-mentioned dictionary *Shams al-ʿulūm*, Nashwān again uses his knowledge of South Arabian history. Whether all the facts given by him are historical cannot be discussed here; many of them are certainly based on tradition, since Nashwān himself, as his *nisba* shows, was of South Arabian blood.

In recent times, renewed interest in Nashwān and the other "authorities" on pre-Islamic South Arabian history has led Arab, especially Yemeni, scholars to make fresh studies on him and to bring out new editions of some of his works. However, the negative consensus on their historical value remains (see, though in a different context, A. Rippin, in *JSAI*, xiii, 162 n. 21). Yet his works played a part in the struggle of the tribes of South Arabian origin against the northern Arabs for predominance in the Muslim world.

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Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī fi 'l-Yaman*, Ṣanʿāʾ *ca.* 1980; Nashwān, *Mulūk Ḥimyar wa-akyāl al-Yaman*, ed. ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muʾayyad and Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Djarāfī, n.p. 1396. See further on the *Shams al-ʿulūm*, R. Weipert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums. II. Lexicographie und Grammatik*, in *Zeitschr. für Gesch. der Arab. Islamischen Wiss.*, v (1989), 225-64, see esp. 228. Editions: by K.V. Zetterstéen, 2 vols. Leiden 1951-2 (up to and inc. *djīm*); Cairo 1951, 2 vols., repr. Beirut n.d. [1981]; Masḳaṭ 1403-4/1983 (up to and inc. *shīn*). In 1990 Prof. Tryggve Kronholm of Uppsala announced plans for a continuation of Zetterstéen's edition of the *Shams al-ʿulūm*.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

NASĪʾ (A.), intercalary month, intercalation, or person (pl. *nasaʾa*) charged with the duty of deciding on intercalation. The word occurs in Ḳurʾān, IX, 37, and in Muḥammad's sermon at the Farewell Pilgrimage (Ibn Hishām, 968; see ḤADJDJ). *Nasiyy, nasy* and *nasʾ* are variants and the word is connected with *nasaʾa* to "postpone" or "add" or with *nasiya* to "forget". In any case, it is given in Islamic tradition a meaning which brings it into connection with the method of reckoning time among the pagan Arabs. The Ḳurʾānic verse describes *nasīʾ* as "a further expression of unbelief" and it is therefore forbidden to the believers.

The context of the above-mentioned passages, where sometimes the number of months in the year is put at twelve and sometimes the number of "holy" months at four, allows us to connect *nasīʾ* with the calendar. Ḳurʾānic exegesis as a rule connects *nasīʾ* with the "holy" months and explains it sometimes, it is true, as the postponement of the Pilgrimage from the month fixed by God for it, but sometimes, and preferably, as "transference of the sanctity of one holy month to another, in itself not holy". The expositors are also able to give the reasons for such a postponement in full detail. As a rule, however, these are pure inventions in which suggestions and perhaps memories of old traditions are freely expanded. A collection of such expositions in the form of regular *ḥadīths* is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2nd ed., x, 91-3.

The critical examination of these explanations reveals, however, traces of an older conception not quite unknown to Tradition, even in the form in which we have it, according to which *nasīʾ* denotes neither the intercalation of an intercalary month nor the month itself. This interpretation of the word is the only one really acceptable in the circumstances. The association of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage with annual markets made it necessary to fix the *ḥadjdj* in a suitable season of the year. For that purpose, a prolongation of the lunar year in some way was necessary, and nothing contradicts that older tradition according to which it was obtained by the intercalation of an intercalary month. The lunar month was the only unit of time available for the purpose because it was the only one which the Bedouins, the customers at the markets, could observe directly. Thus one had only to let them know at the *ḥadjdj* of a year whether they had to reckon to the next *ḥadjdj* twelve or thirteen months.

Definite evidence of this intercalation of a month is found in the astronomer Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272/886 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Ulūf* (see *JA*, ser. 5, xi [1858], 168 ff.), and, following him, in al-Bīrūnī, who also deals at length with this intercalation in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 11-12, 62-3). According to him, the Arabs took this intercalation from the Jews. How much in what these scholars tell us is really historical knowledge, and how much intelligent reconstruction, can hardly be decided. It is remarkable, however, that al-Bīrūnī when dealing fully with the Jewish intercalation (*op. cit.*, 52, l. 17) connects the Hebrew word for intercalary year, *ʿibbūr*, with *meʿubbārāth* "pregnant woman" and observes: "they compare the addition of a superfluous month to the year to the woman carrying something which does not belong to her body". In this connection we may recall that al-Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*, 91, l. 6) explains the Arabic *nasīʾ* as *nasūʾ* "pregnant woman", among other interpretations, saying *nusiʾat al-marʾa* "on account of the increase which the child in her means". This agreement in the two explanations, which can hardly be accidental, might really indicate that *nasīʾ* in the sense of intercalation or intercalary month is modelled on the Hebrew word *ʿibbūr* and thus support al-Bīrūnī's statement which is in itself not impossible. Caussin de Perceval (*JA*, ser. 4, i, 349) even quotes the Hebrew *nāsī* (prince) as a title of honour of the leader of the Sanhedrin, to whom fell the duty of dealing with the intercalation (cf. *Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin*, 11ᵃ: "the intercalation of the year may only be done with the approval of the *nāsī*"). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic *nasīʾ* given in Tradition, it was really the "name of a man", a meaning which is all the more remarkable in this connection as it does not suit the Ḳurʾānic passage. There is a definite agreement on the fact that in the Jewish intercalation only the month following Adar was an intercalary month while in the Arab system, as the critical examination of Tradition — contradicting the literal interpretation of its text— shows, only the month following Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, i.e. the intercalated month, in both cases was inserted between the normally last month and the normally first one of the year, Nisān (or, amongst the Arabs, al-Muḥarram).

Nothing certain is known about the process of intercalation among the Arabs. It can only have been periodic and irregular attempts at correction based on observation of nature, particularly vegetation. The technical part must have been exceedingly simple and primitive. The same is true of the Jewish intercalation in the older period (see *Bab. Talmud, Sanhedrin*, 10b-13b). As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesaḥ to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the *ḥadjdj* and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca. It was not intended to establish a fixed calendar to be generally observed. The Bedouins had never had one and they have no use for one. According to Tradition, the management of the *nasīʾ* was a prerogative of the Banū Kināna [*q.v.*]; and, indeed, fairs were held on their lands.

Bibliography: A. Moberg, *An-nasīʾ in der islāmischen Tradition*, Lund-Leipzig 1931, where the most important references are given; J. Fück, *Zu an-nasīʾ (Koran, 9, 37)*, in *OLZ*, xxxvi (1933), cols. 280-3; M. Plessner, in *Isl.*, xxi (1933), 226-8; R. Paret, *Der Koran, Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1971, 202-3.

(A. MOBERG)

NASĪʾ (Hebr.), a title used in Judaeo-Islamic societies generally to designate descendants of the house of David, who were accorded particular respect. Many individuals of Davidic descent held this honorific title, which was inherited through the patrilineal line. Davidic descent alone did not confer political authority. The *nasīʾ* Daniel b. Azarya, who served as head of the Palestinian academy, pronounced that members of the house of David were not authorised to hold public office except when appointed by him (T.-S. 12.229, cited in Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, 19 and n. 47). Nonetheless,

individuals of the house of David did on occasion claim authority for themselves in Jewish communities, and by the end of the 12th century A.D., *nasīʾ*s had established themselves throughout the Islamic world. The Muslim authorities recognised their special status within the Jewish community and stipulated that the head of the Jews should treat them with deference (*ḥurma*) [see Gottheil, 530 top line].

Since the exilarch or head of the diaspora (*rōsh ha-gōlā, rēsh gālūthā, ra's al-djālūt*), an official serving as secular head of the Jews, was always of Davidic descent, he also bore the title *nasīʾ*. But the title *nasīʾ* alone does not designate the office of exilarch. David b. Daniel, the son of Daniel b. Azarya, was called "our *nasīʾ*," "our lord the *nasīʾ*," and "the *nasīʾ* of all Israel" in documents up to the year 1089, when he first advanced his claims to the exilarchate. But it was only after he was actually elevated to the office of exilarch that he came to be designated specifically as "our lord the head of the diaspora." Similarly, Daniel b. Ḥasday (d. 1174), whose title was "exilarch of all Israel" (*rōsh galūyōt kol yisrāʾēl*) was described by the 12th century Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela as having a "pedigree going back to David King of Israel." The Muslim authorities, he tells us, referred to him as *sayyidnā ibn dāʾūd* (our master, the son of David).

Bibliography: J.H. Gottheil, *An eleventh-century document concerning a Cairo synagogue*, in *JQR*, O.S. xix (1906-7), 530; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid caliphs*, 2 vols. 1920-2, repr. 2 vols. in 1, New York 1970, index; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 18-19 and nn. 45-9; M.R. Cohen, *Jewish self-government in medieval Egypt*, Princeton 1980, 9-10, 38, 190-200. (P. SANDERS)

NASĪB (A.), a generic term in Arabic literature applied in mediaeval sources to love poetry. In its modern understanding it denotes the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the polythematic ode, as distinguished from *ghazal* [*q.v.*], the independent love-poem. According to Arabic lexicography, the term is derived from the root *n-s-b* in its special meaning *nasaba bi 'l-nisāʾi* "to make amatory verses about women" (*shabbaba bi-hinna fī 'l-shiʿr wa-taghazzala; LA*, i, 756a). Another derivation is suggested by R. Blachère, who considers a connection with the term *nasb*, "a kind of camelmen's lament" [see GHAZAL].

1. *Nasīb* in Arabic poetics.

The meaning of *nasīb* is rarely defined by mediaeval scholars, nor can the semantic relation between the terms *nasīb* and *ghazal* be established with precision. As a generic term *nasīb* first appears in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [*q.v.*]), together with *fakhr* [see MUFĀKHARA], *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] and *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*]. According to this classification, which must be older than the *Ṭabaḳāt*, the four terms constitute "the houses of poetry" (*buyūt al-shiʿr*), i.e. the principal poetic themes (ed. Hell, Leiden 1916, 87). It is evident that *nasīb* here refers to love poetry in general, for Ibn Sallām not only uses the term when discussing the *ḳaṣīda* but also with regard to *ghazal* poets. Thus he reports a tradition saying that Djamīl [*q.v.*] surpasses Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] in his "amatory verses" (*fi 'l-nasīb; op. cit.* 124). The meaning of *nasīb* is limited to the emotional aspect of love poetry in Ibn Ḳutayba's (d. 276/889) [*q.v.*]) famous description of the tripartite *ḳaṣīda* (*Shiʿr*, 14), for in the tradition which he quotes a distinction is made between *nasīb* and the poet's complaint at the "deserted campsite", a leitmotif of the amatory prologue. This differentiation seems unusual and is, apparently, not supported by other sources.

A list of "poetic themes" (*aghrāḍ*) containing the term *nasīb* is provided by Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 320/932 [*q.v.*]) in his *Naḳd al-shiʿr* (ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 23). He is the first theorist, moreover, to attempt a definition of *nasīb* as contrasted to *ghazal* (*op. cit.* 65), which has influenced later authors. According to Ḳudāma, *nasīb* denotes the poetic expression of the traditional amatory themes, whereas *ghazal* means love and preoccupation with women; *nasīb* is "the expression of *ghazal*" (*dhikru ghazal*), and *ghazal* is "the content itself" (*al-maʿnā nafsuh*).

From the 10th century onwards both terms are used in works of literary theory with varying semantic connotations, but *nasīb* apparently remains the more general concept. This is evidenced in *al-Muwāzana bayna shiʿr Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī* by al-Āmidī (d. 370/981). He applies the term to the whole variety of erotic themes and motifs employed by the two poets, for after a detailed survey he declares that now "all subdivisions of the *nasīb* have been treated" (*maḍat anwāʿ al-nasīb kulluhā*), and proceeds to discuss the transition from *nasīb* to *madīḥ* (ed. Ṣakr, Cairo 1965, ii, 291). As to *ghazal*, it is clearly conceived by al-Āmidī as a "subdivision" (*nawʿ*) of *nasīb*, specified as "description and praise of women, passionate desire, remembrance, longing and grief" (ii, 59).

In a later treatise, *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr* by Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064 or 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), a whole chapter is devoted to *nasīb* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1963³, ii, 116-28). As in the *Muwāzana*, the term denotes love poetry in general and is explained by Ibn Rashīḳ as a synonym of *taghazzul* and *tashbīb*. With regard to *ghazal*, however, he explicitly refers to Ḳudāma, slightly rephrasing his definition (ii, 117). But Ibn Rashīḳ is not quite consistent in his application of the term. In a previous chapter of the *ʿUmda*, when discussing the point that every occasion demands its own kind of speech, he enumerates, by way of demonstration, several generic terms, among them *ghazal*, which is listed together with *mazḥ* (jest), *mukātaba* (correspondence), *mudjūn* [*q.v.*] (frivolous verses), *khamriyya* [*q.v.*] (bacchic poem). There can be no doubt that these terms signify genres in the modern understanding,. i.e. texts of a certain kind. The list suggests that Ibn Rashīḳ has been influenced by *dīwān* recensions of "modern" (*muḥdath*) poetry, which are often arranged according to genres. All terms mentioned in this context figure as headings of chapters, *ghazal* being employed with reference to love poems. Since the amatory prologue forms part of a greater unit, it is not listed, but must have been subsumed under the heading of *madīḥ* (G. Schoeler, *Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiii [1973], 9-55, cf. 42 ff.). Thus Ibn Rashīḳ, without being aware of it, referred to two different systems of genres.

From the evidence of the *ʿUmda* it would seem that a semantic evolution of the term *ghazal* towards the notion "love poem" had taken place, but if so, it has not been accepted unanimously by later authors. Al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109) in his introductory lines to the *Bāb al-nasīb* of Abū Tammām's [*q.v.*] *Ḥamāsa* (*Sharḥ dīwān ashʿār al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1385) heavily relies on Ḳudāma, without mentioning him, however, and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [*q.v.*]) uses the term *ghazal* when discussing the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, ed. Ṭabāna, Cairo 1959, iii, 96). In the same chapter (118), *ghazal* and *nasīb* are united in one sentence. While commenting on the introduction of a particular *ḳaṣīda*, Ibn al-Athīr states that the poet presented an apology "in the guise of love poetry" (*fī hayʾat al-ghazal*), expressing it "in the form of *nasīb*" (*fī maʿriḍ al-nasīb*), as G.J. van Gelder translates (*Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 148).

Here, again, *ghazal* and *nasīb* seem to be conceived, in accordance with Ḳudāma's definition, as content and form.

The semantic relation of the two terms in mediaeval sources deserves a more detailed study, but a few conclusions can be drawn from the material presented above. It is evident that *nasīb* constitutes the older generic term, and that it has always been applied to love poetry in general. Its accepted meaning hardly changed, on the whole, whereas *ghazal* has been conceived in different ways: *a.* as content (*maʿnā*) of *nasīb*, *b.* as subdivision (*nawʿ*) of *nasīb*. *c.* as independent love poem.

Turning from the question of terminology to the genre itself, the amatory prologue of the *ḳaṣīda*, there is some information on it in mediaeval poetics, usually in connection with a discussion of the ode. As in other literatures, the origin of the genre is attributed to the ingenuity of an individual person. The first *ḳaṣīda* was allegedly composed by Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, the uncle of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 13). The aspect of proportion is discussed by Ibn Rashīḳ, who quotes a tradition to the effect that the amatory theme should not exceed the *madīḥ* in weight and length (ii, 123). He also treats the question whether a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] might be introduced by amatory verses, which he denies (ii, 151). It is true that the combination of love poetry and a lament of the dead has never been accepted as a convention in classical Arabic poetry, but there is some evidence of it in early Islamic and Umayyad texts. The structure of the ode, and how the amatory prologue should be linked to subsequent themes, has been widely discussed in mediaeval poetics. The subject is studied in detail by G.J. van Gelder (*op. cit.*, see Index).

Western scholars from the 19th century onwards have always applied the term *nasīb* to the first section of the ode, whereas *ghazal* has been conceived as "love poem". In the following survey, *nasīb* and *ghazal* will be used as generic terms in the Western tradition, denoting the amatory prologue and the independent love poem respectively. It should be kept in mind, however, that modern studies by Arab scholars usually employ *nasīb* in an unspecific sense, in accordance with mediaeval poetics, and that the first section of the *ḳaṣīda* is often referred to as "prologue" (*maṭlaʿ*, *muḳaddima*).

2. *Nasīb* in Arabic poetry.

Arabic love poetry in the classical period, whether *nasīb* or *ghazal*, is based on a common heritage, a reservoir of formulas, motifs and images from the Bedouin past. As a result, the two genres present certain similarities and have often been treated together without differentiation. However, since the *nasīb* constitutes an integral part of a greater unit, it is related to other themes and influenced in its composition by the form as a whole. With the gradual transformation of the tribal *ḳaṣīda* into the ceremonial ode of Islamic times, moreover, its components changed as to structure and function. Accordingly, the *nasīb* must be considered from two different aspects, as love poetry within its social context, and as structural unit of the polythematic ode.

a. Pre-Islamic period.

The *nasīb* is the only kind of love poetry preserved from the *djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*]. The earliest texts date back to the end of the 5th century, but the *ḳaṣīda* appears already fully developed and suggests a well-established tradition. As is characteristic of oral literature, the poet rarely refers to his own individual experience. Although he always speaks in the first person, his verses are based on a collective experience, which is recreated in such a way that each member of the tribal aristocracy can identify himself with it. In the *nasīb*, as in other sections of the ode, the poet conducts himself as the hero, the Bedouin par excellence (cf. A. Hamori, *The Poet as hero*, in *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 3-30). The attitudes he adopts, the problems he encounters, and the moral solutions he offers represent the main aspects of Bedouin life and conform to the values of tribal society. Repeating them means safeguarding the tribal system. This is the principal function of the *ḳaṣīda* and provides a key to the interpretation of the *nasīb*.

Pre-Islamic odes extend from 30 to more than 100 verses. The *nasīb* varies from 3 to about 20 verses, but not necessarily in proportion to the length of the ode. It consists of short narrative units, interrupted by descriptive passages and allusions to the poet's emotional state. The basic situation is always the same, the separation of lovers belonging to neighbouring tribes. In spring the tribes camp together, but when the season of abundant pasture ends, they depart and lovers must separate. The *nasīb* invariably refers to a love-affair of the past, or to the time of separation. The following three motifs are most frequent (cf. I. Lichtenstädter, *Das Nasīb der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *Islamica*, v [1931-2], 17-96):

1. On his desert journey the poet and two friends discover a "deserted campsite" (*dār, manzil*), where he once spent happy days together with his beloved. He describes the "traces" (*aṭlāl*) consisting of hearth stones, tent-pegs and trenches almost obliterated by wind and rain. He alludes to the loneliness of the place, which is now visited by wild animals, and calls out to it, but receives no answer. After indulging in memories, tears and complaints, he resolves to forget his beloved, since there is no hope for a reunion.

2. The poet and his fellow-travellers rest at night in the desert. While his companions are asleep, the poet is awake, or suddenly awakened, and perceives the "vision" (*khayāl, ṭayf*) of his beloved, whom he knows to reside in a distant place. He wonders how she managed to cross the perilous desert on foot to reach him. The *khayāl* evokes memories of the past and renews love and sorrow, but finally he overcomes his grief and sends the *khayāl* back. The "vision" has been interpreted by mediaeval scholars as a dream, but the narrative structure of early versions indicates that the *khayāl* originally was conceived as an apparition confronting the poet in the external world (cf. R. Jacobi, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990] 50-64).

3. One morning, the poet discovers to his dismay that the beloved's tribe is about to depart. He watches the preparations, describes the litter bearing his beloved, and at last observes it passing out of sight, while the tears are streaming down his face. He imagines the route her tribe is going to take and contemplates following her, but the feeling of futility and loss prevails.

Not all conventional details of the narrative are present in each version. The poet chooses among them, sometimes uniting two motifs in one *nasīb*, or alluding to it in a few lines. There are two further situations of tribal life occasionally referred to. The poet perceives camels bearing litters of women from afar, and asks himself whether his beloved is travelling in one of them, or he watches the lightning of an approaching thunderstorm shining from the direction where her tribe dwells.

A detailed description of the beloved can be inserted at different points of the narrative. It usually

constitutes a sort of catalogue, whereby her beauty is praised and her social standing emphasised with stereotyped epithets and comparisons. As the poet is the Bedouin hero, she is the heroine, whose perfection is never questioned. As to her character, she is depicted as capricious, unyielding at first, unfaithful in the end. It is she who takes the initiative in ending the affair, who "severs the bond". In the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, the woman seldom appears emotionally engaged in the relationship. The poet, on the other hand, displays violent passion and grief, which manifests itself in copious tears and sleeplessness by night. A favourite motif in this context is "the long night", whose stars seem never to disappear; its most famous rendering is a passage in the *Muʿallaḳa* [*q.v.*] of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (vv. 42-6).

The concept of love implied in the *nasīb* is closely related to the norms of tribal society, where individual interests are subordinated to the interests of the group. Illicit love affairs between members of neighbouring tribes were obviously tolerated, or even approved of, since the poet boasts of them. They heightened his prestige and did not disparage the woman, whose freedom of choice indicates the strength of her social position in the *dj̲āhiliyya* (cf. Lichtenstädter, *op. cit.*, 81 ff.). But faithfulness after separation, the perseverance in futile love, was not demanded by tribal ethics, since it would threaten the collective welfare. The woman is expected to depart with her tribe, and the poet is blamed by his friends, the voice of reason, who advise him to leave his folly and to regain his soberness of mind. This seems to be the principal message of the *nasīb*. Love means pleasure and prestige; if there is no longer hope to gain these ends, it should be abandoned.

There are compensations, however, which brings us to the question of how the *nasīb* is connected with subsequent themes. Several patterns of the *ḳaṣīda* can be established, one of them closely related to a motif of the *nasīb*, the poet's complaint of his old age and failing success with women. His melancholy mood is then compensated by memories of the pleasures and activities of his youth. Here, the *nasīb* serves as a justification of the poet's self-praise, which fits in with G. Richter's theory that the polythematic ode generated from the *nasīb*. It is consistent with a limited number of texts, but cannot be generally applied (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, in *ZDMG*, xcii [1938], 552-69; cf. also R. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971, 101 ff.).

The *nasīb* is usually followed by a description of the poet's camel, sometimes without transition (*tak̲h̲alluṣ*), but there are also formulaic expressions connecting *nasīb* and camel section. After narrating the departure of the beloved's tribe, the poet reflects whether his camel will be able to catch up with her, and embarks upon a praise of its strength and endurance. If the *nasīb* ends with the decision to forget his love affair, he turns to his excellent camel for consolation. Some odes are composed without a camel theme; in this case, the poet resolves to forget his beloved, and turns to more important issues, e.g. praising his patron.

In the tripartite ode the camel section is followed by a self-praise [see MUFĀK̲H̲ARA], a praise of the poet's tribe, or a panegyric [see MADĪḤ]. In some panegyrical odes from the end of the 6th century, *nasīb*, camel theme and *madīḥ* appear to constitute a narrative sequence. The poet stops at a "deserted campsite", then continues his journey, and finally reaches the adressee of his *madīḥ* (cf. Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik*, 85 ff., 104). The panegyrical ode is most important for the history of the *nasīb*, as it is the main form to survive in later court poetry.

Pre-Islamic odes present characteristic features of oral literature, e.g. additive style and semantic independence of detail. As a consequence, the *nasīb*, like all thematic units, retains a certain degree of autonomy, even if it is linked up to other themes. In this respect, texts from the *dj̲āhiliyya* differ from odes composed in Islamic periods, which must be kept in mind when the origin of the genre and the function of the *nasīb* within its context is considered. Various theories have been advanced, some of them from the aspect of comparative literature, either suggesting influence or pointing out analogy (see *Bibl.*), but no explanation has been generally accepted so far. Most of these studies contain valuable points, however. Thus A. Bloch drew attention to the mnemonic function of the *nasīb*, which usually includes a sequence of place names, motivated in accordance with the narrative unit selected by the poet (*Qaṣīda*, in *Asiatische Studien*, ii [1948] 106-32). It is conceivable that they constitute ancient itineraries inserted into the *nasīb* so as to be more easily remembered.

At our present stage of knowledge, the origin of the *ḳaṣīda* remains a matter of speculation, but a careful assessment of the evidence presented by pre-Islamic texts points to a gradual assimilation of independent genres, at first united by metre and rhyme, and later growing into a coherent form. The *nasīb* seems appropriate as an introduction, if viewed from the aspect of tribal ethics. It is concerned with a love affair of the past which the poet tries to forget. His feelings are still involved, and when he is reminded of his beloved by the *aṭlāl* or the *k̲h̲ayāl*, his sorrow is renewed, he weeps and complains, but then recovers and returns to the manly pursuits expected of him by his tribe. Thus the *nasīb* seems meaningful and has a definite function within the structure of the ode. With the breaking up of tribal society, however, the "heroic" attitude becomes obsolete, and later poets are faced with the alternative either to abandon the *nasīb*, or to reinterpret it and to provide it with a new function.

b. Early Islamic period.

In the first half of the 7th century, the time of the *muk̲h̲aḍramūn* [*q.v.*], poets still follow pre-Islamic tradition, but they also seek new modes of expression, and there are subtle changes with regard to concepts of thought and moral attitudes. Instead of alluding to a love affair of the past, the *nasīb* now sometimes refers to a present affair the poet wishes to continue. Thus the Hud̲h̲alī poet Sāʿida b. D̲j̲uʾayya promises to remain faithful to his beloved for years after separation (*S̲h̲arḥ as̲h̲ʿār al-Hud̲h̲aliyyīn*, ed. Farrād̲j̲, Cairo 1384/1965, no. IX 2, p. 1173), and his clansman Abū D̲h̲uʾayb [*q.v.*] expresses his firm belief in a reunion (*op. cit.*, no. XVIII 1, p. 121). Another *muk̲h̲aḍram* even dispenses with the habitual gloom of the *nasīb* and gaily declares that "we will soon sport again with Laylā" (*sa-nalhū bi-Laylā*), since her tribe is not pasturing far away (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford 1921, no. CXIV 2, p. 742). Both the elegiac and the frivolous attitude are incompatible with the function of the traditional *nasīb*, since the poet projects his hopes into the future.

Some poets manifest a degree of psychological insight unknown before. This is evidenced in the *dīwān* of al-Aʿs̲h̲ā Maymūn, who is famous, moreover, for the introduction of bacchic themes into the *nasīb* (cf. K. Dalgleish, *Some aspects of the treatment of emotion in the Dīwān of al-Aʿs̲h̲ā*, in *JAL*, iv [1973], 97-111). It is even more striking in the verses of Abū

D͟hu'ayb, one of the most innovative poets of the period. He seems to be the first to treat love as an independent theme, and he also tries out the combination of *nasīb* and *mart͟hiya* in an ingenious way (cf. R. Jacobi, *Die Anfänge der arabischen Ġazalpoesie: Abū Ḏu'aib al-Huḏalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 218-50). In the *nasīb* the conventional motifs are sometimes replaced by individual scenes, and the woman seems to take a more active part in the relationship than in the *d͟jāhiliyya*. The introduction of the poet's individual experience is also evidenced in the verses of Kaᶜb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*], who in a *nasīb* describes a quarrel with his wife (*Dīwān*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1368/1949, 153 ff.). Significant changes are further apparent in the rendering of conventional motifs. The "vision" (*k͟hayāl*) of the beloved, once haunting the sleepless poet, is now conceived as a pleasant dream fulfilling his secret wishes (cf. Jacobi, *The khayāl motif*, 58 ff.). There is also an attempt to transfer the motif from its Bedouin setting to urban environment (cf. Ibn Muḳbil, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥasan, Damascus 1381/1962, no. 37, 1-2).

The *nasīb* in the early Islamic period anticipates the development of Umayyad love poetry in several ways. The most important aspect is a new concept of love indicating that the ideal of the "Bedouin hero", who renounces love and the beloved, is about to disappear. This implies a shift of emphasis from tribal loyalties to individual commitments. It also suggests that poets gained more insight into their emotional needs and problems, which means discovering a new kind of reality, their own self (cf. Jacobi, *Time and reality in Nasīb and Ghazal*, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 1-17). These changes can hardly be due to the immediate influence of Muḥammad's preaching, but must be regarded as a result of the same intellectual and social tensions which preceded and accompanied the rise of Islam.

c. Umayyad period

In the course of the 7th century, pre-Islamic oral tradition is gradually transformed according to the demands of a literate urban society. The *g͟hazal*, both in its elegiac and in its frivolous variant, now constitutes the principal erotic genre voicing the intellectual and moral trends of the time. As a consequence, the *nasīb* looses some of its former significance, but poets in the employment of the caliphs and their governors continue to introduce their odes with amatory verses as a rule, expressing love, longing and sorrow, as also the melancholy and resignation of old age. The pre-Islamic "heroic attitude", however, the proud rejection of the beloved, is abandoned, and when al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*] boasts, in the spirit of tribal *fak͟hr*, of the many women he forgot (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1354/1936, 78, 5 f.; cf. also 87,-1), he speaks as an individual, and not as a representative of his social group.

The Umayyad *nasīb* develops in contact with *g͟hazal* poetry and assimilates some of its innovations in content and style. It therefore differs considerably from the pre-Islamic *nasīb*. The traditional inventory of motifs and images is still in evidence, but the structure of narrative units is dissolved, the "deserted campsite" or the "departure of the beloved" being only alluded to in one or two lines as a rule. A notable exception is the *nasīb* of al-Ak͟hṭal [*q.v.*], the most conservative of Umayyad court poets. He continues the tradition of al-Aᶜs͟hā, moreover, of inserting bacchic scenes into his *nasīb*. Poets also lost interest in descriptive detail, which figures so prominently in verses from the *d͟jāhiliyya*. Instead, they concentrate on their emotional state and on their relation with the beloved, whose beauty and perfection are praised but not catalogued as before. Memories are not evoked to be soon forgotten; as in *g͟hazal* poetry, their function is to justify the poet's concern in his present love affair. The emotional impact of the *nasīb* is frequently enhanced by stylistic means (exclamation, repetition). A further innovation is the blending of motifs which in pre-Islamic oral tradition are kept strictly apart.

The *nasīb* varies in length from 4 to more than 20 verses. It occurs in combination with *hid͟jā'*, *madīḥ* and, very rarely, with *mart͟hiya*. The juxtaposition of love poetry and satire, usually without transition, was favoured by professional poets, as evidenced in the *Naḳā'iḍ* [*q.v.*] of D͟jarīr [*q.v.*] and al-Farazdaḳ, and must have been appreciated by their audience (cf. van Gelder , *Genres in collision: Nasīb and Hijā'*, in *JAL*, xxi [1990], 14-25). In the panegyrical ode, the *nasīb* is either placed before the *madīḥ*, or it is followed by a *raḥīl*, the poet's desert journey to his patron (*mamdūḥ*), which in the tripartite *ḳaṣīda* now replaces the former description of the poet's camel, and is sometimes blended with the *madīḥ* (Jacobi, *The camel-section of the panegyrical ode*, in *JAL*, xiii [1982], 1-22; cf. 14-19). The poet's aim to impress the dangers of the way and the hardships he endured on the way to the *mamdūḥ* is also apparent in the *nasīb*, where elements of the *raḥīl* are introduced under various pretexts. In the motif of the nocturnal "vision", the only narrative unit substantially changed and elaborated by Umayyad poets, the *k͟hayāl* visits a group of travellers, all of them asleep. Besides dwelling on the pleasures he enjoyed in his dream and on his disenchantment in the morning, the poet always emphasises and sometimes describes at length the traces of hardship and exhaustion visible on the sleepers and their mounts (cf. al-Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, 219; D͟jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1353, 526, 10 ff.). Thus in the Umayyad ode the panegyrical function not only determines the camel-section, but also affects the composition of the *nasīb*.

The *k͟hayāl* motif frequently forms the end of the amatory prologue, and is now sometimes used as a transition to the following section. This is a favourite technique of D͟hu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*] (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, Cambridge 1919, nos. 1, 25, 41, 52, 67, 68, 78). The *nasīb* of D͟hu 'l-Rumma deserves special attention as one of the great achievements of Umayyad poetry. In contrast to most contemporary poets, he retains the descriptive elements of the ancient *nasīb* and vividly depicts sceneries of the desert, thereby creating an atmosphere of Bedouin life. But the result is far from being an imitation of the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, for his amatory verses, despite of their richness in descriptive detail, reveal the emotional depth and heightened tension of Umayyad love poetry, together with a nostalgia for a mode of life about to disappear.

There are different reactions to the changes of society, however. At the beginning of the 8th century, the elegiac prologue of the *ḳaṣīda* is not accepted without reserve. Al-Farazdaḳ composed 50% of his panegyrics without *nasīb*, and explicitly preferred *g͟hazal* verses of ᶜUmar b. Abī Rabīᶜa [*q.v.*] to the "weeping at the *aṭlāl*" (*Ag͟h.*[1], ii, 134). He also sometimes describes sensual pleasures in his *nasīb*, if only in a dream (*Dīwān*, 349). About the same time, an anonymous persiflage of the *aṭlāl* was recited and received with enthusiasm at the court of al-Walīd b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] (*Ag͟h.*[1], ii, 27), the first "anti-*nasīb*" in Arabic poetry.

d. ᶜAbbāsid period

The ᶜAbbāsid *nasīb* reflects in all its aspects the intellectual brilliance and sophistication of the time. This regards content, style, and, above all, its func-

tion within the structure of the ode. As to the first aspect, "modern" (*muḥda<u>th</u>*) poets like Ba<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>ār b. Burd [*q.v.*] and Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] add to the Umayyad elegiac concept of love a courtly dimension. The social superiority of the beloved, her cruelty and power are emphasised and contrasted to the poet's devotion, which is never compensated, but heightens his moral standard. The courtly attitude is to be perceived in varying degrees in *<u>gh</u>azal* and *nasīb* alike, but whereas in *<u>gh</u>azal* verses the poet's love affair is often provided with an urban background, in the *nasīb* a Bedouin setting is retained as a rule, forming a stylised world deliberately opposed to reality. As a result, the poet's message acquires a timeless validity appropriate to the ceremonial function of the ᶜAbbāsid ode.

The transformation of the "Bedouin encampment" referred to by pre-Islamic and Umayyad poets into a place of symbolic significance could only be achieved by techniques of the "new style" [see BADĪᶜ]. Rhetorical devices, e.g. parallelism, antithesis, allusion, and particularly metaphor, are ingeniously applied so as to produce an intricate pattern, in which the lines of the *nasīb* are related to each other and to the following sections of the ode on different linguistic levels. This is evidenced in the *dīwān* of Ba<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>ār (J. Scott Meisami, *The uses of the Qaṣīda: thematic and structural patterns in a poem of Ba<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>ār*, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 40-60), and in the odes of the great court poets of the 9th century, Abū Tammām (S. Pinckney Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the poetics of the ᶜAbbāsid age*, Leiden 1991; cf. Part II) and al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*] (S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, cf. 28 ff.). Topoi of the ancient *nasīb* are assimilated by various techniques. One of the most important devices is turning them into metaphor, whereby the symbolic world of the *nasīb* and the poet's inner world seem to merge in each other . By metaphorical transformation, his heart becomes a "campsite", where the "trace" (*ṭalal*) of love is not yet effaced (al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963, iv, no. 806,7).

The *nasīb* can be combined or even blended with a bacchic theme and with the description of flowers and gardens, another innovation starting with Ba<u>sh</u><u>sh</u>ār and continued by Muslim b. al-Walīd and other *muḥda<u>th</u>ūn* (cf. G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung*, Beirut 1974, 48 ff.). Some poets stay faithful to convention by describing desert sceneries in spring, whereas others, e.g. al-Buḥturī and Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], mostly refer to urban gardens (Schoeler, *op. cit.* 133 ff., 167 ff.). The description of gardens later sometimes replaces the *nasīb*, especially in Andalusian poetry.

A variation of the bacchic theme is the "anti-*nasīb*", the poet's rejecting the complaint at the *aṭlāl* in preference of wine and the enjoyment of life. It is a favourite opening of the *<u>kh</u>amriyya* and becomes a convention of the genre, but it is also used before a panegyric by Muslim b. al-Walīd and, in particular, by Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*], whose *nasīb* presents the greatest variety of modes and themes. He occasionally conforms to convention, but he often introduces urban themes and even dispenses with the courtly attitude, describing erotic pleasures in his *nasīb* (cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 234 ff.). The "anti-*nasīb*" and other innovations motivated by the intellectual and social aspirations of Persian *mawālī* seem to be limited to the early ᶜAbbāsid period, as far as the ode is concerned.

The ᶜAbbāsid *nasīb* can be fully appreciated only when it is considered as an integral part of the *ḳaṣīda*. The ceremonial ode is bipartite in structure as a rule, *nasīb* and *madīḥ* being juxtaposed without transition, or linked up by a few lines of the travel theme, now a mere introduction to the panegyric. The *nasīb* usually extends over 10-15 lines, independent of the full length of the poem. As has been pointed out by S. Sperl with reference to caliphal odes, the two sections constitute a carefully structured antithesis, "strophe and anti-strophe", each theme of the *nasīb* being echoed, as it were, in the *madīḥ* (*Islamic kingship and Arabic panegyric poetry in the early 9th century*, in *JAL*, viii [1977], 20-35). The antithesis is based on an analogy supported by the ideal of courtly love: the relation of poet and beloved on the one hand, and of poet and patron on the other. Loss and frustration experienced in love are compensated by the caliph's grace and generosity; the transitoriness of human affairs, symbolised by the *aṭlāl*, are counterbalanced by the cosmic power of the ruler to rejuvenate the earth. The analogy is not limited to odes to the caliph, and can be put to different use, moreover, by forming a parallel, the patron's behaviour equalling that of the beloved (cf. Meisami, *op. cit.* 48 ff.).

The technique of contrasting *nasīb* and *madīḥ* is still in evidence in odes of the Būyid-period poet Mihyār al-Daylamī [*q.v.*] (cf. Sperl, *Mannerism*, 48 ff.), but further analysis is required in order to establish its application in later poetry. As for al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], one of the most famous panegyrists of mediaeval Islam, a certain weariness of the *nasīb* is apparent, although there are brilliant specimens in his *dīwān*. Many of his *Sayfiyyāt* are composed without a *nasīb*, however, and in an often-quoted verse referring to the convention of beginning an ode with amatory verses, he doubts whether "all poets can be in love" (*Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici, Berlin 1861, 439, 5). Despite his or other poets' reserve concerning the *nasīb*, odes with amatory prologues continued to be composed throughout the Middle Ages up to the 19th century, and even after the *ḳaṣīda* had become obsolete as a genre, *aṭlāl*, *<u>kh</u>ayāl* and other topoi of the *nasīb* did not lose their æsthetic appeal to modern Arabic poets and their readers.

As has been established, the amatory prologue underwent considerable changes in the course of the first centuries of Islam. It remains to ascertain the generic features which determine its identity as a literary form. If we disregard individual attempts to change the character of the *nasīb*, and innovations limited to a particular period, they are to be defined as follows: *a.* an elegiac concept of love, *b.* the evocation of memories and *c.* a Bedouin setting alluded to by generic signals, i.e. place-names of the Ḥid<u>j</u>āz, traditional names of the beloved, terms and formulas from pre-Islamic love poetry. Since they constitute a linguistic code which must be understood, they depend on a society familiar with a normative poetic convention. Thus it is to be assumed that the *nasīb*, more perhaps than most other genres, served as a means of identification for the intellectual élite of mediaeval Islam.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EI*[1] act. s.v. In addition to studies mentioned in the article, see general works on Arabic literature, in particular: R. Blachère, *HLA* (Index); *GAP*, ii (Index); *CHAL*, i, ii (Index); E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, Darmstadt 1987 8, i, 83 ff., ii, 113 ff..—For a detailed analysis of texts, cf. R. Blachère, *Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas*, in *AIEO Alger*, v (1939-41), 82-128 (= idem, *Analecta*, Damascus 1975, 333-78); ᶜAdnān ᶜA. al-Baladāwī, *al-Maṭlaᶜ al-taḳlīdī fī 'l-ḳaṣīda*, Ba<u>gh</u>dād 1974; Ḥ.

ᶜAṭwān, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ᶜarabiyya fi 'l-shiᶜr al-djāhilī*, Beirut 1987[2]; idem, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ᶜarabiyya fi 'l-ᶜaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1987[2]; idem, *Muḳaddimat al-ḳaṣīda al-ᶜarabiyya fi 'l-ᶜaṣr al-ᶜabbāsī al-awwal*, Beirut 1987[2]; ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Ḥifnī, *Maṭlaᶜ al-ḳaṣīda al-ᶜarabiyya wa-dalālatuhā 'l-nafsiyya*, Cairo 1987.—Studies from the aspect of comparative literature: I. Guidi, *Il "nasib" nella qasida arabe*, in *Actes du XIV[e] Congrès international des Orientalistes, Alger 1905*, Algiers 1907, iii 8-12; C.J. Lyall, *The relation of the old Arabian poetry to the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament*, in *JRAS* (1914), 253-66; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1946, 113 ff. (Hellenistic influence); T.M. Johnstone, *Nasīb and Mansöngur*, in *JAL*, iii (1972) 90-5. (R. Jacobi)

NAṢĪBĪN, Naṣībīn, classical Nasibis, modern Turkish form Nusaybin, a town in upper Mesopotamia, now in modern Turkey. It is situated on the modern Görgarbonızra Çayı, the classical Mygdonios river, the early Arabic Hirmās, Syriac Nehar Māsā or Māshī, in the plain to the south of the mountain region of Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn [*q.v.*], and today faces the Syrian town of al-Ḳāmishlī.

Naṣībīn is an ancient town, its name being probably Semitic. In classical sources we find the form Νάσιβις and on coins ΝΕΣΙΒΙ. In Armenian, it is usually Mcbin, Nsepi or Nsepin. The countryside between Naṣībīn and the Tigris was known to the Syriac Christians as Bēth ᶜArbāyā and to the Armenians as Arvastan. The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times under the name of Naṣibina and was subsequently under the rule of the Seleucids and then, according to Armenian historians, was the capital of the Armenian Arshakunid kings, but then in early Christian times possession of it alternated between the Parthians and Romans. In 195 A.D. Septimius Severus came to Nisibis and made it the capital of a new province, Septimia Nesibi Colonia Metropolis, according to Dio Cassius. In the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., control of it was disputed by the Sasanids, and after 363 was more or less permanently in Persian hands. It was during this period that Nisibis became the centre of the theological school of the same name, founded by the monk Jacob of Nisibis, and in 489 the Nestorian academy of Edessa was transferred thither by the Metropolitan Barṣawmā because of persecutions by the Byzantines, so that for several centuries it remained the intellectual centre of Nestorian Christianity (cf. al-Masᶜūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh*, 150). (For a detailed consideration of Naṣībīn's pre-Islamic history, see E. Honigmann, *EI*[1] s.v.).

In the year 18/639 the Arab commander ᶜIyāḍ b. Ghanm advanced against Naṣībīn which after a brief resistance submitted to the Arabs on the same terms as had been granted to al-Ruhā (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 35, 37, 55, 57, year 18 A.H., § 83, 87, 127, 129; according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175-6, and al-Khwārazmī, ed. Baethgen, in *Abh. f.d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii/3. 110-11, not till the following year; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, 165, 19 A.H., § 42b, 43). In the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik in 684 A.D., Burayda rebelled in Naṣībīn (Mich. Syr., ii, 469; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 111; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, i, 755, 65 A.H., § 15). An earthquake devastated the town in 717 (al-Khwārazmī, *op. cit.*, 122, year 99 A.H.). The Metropolitan Cyprianus in 758-9 completed the choir of the Church (κόγχη) and the altar of the Cathedral of Naṣībīn (al-Khwārazmī, *op. cit.*, 128, year 141 A.H.). In the period of troubles in Mesopotamia, the people of Dārā, Naṣībīn and Āmid used to go out on plundering expeditions (Mich. Syr., iii, 103; Barhebraeus, *Chr. syr.*, 153). A band of Ḳarmaṭians in 315/927-8 attacked Kafartūthā, Rās al-ᶜAyn and Naṣībīn (al-Masᶜūdī, *Tanbīh*, 384).

The Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] began his campaign against Armenia in 328/940 from Naṣībīn (Freytag, in *ZDMG*, x, 467). Byzantines in 331/942 under John Curcuas invaded Mesopotamia and took Mayyāfāriḳīn, Arzan and Naṣībīn (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, 179; Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, ii, 690). Naṣībīn by this time probably belonged to the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (cf. Barhebraeus, 183, under the year 347/958, *ZDMG*, x, 482). After his death in 358/968-9, his son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ḥamdān was for a short time governor of Naṣībīn (*ZDMG*, x, 485). The Byzantines again attacked the town under the Domesticus (the Armenian Mleh) on 1 Muḥarram 362/12 Oct. 972, and instituted a dreadful massacre in it (Barhebraeus, 192; *ZDMG*, x, 486; Weil, iii, 19-20; Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskiy-Vasiliev, 145 = *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii, Paris 1932, 353 wrongly makes the Emperor John Tzimisces himself conduct the campaign; cf. against this D.N. Anastasievič, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxx [1929-30], 403-4).

The Saldjūḳid Ṭoghrīl Beg's army in 435/1043 laid waste the country round Naṣībīn (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, 226). Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 1106 sent Abū Manṣūr al-Djawalī, lord of al-Mawṣil, to Naṣībīn against the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii, 193). Soon afterwards the Artuḳid Īlghāzī Nadjm al-Dīn took the town (Mich. Syr., *loc. cit.*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 273) and after the Sultan had granted it to the *amīr* Mawdūd b. Altuntakin (Mich. Syr., iii, 215) Ilghāzī took it again in 513/1119-20 (*ibid.*, 217). But it changed hands again very soon, when in 515/1121-2 Sultan Maḥmūd gave it to the *amīr* Bursuḳī along with al-Mawṣil, Djazīrat Ibn ᶜUmar and Sindjār (Barhebraeus, 283). The Franks in 523/1128-9 advanced as far as Āmid, Naṣībīn and Raʾs al-ᶜAyn (Barhebraeus, 289). In 1134, Zangī put down a rising in Naṣībīn (Mich. Syr., iii, 242). Bābak, installed there as governor by Zangī himself, destroyed all the fortresses in the neighbourhood so that Zangī might have no base against him (Mich. Syr., iii, 264). Nūr al-Dīn of Ḥalab in 566/1171 took the town without opposition and dealt rigorously with the Nestorian Christians there. All their new buildings were destroyed, the treasuries plundered and about 1,000 volumes of their writings burned (Mich. Syr., iii, 339-40). After his death, his nephew Sayf al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil seized the town (Mich. Syr., iii, 360). It surrendered to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 578/1182 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, 360). In the following year, the latter gave to ᶜImād al-Dīn Sindjār, Naṣībīn and other towns in exchange for Ḥalab (Barhebraeus, 362) and he ruled there till his death in 594/1198 (Barhebraeus, 398, 402). In the region of Naṣībīn there was fierce fighting in 582/1186-7 between Kurds and Turkomans (Barhebraeus, 370). ᶜImād al-Dīn was succeeded in 594/1198 by his son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, but Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of al-Mawṣil immediately took the town from him. But when a severe epidemic wrought great havoc in his army, he abandoned it and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn returned thither (Barhebraeus, 402). Nūr al-Dīn in 600/1203-4 had to break off a second siege of Naṣībīn prematurely (Barhebraeus, 416-17). Al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil took the town in 606/1209-10 from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, 424). After his death (615/1218-9) it passed to al-Malik al-Ashraf of Urfa (Barhebraeus, 424, 439).

The Arab geographers placed Naṣībīn in the fourth clime, the southern boundary of which ran about 12 *farsakhs* south of the town on the direction of Sindjār

(al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 32-3, 35, 44). According to Yāḳūt, it lay on the upper course of the Hirmās in the midst of numerous gardens. Ibn Ḥawḳal, who in 358/968-9 visited the town, which lay at the foot of Djabal Bālūsā, speaks of the pleasant life in it, apart from the dangerous scorpions found there. Al-Muḳaddasī describes the fine houses and baths, the market, the Friday mosque and the citadel. Ibn Djubayr also visited it in 580/1184-5, and mentions its gardens, the bridge over the Hirmās inside the town, the hospital (*māristān*), several schools and other places of interest. In the 8th/14th century it was already for the most part in ruins; but the Friday mosque was still in existence and the gardens around it from which rose-water was exported (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, according to whom the walls had a circumference of 6,500 paces, praises its fruits and wine but laments the unhealthy moistness of the climate, the large number of scorpions and the plague of midges.

Hūlāgū in 657/1259 occupied al-Ruhā, Naṣībīn and Ḥarrān (Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv, 10). The Mongol Khān Mangū-Tīmūr [*q.v.*] died, poisoned in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, on his way from there to Naṣībīn, on 16 Muḥarram 681/26 April 1282 (Barhebraeus, 546-7). When Tīmūr Khān in 1395 was on his way to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the people of Naṣībīn and Maʿarra hid in caves from the Mongols but were suffocated in them with smoke (Appx. to Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Wallis Budge, ii, p. xxxiv). The Ḥasanāyē Kurds in 1403 pillaged Naṣībīn and the country around (*ibid.*, p. xxxvi).

The town passed into the hands of the Ottomans in 921/1515 (von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, Pest 1828, 449). It became the capital of a *sandjak* in the *pashalïk* of Āmid (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihan-numā*, Istanbul 1732, 438). Later, it was placed in the *sandjak* of Mārdīn in the *pashalïk* of Baghdād (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, Paris 1818, 161-2).

In the present century, Nusaybin's strategic importance has arisen not only from its position on the southern fringes of the eastern Anatolian highlands but also from the passing through it, with a station, of the Istanbul-Aleppo-Baghdād railway. In contemporary Turkey, Nusaybin town (lat. 37° 03' N, long. 41° 13' E) is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* or district of the *il* or province of Mardin, agriculturally prosperous from cereal and rice growing and from stock-raising. In 1970 the town had a population of 13,941 and the district one of 43,309.

Bibliography: Khwārazmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. v. Mžik, *ibid.*, v, 29 (no. 260: read *Madīnat Naṣībīn*); Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii, 175 (no. 158); iii, 238; Iṣṭakhrī, 72-8; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 139-43, 149; Muḳaddasī, 54, 90, 137, 140, 145-6, 149, 159, 390; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 132-3, 227, 233; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 95-6, 116, 172; Ḳudāma, 214-15, 227, 245; Ibn Rusta, 97, 106; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 362; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 32-3, 35, 44, 150. 384; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 559, iv, 787; Ibn Djubayr, ed. Wright, 240; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 140; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, Bombay 1311, 167; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175, 178; Ibn al-Athīr, index, ii, 818; Ṭabarī, indices, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 87, 94-5, 97, 124-5; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, index, 316, under *Nṣībhīn*; J.S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 442-6; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 392; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, Berlin 1900, 29-36; V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, 317-19; C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler* (*XVII. wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*), Leipzig 1911, 39-43; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 336-46, pls. cxxxviii f. and figs. 314-16; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 482, 490-3, 496-99, 522-3; Murray's *Handbook. Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 292-3; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig 1912, 425-6; Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 247-50, 345, 477-8, 576; Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim principality in Crusader times. The early Artuqid state*, Istanbul 1990, index.

(E. Honigmann-[C.E. Bosworth])

NĀṢĪF AL-YĀZIDJĪ [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ].

NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK (A.), literally "advice for rulers", a phrase under which may conveniently be considered the genre of pre-modern Islamic literature which consists of advice to rulers and their executives on politics and statecraft (*siyāsa* [*q.v.*] or *tadbīr al-mulūk*); the ruler's comportment towards God and towards the subjects or *raʿiyya* [*q.v.*] whom God has entrusted to his charge; the conduct of warfare, diplomacy and espionage; etc. All these themes correspond to the genre of mediaeval European literature known as that of "mirrors for princes" or *Fürstenspiegel* (see on this, *Dict. of the Middle Ages*, New York 1982-9, viii, 434-6, art. *Mirror of princes* (Patricia J. Eberle)).

In their more theoretical aspect, these Islamic works overlap the fields of practical ethics (for which see AKHLĀḲ (i)) and of the testament or *waṣiyya* [*q.v.*] of a chief or ruler, which (in the examples known to us, such as the testaments of ʿUmar I, Muʿāwiya and al-Manṣūr) seem often to have contained advice on rulership and its problems, aphorisms on the responsibilities of power, exhortations to justice and godly rule, etc. intended for the testator's heir. But many of them also have a distinctly practical aspect. The emphasis here is often on *Realpolitik* as a mainspring of political action, so that contemporary pragmatic attitudes to the exercise of power are revealed; and, in the later, Persian mirrors for princes there is often a considerable amount of historical information conveyed as anecdotes or as illustrative, practical examples of general principles. They thus contain material of value to students of Islamic history and of Islamic administration and its institutions.

The genre has a further significance for the unfolding of early Islamic culture in that it constitutes a meeting-point for various ethical, philosophical and practical strands. Some of these developed purely within the Islamic religious tradition, such as the concept of the caliph-*imām* as deriving all his power from God and only deserving his exalted position so long as he exercised this authority in conformity with the *sharīʿa* [*q.v.*]. Others were non-Islamic. The Persian bureaucratic tradition, already influential in Islamic administration by the later part of the Umayyad period (see below), was strengthened in the ʿAbbāsid period by the formation of the influential body of secretaries or *kuttāb* [see KĀTIB. i. In the caliphate] imbued with ancient Persian ideas and ideals; whence the frequency in the mirrors for princes literature of stories illustrating the beneficent and just government of Sāsānid emperors like Ardashīr I Pāpakān, Bahrām [*q.v.*] Čūbīn, Khusraw I Anūsharwān [*q.v.*] and Khusraw II Aparwīz, and the wisdom of their ministers such as Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*]. A lesser influence was mediated from India through such animal fables has those of Bidpay, the later Arabic *Kalīla wa-*

Dimna [*q.v.*], going back to the Sanskrit *Pančatantra*, but much more significant was the classical Greek and Hellenistic component, derived in great part through translations and illustrated by the roles as sages assigned to Plato and Aristotle [see AFLĀṬŪN and ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] and to Alexander the Great, regarded as the pupil of the latter philosopher, as an exemplar of wise rule [see AL-ISKANDAR].

1. In Arabic literature.

The genre, as known to us in Arabic, may be said to develope towards the end of the Umayyad period when, during the caliphate of Hishām (105-25/724-43), a distinct interest in Persian administrative ways is discernible (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The social significance of the Shuʿūbīya*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1962, 62-3). His caliph's chief secretary, the *mawlā* Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Sālim, seems to have composed a collection of epistles which purported *inter alia* to contain advice on ruling given by Aristotle to Alexander, in particular, a *Kitāb fi 'l-siyāsa al-ʿāmmiyya*, almost certainly in large part deriving from a Greek original but with distinct Persian-derived touches, and possibly having a practical aim with regard to Hishām's policies in Khurāsān and the increasing difficulties of the Umayyad governors there [see J.D. Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature: the epistolary genre*, in *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature* [i.] *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 154-64, and the works of M. Grignaschi listed on p. 533).

Sālim's successor in the Umayyad *dīwān al-rasāʾil*, the celebrated ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib [*q.v.*], wrote a lengthy and elaborate epistle to the designated *walī 'l-ʿahd* and son of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān (II) b. Muḥammad (127-32/744-50), ʿAbd Allāh. It comprises an ethico-political section on the moral qualifications necessary for princes, the practical responsibilities of the prince for maintaining good government, followed by a more strictly practical discourse on questions of military organisation (see Latham, in *op. cit.*, 167-72).

The genre has thus a respectable prehistory dating from at least a generation before the work of the figure who was, in the past, usually taken (e.g. by G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älterer arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932, 4 ff.) as the pioneer composer of an Arabic mirror for princes, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 140/757 [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ]). The latter's work as a communicator of the imperial Sāsānid Persian governmental tradition through his translations from Pahlavi into Arabic, is well-known. His *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba*, apparently addressed to the second ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]), hence stemming from Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's last two or three years of life, treats of the importance for the ruler of choosing reliable companions and executives but also of more general political and military topics, and especially, of the importance of justice in the practical exercise of authority (see text and Fr. tr. in Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, mort vers 140/757 "Conseilleur" du calife*, Paris 1976; Latham, *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and early ʿAbbasid prose*, in *CHAL* [ii.] *ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 64-72). More clearly in the specific mirrors for princes genre is his *K. Ādāb al-kabīr*. The second part of this is probably addressed to the caliph's son and enjoins him to acquire *adab* [*q.v.*], whilst the third part is addressed to the caliph's minister or companion and advises him on the correct *adab* for the ruler's service, and the fourth part appears to deal with personal relations within the secretary's own milieu, stressing the value of true friendship. In its emphasis on the importance of the heritage of the ancients and their transmitted wisdom, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ clearly had in mind the Greek authorities and also the old Persian monarchical and secretarial traditions—from the latter of which he and his father stemmed directly—but these strands were mingled with his own first-hand experience of political life: the morality of the epistle is Machiavellian rather than elevated in tone (see Richter, *op. cit.*, 4-22; Latham, in *op. cit.*, 57-64; and the Bibl. to Gabrieli's art. IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ).

Over the next two centuries, Arabic *adab* literature continued to include, as one of its components, elements of advice on the ethics of rulership and the practical conduct of affairs. From the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], well-known for his interest in the movement for translation from Greek into Syriac and Arabic and for the mediation of classical scientific and philosophical knowledge to the Islamic world, dates the terse but meaty epistle of the Khurāsānian commander Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] addressed to his son ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] when the latter was in 206/821 about to take up a provincial governorship. Notable here is the dominant place accorded to Islamic religion and the vitalness of the ruler's behaving in conformity with both the old Arab tribal virtues (*ḥilm*, *murūʾa* [*q.vv*]) and also the Ḳurʾān and Sunna; the influence of the old Persian ideals of rulership and ideas about subjects' obedience is here very subordinate. Possibly it was this strongly Arab-Islamic ethos, combined with the literary appeal of its elegant and balanced phrases, which made the epistle popular with later generations; as well as figuring in the surviving portion of the *K. Baghdād* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.v.*], it is given by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn (see Richter, 80-3; Eng. tr. in C.E. Bosworth, *An early Arabic mirror for princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's epistle to his son ʿAbdallāh (206/821)*, in *JNES*, xxix [1970], 25-41).

The many-sided genius of al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) absorbed the wisdom of the Greeks and Persians through the translations which had been appearing since the time of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, and was in close contact, if not with caliphs, with viziers, chief judges and members of the ʿAbbāsid family of his time. A largely lost *K. Akhlāḳ al-wuzarāʾ* (Pellat, *Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'oeuvre ǧāḥiẓienne*, in *Arabica*, xxxi [1984], 163 no. 238) must have been a manual for the use of viziers, but the *K. al-Tādj*, dedicated to al-Mutawakkil's commander and courtier al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*], hence from the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, and dealing with the comportment of the monarch, the organisation of his court and the conduct required of his boon-companions (*nudamāʾ*, sing *nadīm* [*q.v.*]), is obviously one of the many apocryphal works of al-Djāḥiẓ. Given the prominent role in it of Sāsānid-derived material, it was probably written by an ethnically Persian author imbued however with Arabic culture also; its title is indeed reminiscent of a Pahlavi *Tādj-nāmak* said to have been one of the works translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (see the Fr. tr. of Pellat, *Le Livre de la Couronne ... attribué à Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1954, introd., and also Richter, *op. cit.*, 47-60; as Richter notes, 39, the authenticity or otherwise of al-Djāḥiẓ's authorship does not affect the work's significance as a product of the cultural atmosphere of the time).

Certain of the *adab* works of the writers one generation after al-Djāḥiẓ like Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 275/889 [*q.v.*]) and of two generations later like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940 [*q.v.*]) merit consideration for material within them which is very much in the genre of advice to princes, although treated very much in a

literary and bellelettristic vein. The former's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* includes lengthy sections entitled *kitāb al-sulṭān* on the qualities necessary for rulership, *k. al-ḥarb* on the conduct of warfare and *k. al-suʾdud* on the quality of leadership and success in worldly affairs (see Richter, 39 ff., and G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba (mort en 276/889), l'homme, son oeuvre, ses idées*, Damascus 1965, 145-6). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi likewise opens his *adab* collection *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* with sections on government (*sulṭān*), the conduct of war and a subsequent one on the addressing of kings, and appears to have drawn upon sources parallel to those of Ibn Ḳutayba (see Richter, 72-9);

The *Fürstenspiegel* genre continued in Arabic literature for at least two or three centuries more. Works which were either themselves mirrors for princes or contained elements of the genre include two works, both extant, by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*]), including a *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* and a *K. Ḳawānīn al-wuzarāʾ wa-siyāsat al-mulūk*, the latter being one of several composed on the *adab al-wazīr* (see on this, D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿaabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 13-14). Al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]) composed at the court of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS] a *K. Ādāb al-mulūk al-khʷārazmshāhi* (ed. and Eng. tr. Tevfik Topuzoğlu, *Kitāb ʿAdāb al-Mulūk al-Khwārazm-Shāhī of ... ath-Thaʿālibī*, Ph.D. diss., Manchester 1974, 2 vols., unpubl.).

Such works were as popular in the Muslim West as in the central and eastern Islamic lands, as already evidenced by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's *ʿIḳd* (whose contents, however, are entirely within the Baghdād-centred traditions of the Mashriḳ; it does not seem that any distinctive, local versions of the genre ever developed in al-Andalus or the Maghrib); see, e.g., Ibn Abī Randaḳa al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126 or 525/1131 [*q.v.*])'s *Sirādj al-Mulūk* (Span. tr. M. Alarcón, *Lámpara de los príncipes por Abubéquer de Tortosa*, Madrid 1930-1), and the *Sulwān al-maṭāliʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* of the Sicilian emigrant to Mecca, Ḥudjdjat al-Dīn Ibn Ẓafar (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172 [*q.v.*]), which contains many animal fables and stories of Indian origin, not all of them taken from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Ital. tr. M. Amari, *Conforti politici*, Florence 1882; see also Richter, *op. cit.*, 90-2). Closely connected with, and dependent upon, Ibn Ẓafar's work was the mirror for princes of the easterner Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256 [*q.v.*]), the *Kanz al-mulūk fī kayfiyyat al-sulūk*, who omitted, however (possibly because of the rigorist attitudes from his Ḥanbalī family background) the animal and bird fables much used by Ibn Ẓafar (ed. G. Vitestam, *The treasure of princes on the fashion of behaviour ascribed to Sibṭ ibn al-Djauzi*, Lund 1970).

The most notable author of these times to compose in the genre was the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [*q.v.*]). As well as touching on the topic of rulership and its duties in such works of his as the *K. al-Mustaẓhirī* and the Persian-language *Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat*, it seems that al-Ghazālī wrote a special treatise on the Islamic religious ideals required of a godly ruler and on practical questions of statecraft for a Saldjūḳ prince, either Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh or his brother Sandjar [*q.vv.*], and this forms the first part of the work which has been generally attributed to him and called the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. The second part of this, however, is probably the work of an unknown Persian author of a generation or so later working very much in the Persian ethical and political tradition (see Patricia Crone, *Did al-Ghazālī write a Mirror for Princes? On the authorship of Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, in *JSAI*, x [1987], 167-91). Both parts of this Persian-language work were subsequently translated into Arabic (according to Ibn Khallikān, by Ṣafī 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Irbilī for a Turkish Atabeg of Mawṣil towards the end of the 6th/12th century) as *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, and this had a much wider circulation than the Persian original, being frequently copied in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, whereas so few of the Persian version circulated that Goldziher, e.g. believed that it had been irretrievably lost (*Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, 98) until mss. turned up in Istanbul and Tehran. As well as imparting the usual Islamic and pre-Islamic Persian counsels for the ruler, al-Ghazālī's part of the work expresses the Ṣūfī view of life which one would expect from such a noted practitioner of Ṣūfism as its author: the ruler's spiritual life is of paramount importance. Following the traditional Islamic view, al-Ghazālī stresses that kingship is a gift bestowed by God, for which the ruler will be fully accountable on the Last Day; the ruler does not owe his power to his fellow-men and is not accountable to them, hence he must be especially careful to avoid the meretricious attractions of this world. The patently different emphasis of the second part, on the qualities required by kings, is seen in the extensive quotation of the examples set by the Sāsānid Persian emperors and in its praise of the justice and benevolent rule of the "Magians" for some 4,000 years until God decided to send the Prophet Muḥammad for mankind and to let the political sovereignty pass to the Arabs; even so, the fame of the wise and just Khusraw Anūsharwān still redounds during Islamic times because his salient qualities of justice and magnanimity are valid for all times and valid during all manifestations of God's favour to subsequent religions and dynasties. The anonymous author recognises, in the period of the decline of the caliphate's effective power, the fait accompli of the practical exercise of power by the *sulṭān* [*q.v.*], and regards this last as divinely-inspired also; maxims like "the sultan is God's shadow on earth" are cited with approval, and the sultan's power is viewed as being consecrated by the old-Persian idea of the "divine effulgence" (*farr-i īzadī*) (see on the whole work, Richter, *op. cit.*, 67-9; Eng. tr. with extensive and valuable introd., F.R.C. Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsels for Kings*, London 1962; Carole Hillenbrand, *Islamic orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazālī's views on government*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxvi [1988], 91-3; A.K.S. Lambton, *The theory of kingship in the Naṣīḥat al-mulūk of Ghazālī*, in *IQ*, i [1954], 47-55; idem, *State and government in medieval Islam*, Oxford 1981, 117-26).

2. In Persian literature.

The genre in Arabic was always of a pronounced literary cast, reflecting the dominant role accorded to *adab* and its practitioners in Arab-Islamic culture. The literary, idealising element remains discernible in the Persian mirrors for princes, but practical considerations obtrude much more perceptibly here, perhaps in part reflecting the fact that two of the outstanding Persian composers of works in the genre, Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar and Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.vv.*] were themselves exponents of the art of practical politics and far from being academic theoreticians.

It was seen in section 1. above that the contributory pre-Islamic Persian strand in the development of the genre, derived from the collections of animal and bird fables and from works on the conduct of the Sāsānid emperors and the organisation of their courts, was always notable. Furthermore, Middle Persian literature had quite an appreciable amount of moralising works containing admonitions, ethical directives

and advice on correct behaviour in various walks of life, the so-called *andarz* "teachings" and *pand-nāmak* "book of counsels" literature (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 37-9), and this emphasis was carried over into the Islamic period when New Persian Islamic literature developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards; it may further be seen in the moralising element prominent in such literary collections of stories as the *Gulistān* and *Būstān* of Saᶜdī [*q.v.*].

As in Arabic, the genre in Islamic Persian literature begins with works on a modest scale or with sections in works essentially concerned with broader or with different topics. From the middle years of the 5th/11th century are the references within the *Taʾrīkh-i Masᶜūdī* of the Ghaznawid author Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] to earlier works like Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ's translation of the pre-Islamic Persian *Khudāy-nāmak* "Book of kings", which he calls the *Taʾrīkh-i Mulūk-i ᶜAdjam*, and his comments on the ideal conduct of the ruler, his coercive powers and the subjects within his jurisdiction (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 48-50; Marilyn R. Waldman, *Toward a theory of historical narrative, a case study in Perso-Islamicate historiography*, Columbus, Ohio 1980, 69-70). The founder of the dynasty, Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] allegedly left behind a *waṣiyya*, a collection of aphorisms and pieces of advice on the business of kingship, the *Pand-nāma*, known to us from its inclusion in a general history of the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Shabānkāra'ī's *Madjmaᶜ al-anṣāb*, but that a Turkish steppe barbarian like Sebüktigin could have put together this sophisticated opuscule, whose contents include much that is discernible in the longer and more elaborate Persian mirrors for princes, is highly unlikely, and it must surely have been composed well after his death in 387/997 and attributed to him in later Ghaznawid times as the heroic founder of the dynasty (see M. Nazim, *The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigīn*, in *JRAS* [1933], 605-28; Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii [1963], 18-20 = *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Variorum Reprints, London 1977, no. XIII). This process of attribution happened not infrequently in Persian literature where the supposed aphorisms or counsels of a prominent figure were involved. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (see below) was "edited" in some degree and probably added to, after his death, by Muḥammad Maghribī, and the great vizier's so-called *waṣāyā* or *naṣāʾiḥ* were not compiled till the 9th/15th century, though apparently from genuine family traditions and possibly from contemporary or near-contemporary materials (see H. Bowen, *The* sargudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the "Tale of the three school-fellows" and the* waṣāyā *of the Niẓām al-Mulk*, in *JRAS* [1931], 776-8).

The second half of the 5th/11th century saw the appearance of the three greatest, complete-work mirrors for princes, the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, the *Siyāsat-nāma* and the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. That they should appear within a span of three or four decades can hardly be fortuitous. It may possibly reflect the recognition by their ethnically Persian (in fact, largely eastern Persian) authors that the centre of gravity of the orthodox Sunnī world was now Persia rather than ᶜIrāḳ or Syria or Arabia, that the division of caliphate and sultanate—the latter under the Saldjūḳs, now at the height of their power—was permanent and irrevocable, and that treatises on statecraft and kingship ought to take account of these changed conditions. The work of the most conservative and traditional in ethos of these writers, al-Ghazālī, and of his more pragmatic unknown colleague/continuator in Persian, has already been considered in section 1. above.

The Ziyārid prince of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] named his *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, after his ruthless and cunning grandfather Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*], whom Kay Kāwūs clearly admired and regarded as a fine exponent of *Realpolitik* unrestrained by the more noble ethical considerations of fairness and charity towards opponents, when these conflicted with necessity and expediency. At the top level, the book gives advice on statecraft, the arts of war and diplomacy, and the organisation of court life, but also, on a lower level, with the practice of various more humdrum professions and with the successful conduct of daily affairs like buying slaves or horses. R. Levy (introd. to his Eng. tr., *A mirror for princes, the Qābūs-nāma*, London 1951, p. ix) justly characterised it as combining "the functions of popular educator, manual of political conduct and text book of ethics, with expediency as its motto" (see E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam, an introductory outline*, Cambridge 1968, 78-91, Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings*, introd., pp. xiii-xiv). Its brisk practicality made it a favourite with later generations of the Perso-Islamic cultural world, and at least five Ottoman Turkish translations of it were made.

The vizier to the Saldjūḳ sultans Alp Arslan and Malik-Shāh [*q.vv.*], Niẓām al-Mulk, composed his *Siyāsat-nāma* or *Siyar al-mulūk* at the court of the latter sultan in 484-5/1091-2, possibly at Malik-Shāh's suggestion, and placed within it the distilled wisdom of some four decades of administrative activity in Persia; the result is the supreme work of its kind in Persian. In some ways, it was a political manifesto, setting forth the things which he considered his master the sultan should undertake and reproving his lack of concern with certain vital affairs of rule; his exemplars here are not only the old Persian kings but also such forceful Islamic despots as the Būyid ᶜAḍud al-Dawla and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. But Niẓām al-Mulk's basic premise for all human affairs is the divine authority of the ruler, whether he be caliph-*imām* or sultan, as being designated by God and as holding his power in trust from God, with the corollaries that the ruler's supreme task is the furtherance of right religion and the suppression of all religious and social deviance and that it is the duty of subjects to give unconditional obedience. This concept of the ruler's untrammelled power was to live on throughout the Islamic lands virtually unchallenged until modern times, and in this wise, Niẓām al-Mulk, good Muslim though he was, was restating the old Persian traditions of government based on force majeure and opportunism, as distinct from the traditional Islamic idea of true authority being based on the Ḳurʾān and *Sharīᶜa*. Because of the high proportion of illustrative anecdotal and historical material within it, the *Siyāsat-nāma* is a significant, if not always totally reliable, straight historical source, above all for the period of the caliphate's decline and disintegration on the rise of provincial dynasties like the Sāmānids, Ṣaffārids and Ghaznawids, and for various socio-religious protest movements arising in the Persian lands, from Mazdakism to Ismāᶜīlism (see Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 81-3; Bagley, *op. cit.*, introd. pp. xiv-xv; Lambton, *The dilemma of government in Islamic Persia: the Siyāsat-nāma of Niẓām al-Mulk*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxii [1984], 55-66).

Even more in the traditional Islamic mould than al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, and in fact heavily depen-

dent on that author's *Kimiyā-yi saʿādat* and, to a lesser extent, on his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, is the *Baḥr al-fawāʾid* (tr. Julie S. Meisami, *The sea of precious virtues* (Baḥr al-Favāʾid), *a medieval Islamic mirror for princes*, Salt Lake City 1991). This was written in Syria, probably at Aleppo, by an unknown author for one of the Aḥmadīlī [*q.v.*] Atabegs of Ādharbāydjān, and its tone is homilectic rather than prosaic and practical, with its examples almost entirely Islamic; it reflects the atmosphere of *djihād* against the Crusaders and the contemporary resurgence, under the Saldjūḳs and Zangids, of Sunnī orthodoxy, and not the continued influence of the Persian past.

The genre of mirrors for princes retained an enduring interest for later generations of Persian writers, and this interest is visible in such works as the *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk* of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī saint of Kashmīr, Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī (d. 786/1385 [see ʿALĪ B. SHIHĀB AL-DĪN HAMADĀNĪ]; the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Shāhrukhī*, written in 813/1411 by Djalāl al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ Ḳazwīnī for the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh [*q.v.*]; and the *Sulūk al-mulūk* of Faḍl Allāh Rūzbihān Khundjī (d. 927/1521 [*q.v.*]), written as a guide for the strongly Sunnī Shaybānid ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān (see Rypka *et alii*, *op. cit.*, 427).

Hamadhānī's work was written in Muslim India, and mirrors for princes remained equally popular within the Persian cultural world of India. This Indian aspect of the genre has not been thoroughly studied, but a concern with statecraft, the art of war and political ethics were of burning relevance to a Muslim society like the Indian one, which had to maintain itself against strong non-Islamic internal forces such as the Hindu princes and against invaders from outside the subcontinent like the Mongols and Tīmūr. Muslims never became anything like a numerical majority of population over the country as a whole, hence writers in India were more exercised by such topics as *djihād* and by the status of non-believers within the Indian *Dār al-Islām* than were writers in the Persian lands proper. Some Indo-Muslim writers in the mirrors for princes vein during the Sultanate period, like Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārak Shāh (*flor.* late 6th-early 7th/late 12th-early 13th centuries [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) recognised in his *Ādāb al-mulūk* that unbelievers should be treated justly and assigned a protected, if subordinate, place in society; whereas the Tughluḳid period author Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī (d. after 758/1357 [*q.v.*]), in his mirror, the *Fatāwā-yi Djahāndārī*, took up a rigorist attitude on the treatment of infidels, involving the necessity of humiliating them. The Mughal empire saw the production of various mirrors, such as the *Akhlāḳ-i Humāyūn* of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥusayn (written in 912/1506-7 for Bābur's son Humāyūn [*q.v.*]), and the *Akhlāḳ-i Ḥakīmī* by Ḥasan ʿAlī Munshī (wrote 987-8/1579-80 for the half-brother of the Emperor Akbar, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). From the reign of Djahāngīr—whose interest in ethical and didactic literature may have stimulated the composition of these works—in the first part of the 11th/17th century stem no fewer than three works in the genre, Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Khāḳānī's *Akhlāḳ-i Djahāngīrī*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī's *Risāla-yi Nūriyya-yi sulṭāniyya* (the only one of these works by an *ʿālim* who was not also a courtier; and the *Mawʿiẓa-yi Djahāngīrī* of Muḥammad Bāḳir Nadjm-i Thānī (d. 1047/1637 [*q.v.*]), recently ed. with Eng. tr. as *Advice on the art of governance ... an Indo-Muslim mirror for princes*, by Sajida Sultana Alvi, Albany N.Y. 1989. This last work does not seem to show that the genre had developed much originality in Muslim India, although a lessened pre-occupation with threats from the infidels may reflect the more secure conditions of the time compared with the earlier, troubled Sultanate period (see Alvi's introd., 29-34). Finally, Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 427, mentions a *Tuḥfa-yi Ḳuṭbshāhī* written in this same 11th/17th century by ʿAlī b. Ṭayfūr Bisṭāmī for the Ḳuṭb-Shāhī ruler of Golkondā [*q.v.*] ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [see ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ].

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Abdul Hakim H.O.M. Dawood, *A comparative study of Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes from the 2nd to the 6th century A.H.*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London 1965, unpubl.; C.E. Bosworth, ch. *Administrative literature*, in *CHAL* [iii], *Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period*, Cambridge 1990, 165-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NĀSIKH [see NASKH].

NĀSIKH, SHAYKH IMĀM BAKHSH (d. 1838), a leading Urdu poet of the Lucknow School, though often now considered more important as an arbiter of the language, as opposed to the literary Urdu of Dihlī. This is no doubt the reason for his *takhalluṣ Nāsikh* "abrogator". He was born in Fayḍābād (Fayzabad), and became the adopted son and heir of a tent-maker, Khudā Bakhsh. He studied Persian and Urdu, and took Sawdā [*q.v.*] as his model in poetry. His formative years were spent at the court of a nobleman Mīrzā Ḥadjdjī, where he was able to indulge his pre-occupation with language. His relations with other patrons were not so friendly, and at times he feared for his life. Moreover, Khudā Bakhsh's real sons resented what they considered the poet's depriving them of their rightful inheritance. Nevertheless, Nāsikh soon achieved fame as a poet in both Urdu and Persian, as a teacher and as a corrector of other men's poetry, especially in respect of their language. Nawnahārwī (190-7) lists 86 poets as his pupils.

Nāsikh came on the scene when the establishing and standardising of Urdu as the literary language of Indian Muslims was developing, especially in Lucknow, to which political events had led many Dihlī poets to emigrate. Nāsikh became the leader of language reform, aimed at replacing many idioms current in Dihlī by others considered superior, particularly for the use of poets, it is in this that Nāsikh's poetry gained importance: it constitutes a show-case for the reformed language. It consists of three *dīwāns* and a handful of *mathnawīs*. His favourite poetical form was *ghazal*, but he also wrote shorter pieces such as quatrains, chronograms, didactic poems and gnomic verse (*tamthīliyyāt*). He did not write *ḳaṣīdas* in Urdu, though it was often said that almost all his poetry is *ḳaṣīda*-like in tone. He was a master of poetic technique. Such was his reputation that it was claimed that mss. and editions of his poetry are probably more numerous than those of any other Urdu poet. There is also a Persian *dīwān*, written in uncomplicated style.

The same cannot be said of his Urdu style, and this may account for the decline of his reputation in the 20th century. His failings are clearly explained by Muhammad Sadiq in his *A history of Urdu literature* (134-7). He says: "Nasikh is one of those poets who make up in ingenuity for what they lack in inspiration". Sadiq also mentions his "excessive interest in conceits and other artificialities", stating that one rarely hears a personal note. The poet is also accused of being "excessively devoted to difficult rhymes". Saksena (101) refers to his "florid and ornate poetry, full of rhetorical embellishments, metaphor, hyperbole and far-fetched similes". But he describes him (102) as the founder of the Lucknow School.

His reform of the Urdu language include the

following matters: the elimination of Hindi words, and preference for those of Arabic and Persian origin; determination of the gender of nouns, which had been vague from the days of Dakhani Urdu, and of the spelling of common words, particularly in the use of long or short vowels. Thus *idhar* (here/hither) and *udhar* (there/thither) were preferred to *īdhar* and *ūdhar*.

Nāsikh also wrote, in Persian, a very short treatise on Urdu rhyme, *Risāla-yi-ḳāfiya*, of no great importance.

Bibliography: For a detailed study of Nāsikh, see Shabīb al-Ḥasan Nawnahārwī, *Nāsikh: Tadjziya wa taḳdīr* Lucknow 1975. A shorter study is the 130-page Introduction to selected verse, Rāshid Ḥasan Khān, *Intikhāb-i-Nāsikh*, New Delhi 1972. For shorter accounts, see Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, Oxford 1962, 17, 133-6, and Ram Babu Saksena, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 17, 101-6. Among many editions of his *dīwāns*, the one published in Lucknow in 1923 may be recommended. (J.A. HAYWOOD)

AL-**NĀSIKH** WA 'L-**MANSŪKH** [see NASKH].

NASĪM, DAYĀ SHANKAR KAWL (1811-32), a Kashmīrī paṇḍit who studied poetics under the *ghazal* poet of Lucknow Ātish [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. His fame rests entirely upon one poem, a romance called *Gulzār-i Nasīm*, composed when he was 22. It greatly resembles Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān*, and is generally awarded the second place among Urdū poetic romances. Nasīm also translated the Arabian Nights into Urdū. Nasīm is among the great Urdū *mathnawī* [*q.v.*, 4. in Urdu] (*mathnawī* in the sense of poetic romance) writers, and is one of the very few Urdū authors who were Hindūs.

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NASĪM-OGHLU [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ].

AL-**NĀṢIR** [see AL-UṬRŪSH].

AL-**NĀṢIR**, honorific of the fourth sovereign of the dynasty of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], ABŪ ᶜABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. YAᶜḲŪB AL-MANṢŪR B. YŪSUF B. ᶜABD AL-MUᵓMIN. He was proclaimed on the death of his father on 22 Rabīᶜ I 595/25 Jan. 1199. The beginning of his reign was marked by the suppression of a rising led by an agitator in the mountainous country of the Ghumāra [*q.v.*] and a long stay at Fās, during which the rebuilt a part of the wall of the *ḳaṣaba* of the city. Hearing of the rising of Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, BANŪ] in Ifrīḳiya, he set out for the eastern part of his empire and laid siege to the town of Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] which was taken on 27 Djumādā I 602/ 9 Jan. 1206. He returned to Morocco in the following year, leaving as his deputy in Ifrīḳiya the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Hintātī, ancestor of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*]. In 599/1202-3 he had despatched from Algiers against Majorca [see MAYŪRḲA], which had belonged to the Banū Ghāniya since the period of the last Almoravids, a fleet which took the island; this remained in Muslim hands till 627/1230. In 607/1211, al-Nāṣir sent an expedition to Spain which ended in a disaster for the Muslim troops at Las Navas de Tolosa [see AL-ᶜIḲĀB] on 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212. This severe reverse deeply affected al-Nāṣir, who returned to Morocco and made his subjects take the oath of allegiance to his son Yūsuf. He then retired to his palace. He died at Rabat (Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ [*q.v.*]) on 10 Shaᶜbān 610/25 Dec. 1213. According to some chroniclers, he died a violent death on the same date in Marrakesh, his capital, the victim of a conspiracy hatched by his viziers.

This ruler, whose reign marks the beginning of the decline of the Almohads, left behind virtually nothing of lasting memory, and no inscription in his name seems even to have been carved at Marrakesh, where, on the night of 11 Rabīᶜ I 607/2-3 September 1210, the Ḳayṣāriyya was devastated by a catastrophic fire. It is nevertheless recorded that he built a workshop for coining money at Fās.

Bibliography: See that for AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**NĀṢIR**, the name of two Ayyūbid sultans.

I. AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN DĀWŪD B. AL-MALIK AL-MUᶜAẒẒAM, born in Djumādā I 603/ December 1205) in Damascus.

After the death of his father at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 624/November 1227 Dāwūd succeeded him on the throne of Damascus and the Mamlūk ᶜIzz al-Dīn Aybak acted as regent. Dāwūd's uncle however, covetous of territory, did not leave him long in peace. Al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] first of all claimed the fortress of al-Shawbak [*q.v.*], and when it was refused him he occupied Jerusalem, Nābulus and other places (625/1228). In this perilous position, Dāwūd appealed to another uncle al-Malik al-Ashraf, who administered the Ayyūbid possessions in Mesopotamia. The latter came to Damascus, but then took al-Kāmil's side and arranged with him a formal division of the whole kingdom. By the arrangement between the two brothers, al-Ashraf was to receive Damascus and Dāwūd Ḥarrān, al-Raḳḳa and Ḥimṣ, while al-Kāmil took southern Syria with Palestine, and Ḥamāt was left to Dāwūd's brother al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. But when Dāwūd would not consent to this, al-Ashraf began to besiege Damascus. After al-Kāmil had concluded peace with the Emperor Frederick II, he joined al-Ashraf and after a three months' siege, forced his nephew to yield (Shaᶜbān 626/June-July 1229), whereupon al-Ashraf was recognised as lord of Damascus under al-Kāmil's suzerainty while Dāwūd had to be content with al-Karak [*q.v.*], al-Shawbak and several other places. In spite of this unfriendly treatment, Dāwūd remained loyal to al-Kāmil when the other Ayyūbids combined against him, and entered his service in Egypt. Soon after al-Kāmil accompanied by Dāwūd had taken Damascus, he died in Radjab 635/March 1238 and Dāwūd, whom al-Kāmil had appointed governor of Damascus, had to return to al-Karak. In Egypt, al-Kāmil's son al-Malik al-ᶜĀdil was recognised as his successor and appointed his cousin al-Malik al-Djawād Yūnus governor of Damascus. When Dāwūd tried to assert his claims to Damascus, he was defeated at Nābulus. In the following year Yūnus, who did not feel secure against al-ᶜĀdil, exchanged Damascus with his cousin al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb for Sindjār, al-Raḳḳa and ᶜĀna. This pleased neither al-ᶜĀdil nor Dāwūd, so they joined forces for an attack on Ayyūb.

The events that followed are related in AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NADJM AL-DĪN AYYŪB, so that the reader may be referred to it. After Dāwūd had lost all his possessions except al-Karak, he appointed his youngest son al-Malik al-Muᶜaẓẓam ᶜĪsā as his deputy and fled to Aleppo (647/1249-50), where he was kindly received by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (see below). His private fortune in the form of valuable jewels, valued at least 100,000 *dīnārs*, he entrusted to the care of the caliph al-Mustaᶜṣim [*q.v.*], who acknowledged the receipt of them but never could bring himself to restore the treasure entrusted him. Soon afterwards, Dāwūd's

two older sons, who had felt themselves neglected, turned to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and offered him al-Karak in return for fiefs in Egypt, which offer the latter gladly accepted. Alleging unfavourable reports about Dāwūd, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf had him brought to Ḥimṣ in the beginning of Shaʿbān 648/October 1250 and put under arrest. In 651/1253-4, he was released on the intercession of the caliph, on condition that he was not to stay in any lands under the rule of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. He therefore wanted to go to Baghdād, but was not admitted into the city. He then lived for a time very wretchedly in the region of ʿĀna and al-Ḥadītha until he found a place of refuge in al-Anbār. His appeals to the caliph were not answered; finally, however, the caliph obtained for him permission to settle in Damascus. After several unsuccessful efforts to get back his property in Baghdād which had been confiscated, he was in the desert when he was taken prisoner by al-Malik al-Mughīth, then lord of al-Karak and al-Shawbak, and brought to al-Shawbak. As the caliph thought he could be of use to him in the impending fight with the Mongols, he sent an envoy to al-Shawbak to fetch him; the envoy was bringing him back to Damascus when he heard of Hūlāgū's capture of Baghdād; he thereupon left Dāwūd who went to al-Buwayḍāʾ, a village near Damascus. Here he died of the plague on 27 Djumādā I 657/21 May 1259. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ speaks highly of Dāwūd's eloquence and poetical gifts.

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II. AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR, ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN YŪSUF, often referred to as al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus (ruled 634-58/1236-60).

Born in 627/1230, he came to the throne as a child, owing to his father al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad's premature death, and his long reign was a troubled and ultimately tragic one, for he died in the autumn of 658/1260 as a prisoner of the Mongols. His reign falls into three phases: (i) the regency of his grandmother Ḍayfa Khātūn, 634-40/1236-42; (2) the ascendancy of the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Luʾluʾ al-Amīnī, 640-8/1242-51; and (3) his fully independent rule, 648-58/1251-60. The first two phases were successful and even triumphant; his dominions grew until by 648/1250 he controlled almost the whole of Syria and Diyār Muḍar. But these achievements were lost in his last decade of rule and by the time the Mongols appeared in Syria, his régime was on the verge of disintegration.

Ḍayfa Khātūn proved a vigorous and effective regent, whose power was never challenged despite Islam's rejection of a legitimate role for women in public affairs; she wielded in fact far greater real power than the more famous Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*]. Her main task was to preserve Aleppo's autonomy in the period of disorder around the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], having already before the latter's death allied with al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā of Damascus and with the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, so that Kay Khusraw II (634-43/1237-46 [*q.v.*]) was formally recognised as al-Nāṣir's suzerain, including on the coinage of Aleppo. She also fought off the expansionist efforts of the Atabeg of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*] and the ravages of undisciplined bands of Khwārazmian troops, the remnants of Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu's [*q.v.*] army, not definitively suppressed till 640/1242.

But the hopes of Ḍayfa Khātūn that by her death (640/1242), her grandson's patrimony would be secure, proved illusory; the Rūm Saldjūḳ allies of Aleppo were crushed by the Mongols at Köse Dagh [*q.v.*] (641/1243), bringing Mongol raiders into the fringes of northern Syria. More immediately pressing, however, over the next seven years was Aleppo's mercurial relationship with al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, whose ambitions embraced not only Damascus but also al-Djazīra. The *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Luʾluʾ accordingly allied with the rulers of Ḥimṣ, Damascus and even the Franks of Acre, and the distraction of the Crusade of King Louis IX of France enabled Aleppo to consolidate its position in northern Syria, so that by 648/1250 al-Malik al-Nāṣir entered Damascus, which was to remain his capital for the rest of his reign.

His principality now almost replicated that of Nūr al-Dīn a century before, with a centralised polity and recognition of his overlordship by e.g. the local, autonomous rulers of Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa. At this point still only 18 years old, he remained under the influence of Shams al-Dīn, but the latter was killed in an abortive invasion of Egypt (winter of 648/1251), depriving the ruler of his wisest and most trusted counsellor; for the rest of his reign, he was to be reduced to passivity and indecision. Despite peace with the Mamlūk régime in Egypt, his freedom of action was seriously reduced by the factionalism of his Turkish *mamlūks* (including those of the Baḥriyya *mamlūks* of Egypt who in 651/1254 fled to his lands under Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī [*q.v.*]) and the Kurdish elements (including the Ḳaymariyya and Shahrazūriyya) among his troops.

By now, the shadow of the Mongols was becoming threatening, especially with the election of Mönggke as Great Khan in 1251 and the decision to resume expansion in both China and the Middle East. The Khan's brother Hülegü [*q.v.*], having sacked Baghdād in 656/1258, marched towards Syria in the following year, and in Ṣafar 658/January 1260 captured and sacked Aleppo. Al-Nāṣir could only abandon Damascus and flee to Gaza, where he sought an alliance (in effect his submission) with the Mamlūks. The towns of central and southern Syria submitted to the Mongols, and despite Hülegü's withdrawal to Ādharbaydjān when Mönggke died in August 1259, al-Nāṣir lost his nerve and surrendered to the Mongol commander in Syria, Kitbuḳa. He was taken to Marāgha and at first treated well, but on the news arriving of the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], he and every male member of his family except for his son al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad were put to death; the Ayyubid princes who henceforth remained in Syria at Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt and Karak were in effect Mongol puppets.

Al-Nāṣir was a notable patron of religious architecture, although, oddly enough, he built nothing in his own name at Aleppo. But Damascus saw several major foundations during the decade of his rule there, despite the strained financial situation, including a

madrasa intra-muros to the north of the Umayyad Mosque and a (no longer extant) *dār al-ḥadīth-ribāṭ* complex said to have been the most elaborate religious edifice founded by any Ayyūbid prince in the city.

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AL-**NĀṢIR**, the regnal title of five Mamlūk sultans:

1. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, *regn.* 693/1293-4, 698-708/1299-1309, 709-41/1310-41.
2. al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *regn.* 742-3/1342.
3. al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *regn.* 748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61.
4. al-Nāṣir Faradj b. Barḳūḳ, *regn.* 801-8/1399-1405, 808-15/1405-12. See FARADJ.
5. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳāʾitbāy, *regn.* 901-4/1496-8.

1. AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD B. ḲALĀWŪN (684-741/1285-1341). His mother, Ashlūn Khātūn, was the daughter of a Mongol notable, Shaktāy, who migrated from Anatolia to Egypt in 675/1276. This ancestry may explain why until 715/1315-16 al-Nāṣir and his Mamlūks wore their hair long in the Mongol fashion. When his elder brother, al-Ashraf Khalīl [*q.v.*] was murdered in Muḥarram 693/December 1293, al-Nāṣir, aged 8, was installed as sultan by the loyalist faction headed by Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, who took office as his vicegerent (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) but usurped the throne in Muḥarram 694/December 1294. Lādjīn [*q.v.*] who dethroned Kitbughā in Muḥarram 696/November 1296, exiled al-Nāṣir to al-Karak in Ṣafar 697/January 1298. He was recalled to Cairo in Djumādā I 698/February 1299, and again enthroned as sultan. The actual government was headed by two senior *amīrs*, Salār al-Manṣūrī the vicegerent and Baybars al-Djāshnikīr the steward (*ustādār*). The sultan accompanied the army which was routed by the Īlkhān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] at Wādī al-Khāzindār in Syria (Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299), and participated also in the expedition against a second Mongol invasion, which was defeated at Shaḳhab (Ramaḍān 702/April 1303). Ghāzān's death in the following year marked the virtual end of the threat to the Mamlūk sultanate from the Mongols. The conquest of the island of Arwād (i.e. Rhodes) in Muḥarram 702/August-September 1302 finally deprived the Franks of a base from which to menace Syria-Palestine. Al-Nāṣir's second reign thus saw the elimination of the external dangers which had nurtured the rise of the Mamlūks to military and political dominance. Meanwhile, the young sultan was building up his own military household, the Nāṣiriyya Mamlūks, and becoming increasingly restive under the duumvirate of Salār and Baybars. An attempt in Muḥarram 707/July 1307 to use the Nāṣiriyya in a military coup miscarried, and the sultan was formally reconciled with the regents. He now had recourse to another expedient. In Ramaḍān 708/February 1309 he announced his intention of making the Pilgrimage, and left Cairo with an escort of Nāṣiriyya. On reaching al-Karak, he garrisoned the fortress with his Mamlūks, and perhaps notified the regents of his abdication. In any event, the throne was vacant, and Baybars was recognised as sultan with the title of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, while Salār continued in office as vicegerent.

Under the surface, deep divisions existed. The most powerful group in Cairo were the Burdjiyya, the Circassian Mamlūks recruited by Ḳalāwūn. They had insisted on the election of their fellow-countryman, Baybars, as sultan instead of the Mongol, Salār. This ethnic polarisation appeared also in Syria, where the new régime was supported by the Circassian governor of Damascus, Āḳḳūsh al-Afram, while Ḳabdjaḳ (i.e. Ḳipčaḳ) al-Manṣūrī of Ḥamāt, Asandamur Kurdjī (Georgian) of Tripoli, and Ḳarāsunḳur al-Manṣūrī of Aleppo secretly corresponded with al-Nāṣir, who left al-Karak on 1 Shaʿbān 709/4 January 1310. He entered Damascus without meeting any resistance 11 days later. Baybars abdicated and fled, and on 2 Shawwāl 709/5 March 1310 al-Nāṣir was again enthroned as sultan.

During the 31 years that followed, al-Nāṣir was concerned to secure his own position, and to establish his personal autocratic rule. He proceeded first to eliminate his opponents. Baybars was brought to Cairo on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 709/15 April 1310, and forthwith strangled. Salār was allowed to retire to al-Shawbak but was soon summoned to Cairo, arrested and starved to death. The Syrian kingmakers were seen as potential rivals. Although they had been rewarded for their assistance, and even Āḳḳūsh was pardoned, they quickly disappeared. Ḳabdjaḳ died in 710/1310. Asandamur was arrested and imprisoned in

Cairo in the same year. Ḳarāsunḳur and Āḳḳūsh prudently fled early in 712/1312 to the Īlkhān Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], who made a final and abortive raid into Syria on their behalf. Al-Nāṣir steadily increased his Mamlūk household, and promoted its members, e.g. in Shawwāl 709/March 1310 he created 32 new *amīrs*. He also carried out the difficult operation, which had been fatal to some earlier sultans, of substituting his own Mamlūks for veteran *amīrs* in the great offices. The key post of vicegerent of Egypt was given to Arghūn al-Nāṣirī in Djumādā I 712/September 1312, while another of his Mamlūks, Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, had been appointed governor of Damascus in the previous month. Two years later the other Syrian governors were ordered to communicate with the sultan only through Tankiz, thus making him virtually governor-general of all Syria. To strengthen the financial basis of his régime, al-Nāṣir carried out a cadastral survey (*rawk*) of his dominions, followed by a re-allocation of the assignments of revenue (sing. *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*])—a measure which had been disastrous for Lādjīn. A pilot survey of the province of Damascus (713/1313-14) was followed by the great *rawk* of Egypt (completed 716/1316), and by similar operations in Tripoli (717/1317) and Aleppo (725/1325). The result was to increase the share of assignments held by the sultan's fisc (*khāṣṣ*) from 1/6 to 5/12, while the remaining 7/12 were allocated to the *amīrs* and the *Ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*]. The central place of the fisc in the sultan's administrative system is indicated by the unusual prominence in the chronicles of two of its supervisors (sing. *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), who were not Mamlūks but civilians and converts from Christianity. Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr held office from early in the reign until Rabīʿ II 723/April 1323, when he was suddenly disgraced and arrested. Al-Nashw was supervisor of the fisc from Radjab 732/April 1332 to Ṣafar 740/August 1339, when he too lost the sultan's favour, and was put to death. The vast profits of office accumulated by both these officials were sequestrated when they fell.

Throughout his third reign, al-Nāṣir had a series of confidential advisers, who acquired great wealth from the sultan's lavish bounty. Two of them held great offices of state: Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, governor of Damascus to 740/1340, with whom al-Nāṣir was constantly in correspondence, and Arghūn al-Nāṣirī, vicegerent of Egypt until 727/1326. Two others, Baktamur al-Muʿaẓẓamī and Ḳawṣūn al-Nāṣirī, held the high domestic office of cupbearer (*sāḳī*) in the middle and last years of the reign respectively. Ḳawṣūn lived in perpetual rivalry with another of the sultan's favourites, Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī. Their careers give some indication of the sultan's precarious favour. Tankiz was, after long years of service, imprisoned and put to death; Arghūn, more fortunate, was in effect banished as governor of Aleppo, while Baktamur died with his son in suspicious circumstances. Ḳawṣūn and Bashtāk succeeded in briefly outliving their master. A less intimate but safer friendship was enjoyed by the loyal and somewhat obsequious al-Muʾayyad Ismāʿīl (Abu 'l-Fidā, [*q.v.*]), the Ayyūbid prince for whom al-Nāṣir revived the autonomous sultanate of Ḥamāt. Still further outside the court circle but nevertheless influential in Syrian affairs was the great tribal chief of Āl Faḍl, *amīr al-ʿArab* Muhannā b. ʿĪsā, one of the sultan's principal agents for the purchase of Arabian horses.

Unlike his successful predecessors in the Mamlūk sultanate, al-Nāṣir did not owe his position and authority to leadership in war. In a Syro-Egyptian state no longer threatened by external enemies, he built up his autocratic power by the force of his pertinacious, devious and ruthless personality. The security he established for himself is shown by the fact that, unlike any other sultan, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca three times (712/1313, 719/1320, 732/1332). He confirmed the hereditary nature of the sultanate, although competing *amīrs* usurped the power under the later Ḳalāwūnids.

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2. AL-NĀṢIR AḤMAD (742-3/1342). He was the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by a concubine, the singing-woman Bayāḍ. From the age of about 10 he lived almost continuously in the castle of al-Karak. He was explicitly rejected as heir to the sultanate by his dying father (18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 714/4 June 1341). The *amīr* Ḳawṣūn, ruling in the name of the infant al-Ashraf Kudjuk (Küčük), fearing an attack, sent an expeditionary force against al-Karak under the *amīr* Ḳuṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī (Rabīʿ II 742/October 1341), who, however, went over to Aḥmad, and proclaimed him sultan in Damascus (Radjab 742/January 1342). In Cairo, Ḳawsūn was overthrown, Kudjuk deposed, and Aḥmad invited to come to his capital. He was reluctant to leave al-Karak, and only after much pressure did he arrive in Cairo, in Arab dress and with a small retinue (28 Ramaḍān 742/6 March 1342). His enthronement on 10 Shawwāl/19 March was a splendid occasion, attended by the notables of both Egypt and Syria. However, he profoundly alienated the magnates who had installed him by secluding himself in the Citadel with a circle of favourites from al-Karak, on whom he entirely relied. On 2 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 742/9 May 1342 he left for al-Karak at a day's notice, taking with him the two chief financial and secretarial officials as well as the regalia, his father's treasures, horses, cattle and sheep. Again secluded in al-Karak, he neglected state business and refused to return. The magnates thereupon deposed him, and installed his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, as sultan. A series of military expeditions sent against al-Karak ended in Ahmad's capture. He was put to death on 6 Rabīʿ I 745/18 July 1344 at the age of 26.

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3. AL-NĀṢIR ḤASAN, (748-52/1347-51, 755-

62/1354-61). He was the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by a concubine. He was enthroned at the age of 11 on 14 Ramaḍān 748/18 December 1347, after his brother, al-Muẓaffar Ḥādjdjī, had been overthrown and killed by a conspiracy of the magnates. A council of regency was set up, but the real power was held by two brothers, the *amīrs* Baybughā Urus and Mandjak al-Yūsufī, together with Shaykhūn (or Shaykhū) al-ʿUmarī, all three veterans of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Mamlūk household. On 24 Shawwāl 751/25 December 1350 Ḥasan took advantage of the absence of Baybughā on Pilgrimage and Shaykhūn on a hunting expedition to declare himself of age, and to assume full sovereign powers. This period of personal rule was brief. He was deposed by *amīrs* who feared that they were threatened by him, and his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, was installed as sultan (28 Djumādā II 752/2 August 1351). During this reign, the Mamlūk realm was ravaged by the Black Death (*al-wabāʾ*), which reached Syria in Djumādā I 748/August 1347, and spread in Egypt throughout 749/1348-9. Another revolt of the *amīrs* brought about the deposition of Ṣāliḥ and the restoration of Ḥasan on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354. He was, however, under the domination of Shaykhūn and another Nāṣirī veteran, Ṣarghatmush. The former died late in 758/1357, and on 20 Ramaḍān 759/26 August 1358 Ḥasan arrested Ṣarghatmush, who had been plotting his overthrow. A fight followed between the Royal Mamlūks and those of Ṣarghatmush, and the former were victorious. Ḥasan now sought to secure his position by promoting his own Mamlūks and also, most unusually, the descendants of Mamlūks (*awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*]) to key positions. Growing resentment between the sultan and his own Mamlūk, Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, led to an armed clash in which Ḥasan was defeated. He was captured and put to death on 9 Djumādā I 762/17 March 1361 by Yalbughā, who installed Ḥādjdjī's son, al-Manṣūr Muḥammad. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan left as his chief memorial his beautiful *madrasa*-mosque in Cairo.

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5. AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD (901-4/1496-8). He was the son of al-Ashraf Ḳāʾitbāy [*q.v.*] by a Circassian concubine, Aṣalbāy, and born in Shawwāl 887/November-December 1482. When his father died, the ascendancy in Cairo was held by the faction of Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa min Ṭarābāy and Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar, who had recently expelled the chief of the rival faction, Āḳbardī al-Dawādār, Ḳāʾitbāy's cousin. Ḳānṣawh Khamsmiʾa had designs on the throne, but on the day before Ḳāʾitbāy's death, 26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 901/6 August 1496, he brought about the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was himself appointed *atābak*, while his accomplice, Kurtbāy, accumulated the offices of *wazīr*, *ustādār* and chief *kāshif*. The appearance of Āḳbardī at Gaza, and the mutual sympathy between him and the young sultan, provoked Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa to attempt a coup. On 28 Djumādā I 902/1 February 1497 al-Nāṣir was formally deposed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, and Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa usurped the sultanate. Al-Nāsir, however, held the Citadel, and aided by his maternal uncle, another Ḳānṣawh, maintained a stout resistance, in which artillery and firearms were used by both sides. Seriously weakened by desertions to the sultan, Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa was defeated, and on 1 Djumādā II/4 February he fled, while al-Mutawakkil obligingly reinstated al-Nāṣir. The power behind the throne was the sultan's uncle, who held only a minor domestic office. Ḳānṣawh Khamsumiʾa unsuccessfully attempted another coup on 18-19 Djumādā II/21-22 February, and again fled. After fighting with Āḳbardī at Khan Yūnus, he was put to death Aḳbardī returned to Egypt, and accumulated the offices of *amīr silāḥ*, *dawādār*, *wazīr*, *ustādār* and chief *kāshif*. A new factionalism developed in which Āḳbardī confronted Ḳānṣawh, who was supported by the former partisans of his namesake. Āḳbardī attempted a rising on 4 Ramaḍān 902/6 May 1497, was defeated, and fled to Upper Egypt. Urged by the sultan to return as a liberator, he entered Cairo on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 July, accompanied by uncouth tribesmen of Banū Wāʾil and Banū ʿAzzāla. Thereupon Ḳānṣawh brought in tribesmen of the Banū Ḥarām, and disorder ensued. Again the Citadel was besieged, but by late Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/August Āḳbardī was in flight to Syria. Ḳānṣawh was now appointed *dawādār* and subsequently *wazīr* and *amīr silāḥ*. His relations with his nephew deteriorated, and in Radjab 903/February-March 1498 the sultan's mother made them swear mutual loyalty, but to no avail. On 15 Rabīʿ I 904/31 October 1498 al-Nāṣir was assassinated, probably at the instigation of *amīrs* of his father's Mamlūks in league with Ḳānṣawh, who was duly elected sultan two days later.

Although al-Nāṣir was a transient and insignificant figure, his reign presents points of interest. It is notable for the unprecedented use of firearms and artillery in factional warfare. The sultan himself had a force of 500 black slaves carrying firearms—an innovation which alarmed the antiquated Mamlūk cavalrymen. The murder of the black commander, Faradj Allāh, in a skirmish with Mamlūks on 27 Djumādā II 903/20 February 1498, and the subsequent dispersal of the force (perhaps by sale to the Ottomans) probably marked the turning point in the sultan's fortunes. Another feature of interest is the employment of Arab tribal warriors by the factional leaders, anticipating the polarisation of Ottoman Egypt into Niṣf Saʿd and Niṣf Ḥarām.

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(P.M. HOLT)

AL-**NĀṢIR** B. ʿALENNĀS (the last name is also written ʿAlnās, ʿAnnās and even Ghilnās by Ibn ʿIdhārī), fifth ruler of the Ḥammādid dynasty, succeeded his cousin Buluggin b. Muḥammad in 454/1062. His reign marks the apogee of the little Berber kingdom founded by Ḥammād [*q.v.*]. The ephemeral rise of the Ḥammādids was the immediate result of the downfall of their relations and neighbours, the Zīrids of Ifrīḳiya, the first victims of the Hilālī invasion [see HILĀL, BANŪ]. On his accession, al-Nāṣir, who lived in the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*], was already ruler of a little kingdom, the chief towns of which were Ashīr, Miliana, Algiers, Hamza (Buira), Ngaus and Constantine. Shortly afterwards, he regained Biskra, whose governor had rebelled against Buluggīn; but his chief hope of extending his territory lay in the decline of the kingdom of Ḳayrawān.

The abandonment of the old capital by the Zīrid al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] and his flight to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057 had left Ifrīḳiya a prey to anarchy. The country districts were in the hands of the Arabs, and the towns had chosen their own rulers; on all sides governors were in rebellion; leaders of the tribes imposed their authority on the threatened citizens; some towns turned to the Ḥammādids who were able to protect them. The people of Ḳasṭīliya [*q.v.*] for example sent a deputation to al-Nāṣir to convey him their homage; the people of Tunis did the same. At their request, the Ḥammādid sent them as governor ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ of the Ṣanhādja family of the Banū Khurāsān. The latter worked wonders; he negotiated agreements with the marauding Arabs which secured the safety of the city. Later, after casting off Ḥammādid suzerainty, he made Tunis the capital of a kingdom.

If the arrival of the invading nomads had meant an immediate accession of strength to al-Nāṣir and an increase of population and economic activity to his capital, they were not without danger as neighbours. The Arabs soon involved him in a dangerous adventure. In 457/1064 the Athbadj, one of their tribes, asked him to help them against their enemies, their brethren the Riyāḥ, who had joined the Zīrid ruler Tamīm [*q.v.*]. Al-Nāṣir agreed, seeing an opportunity to invade and perhaps annex Ifrīḳiya. He put himself at the head of a large army which included Arabs, Ṣanhādja, and even Zanāta, led by the king of Fās, al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya. The Riyāḥ in their turn received subsidies and arms from al-Mahdiyya. The armies met at Sbība, near the ancient Sufes. From the first, the Zanāta of Fās, won over by the enemy, gave way, which resulted in the rout of al-Nāṣir. With great difficulty, he reached Constantine with 200 men, then the Ḳalʿa, the outskirts of which were systematically sacked by the Arabs.

After this disaster, al-Nāṣir tried to make terms with the prince of al-Mahdiyya; the negotiations failed, perhaps through the fault of the ambassador, and al-Nāṣir, incited again by the Athbadj, resumed hostilities against the unfortunate Zīrid kingdom. He entered Lurbus (the ancient Lorbeus) and Ḳayrawān (460/1067), but these successes led to nothing; he had to abandon them again as he could not hold his conquests. These adventures, into which he was dragged by the Arabs and which brought him no lasting advantage, lasted for some then years. In 470/1077 al-Nāṣir made peace with the Zīrid Tamīm and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The Arab scourge which had ruined the kingdom of Ifrīḳiya began now to threaten seriously the Ḥammādid kingdom. The Zanāta, hereditary enemies of the Ṣanhādja lords of the Ḳalʿa, found among the immigrant nomads allies always ready to resume the conflict. In 468/1075, the Zanāta chief Ibn Khazrūn, supported by the Arab Banū ʿAdī of Tripolitania, seized Msīla and Ashīr [*q.vv.*]. Al-Nāṣir succeeded in driving him back to the desert where, drawing him into a trap, he had him murdered. He sent his son al-Manṣūr against the Zanāta Banū Tūdjīn, who had joined the Banū ʿAdī and were laying waste the country districts of the central Maghrib. The rebels were caught and tortured.

The Athbadj Arabs themselves, of whom al-Nāṣir had hoped to make valuable auxiliaries, proved most undesirable neighbours. Although he seems to have put down—not without cruelty—the majority of the revolts, life in his ancestral capital became more and more difficult from year to year. This decided him to select another. Occupying the lands of the Bidjāya Berbers, he founded there, on the site of the ancient port of Saldae, a town which was first called al-Nāṣiriyya and later became known as Bidjāya [*q.v.*] (Bougie). There he built the splendid Palace of the Pearl (*Ḳaṣr al-Luʾluʾ*). "Having peopled his new capital he exempted the inhabitants from the *kharādj* and in 461/1069 he settled there himself" (Ibn Khaldūn). The exodus of the Ḥammādid royal family to the coast was caused by the same event as had led the Zīrids of Ḳayrawān to move to al-Mahdiyya: the settlement of the nomad Arabs in Barbary and the insecurity which resulted in the interior. This exodus was only completed under al-Nāṣir's successor, his son al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who assumed power at his father's death in 481/1088.

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NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a prince of the Ḥamdānid dynasty [*q.v.*]. From the year 308/920-1 he acted as lieutenant to his father, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh in the governorship of al-Mawṣil, and on the latter's death in 317/929 succeeded to the leadership of the Ḥamdānid family. Owing to the part played by Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ in the second temporary deposition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*], the latter, on his restoration, attempted to put an end to the Ḥamdānids' control of al-Mawṣil by appointing a governor unconnected with them. Nevertheless, when this officer died during the same year, al-Ḥasan was confirmed in all his father's holdings.

The Ḥamdānids profited by the rapid decline in the power of the ʿAbbāsids, that set in from this time, to extend their rule; and though they remained tributary to the caliphs, by 332/943-4 they had secured control of most of the Djazīra and of northern Syria. Al-Ḥasan also made two unsuccessful attempts, in 322/934 and 326/938, to add Ādharbāydjān to his dominions. During the early part of this period of expansion, al-Ḥasan was much occupied in the suppression of local rebellions. He was anxious also to remain in the caliph's good graces, and for this reason declined to assist the general Muʾnis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*] in his quarrel with al-Muḳtadir, which ended in the latter's death. In 323/935, however, the caliph al-Rāḍī attempted to displace him in the governorship of al-Mawṣil in favour of his uncle Saʿīd. Al-Ḥasan thereupon had Saʿīd murdered; and though al-Rāḍī at first sought to impose his will by force of arms, he was in the end obliged to agree to al-Ḥasan's restoration.

The reign of al-Rāḍī saw the final collapse of the traditional ʿAbbāsid system of government with the appointment of Ibn Rāʾiḳ as *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*]. This development resulted in a still greater weakening of the caliph's power; and in 327/938-9 al-Ḥasan made an attempt to withhold his dues, which, however, were promptly exacted by Ibn Rāʾiḳ's successor, Badjkam [*q.v.*]. In 330/941-2 again, when the caliph al-Muttaḳī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Rāʾiḳ (who had meanwhile been restored) fled to al-Mawṣil from Baghdād on its occupation by the brothers al-Barīdī [*q.v.*], al-Ḥasan

had Ibn Rāʾiḳ assassinated, forced the caliph to give him the amīrate together with the *laḳab* Nāṣir al-Dawla, and later married his daughter to the caliph's son. But though he and his more celebrated brother ʿAlī, who was at the same time entitled Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], were able to restore al-Muttaḳī to his capital and drive the Barīdīs back to al-Baṣra, they were almost immediately obliged by a revolt of the Turkish troops under Tūzūn to retire again to al-Mawṣil. Al-Muttaḳī now appointed Tūzūn *amīr* in Nāṣir al-Dawla's place. But his evident helplessness encouraged Tūzūn to abuse his power; and in 332/943-5 the caliph again sought refuge with the Ḥamdānids. Sayf al-Dawla now tried, though without success, to defeat Tūzūn in battle, while al-Ḥasan removed the caliph for greater safety from al-Mawṣil to al-Raḳḳa. After some months, however, al-Muttaḳī was persuaded by Tūzūn's professions of loyalty into returning to Baghdād, only to be met on the way by the *amīr*, who blinded and deposed him. On this Nāṣir al-Dawla again withheld his dues. But Tūzūn and al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*], the new caliph, came against him and forced him to pay. Tūzūn, however, died in 334/945-6, whereupon Nāṣir al-Dawla made a bid to recover the amīrate. But later in this same year Baghdād was occupied by Aḥmad b. Būya Muʿizz al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; and henceforward Nāṣir al-Dawla's career hinged chiefly upon the maintenance of his power against that of the Būyids.

The struggle began immediately. As soon as he was established in Baghdād, Muʿizz al-Dawla led an expedition against the Ḥamdānids, and though Nāṣir al-Dawla forced him to return to the capital by himself occupying the east bank and blockading the Round City, in the end he drove the Ḥamdānid forces out. Nāṣir retired to ʿUkbarā, and from there sued for a peace that should grant him the tributary lordship of all the country north of Takrīt, as well as Syria and Egypt. But a revolt among his Turkish troops forced him to flee before this was concluded, and it was only by the aid of a force sent by Muʿizz al-Dawla that he succeeded in suppressing it. Muʿizz al-Dawla's object in helping him was no doubt to preserve some order in the Ḥamdānid dominions until he should be ready to absorb them. For he now took one of Nāṣir al-Dawla's sons as a hostage for his obedience, and two years later led another expedition against al-Mawṣil. This again came to nothing, however, since Muʿizz al-Dawla was obliged to make peace before attaining his object, owing to the outbreak of trouble in Persia, where his brother required his assistance. Nāṣir al-Dawla now agreed to pay tribute for Diyār Rabīʿa, the Djazīra and Syria, and to have the names of the three Būyids pronounced in the *khuṭba* after that of the caliph throughout this territory.

It was not till 345/956-8 that further trouble arose between the rival potentates. In that year Muʿizz al-Dawla was called away from Baghdād to deal with a revolt, whereupon Nāṣir al-Dawla sent two of his sons to occupy the capital. Muʿizz al-Dawla, however, succeeded in overcoming the rebel; and on his return the Ḥamdānids decamped. Yet in spite of this provocation Muʿizz al-Dawla contented himself with exacting an indemnity and a renewal of Nāṣir al-Dawla's contract to pay tribute, and it was only when Nāṣir al-Dawla withheld the second year's payment that he took further steps against him. He then advanced into his territory, took al-Mawṣil and Niṣībīn, and finally sent a force to al-Raḥba. Nāṣir al-Dawla, who had fled first to Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and then to Aleppo, which was now held independently by Sayf al-Dawla, attempted to make peace. But Muʿizz al-Dawla rejected his advances, and came to an agreement only when Sayf al-Dawla offered to take his brother's place as tributary for al-Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and al-Raḥba.

Five years later, in 353/964, Nāṣir al-Dawla opened negotiations to recover his position as tributary for these territories. But he included in his demands one for the recognition of his son Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar as his successor, which Muʿizz al-Dawla was unwilling to grant. He again attacked the Ḥamdānids, occupying both al-Mawṣil and Niṣībīn. But they were more successful in withstanding him on this occasion; and an agreement was arrived at whereby Abū Taghlib undertook the payment of tribute for his father's former holdings.

In 356/967 both Muʿizz al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla died. Almost the last action recorded of Nāṣir al-Dawla is the advice he then gave his sons to refrain from attacking Muʿizz al-Dawla's son and successor Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*] till he should have exhausted the resources bequeathed to him. For on the death of Sayf al-Dawla, to whom he had been much attached, Nāṣir al-Dawla lost all interest in life, and so antagonised his family by his avarice that they resolved to take the control of affairs into their own hands. Abū Taghlib, who had in any case taken his place as tributary, and his mother, Nāṣir al-Dawla's Kurdish wife Fāṭima bint Aḥmad, contrived to gain possession of all his property and fortresses; and when Nāṣir al-Dawla attempted to enlist the help of another son, they imprisoned him in the castle of al-Salāma in the fortress of Ardumusht. He died, still in confinement, either the next year, 357/968 or the year after.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's rule was disastrous for the territory over which he had control. The contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal [*q.v.*] refers in several passages to his ruinous exactions and tyrannical seizures of land (see his descriptions of al-Mawṣil, Balad, Sindjār and Niṣībīn); and Miskawayh notes that by bringing fictitious claims against landowners he would force them to sell to him at low prices, till he became not only the lord, but also the owner, of most of the region of al-Mawṣil.

Bibliography: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, in Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii; Ibn Ḥawḳal; Ibn al-Athīr, viii; Ibn Khallikān, i; Ibn Khaldūn, iv; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, ii; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Margoliouth, i; Freytag, *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden*, in *ZDMG*, x, xi; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*; and see ḤAMDĀNIDS. (H. BOWEN)

NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA [see IBN BAḲIYYA].

NĀṢIR AL-DĪN [see ČIRĀDJ-I DIHLĪ; HUMĀYŪN; MAḤMŪD I; MAḤMŪD II].

NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ḲUBAČA [see SIND].

NĀṢIR AL-DĪN AL-ṬŪSĪ [see AL-ṬŪSĪ].

AL-NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, honorific title of several Zaydī *imāms*.

I. Among the Caspian Zaydīs, this title was borne by 1. AL-NĀṢIR AL-KABĪR AL-UṬRŪSH [see ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH] and his great-grandson 2. AL-NĀṢIR AL-ṢAGHĪR AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ. The latter gained for himself a dominion beginning in Hawsam, where he could find associations with the earlier period of Zaydī rule. He laid great emphasis on the religious character of Zaydism; he gave out of the state treasury funds to support people who learned the Ḳurʾān by heart. He was also a poet. After his death (476/1083), his tomb in Hawsam was a much visited place of pilgrimage.

II. Among the Yaman *imāms*, this title was borne by 1. AL-NĀṢIR AḤMAD, son of al-Hādī Yaḥyā and his

brother's daughter Fāṭima; on him, see the next article. All succeeding bearers of the title except the next one: 2. ABU 'L-FATḤ AL-NĀṢIR AL-DAYLAMI, so-called from his first Caspian sphere of activity, were of his family although of different lines. In the Yaman, in contrast to his predecessors, he began operations south of Ṣanᶜāʾ, fell in 447/1055 fighting ᶜAlī al-Ṣulayḥī [see ṢULAYḤIDS] there and was buried near Dhamār. The life of 3. AL-NĀṢIR ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN was marked by internal strife which ultimately caused his death. In the first half of the 8th/14th century, several *imāms* had disputed the succession. About the middle of the century, his father al-Mahdī ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad attained considerable influence, which was however much reduced in the period before his death at Dhamār in 774/1372. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became sole *imām* and advanced as far as the Tihāma against the Rasūlids [*q.v.*]. But when in 793/1391 he died at Ṣanᶜāʾ, his death was concealed for two months on account of the insecurity, and his body was concealed in the castle in a coffin covered with plaster. It was only when rumours of his death reached the Ḳāḍī al-Dawwārī in Ṣaᶜda that the latter arranged for his burial in Ṣanᶜāʾ. The son ᶜAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could only obtain recognition as "Imām of the Djihād" and fell in 840/1336, one of the many victims of the great plague. When in spite of opposition a Zaydī power was once more built up, it was destroyed by the young dynasty of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] from the Tihāma (850-923/1446-1517), especially by its second member ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb b. Dāwūd, from 883/1478, until at the end of the 9th/15th century al-Hādī ᶜIzz al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan again re-established and extended their power. His son 4. AL-NĀṢIR AL-ḤASAN B. ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN (*ca.* 900-929/1494-1523), who had primarily inherited from his father a love of learning, could only maintain a limited power in the north. He had to put up for a long time with an anti-*imām* al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Sarādjī in Ṣanᶜāʾ. 5. AL-NĀṢIR AL-Ḥasan b. ᶜALĪ B. DĀWŪD at the end of the 10th/16th century organised in the north one of the centres of resistance to the Turks, who had been penetrating into the country since 927/1521 and 943/1536, but was taken prisoner by them in 1004/1596-7. Among the pretenders within the family of al-Manṣūr b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 1029/1620), the liberator from the first Turkish conquest, was 6. AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD B. ISḤĀḲ B. AL-MAHDĪ AḤMAD; he set up first in 1136/1723-4 in the north in the hills of Sufyān among the Banū Bakīl, then in 1139/1726-7 away in the south at Ẓafār, but had finally to submit to his cousin's son al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdī Aḥmad and died in 1167/1753 as a private individual in Ṣanᶜāʾ. In 1252/1836, the dissatisfied troops who had been discharged by the very extravagant *imām* al-Manṣūr ᶜAlī b. al-Mahdī ᶜAbd Allāh summoned 7. AL-NĀṢIR ᶜABD ALLĀH B. ḤASAN to the imāmate. He had inherited strong religious tendencies from his grandfather al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad and from his great-grandfather al-Mahdī ᶜAbbās, and isisted on the strict observance of the neglected *sharīᶜa*. He had even to appoint teachers to instruct in the divine service. He was ambushed and murdered with 6 followers in 1256/1840 while on a peaceful excursion to the Wādī Ḍahr northwest of Ṣanᶜāʾ by people of the Banū Hamdān, and was succeeded by the brother of his predecessor, al-Hādī Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī ᶜAbd Allāh, who had been long kept in prison by ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan. As required of an *imām*, most of the above wrote a great deal; a number of works, chiefly of a legal nature, have survived, mainly by the earlier Yaman *imāms*.

Bibliography: See that to ZAYDIYYA.

(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-**NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, AḤMAD ABU 'L-ḤASAN, third incumbent of the Rassī Zaydī imāmate in northern Yemen and a son of its founder, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [see ZAYDIYYA]. The date of his birth cannot be determined from extant sources. Neither can it be assumed that he was younger than his full brother and predecessor, Imām Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā [*q.v.*], both of whom accompanied their father to Yemen from their native Ḥidjāz in 284/897. Although noticed in accounts as early as 285/898, Aḥmad is first referred to as a military leader for his father only in 294/907-8.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣir was elected *imām* at Ṣaᶜda in Ṣafar 301/September 913, following his return to Yemen from a lengthy sojourn in Ḥidjāz and some time after the abdication, amid rather unclear circumstances, of his brother Muḥammad, who apparently supported Aḥmad's candidacy. With the allegiance of forces drawn mainly from the northern lands of Hamdān, Nadjrān and Khawlān, this vigorous *imām* struggled against the aggressive followers of Ismāᶜīlī Fāṭimid *dāᶜīs* in Yemen, particularly those concentrated in Djabal Maswar [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN]. These operations culminated during Shaᶜbān or Ramaḍān 307/January 920 in a major three-day contest near Nughāsh, northwest of Ṣanᶜāʾ. Imām Aḥmad's forces triumphed, while the more numerous ones of the Ismāᶜīlī leader, ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad, lord of Djabal Maswar, were routed disastrously. Thereafter, the unity and influence of the Fāṭimid Ismāᶜīlīs—often referred to as Ḳarāmiṭa or Bāṭiniyya—remained shattered beyond recovery.

Except for his subsequent conquest of Aden, possibly in 310/922-3, the sources make scant further references to al-Nāṣir before his death, at Ṣaᶜda, reported variously to have occurred in 315/927-8, 322/934 or 325/937, with most accounts favouring the latter. Although he produced five sons, at least two of whom declared themselves his successor, the Zaydī imāmate in Yemen entered a period of political obscurity following his demise. All of Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir's compositions, of which al-Ḥibshī lists nine and Zabāra eight, are doctrinal in nature and, with one exception, no longer extant.

Bibliography: For ms. sources, a list of al-Nāṣir's compositions, and biographical details about him, see Ḥibshī, *Muʾallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman*, Wiesbaden 1979, 19 ff. Printed materials include the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā* by ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh al-ᶜAbbāsī, ed. S. Zakkār, 2nd ed. Beirut 1981, and used extensively by C. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imâmat zaidite au Yemen*, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. S.A.A. ᶜĀshūr, Cairo 1968, i, 173-215 *passim*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 316 n. 127; Zabāra, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, i, Taᶜizz 1372/1952, 43, 58-65; Djurāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Cairo 1951, 106 ff.; ᶜArshī, *Bulūgh al-marām*, ed. Karmalī, Cairo 1939, 33-4; Wāsiᶜī, *Furdjat al-humūm*, 3rd ed. Ṣanᶜāʾ 1982, 179-81; and Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 568.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

AL-**NĀṢIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, ABU 'L-ᶜABBĀS AḤMAD (reigned 575-622/1180-1225), 34th ᶜAbbāsid caliph, was born in 553/1158. Son and successor of al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*], he had strained relations with his conservative father, who had kept him in seclusion for a while for fear that he might be influenced by harmful innovations. Yet, after his father's death, he successfully defended his claim to the throne against the court clique. His relations with his

mother, a Turkish slave called Zumurrud Khātūn, were more balanced. During al-Mustaḍī'’s and al-Nāṣir's caliphates, she made a name for herself by establishing important pious foundations and by energetically interceding for positions for the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād.

After the secular power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had been restricted for centuries, and had even disappeared completely because of the dominance of the Būyids and the Saldjūḳs [*q.vv.*], al-Nāṣir succeeded in restoring ʿAbbāsid sovereignty. He strengthened and consolidated the caliphate against all kinds of military, political and ideological attacks. For the period of his own reign, and down to that of his grandson al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], he restored this specifically Islamic institution to its former prestige. On the other hand, he unintentionally contributed to the later fall of the caliphate of Baghdād at the hands of the Mongols.

Al-Nāṣir's policy aimed at orienting and obligating all Muslims towards the caliphate as the sole spiritual and secular centre of this world. The way to this aim he saw in a rapprochement of the different opposite dogmatic trends in Islam, perhaps even in an attempt to reunite them. The same objective was served by a sophisticated policy of alliances with Islamic and non-Islamic partners, by the reorganisation of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], that is to say by establishing it as a men's confederation attached to the caliph himself, and by the systematic spread, inside the Islamic world, of an encyclical from his own hand dealing with *ḥadīth*.

1. Political events. Al-Nāṣir again disposed of an army of his own, but the most important strategic advantages came from his policy of alliances. With the support of the Khʷārazmshāh Tekish [*q.v.*], in whom he had recognised the strongest rival of his own most feared opponent, the Saldjūk Ṭughril III, he succeeded in wiping out once and for all the Saldjūḳ dynasty in Persia by having the ruler killed by the sword on 29 Rabīʿ I 590/25 March 1194. The decline of the Saldjūḳ empire had revealed itself long since by internal unrest in Persia. Already in 583/1187 al-Nāṣir had ordered in Baghdād the ancient Saldjūḳ palace, the symbol of tutelage by a foreign régime, to be torn down (*Kāmil*, xi, 560). There are enough reasons to justify the opinion that the caliph addressed a direct request to the Khʷārazmshāh to intervene against the Saldjūḳ sultan. Yet the contemporary sources do not provide a consistent presentation (cf. *Mir'āt*, fols. 263a-264a [the decisive passage is missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition, viii, 444-5], with *Kāmil*, xii, 106-8). A message of the caliph to Tekish, in which he is said to complain vehemently of the Saldjūḳ sultan (*Kāmil*, xii, 107), is considered to be an important document in this context.

Shortly after having overthrown Ṭughril III, al-Nāṣir, for the same reasons which had induced him to invoke Tekish's help against the Saldjūḳs, felt forced to look for military support from the outside against Tekish himself. This he received from the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] (*Kāmil*, xii, 135-7). Only one year after the fall of the Saldjūḳs, the caliph found himself confronted, in the person of the Khʷārazmshāh, with a new power that was more dangerous to him than that of the Saldjūḳs. Tekish, after the death of his brother Sulṭān Shāh in 589/1193, had not only become absolute ruler of the region south of the Aral Sea, including Khurāsān (Marw), but also considered himself as the heir to the entire Saldjūḳ empire. In his quarrel with the caliph over the province of Djibāl, i.e. Persian ʿIrāḳ, he felt that the right of exercising secular power was entirely on his side, as it had been with the Saldjūḳs before him. Apart from the military confrontation (590/1194: *Kāmil*, xii, 108-9; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 32-3; 591/1195: *Mir'āt*, viii, 445; 592/1196: *Kāmil*, xii, 112; *Mir'āt*, fols. 265b-266a [missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition, viii, 449]; *Tarīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 38. Only Khūzistān remained temporarily as the caliph's gain; later he had to acknowledge that it belonged to the Khʷārazmshāh's territory, just like Khurāsān and Turkistān), the dispute between Tekish and al-Nāṣir expanded into a wide-ranging legal fight, which reached its climax after Tekish's death in 596/1200 (*Kāmil*, xii, 156-8) during the reign of his son Muḥammad II [*q.v.*]. In a much harsher tone than that of the Saldjūḳ, Muḥammad II claimed recognition of his sovereignty (*Siyar*, xxii, 139-43), which was to be also expressed by mentioning his name in the *khuṭba* in Baghdād. According to *Kāmil*, xii, 135, Tekish too had demanded this, and in case of refusal he had threatened to march against Baghdād. Years of mutual provocation (*Ta'rīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 132a-b; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120; *Sīra*, 51; *Kāmil*, xii, 298, 319) and several wars waged by the Ghūrids in the name of the caliph (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 47-66) now followed. The non-Muslim Ḳarā Khiṭāy [*q.v.*], who in the end were on the side of the militarily stronger Khʷārazmshāh (*Ta'rīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 123a-125a) were also implicated. The Khʷārazmshāh, whose power reached from the Caspian Sea to the Indus and from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of ʿUmān (*Kāmil*, xii, 316-8), arrogated to himself the title of "second Alexander" and questioned altogether the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. With the help of a *fatwā*, he declared al-Nāṣir deposed, nominated as anti-caliph a Shīʿī from Tirmidh who was a direct descendant of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and had his name, ʿAlā' al-Mulk, placed on the coinage and mentioned in the *khuṭba* (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120-2). Through diplomacy, al-Nāṣir tried to resolve this conflict and the threat of Muḥammad II's march against Baghdād in 614/1217-18, but he failed (cf. *Mir'āt*, viii, 582-3, and *Sīra*, 51-2, for the unsuccessful mission of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] to Muḥammad II regarding the function of the caliphate). Baghdād was nevertheless spared a direct attack, for the Khʷārazmian troops, while advancing into ʿIrāḳ, withdrew to Khurāsān and Transoxiana in the winter of the following year (*Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 98; *Sīra*, 64; *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*, 449). During the Friday sermon, Muḥammad II had the ʿAbbāsid caliph declared dead (*Kāmil*, xii, 318).

According to the approved method, al-Nāṣir probably had entered into negotiations with the Mongols about delaying and overpowering the Khʷārazmshāh. If credence can be given to a contemporary western source (*Epistulae*, 144-7,7, Letter of 1221), al-Nāṣir, driven to extremity by the advance on Baghdād of the Khʷārazmian army, had ordered the Catholicos of the Nestorians to request the intervention of the "mysterious King David", i.e. Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] against the Khʷārazmshāh. The army of the Mongol ruler in fact included numerous Nestorian Christians. All Muslim historiographers are silent on this indeed extraordinary, but by no means unlikely, mission of a Christian dignitary on behalf of the highest Muslim ruler to obtain military aid from unbelievers against a Muslim army. In the 7th/13th century it was only surmised that al-Nāṣir summoned the Mongols into the Muslim territories by means of an embassy which is not specified any further (e.g. *Kāmil*, xii, 440; the same conjecture later in *Bidāya*, xiii, 106-7; *Sulūk*, i, 218). A description of a delegation sent by al-Nāṣir is only found in the 9th/15th century, but there is no allusion to Christians

either (*Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, iv, 397-400). Other historiographers, however, explain the penetration of the Mongols into the Islamic territory of the Kh^w^ārazmshāh as follows. The members of a Mongol trade mission had been accused by Muḥammad II of spying and had therefore been tortured or killed; this is said to have provoked the Mongol's vengeance (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 136a-140a; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 99; *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, 85-7). It is not possible to discover completely the actual events, but in any case one of the greatest tragedies in Islamic history began with the Mongol invasion of the Kh^w^ārazmian empire. After the death of Muḥammad II in 617/1220, his son Djalāl al-Dīn Kh^w^ārazmshāh (Mankubirnī or Mingīrnī [see AL-NASAWĪ]) [*q.v.*] (*Siyar*, xxii, 326-9) continued his father's legal claim against the caliph. In 622/1225-6 he invaded ʿIrāḳ and extended his conquests as far as 200 km from Baghdād (*Kāmil*, xii, 425-8; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 234; *Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 149a-b). His battles against the caliph as well as those against the Mongols he declared to be *djihād*.

The year 618/1221-2 (cf. *Akhbār*, 109; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 619; *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, fol. 135a; *Siyar*, xxii, 238-9, and the quotations from ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, in *BEO*, xxiii [1970], 125-8) showed how unstable the alliance between al-Nāṣir and the Mongols, if it ever existed, in fact was. The Mongols were preparing for battle in ʿIrāḳ, and al-Nāṣir had to reckon with a direct attack on Baghdād. Renouncing earlier enmities and summoning up all power, the rulers of Irbil and al-Mawṣil joined forces with the caliph on behalf of *djihād*. As already had been the case with the Kh^w^ārazmian call to *djihād* against the east, the Ayyūbids did not see their way to lend a helping hand against the Mongols. A battle did not take place because Čingiz Khān withdrew to the east. Thus the Mongol threat against ʿIrāḳ seemed to have been warded off for the time being.

A few years after al-Nāṣir had come to power, the Ayyūbids for their part complained of his lack of interest in the "Holy Combat" of Muslims. Their bitter disappointment influenced the situation in the eastern Arab lands and in south-east Asia Minor. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and al-Nāṣir, each with his own appetite for expansion, sought to enlarge their territories wherever an occasion presented itself, especially in al-Djazīra. The caliph extended his territory northward exactly at a time when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn urgently needed his assistance at the ill-fated siege of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] by the Crusaders, which lasted for two years (585-7/1189-91). In 585/1189 al-Nāṣir conquered Takrīt (*Rawḍatayn*, ii, 178; *Kāmil*, xii, 42), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's birthplace, which had submitted to the Ayyūbids in 579/1183-4, together with Irbil (*Miḍmār*, 215). Other places on the Euphrates were also captured by al-Nāṣir (*Kāmil*, xii, 58-9) and Salāḥ al-Dīn's rights, as well as his projects of expansion in al-Djazīra, thus were curtailed. The caliph's subversive lack of interest vis-à-vis Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was apparently rooted in the fear that military successes of the Ayyūbids, especially after Jerusalem had been reconquered from the Franks in 583/1187, might spread to the caliph's territory. After all, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's army, having conquered the strategically-important town of al-Mawṣil in 1186, had been only 200 km. from Baghdād. Notwithstanding an active exchange of delegations during the entire period of his caliphate, al-Nāṣir showed himself clearly aloof, even distrustful, towards Ayyūbid requests to grant diplomas of investiture (*taḳlīd*, pl. *taḳālīd*) and to give military assistance against the Franks (*Miḍmār*, 51: *taḳlīd* granted in 576/1180; *Miḍmār*, 62-5: necessity of the *djihād* and exhortation of the caliph in 577/1181-2; *Miḍmār*, 162-4: negotiations regarding the situation in al-Mawṣil in 579/1183-4; *Miḍmār*, 184-5: repeated exhortations concerning the *djihād* addressed to the caliph in 580/1184-5). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was severely criticised in Baghdād when he awarded himself the epithet *al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (*Bidāya*, xii, 327). In 586/1190 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn put a region directly bordering on the caliphate under the administration of a vassal who, at that time, was well-disposed towards him (*Kāmil*, xii, 56; Gökbürī of Irbil is invested with the region of the Banū Ḳifdjāḳ).

After the reign of the Saldjūḳs had come to an end in 590/1194, the interest in this region of both the caliph and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's successor al-Malik al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] intensified. Al-Afḍal skilfully tried to build good relations with al-Nāṣir. He expected to be able to use the caliph as a possible intermediary in present and future conflicts with the Zangids of al-Mawṣil. On the other hand, the concept of *djihād* against the Crusaders gradually lost impact in the letters exchanged with the caliph after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death in 589/1193. In the same way, requests for a premature grant of a *taḳlīd* or for military assistance stopped. In 615/1218, at the time when the Crusaders attacked Damietta, the caliph declined a call for help, but in 616/1219 he summoned local rulers to assist al-Malik al-Kāmil in Damietta (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fol. 136a).

In 618/1221 al-Nāṣir in his turn directed unsuccessful requests to al-ʿĀdil's son, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf [*q.v.*]. Instead of executing his planned march to Egypt, al-Malik al-Ashraf, together with caliphal forces, was to take up positions against the Mongols, who were advancing from Khurāsān. But the official Ayyūbid propaganda kept silent about the Mongol danger, and the political mission in 621/1224 of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, the theologian-counsellor of the caliph, did not bring about the desired military alliance against Djalāl al-Dīn Kh^w^ārazmshāh, who was threatening Baghdād. The Ayyūbids had not forgotten that the caliph had refused them any real support since the Fifth Crusade.

Al-Nāṣir neither could nor would associate himself with the type of unity of Islam so urgently being called for by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn when he stressed the notion of *djihād*. According to the caliph, Islam should close ranks in the struggle against the eastern dynasties which fought against the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Nor could this unity be restored, as had been hoped for, by al-Nāṣir's policy towards Ḳatāda b. Idrīs [*q.v.*], the Sharīf of Mecca (*Kāmil*, xii, 401-2; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 217-18), towards the Zaydī Imāms of Yemen or towards the Ayyūbids of Egypt who had occupied southern Yemen at the turn of the 13th century (*Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī*, fols. 113a-120a). Only economic revival and important financial reserves, which might have enabled this caliph, his predecessors or successors, to maintain an adequate army, could again have brought about political unity and therefore a fundamental and lasting regeneration of the ʿAbbāsid state.

2. The *futuwwa*. Against the background of these events and shortcomings, the unification and reorganisation of the federal system of the *futuwwa*, carried through by al-Nāṣir, was neither bizarre (*Kāmil*, xii, 440: pure bragging) nor an isolated political idea. To al-Nāṣir the credit is due of having consolidated on a moral basis the various forms of the *futuwwa* which, at his accession to the throne, hardly kept to the virtuous requirements of the original ideal

of the *fatā*. These forms were developed by al-Nāṣir into a mean of political power in the service of the caliphate. The reformed *futuwwa* provided the caliph with the framework for a new awareness of solidarity among Muslims of all confessions and social ranks up to the princes. At the same time, the renewed rules of this new community, related directly to the person of al-Nāṣir, entailed dependence on the ʿAbbāsid caliph as the highest authority (*ḳibla*) in the Islamic world (*Tuḥfa*, fol. 108b).

In his chronicle, the *Miḍmār*, al-Malik al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] gives information about the separate steps leading to the final execution of the reform. Soon after assuming power, the caliph joined a branch of the *futuwwa* which was influenced by Ṣūfism. In 578/1182-3 its *shaykh* performed with him the rite of initiation, which consisted in putting on the trousers (*sarāwīl*) of the *futuwwa* (*Miḍmār*, 86). Al-Nāṣir also established contacts with other leaders of Ṣūfī groups of *fityān* (*Miḍmār*, 177). The caliph's turning to the Ṣūfī manifestation of the *futuwwa* incited an important section of the population to follow his example and to take more seriously the required virtues, which had regained influence in public life.

3. Supervision of communications. Moreover, already before the actual reform, al-Nāṣir succeeded in realising important parts of his political and social aims. For example, he gradually concentrated in his own person the permission to shoot with pellets (*al-ramy bi 'l-bunduḳ*). He also tried to bring pigeon breeding under his control. This brought the advantage of being able to supervise communications. In 590/1194 he had all fully-grown carrier pigeons killed in Baghdād in order to force the population to use only his young pigeons, which flew on courses fixed by himself (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 437), so that any pigeon post first came into his hands or into those of his confidants. In order to obtain an audience with the caliph, one had to have received a pigeon from him first, which honour guaranteed the noble character of the receiver. Thus the following saying came into being in Baghdād: receipt of a pigeon from the caliph, adherence to the *futuwwa*, and "shooting with pellets" (*al-ramy bi 'l-bunduḳ*) make it impossible for a man to tell a lie (*Miḍmār*, 180).

4. The reform. From 599/1203 onwards, al-Nāṣir personally decided on the admission into the *futuwwa* of princes and governors (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 513: al-ʿĀdil's admission). In doing so, the caliph confirmed them as rightful and absolute leaders of the *fityān* in their territories, but, since he himself was their superior in the hierarchy of the *futuwwa*, their adherence increased their dependence on him. The adherence of any prince automatically caused the admission into the *futuwwa* of all his subjects. This should have prevented any individualistic trend in the Islamic community. Notwithstanding this, there remained a great number of different groups and gangs (*ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]) of the *futuwwa*, which vied with each other and, because of their great power in the districts of Baghdād, often conjured up situations that were close to civil war (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 222, 226, 228). This caused the caliph in 604/1207 to issue a decree in which the *futuwwa* was fundamentally reformed. Non-observance of this decree was a capital offence. The new *futuwwa* was described as "the purified *futuwwa*" and was completely centralised on al-Nāṣir under the following principles: 1. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the unquestionable foundation of the *futuwwa*; he is the basis of all legal decisions. 2. Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh is explicitly recognised as emulator of ʿAlī. 3. It is the *futuwwa*'s task to perform a "purified, imāmite duty, which grants victory to the religion of Allāh". 4. Any *fatā* who maltreats a fellow-member is expelled from the *futuwwa*. 5. *Ḥadīths* of the Prophet himself confirm the caliph's legal position when issuing this decree (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 223-5).

In his *Tuḥfat al-waṣāyā*, al-Khartabirtī, a contemporary inclined to Shīʿism, gives information on the reform. Al-Nāṣir changed the genealogy of the *futuwwa* by having its tree brought down to his own name from Adam, through the Prophet Muḥammad and his son-in-law ʿAlī (*Tuḥfa*, fol. 117a-b). He also claimed the exclusive right to grant *futuwwa* titles and orders. In his *Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, written in the spirit of Islamic law, Ibn al-Miʿmār (d. 642/1244) describes the hierarchic structure of the entire society of the *futuwwa*. All members were comrades (*rafīḳ*, pl. *rifāḳ*), but were related as a younger one (*ṣaghīr*) to an elder one (*kabīr*) or—with the same meaning—as a son (*ibn*) to his father (*ab*) and grandfather (*djadd*). The community of *rifāḳ* is called "house" (*bayt*), and several *buyūt* are brought together into a "host" (*ḥizb*, pl. *aḥzāb*). Supreme master of all these groups was the caliph (*Kitāb al-Futuwwa*, 190-9). In al-Nāṣir's *futuwwa*, the function of head (*naḳīb*) of the nobility was held by a member of the ʿAlid family al-Maʿiyya (or al-Muʿayya?) (*ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, 150).

By indicating himself as the highest authority (*ḳibla*, see above) for all *fityān*, al-Nāṣir established a relation between *sharīʿa* and *futuwwa*. For this, it was necessary to find a compromise between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Inside the *futuwwa* the caliph could not favour one group over the other, nor could he accept both groups as being independent from each other if he wanted to attain his aim, namely, keeping the community of the believers within the structure of the state. His policy had to be built unconditionally on the points of agreement between the two parties. In this way, he succeeded in making the *futuwwa* confederations, disorganised and quarrelling among each other before his reform, into "an element of social solidarity" on behalf of the caliphate. Al-Nāṣir thus created a powerful organisation which, more than his army, made his caliphate acceptable as a binding form of sovereignty for all religious and political factions in Baghdād and in the Islamic lands. The authority which the caliph thus exercised over his subjects allowed him also to regain an important portion of his secular power and prevented, after the downfall of the Saldjūḳs, tutelage by an outside secular ruler. The reorganisation of the *futuwwa* was more than a tactical measure. It was not "an artificial resuscitation of the caliphate"—as still assumed by Taeschner (*Futuwwa*, in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, lii [1956], 143)—but an effective means of making policy, in which greater importance was attributed to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. This structure of the federal system continued under al-Nāṣir's successors, but the *ʿayyārūn* resumed their attacks as a result of the weakening of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in the last years of its existence in Baghdād. This form of courtly *futuwwa* came to an end with the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate at the conquest of Baghdād by the Mongol Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] in 656/1258. From 659/1261 onwards, an aftermath survived in Mamlūk Egypt [*q.v.*].

5. The theory of the caliphate. For his legitimation as caliph, and for the *futuwwa* as instrument for the theoretical foundation of his claim to power, al-Nāṣir found an energetic propagandist in the Shāfiʿī Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, who supported the union between *sunna* and moderate Shīʿa on the one hand, between *futuwwa* and Ṣūfism on the other. In his works, the *futuwwa* is part of *taṣawwuf*,

and his theory on the caliphate definitely posited that Ṣūfism could be sanctioned by the caliphate. In his *Idālat al-ʿiyān ʿalā 'l-burhān* he develops a theory in which the concepts of *futuwwa*, Ṣūfism and caliphate are coordinated in an ascending order. In analogy with the relation between *shaykh* and *murīd* [*q.vv.*], he considers the caliph as the mediator (*wāsiṭa*) between the Unique One and the people, appointed by God (*Idāla*, fol. 88a). As such, he is "God's representative on earth". This is not the standard argument in the orthodox Sunnī theory on the caliphate because the reference to consensus is missing. Since the concept of *khalīfat Allāh* cannot be deduced from the Ḳurʾān, the argument that the caliphate is a necessity is put by Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*] on the same level as the assertions according to which the caliphate is required by mere reason; the consensus itself (*idjmāʿ*) comes only in the second place and confirms the reason (*al-ʿIbar*, i = *al-Muḳaddima*, 339-40). Al-Nāṣir's court theologian does not mention *idjmāʿ* at all. He does not seem to have omitted unintentionally this important concept of Sunnī law, because when he explains that the Imām is the absolute mediator between God and man, he comes close to Shīʿī notions according to which the Imām, because of his authority as teacher and his charismatic function, is beyond consensus. According to al-Nāṣir and al-Suhrawardī, the Imām holds the function of mediator in an absolute way, just as the Ṣūfī, once he has obtained the dignity of *shaykh*, is a mediator between God and the novice (*ṭālib* or *murīd*) (*Idāla*, fol. 88a).

The concept of *khalīfa* was in any case widening in the 7th/13th century. It was not only used in its legal and political meaning of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, but, in the language of the mystics of the Ṣūfi orders, it was also understood as indicating the "leader of a *ṭarīḳa*" [*q.v.*]. This double meaning of the term appears with al-Suhrawardī and al-Nāṣir and is used theoretically and practically, in both the mystical and the political sense. After the centuries-old distrust of Islamic mystics by the ruling power, al-Nāṣir was willing to draw the political consequences from the requirements established by al-Suhrawardī. Under his caliphate, a purposeful, officially directed turn to Ṣūfism took place: "The exalted caliphate is a register (*daftar*) and *taṣawwuf* is part of it; *taṣawwuf* in its turn is a register of which the *futuwwa* is a part. *Futuwwa* is specified by pure ethics (*al-akhlāk al-zakiyya*); *taṣawwuf* includes pious acts and private religious practices (*awrād*); the noble caliphate comprises mystic situations, pious acts and pure ethics" (*Idāla*, fol. 89a-b). The comparison of the caliphate, to which *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa* are subordinated, with a register reminds one of the likewise hierarchical rank of the concepts *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīḳa* and *ḥaḳīḳa* found in al-Suhrawardī's *Risālat al-Futuwwa*, fol. 186b. *Khilāfa* and *sharīʿa* are the higher concepts which, in their relations to each other, require unconditional unity. With these axioms, the caliph, through his protagonist al-Suhrawardī, took the wind out of the sails of those critics who maintained that he neglected the requirements of the *sharīʿa*. At the same time, he opened the caliphate to two forms of organisation of human society which came into being simultaneously and which apparently were mutually conditional, namely, the reformed confederation of men, the *futuwwa*, and the order of *taṣawwuf*.

According to contemporary statements, the caliph "in the middle of his reign" intended to give up his governmental function in favour of ascetic practices and the life of a Ṣūfī (*Akhbār al-zuhhād*, fols. 96b-101b; *Siyar al-nubalāʾ*, xxii, 202, cf. 197: at this time al-Nāṣir was also engaged in transmitting *ḥadīths*, cf. *Nakt al-himyān*, 95; *Wāfī*, vi, 314). After some time, however, he distanced himself from this intention and returned completely to governmental business. All the same, by recognising a direct relation between mystics and the caliphate, al-Nāṣir had created the possibility of being accepted on a larger basis.

6. Al-Nāṣir's religious programme (*daʿwa hādiya*). The caliph's religious-political propaganda (*daʿwa hādiya*, roughly "guiding call") also bears witness to such a wider basis. In order to spread it, he sent messengers to Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Persia. Al-Nāṣir's *daʿwa* was quite different from the Sunnī orthodox one of his father and predecessor al-Mustaḍīʾ [*q.v.*], as well as from that of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn b. ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Al-Nāṣir was no longer concerned about the "moral armament and unity of the Sunnīs" against the Shīʿa, but about equating all Islamic confessions. In this respect, the rapprochement of the Ismāʿīlis under their Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn Ḥasan III [*q.v.*] towards Sunnī Islam was convenient on the one hand, while on the other he had succeeded in protecting the legitimacy of the caliph against the claims of the ʿAlids by involving *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* in the theory of the caliphate and in meeting, perhaps personally, the moderate Shīʿa, as his domestic policy clearly shows. He was in close contact with the *naḳībs* of the ʿAlids and was surrounded by Imāmī viziers and other high officials and counsellors. In an inscription found in the Ghaybat al-Mahdī in Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], which he caused to be renovated expensively and to be enlarged into a mausoleum (*mashhad*), he designates himself as builder and protector of the Shīʿī sanctuary (*Miḍmār*, 178). Nor did he seclude himself from certain branches of the Ismāʿīliyya: in the inscription on the Bāb al-Ṭilasm in Baghdād [*q.v.*] (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 215) he borrowed the Ismāʿīlī eulogy, and his messengers of the *daʿwa hādiya*, as well as his *futuwwa* emissaries, were provided with a special warrant, the *wakāla djāmiʿa* or *wakāla sharīfa* (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 222 *et passim*). The caliph's attempt to control, as far as northern Syria, the supervision of the markets and its centralisation is perhaps to be placed in connection with this propaganda activity. When receiving the warrants, al-Nāṣir's officials committed themselves through reciprocal absolute vows of fidelity to each other and, altogether, to the caliph.

7. Anti-philosophical tendencies. From al-Nāṣir's domestic policy it is clear that he did not consider the Shīʿīs as a threat and an undermining influence in the Muslim community. For him, the danger of inner disintegration came rather from the philosophers and their followers. Although he had occupied himself with "the sciences of the ancient Greeks" (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*), if only in a rudimentary way, razzias, auto-da-fés and all possible reprisals took place against suspects (*Idāla*, fol. 85b; *Rashf*, fol. 16a: destruction of philosophical literature; *Dhayl*, i, 445, ii, 71, 73; *Akhbār al-khulafāʾ*, 119-21; *Djāmiʿ*, ix, 81; *Bidāya*, xiii, 45: burning of libraries; *Dhayl*, ii, 66-8; *Bidāya*, xiii, 65: denunciations). From this period dates al-Suhrawardī's *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍāʾiḥ al-yūnāniyya*, the most important polemic against philosophy, which is at the same time a written defence of the caliphate as understood by al-Nāṣir. One of the most striking features of this work is that it keeps its distance from any polemic against the Bāṭiniyya [*q.v.*], considered to be the promoters of the "Greek sciences". This attitude is perhaps related to the conversion to Sunnī Islam of Ḥasan III, ruler of the Assassins of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in 608/1211-2 (*Kāmil*,

xii, 306-7; *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā*, ii, 120, 242-3), by which the Bāṭiniyya ceased for a number of years to be the most dangerous enemy of the ʿAbbāsids. Indeed under al-Nāṣir the Assassins, so feared before, became loyal allies, a fact which the caliph considered as his greatest success in religious matters, his greatest political achievement being the destruction of the Saldjūḳs.

8. The accusation of Shīʿī inclinations. Al-Nāṣir is often reproached by Sunnī chroniclers as having been a partisan of the Shīʿīs (*mutashayyiʿ*; *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh al-bashar*, iii, 142: *kāna yatashayyaʿu*: *Mufarridj*, iv, 163; *Fakhrī*, 232; *Siyar*, 200). Two remarks should be made in this connection. Because of his excellent spy network (*Siyar*, 200), al-Nāṣir was considered on the one hand to be "all-knowing", even in religious matters. A later chronicler remarks that the Shīʿīs indeed considered him as the infallible, sinless Imām, for "the infallible Imām knows what is in the womb of a pregnant woman and what lies behind the wall" (*Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, 449). On the other hand, the caliph's tolerance toward the Shīʿa —apart from his personal propensities—is to be seen as a reaction to the concrete political situation. If al-Nāṣir wanted to raise the caliphate in Baghdād to a real and effective power, he could only succeed by taking into account *and* by exploiting the interests of the Shīʿīs who formed about half of Baghdād's population. He had to shape his subjects' political consciousness in such a way that the person of the caliph was forearmed against accusations from the outside (i.e. that he was the ʿAlid anti-caliph against the Khwārazmshāh) and from the inside (i.e. against the criticism of the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhayl*, ii, 420). During al-Nāṣir's reign the cutting edges of the conflict between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, which for such a long time had shaken the ʿIrāḳī metropolis, seemed to have been blunted.

9. The caliph as traditionist and reformer. Al-Nāṣir also recognised the importance of religious propaganda of the *ʿulamāʾ*; in particular, he acquired the duties and authority of the traditionists by concerning himself personally with the science of *ḥadīth*. Since all his undertakings were directed towards abolishing the traditional separation of powers—the worldly power in the hands of the caliph or the sultan, the spiritual power in the hands of the *ʿulamāʾ*—and towards uniting them in his person, he claimed that, as successor of the Prophet and as the instructing authority, it was his duty to look after the well-being of the Islamic community in this world and in the hereafter.

Al-Nāṣir reformed education in Baghdād insofar as he succeeded—as the Saldjūḳs had done before him—in bringing the nomination for the chairs at the Great Mosque under his control. Besides influencing intellectual life, this also, or rather above all, had economic consequences because it meant control of the sources of income which were at the origin of different conflicts of interest in the city. Al-Nāṣir, in collaboration with al-Suhrawardī, thus not only showed new directions in educational policy, but he created a *novum* in the history of state control of education in Islam. Since the arrival of the Saldjūḳs, law, together with its propaedeutic disciplines such as Ḳurʾān exegesis, *ḥadīth*, grammar, literary theory and the first principles of mathematics, had been taught exclusively in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] (exegesis of the Ḳurʾān and law also in the mosque), and medicine mainly in the hospitals (*bīmāristān* [*q.v.*]), while "foreign sciences" (*ʿulūm al-ʿadjam* such as mathematics, physics and philosophy, were taught privately. Al-Nāṣir systematically tried to enlarge or found convents, the so-called *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*] and to regain control of the educational system as a whole, lost since the *madrasas* had come into existence (Chabbi, *Ribat*, 116-20; Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 126-7, 198 ff.). The *ribāṭs*, already under al-Mustaḍīʾ officially recognised as institutions (*Muntaẓam*, x, 233), were solidly integrated by al-Nāṣir into the spiritual life of Baghdād as homiletic institutions, as establishments for teaching law and as meeting-places for Ṣūfīs. In the first half of his reign he founded six new *ribāṭs*, where the doctrines of ʿIrāḳī Ṣūfism, combined with Ṣūfī-inspired traditional homiletics and sciences, were spread. In the *Ribāṭ al-Mustadjadd* (also called *Ribāṭ al-Marzubāniyya*), the most famous of them, all fields of knowledge, i.e. of external and internal *ʿilm*, were to be united in the person of the caliph.

Al-Nāṣir's reforms consisted in creating a new harmony between the sciences and in making an attempt to suppress in the Islamic community *kalām* and the tendencies favourable to philosophy. Only one generation before, in the second half of the 6th/12th century, a fierce fight had been waged concerning the recognition of paraenesis as an official field of science, but in al-Nāṣir's time the audience in the *ribāṭs* very often were students at the *madrasa*, a fact which is very well-documented by ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's circle of students. In this way, the subject-matter of the convent influenced the lectures at the theological colleges. The caliph visited regularly intellectual occasions and heard sermons and put all items necessary for maintenance and study at the disposal of the students free of charge. If coming from outside, the students for a greater part also lived in the *ribāṭs* (*Djāmiʿ*, ix, 99; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 513; *Ḥawādith*, 74). Al-Nāṣir also earned merit for renovating and enlarging in 589/1193 the Madrasa al-Niẓāmīyya. The newly-built part was called after him al-Nāṣiriyya (*Kāmil*, xii, 104; *Bidāya*, xiii, 6). It was also in the period of the foundation of the *ribāṭs* that the Ṣūfī mystical communities developed into hierarchically-organised orders. The caliph's attention to the *ribāṭs* and the origin of the orders apparently coincided with the reorganisation of the *futuwwa*.

Following the example of the Prophet, al-Nāṣir succeeded in being recognised in the field of *ʿilm*. Having become a *mudjtahid*, he transmitted, in order to underpin this claim, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* to Ḥanbalī scholars as part of *samāʿ* collections (*Dhayl*, ii, 218; *Mirʾāt*, viii, 556). He further put together seventy *ḥadīths* which went back to the Prophet. Through *idjāza*, he transmitted them equally to representatives of all four Sunnī *madhāhib* (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 543-4; *Siyar*, xxii, 197-8; Bundārī, *Dhayl*, fol. 28a; Dubaythī, *Dhayl*, fol. 10a). Under the title *Rūḥ* (*Rawḥ*) *al-ʿārifīn*, al-Nāṣir had this collection of *ḥadīths* propagated systematically in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt, in Rūm Saldjūḳid Asia Minor, in Persia and in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. It was a programmatic work with a moral tendency, fundamental for this caliph's view of his own function (*Mirʾāt*, viii, 564-5; 543; *ibid.*, fol. 319b (missing in the Ḥaydarābād edition); *Siyar* xxii, 198; *Sulūk*, i, 180; *Mufarridj*, iv, between 163 and 170). The *ḥadīths* of the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn* touch on the following subjects: moral information and instructions for the believers, warnings against the temptations of the world, appeals to observe the religious duties and guidelines for life after death. In the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] was critical of the enthusiasm for the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn*, maintaining that the work had originated from political expediency and personal career-making, and not for the sake of

religion. According to him, the work does not stand up against the standards of *ḥadīth* criticism (*Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 448). Among other contemporary historians, Ibn al-Dubaythī (*Dhayl*, fol. 10a) and al-Bundārī (*Dhayl*, fol. 28b) quote from the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn*. The theologian al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*] quoted from it in the 8th/14th century, and in the 11th/17th century it was known to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, i, 915). ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's [*q.v.*] commentary (*Siyar*, xxii, 197; see also his memoirs, ed. Cl. Cahen, 105), together with al-Nāṣir's *ḥadīths* mentioned above, have survived under the title *Futūḥ al-waḳt* (B.L. Cat.Ar. 6332, fols. 30b-76b, which includes a copy of an *idjāza* of the commentator and his autographic *placet*, fols. 76b-82b; cf. Cat. Or. 5780; Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir*, 206-32). Another commentary of the *Rūḥ al-ʿārifīn* by Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1257 [*q.v.*]) is considered to be lost. Numerous *ḥadīths*, mostly from other collections of al-Nāṣir, have found their way into al-Suhrawardī's *Rashf al-naṣāʾiḥ*.

10. Conclusion. The aim and, in the end, also the essence of al-Nāṣir's ideas about his function was that the caliph should get back the position of a *mudjtahid*, act in politics as the guardian and propagator of the traditions of the Prophet on behalf of all dogmatic trends, and retain his own judgement as the recognised expert in the matter of text interpretation. After these tasks and their fulfilment had been curtailed for several centuries, al-Nāṣir's caliphate to a large extent again met the standards set as an ideal for the function of the Prophet's successor.

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NĀSIR AL-DĪN SHĀH (*r.* 1848-96), fourth ruler of the Ḳādjār dynasty [*q.v.*] of Persia. Born on 6 Ṣafar 1247/17 July 1831 in the village of Kuhnamīr near Tabrīz to the then Prince Muḥammad Mīrzā (later Muḥammad Shāh, r. 1834-48) and Malik-Djahān (later Mahd-i ʿUlyā: Queen Mother, d. 1873), daughter of a powerful Ḳādjār chief, Nāṣir al-Dīn epitomised the eventual union of the contesting Ḳuwānlū and Davalū clans of the Ḳādjār tribe. The young Crown Prince's right of succession to the throne was not fully secured before 1847, when a complex power struggle within the royal family, fuelled by rival officialdom and by European envoys, turned to Nāṣir al-Dīn's momentary advantage. His childhood and early youth turned out to be even less cheerful because of Muḥammad Shāh's contempt for Nāṣir al-Dīn and his mother, haphazard education, irregular allowance and isolation within the palace even though he benefited from his mother's full moral support. His brief but eventful governorship of Ādharbāydjān ended upon the death of his ailing father when he was declared the Shah in 14 Shawwāl 1264/13 September 1848. Crucial to success of the young Shah's swift and unchallenged accession was the capable and ambitious commander of the Ādharbāydjān New Army, Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in collaboration with the British consul in Tabrīz organised the young Shah's triumphant march to the capital in October 1848. Equally instrumental was Mahd-i ʿUlyā's interim government consisting of a fragile coalition of high-ranking officials who orchestrated the removal of the previous prime minister, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī.

The first phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign (1848-1858) was characterised by a prolonged struggle to assert the monarchical authority over the office of the Prime Minister (*ṣadr aʿẓam*), to weaken the Ḳādjār nobility, challenge the restraining policies of European powers, and suppress popular and religious dissent. Although at first he willingly delegated full power to Amīr Kabīr as the royal guardian (*atābak*), the Prime Minister, and the commander-in-chief of the army (*amīr-i niẓām*), the Shah found it exceedingly difficult to reconcile the Prime Minister's stern conduct and his draconian reform measures in the areas of finance, military, and the administration with the vested interests of the nobility. Mahd-i ʿUlyā's sustained opposition to Amīr Kabīr was shared by the discontented bureaucrats and Ḳādjār notables. The Shah's own desire for greater political initiative and for a larger allowance eroded Amīr Kabīr's support base leading to his dismissal in November 1851 and shortly afterward his tragic execution in January 1852. The much-bemoaned episode, which was in part exacerbated by the undue intervention of the British and the Russian ministers and their proxies, remained a dark spot in the Shah's political career. Even in his short term of office, Amīr Kabīr consolidated Nāṣir al-Dīn's throne, not only by bringing a semblance of order to the otherwise chaotic government but also by destroying the internecine Dawalū revolt in Khurāsān (1848-51). Even more crucial for the survival of the Ḳādjār throne was Amīr Kabīr's harsh suppression of the Bābī movement [*q.v.*] which culminated in the execution of the Bāb [*q.v.*] and the crushing of the Bābī armed resistance. The Shah's fear of the Bābīs, who in August 1852 tried to assassinate him, persisted throughout his reign and was shared by the high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ*. After the fall of Amīr Kabīr, the Shah acquiesced in their almost unhindered monopoly of the civil judiciary, the charitable endowments, the mosques and education.

During the seven-year term of office (1851-8) of Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Nūrī, Iʿtimād al-Dawla, the Shah's drive for monarchical ascendancy was contained by the manoeuvres and machinations of his pro-British Prime Minister, who nevertheless had an important influence on the Shah's political behaviour. In search of greater security but also to balance the British influence at the close of the Crimean War (1854-6) the Shah entertained an old ambition of the Ḳādjār rulers for the reassertion of Persia's sovereignty over the long-disputed vassalage of Herat. Moved by patriotism and by military glory, he took advantage of the chaotic condition of Herat to break relations with Britain over a scandalous affair involving Charles Murray, the British Minister in Tehran. Soon he launched an expedition under the command of his uncle Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā Ḥusām al-Salṭana, who eventually captured Herat in October 1856. Faced with a British declaration of war, Nāṣir al-Dīn's conditional proposal for withdrawal from Herat was answered by the landing of a sizeable Anglo-Indian force in Būshihr in December 1856. The waning Persian resistance soon encouraged the British to move to the interior, forcing upon the Shah a humiliating withdrawal from Herat and a hasty compliance with the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty of March 1857. Faced with increasing popular criticism at home, but partly as a result of intrigues within the harem and the bureaucracy, in August 1858 the Shah dismissed Āḳā Khān Nūrī and sent him to a lifetime exile. Defeat in war and the disastrous collapse of the subsequent expedition against the Turkomans of Marw in October 1860 convinced Nāṣir al-Dīn as to the expediency of diplomatic accommodation with the neighbouring powers, a hallmark of the remaining years of his rule.

The second phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign (1858-71) was marked by the abolishing of the office of *ṣadr aʿẓam* and the appointment of ministers to the newly-created ministries, with the Shah acting as his own Prime Minister. After a brief period of lukewarm experimentation with western-style reforms (1858-60), the Shah's personal supervision drew him further into a complex political game in which his prime objective was to obstruct the monopoly of power by any one minister or faction. Having been exposed as early as 1855, but more so after 1858, to the reformist views of the celebrated Mīrzā Malkum Khān [*q.v.*], the Shah increasingly adopted an autocratic approach

while ignoring Malkum's rationalisation reform plans. His constant juxtaposition of ministers, and a redefining of their functions and responsibilities, contributed to the confusion in the administration. The Shah's main rationale was to preserve a fragile balance between the powerful conservative camp headed by Mīrzā Yūsuf Mustawfī al-Mamālik, the chief state accountant, and the weaker reformist wing championed by Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla. The selective nature of the reforms initiated by the Shah from mid-1860s is most visible in the construction of the telegraphic network. Direct and speedy contact with the provinces increased the Shah's control while at the same time he remained loyal to the Ḳādjār practice of delegating to the provincial governors enormous power. Up to 1888 the Shah's eldest son Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān governed from his provincial capital in Isfahan over as many as sixteen provinces and governorates in central and western Persia.

The rise of the celebrated reformer Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla [*q.v.*, and see DUSTŪR, iv, Iran) to the premiership (November 1871) marked the beginning of the third phase of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1871-86). Royal tours to Ottoman ʿIrāḳ (November 1870-January 1871) and to Europe (May-September 1873, to include Russia, Prussia, England, France, Italy, Austria and Turkey), the first by a Persian royalty, provided the Shah with first-hand experience of the outside world and allowed greater recognition of the Persian state. Nāṣir al-Dīn's diaries of these tours, as well as diaries of his later visits to Europe (March-August 1878 and May-October 1889), register his sincere and occasionally amusing impressions of prosperous and exotic Europe. He remained more impressed with the royal splendour, the natural scenery, and the trivia rather than with the political institutions or industrial achievements. Throughout, the Shah and his retinue were received with great esteem and fascination, often one reminiscent of the old Persian monarchy. During the first tour, the granting of the Reuter concession, notorious for its all-embracing monopoly of Persia's natural resources, its finance and communication, was also finalised under the auspices of Mushīr al-Dawla. On his return, in response to a palace revolt orchestrated by the conservatives the Shah was forced to demote his premier to the rank of Minister of War and repeal the Reuter concession. The administrative, military and judicial reforms that were implemented by Mushīr al-Dawla until his dismissal in 1880 and which were largely on the model of the Ottoman *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] were meant to strengthen and rationalise the government by restraining the arbitrary power of the monarch. Yet Nāṣir al-Dīn, in spite of his apparent support for reforms, managed to utilise the resistance of the conservative princes and *mustawfīs* in order to deflect Mushīr al-Dawla and eventually to concentrate power in his own hand. In the area of foreign policy the Shah exploited the tense rivalry between his imperial neighbours, especially after 1881, in order to maintain a fragile equilibrium conducive to tranquility, the stabilisation of the frontiers at the expense of dispensing with the periphery (Khīwa, Marw, Sarakhs, Herat, eastern Sīstān, and Baḥrayn) and the restraining of European imperial access to the interior at the cost of refraining from infrastructural reforms such as railways and navigation, which were hardly in any case feasible because of the rivalries of outside powers.

A shift in Nāṣir al-Dīn's political conduct, characterised by personal disillusionment and growing popular discontent, marked the fourth and the final phase of his reign (1886-96), beginning with the death of the conservative patriarch Mīrzā Yūsuf Mustawfī al-Mamālik who served as nominal premier since 1881. After more than a decade of stiff resistance, the Shah's consent to the opening of the Kārūn river navigation (October 1888) and the granting of the British-operated Imperial Bank of Persia (January 1889) announced a new era. The Shah was persuaded to grant concessions by the British envoy Sir Henry Drummond Wolff in an attempt to resuscitate the repealed Reuter concession, but the opening-up to Europe was further facilitated by the rise of a younger generation of statesmen trained in the Shah's inner court and in the foreign service. The rise of the young Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣghar Khān Amīn al-Sulṭān (d. 1907) to the premiership (officially appointed in 1888) was largely due to his willingness to augment the Shah's personal gains and to negotiate on his behalf with foreign powers. He gratified Nāṣir al-Dīn's narcissistic profligacy and exploited his emotional insecurities in exchange for greater control over the government and foreign policy, while the Shah promoted his own younger son, Kāmrān Mīrzā Nāʾib al-Salṭana, the War Minister, as a counterbalance to the premier. The advice of the reform-minded Mīrzā ʿAlī Khān Amīn al-Dawla (d. 1904), the head of the State Consultative Council, had some moderating influence on the Shah's conduct. The nationwide protest in 1891-2 against the Régie tobacco monopoly granted to a British subject in 1889 nevertheless indicated an imbalance in Nāṣir al-Dīn's domestic policy and a dramatic turning-point in popular discontent against the Shah and his premier. In order to pay for the growing bureaucracy and royal expenditure through the sale of concessions, limited though this was, the Shah disenfranchised the merchants of the bazaar and alienated their *ʿulamāʾ* beneficiaries, who now were lionised by activists such as Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī "al-Afghānī" [*q.v.*]. The growing domestic dissent continued even after the cancellation of Régie. The Shah's assassination on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1313/1 May 1896 inside the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and on the eve of his fiftieth jubilee (according to the lunar calendar) was not an isolated and unpredictable event. His assassin, Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī, a devotee of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, was a typical victim of the petty oppression of the late Nāṣirī police apparatus controlled by Kāmrān Mīrzā. Nāṣir al-Dīn was buried in an adjacent room of the same shrine.

One of the longest-ruling Persian monarchs, Nāṣir al-Dīn left his discreet stamp on the Persian government and society of his time. His chief achievement was his often unappreciated diplomatic skill which helped in preserving Persia's sovereignty and territorial integrity in an age of imperial threat, a credit which nonetheless is tainted by his domestic shortcomings and failures to implement reforms. His capricious vacillations between modernisation and conservatism were determined as much by expediency and fear of social upheavals as by his deep-seated suspicions. Distrustful and self-indulging, the auctioning of government offices, the currency depreciation swindle, unceasing hunting and outdoor excursions, his obsessive infatuation for his favourite page-boy Malīdjak ʿAzīz al-Sulṭān, his whimsical and at times cruel treatment of his subjects, his ceaseless search for personal wealth, and his intolerance for dissent severely battered his image. His complex personality was embellished however by his artistic and literary accomplishments, historical and topo-

graphical interests, patronage of mixed Perso-European art, architecture and urban development as well as secular and religious scholarship, high and popular literature, Persian music, and Shīʿī passion plays (*taʿziya* [*q.v.*]). Many European innovations, from postal services, passports, street cars and gas lighting, to photography, museums, military music, modern outfits and appearance (including shaving of the beard), fireworks, and modern furniture were introduced by Nāṣir al-Dīn himself. His numerous diaries of his domestic and international travels, mostly published in his own time, are unique among the Islamic rulers of his time for portraying him as an avid though not specially perceptive observer with an eye for details and a lucid style. His preoccupation with details is also evident in the affairs of the government and the army, at the cost of his losing sight of the broader picture. His astute handling of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the nobility and foreign representatives was complemented by his royal façade and his promotion of pomp and circumstance. In contrast, Nāṣir al-Dīn's informal court and pleasure-seeking private life has generated a lopsided, often farcical, image of him in modern Persian history.

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(A. AMANAT)

NĀṢIR ʿALĪ SIRHINDĪ (d. in Dihlī on 6 Ramaḍān 1108/29 March 1697, one of the best of the Persian poets of India, who were by this time very numerous; their productions however are for the most part of little artistic value. Of his life we know only that he travelled a great deal but finally settled in

Sirhind, where he enjoyed the favour of the governor Sayf Khān Badakhshī and of the *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān. His principal work is a version of the love story of Madhumalat and Manūhar in Persian verse, the original having been written in Hindī by Shaykh Djammān. The same subject was taken up after Nāṣir ʿAlī by Mīr ʿAskar ʿĀdil Khān Rāzī (d. 1107/1696), one of the governors of Dihlī under Awrangzīb (1659-1707), who called his poem *Mihr u māh*. Besides the poem, Nāṣir ʿAlī wrote a short *mathnawī*, Ṣūfī in character, and a description of Kashmīr, both of which still survive. His lyrical *Dīwān* was collected by his friends after his death; it consisted of the usual *ghazals*, some *sāḳī-nāmas* and poems in praise of the Ḳalendar dervishes (lith. Lucknow 1244, 1281, and Cawnpore 1892).

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NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW, whose full name was Abū Muʿīn Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Ḳubādhiyānī, Persian poet and prose writer, a noted traveller, and an Ismāʿīlī philosopher and *dāʿī* [*q.v.*]. He was born into a family of landowners and officials in 394/1004 in Ḳubādhiyān [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Oxus River. What little we know about his early life comes to us primarily from references in his own works. Such autobiographical details reflect Nāṣir's own retrospective arrangement of his life to reflect what he regards as phases in his moral and spiritual evolution.

During the period of Ghaznawid control of the area, he probably worked as an official. After the establishment of Saldjūḳ rule in 431/1040, he served in an administrative capacity in Marw, where his brother held a prominent position. There are references to Nāṣir's early interest in philosophy, science, mathematics and poetry, which he seems to have pursued while maintaining an active social life in court circles.

The next, more dramatic phase of his life, is marked by his resignation from his post in 437/1045 and his decision to set out on pilgrimage to Mecca. He departed for what would eventually turn out to be a seven-year journey, accompanied only by his brother and a servant. In the *Safar-nāma*, the classic account of his travels, he explains his reasons for leaving by reference to a dream, a visionary experience that depicts a spiritual transformation, which he subsequently elaborated upon more fully in one of his poems. It portrays a "conversion" climaxed by an oath that commits him to the service of the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīlī *Imām* of the time in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, and to the cause of the *daʿwa* of the Ismāʿīlīyya [*q.v.*].

Some scholars have understood Nāṣir's conversion as an instant event that caused him to leave a hitherto dissolute lifestyle in Marw in quest for a more meaningful life, which eventually led him to Cairo. Others, including Corbin and Ivanow, have suggested that he was probably already involved with Ismāʿīlism before leaving on his journey and that his description of his conversion should be understood as an allegorical account of an inner quest and transformation that eventually culminated in his official appointment to the *daʿwa* while at the Fāṭimid court in Cairo.

The first phase of his journey took him to Mecca by way of Nīshāpūr, Tabrīz, Aleppo and Jerusalem. After performing the pilgrimage, he set out for Egypt, arriving in Cairo in 439/1047. He lavishes praise on Cairo, its prosperity, administration, order and its social and intellectual life. He stayed in Cairo for about three years, becoming familiar with the tradition of Ismāʿīlī learning and was in all probability attracted to its message by al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], the eminent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*. During his stay in Egypt, Nāṣir undertook two more pilgrimages to Mecca.

He left Cairo in 441/1050, proceeded to Mecca, remaining there for six months, performed the pilgrimage and then left to go to Balkh, where he arrived in 444/1052. This marked the end of his period of travels and the beginning of the next phase in his life, where he assumed the task of preaching on behalf of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In his own writings, Nāṣir constantly refers to himself as the *ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*] of Khurāsān, indicating his leadership role in charge of the Fāṭimid *daʿwā*'s activities in the region. This phase of his life, which in a sense is the most productive in terms of output as a writer, is also the most obscure. Faced by obvious opposition in the predominately Sunnī, Saldjūḳ-controlled milieu of Balkh, he was forced to seek refuge in the valley of Yumgān in Badakhshān [*q.v.*], which was then under the control of a sympathetic Ismāʿīlī local ruler. It is during this period that some of his key surviving works and poems were composed. His work reflects the ambivalence he felt about his work and "exile" in Yumgān. He laments the lack of intellectual fellowship, the sense of isolation and the climate of opposition within which he had to work. On the other hand, he draws comfort in his writings from his commitment to the work of preaching, his sense of his mission in life, and his literary pursuits. The exact year of his death is not known. It fell sometime between 465/1072 and 471/1078. He is buried in Yumgān, where his modest tomb has become the site of pilgrimage.

The works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw that have survived indicate a wide range of intellectual and poetic discourse. They represent a significant contribution to Muslim literature in Persian during the 5th/11th century, and his Ismāʿīlī writings are the only contributions in Persian that have survived by a major figure of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. They are a continuation and elaboration of the pattern of intellectual exposition initiated by early Fāṭimid writers such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934) and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. after 411/1020-21) [*q.v.*]. Though it is very probable that some of the distinctively Ismāʿīlī elements in his writings might have undergone change through revisions by non-Ismāʿīlī writers. Nāṣir's ideas and works were preserved and had a substantial impact on the subsequent development of Ismāʿīlism among Persian-speaking Muslims and have exercised a continuing influence on the Ismāʿīlīs of Central Asia, Afghānistān and Iran. The impact of his writings, however, has not been limited to the Ismāʿīlis and his poetry and prose have earned Nāṣir-i-Khusraw a reputation as an important figure in mediaeval Persian literature.

The *Dīwān*, a collection of poetry, is probably his best known work. Some of the poems, in particular the famous "confessional ode", are reflections on his inner conflicts and spiritual development. His commitment to the cause of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* is explicit in the poems but is informed by a much wider range of human and religious concerns. The tone throughout is moral, exhortative and occasionally philosophical.

The *Safar-nāma*, an account of his travels, falls within the genre of mediaeval Muslim travel literature. It is a description of places, persons and

events, as well as an interpretation of contemporary Muslim society and culture, enlivened by Nāṣir's personal observations and insight.

Nāṣir's other surviving works, fall within the tradition of Fāṭimid, Ismāʿīlī literature, and reflect the basic framework of its religious system and interpretation of Islamic thought and practice. Among them are

(i) The *Rawshanāʾī-nāma* ("The book of enlightenment"), a poetic work on standard Ismāʿīlī themes.

(ii) *Wadjh-i dīn* ("The face of religion"), an exposition of the major doctrines and practices of Islam, with an interpretation of their inner significance, illustrating the use of the hermeneutic method, of *taʾwīl* in Ismāʿīlī thought.

(iii) *Gushāyish wa rahāyish* ("Emancipation and respite"), a philosophical work that sets out a framework dealing, through questions and responses, with key Islamic ideas.

(iv) *Khwān al-ikhwān* ("A banquet for the brethren"). A summary of basic principles and practices of the faith.

(v) *Zād al-musāfirīn* ("Sustenance for travellers"), surveys the philosophical positions of some of the ancients, including Plato and Aristotle, and argues against some of the views of early Muslim philosophers like Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (Rhazes, d. 312/926).

(vi) *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* ("The sum of two wisdoms") in which Nāṣir seeks to synthesise positive religion with the resources of philosophy. His goal is to create harmony between the language of the Ḳurʾān and the rational and logical tools of the intellectual sciences.

(vii) *Shish faṣl*, a summary in six chapters, of the Ismāʿīlī interpretation of Islamic tenets; it is also called the prose *Rawshanāʾī-nāma*.

In addition there are a number of works attributed to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, for which there is no evidence of his authorship.

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(AZIM NANJI)

AL-**NĀṢIR** AL-**SALĀWĪ**, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. KHĀLID B. ḤAMMĀD AL-NĀṢIRĪ, a Moroccan historian born at Salé on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/20 April 1835, died in the same town on 16 Djumādā I 1315/13 October 1897. The genealogy of this writer can be traced in a direct line to the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*], Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, who was buried in his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa (Drā). He studied in his native town, which had in those days some reputation as a centre of learning, and was a minor rival of Fās, the intellectual capital of the country. His principal teachers were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maḥbūba and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad ʿAwwād; without neglecting theological and legal studies, he acquired a profound knowledge of profane Arab literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī entered the legal branch of the Sharīfī government's service as a notary or superintendent of the state domains. He held more or less important posts from time to time in this service. He was stationed at first at al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ (Casablanca) 1292-3/1875-6, and made two stays at Marrākush, where he was employed in the financial administration of the imperial household. He then lived some time at al-Djadīda (Mazagan) where he was attached to the customs service. He next spent some time in Tangier and Fās and towards the end of his life returned to his native town where he devoted himself to teaching. On his death he was buried in the cemetery at Salé outside the Bāb Maʿalika Gate. Al-Nāṣirī was a minor civil servant who was also a man of letters and a historian. In addition to his historical work, which gained him a certain reputation even outside of Morocco, he left other works which would alone have probably sufficed to attract attention to him and secure him an honourable position among contemporary Maghrībī men of letters. These are, in addition to the six opuscula detailed in Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa* (353, n. 1): 1. A commentary on the *Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān which he called *Zahr al-afnān min ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān* (lith. at Fās in 1314 A.H., 2 vols.); 2. A survey of the heresies and schisms in Islam entitled *Taʿẓīm al-minna bi-nuṣrat al-sunna* (Rabat ms., no. 66; cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Catalogue*, i, 23); 3. A monograph on the family of the Nāṣiriyya to which he himself belonged: *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fi 'l-nasab al-djaʿfarī* (lith. at Fās, 2 vols., n.d., new ed. 1320/1902; a French synopsis has been given by M. Bodin, *La Zaouïa de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918). This work, which the author finished in 1309/1881, is a good history of the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt, with much interesting information, which compensates for all the discursions in which the historian tries to prove the authenticity of his family genealogy with the help of somewhat unconvincing arguments.

Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī's great work is the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*. Its publication was an event unparalleled in Maghribī historiography. The author produced not a limited chronicle but a general history of his country, one, moreover, printed in the Muslim Orient (Cairo 1312/1894, 4 vols.; 2nd ed. Casablanca 1954-6, 9 vols.). Welcomed by European orientalists on its publication, it was not long in attracting the attention of the historians of North Africa, for whose work it became a much consulted document, especially as a French translation in the *Archives Morocaines* soon made the last quarter—the history of the ʿAlawid dynasty—accessible even to non-Arabists.

It was soon recognised that this chronicle was like all the other products of western Arab historiography: it was only a compilation, the most appreciable merit of which was to have collected in a continuous narrative, items of political history scattered about the chronicles or biographical collections written in the country. But it must be confessed that al-Nāṣirī was the first of his compatriots to attempt to exhaust a subject of which his predecessors had only dealt with parts. But this was not his primary object: the author of the present article has shown elsewhere (*Shorfa*, 357-60) that the starting point in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ* was a work of some length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, based mainly on the historical works of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and Ibn Khaldūn, to which he had given the title of *Kashf al-ʿarīn fī luyūth Banī Marīn*. His residences in the different capitals of Morocco, having enabled him to get access to sources

for other dynasties also, he had the idea of composing a complete history of Morocco. He finished his work on 15 Djumādā II 1298/15 May 1881, before the end of the reign of the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, to whom he dedicated it. But he was poorly recompensed for this act. On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his chronicle printed in Cairo, after continuing it down to the year of accession of sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

The reader may be referred to *Les historiens des Chorfa* for an examination of the Arabic sources of the history of al-Nāṣirī, and for a list of works from which he adopted or quoted textually passages. Here we shall simply point out that the chronicler was the first Moroccan writer to use European as well as Arabic sources; he only learned of them by chance; these were the history of Mazagan (Ar. al-Djadīda) under Portuguese rule entitled *Memorias para historia da praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Couto da Albuquerque da Cunha, Lisbon 1864, and the *Descripción historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastías*, by Manuel P. Castellanos, Santiago 1878, Orihuela 1884, Tangier 1898.

In the arrangement of his chronicle al-Nāṣirī does not differ from the other historians of his country. But he sometimes gives evidence of a critical sense; we have a feeling that he is a historian by accident and a literary man by vocation. He sometimes gives evidence of considerable independence of spirit and of some breadth of view. As to his style, it is clear and chastened and only rarely resorts to metaphors and rhymed prose. The writer seems to be the Moroccan historian of his time who writes with most facility and elegance.

The first three volumes of the Cairo edition have been translated into French by A. Graulle, G.S. Colin and I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxx (1923), 1-302, xxxi (1925), 1-238, xxxii (1927), 1-283, xxxiii (1934), 1-621; the fourth one was done by E. Fumey, *Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaouie au Maroc*, in *ibid.*, ix (1906), 1-399, x (1907), 1-424. An epitome of the work was made by Aḥmad al-Raḥīmī al-Tiṭwānī, under the title *Taḳrīb al-aḳṣā min Kitāb al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Tetouan 1346/1927, and then epitomised and continued by al-Tuhāmī al-Wazzānī (1359/1940).

Bibliography: A general study of the life and works of al-Nāṣirī was made by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923, 350-68. This contains (355) judgements on the *Istiḳṣāʾ*, to which may be added R. Ricard, *Les ravages de l'«Istiqṣāʾ»*, in *Hésperis*, xlviii (1956), 201-2. Other references are limited; one may merely cite Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *Iʿlām*, ii, 236-9; Brockelmann, S II, 888-9; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 1040.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**NĀṢIRA**, Modern Hebrew Nāṣerat, Nazareth, the home of Jesus, a town of northern Palestine, since 1948 in Israel, situated in lat. 32° 42' N. and long. 35° 17' E. at a height of 505 m/1,600 ft.

It lies in a depression sloping to the south surrounded by hills in a fertile district. While the hills to the north and northeast are not very high, in the northwest the Djebel al-Sīkh rises to 1,600 feet above sea-level. The name of the town, which does not occur in the Old Testament, is found in the New and in the Greek fathers of the Church in the varying forms Ναζαρα, Ναζαρετ and Ναζαρεῦ with ζ, but according to Jerome it had in Hebrew a *ṣade*, which is confirmed by the Syriac Nāṣrāt and the Arabic Nāṣira as well as by the Talmudic derivative form N.w.ṣ.r.y, pl. N.w.ṣ.rīm, while the Christian Arabic has ζ. All these forms as well as Ναζαρηνός (Mark i. 24) have in the first syllable an *a* obscured to *o* in Talmudic. In Christian Aramaic there is a subsidiary form N.ṣ.w.r.t, with *o* in the second syllable with which is connected the derivative Ναζωραῖος (Matt. xxvi. 71; John xviii. 5), cf. τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις (Acts, xxiv. 5). The Mandaean term Naṣoraean (e.g. Dalman, *Aram. Gramm.*[2], 178; Gressmann, in *ZATW*, xliii, 26 ff.) is usually connected with this, but Lidzbarski (*Mandäische Liturgien*, p. xvi; *ZS*, i, 230 ff.) wants to explain it as "observers", while Zimmern (*ZDMG*, lxxiv, 429 ff., 76, 46) seeks its origin in the Babylonian *nāṣira*. That the Arabic *naṣārā*, Christians, sing. *naṣrānī* and abstract *naṣrāniyya*, come from the name of the town was known to the Arab writers.

Nazareth, which in the time of Jesus was a little town of no importance (cf. John i. 47: "what good can come out of Nazareth"?; it is not even mentioned by Josephus), was not in the early Christian period one of the places of the New Testament to which large numbers of pilgrims went. According to Epiphanius, it was inhabited exclusively by Jews till the time of Constantine the Great. The number of Christians however gradually increased and was maintained after the Muslim conquest (636). In the time of Arculf (*ca.* 670) it had two churches, and in 332/943 al-Masʿūdī mentions a church held in great veneration there, no doubt the church of St. Mary. Before Galilee was conquered by Tancred and the Crusaders, Nazareth was destroyed by the Saracens; it revived under Christian rule, especially after the bishopric of Scythopolis was transferred thither. The Russian abbot Daniel (1113-15) has given a very good picture of the Church of the Annunciation and of the Well of Mary there in this period. In 583/1187, the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] took Nazareth and at the peace between him and Richard I of England (1192) it remained in his hands. In 1251, during the last unsuccessful crusade, Louis IX undertook a pilgrimage from ʿAkkā to Nazareth. Yāḳūt (623/1225), who relies on the Gospel story instead of Muslim legend, mentions al-Nāṣira as a village 13 miles from Ṭabariyya. In 661/1263 the Mamlūk sultan Baybars ordered the *amīr* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to destroy Nazareth and particularly the Church of St. Mary. Al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 1300) calls it a Jewish town belonging to the province of Ṣafad and inhabited by Yamanīs, and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) numbers it among the townlike villages in Ṣafad. The Christian visitors, however, describe Nazareth as a wretched village inhabited by very few Christians with a ruined church and complain of the hostile attitude of the Muslim population. It was not till 1620 that better days dawned when the Druse chief Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] opened the town to the Franciscans. The Roman Catholic monastery with the Church of the Annunciation was rebuilt, although not completed till a century later. There were only a few Christians in addition to the monks in the town, until in the middle of the 18th century the Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr of ʿAkkā increased its prosperity after which they gradually grew in number. In 1890, according to G. Schumacher, there were 7,419 inhabitants in the town of whom 1,825 were Muslims, 2,870 Greek Catholics and the remainder Christians of other confessions. Jews were not allowed to live there. The great monastery with the Church of the Annunciation in the southeast belongs to the Roman Catholics, the Church of the Annunciation in the northeast to the Greek Church. The Muslims have a mosque of considerable size and five *walīs*. The well of Mary, which has a dome over it and is open on one side, has its water brought from a spring below the Greek Church of the Annunciation.

Nazareth was the headquarters of the Ottoman ar-

mies during World War One, being captured by the British in September 1918. During the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, it was the headquarters of Arab forces under Fawzī Ḳāwūḳdjī until these were defeated, with the resultant surrender of Nazareth without a fight. Modern Israeli Nazareth is an important market centre for the Arab population of northern Galilee, and is the chef-lieu of the Northern District of Israel. It is also the largest, virtually all-Arab town of Israel, with a population in the 1970 estimate of 34,000, the majority Christian.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, i/1, 26; Masʿūdī, i, 123 = § 119; Yāḳūt, iv, 729; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 212; R. Hartmann, *Khālil al-Ẓāhirī's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 1907, 47-8; *Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen Abtes Daniel*, tr. Leskien, in *ZDPV*, vii, 17 ff.; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas bei Wilhelm Tyr.*, i, 55; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königr. Jerusalem*, 441, 444, 885, 920 and *passim*; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 419 ff.; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical geography of the Holy Land*, index s.v.; Tobler, *Nazareth in Palästina*, 1868; G. Schumacher, in *ZDPV*, xiii, 235 ff. (with map and photograph); G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 301-2; H. C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 137; Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 333-4, 535-6; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 116-17, 200-1. (F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

NĀṢIRĀBĀD [see SĪSTĀN].

AL-**NĀṢIRIYYA**, a town of southern modern ʿIrāḳ and the chef-lieu of the governorate of Dhū Ḳār. It is situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, above the Hawr al-Ḥammār of the marshlands [see AL-BAṬĪḤA], some 177 km/110 miles to the northwest of Baṣra (lat. 31°04′N., long. 46°17′E.).

The town was founded *ca.* 1870 by the paramount chief of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] confederation, Nāṣir Saʿdān Pasha, who aided the administration of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] in extending Ottoman Turkish influence over this largely Shīʿī region against local tribal interests. In July 1915 it was captured by British and Indian forces under General G.E. Gorringe. After 1930 it acquired a station on a spur from the Iraq Railways' Baghdād-Baṣra line. The population of the town according to the 1985 estimate was 138,842.

Bibliography: Admiralty Handbook, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 547-8; S.H. Longrigg, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950, a political, social and economic history*, London 1953, index. (ED.)

AL-**NĀṢIRIYYA**, a branch of the Ṣūfī order of the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], which originated in southern Morocco, at the *zāwiya* of Tāmgrūt [*q.v.*], which had been founded in 983/1575 by a member of a family of marabouts. The order owes its name to the Ibn Nāṣir family [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who headed the *zāwiya* from the time of the *shaykh* Maḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān (1015-85/1603-74), the founder (1070/1660), onwards. It was however his son Aḥmad b. Maḥammad (1057-1129/1647-1717) who was responsible for organising the order.

Bibliography: To the sources cited in IBN NĀṢIR and TAMGRŪT, add in particular, L. Rinn, *Marabouts et khouan*, Algiers 1884; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 479; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 133; E. Montet, in *RHR*, xlv, 20-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 99; G.S. Colin, *La zāouia de Tamgrout et les Naciriyine*, in *Rens. coloniaux* (1938), 205-23; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, ⁴1955, 257. On a secondary branch, see E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La zaouia d'Ahançal*, in *Arch. Mar.*, xviii (1927), 87-113. It will be remembered that the author of the *K. al-Istiḳṣā'*, al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*], has furthermore left behind a history of the family called the *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fi 'l-nasab al-djaʿfarī*, lith. Fās n.d.; a résumé of this work has been given by M. Bodin in *Arch. Berb.*, xviii (1927), 87-113. (ED.)

NASKH (A.), or AL-NĀSIKH WA 'L-MANSŪKH, is the generic label for a range of theories advanced in the fields of *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* since a comparison of verse with verse, *ḥadīth* with *ḥadīth*, *ḥadīth* with verse and both Ḳur'an and *Ḥadīth* with the *Fiḳh* suggested frequent, serious conflict.

That the Prophet's mission had extended over a quarter of a century inspired the idea of gradual development in the details of the regulations introduced in both Ḳur'ān and Sunna. *Naskh* applies to each of the two sources and to the relations between them. Most accepted the *naskh* of the Ḳur'ān by the Ḳur'ān and the *naskh* of *ḥadīth* by *ḥadīth*. The *naskh* of Ḳur'ān by *Ḥadīth* and of *Ḥadīth* by Ḳur'ān raised more delicate issues which divided the scholars.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd reports that before he emigrated to Abyssinia, he used to greet the Prophet on passing him at prayer and the Prophet would return his greeting. On his return, ʿAbd Allāh did this, but the Prophet ignored him, and ʿAbd Allāh was perplexed. Completing his prayer, the Prophet explained, "God introduces such regulations as He pleases, and He has decreed that when we pray there must be no talking." In this instance of *naskh* in the *Ḥadīth*, a later regulation has replaced an earlier practice.

The ruling in Ḳur'ān, II, 180, that the Muslim make testamentary provision for parents and nearest kin was thought to have been revoked on the revelation of IV, 10-11, whose rulings allot to the relatives specific shares in a deceased's estate. Many verses counsel patience in the face of the mockery of the unbelievers, while other verses incite to warfare against the unbelievers. The former are linked to the Meccan phase of the mission when the Muslims were too few and weak to do other than endure insult; the latter are linked to Medina where the Prophet had acquired the numbers and the strength to hit back at his enemies. The discrepancy between the two sets of verses indicates that different situations call for different regulations. This is an instance of *naskh* in the Ḳur'ān. Chronology is the key to the resolution of the difference, since a divine book cannot contain contradictions, IV, 82.

The principal component of the general concept of *naskh* is "change", "replacement". To this was joined the notion of "withdrawal", "omission", but solely in relation to the operation of *naskh* upon the Ḳur'ān. The idea had originated in the exegesis. According to interpretation, LXXXVII, 6-7, XIII, 39, XVII, 86, XXII, 52 and II, 106, the last two of which actually employ the term *naskh*, appear to suggest the possibility of Muḥammad's forgetting revelations; the impossibility of his doing so, or divinely controlled forgetting by means of which the divine author would determine the final contents of His Book. The disputed exegeses were precipitated in appropriate anecdotes and the resulting references to "events" in the life of the Prophet consolidated the notion of his forgetting and contributed to the even-

tual shaping of the theories of *naskh*. Of special importance were allegations of actual omissions from the revelation such as those recording the "loss" of a verse in praise of the Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*] martyrs, the Ibn Ādam "verse" and reports on the alleged originally longer versions of sūras IX or XXXIII, said to have once been as long as sūra II and to have been the locus of the stoning "verse". Lists were compiled of revelations verifiably received by Muḥammad and publicly recited during his lifetime until subsequently withdrawn (*rafʿ*), with the result that when the divine revelations were finally brought together into book-form, there was collected into the *muṣḥaf* [*q.v.*] only what could still be recovered following the death of the Prophet. The *muṣḥaf* has from the outset been incomplete relative to the revelation, but complete in that we have all that God intended us to have.

Interpretation similarly supplied the impulse behind and the vocabulary deployed in discussions on *naskh*, or the replacement of regulations. Prominent in this regard were the interpretations of Ḳurʾān, XVI, 101, and II, 106. Equation of the term *āya*, used in both verses, with "a Ḳurʾān verse", facilitated the claim that God had declared that "alteration", "substitution", even "omission", would affect the texts. The interpretation could be reinforced by production of what appeared to be numerous instances of actual change. Ḳurʾān, VIII, 66, for example, was held to have been revealed to reduce from ten to two the number of unbelievers against whom the Muslim was required in v. 65 to fight; LVIII, 13, had apparently rescinded the order in the immediately preceding verse to forward a fee in advance of an audience with the Prophet. II, 180 and IV, 10-11, have been mentioned; II, 142-4, in association with II, 150, afforded the clearest indication of the historical change affecting the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]; XXIV, 2, had replaced the measures introduced in IV, 15-16, to deal with sexual impropriety. Instances of the *naskh* of Ḳurʾān rules adduced in the specialist works are numbered in the hundreds. Sūra IX, 5, for instance, the so-called "sword-verse", alone was thought to have replaced one hundred and twenty-four verses.

The significant fact that II, 106, the chief Ḳurʾānic proof-text, juxtaposed forgetting with *naskh*, interpreted in the light of XVI, 101, to mean *tabdīl* "replacement", led to the formalisation of reported forgetting as a type of *naskh*, the *naskh* of both wording and ruling, where, however, *naskh* retains its XXII, 52, sense of "withdrawal", "suppression". Alleged cases of clash of regulations derived from either Ḳurʾān verses or *ḥadīth*s, could, on the same pattern, be referred to as the *naskh* of the ruling but not of the wording. The formula is hybrid, since *naskh* carries both the sense of "replacement", referring to the ruling and "withdrawal", for the original wording has not been withdrawn.

In addition to the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Ḳurʾān and the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the *Ḥadīth*, examples of which we have considered, the majority speak also of the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the Ḳurʾān and the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the *Ḥadīth*. In the case of the change in the *ḳibla*, the Ḳurʾān states that God had appointed the previous direction of prayer, without, however, identifying it. Some, therefore, saw this as an instance of the *naskh* of Ḳurʾān by Ḳurʾān, whereas, since the Ḳurʾān lacks mention of the earlier direction, others saw it as an instance of the *naskh* of the *Ḥadīth* by the Ḳurʾān. It was argued that there is no real conflict between IV, 10-11, and II, 180. Inheritance differs from testamentary provision and sūra IV regulates both in a single context. But, as a *ḥadīth* attributes to the Prophet the words "There is to be no *waṣiyya* in favour of an heir", many argued that here was an undoubted example of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna. The strongest opposition to both principles that the Ḳurʾān could repeal the *Ḥadīth* and that the *Ḥadīth* could repeal the Ḳurʾān is the hall-mark of the source theory developed by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/819) which revolutionised *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. He campaigned tirelessly to justify use of the Sunna as the second primary source alongside the Ḳurʾān against those who would accord the *Ḥadīth* no role in the derivation of the *sharīʿa* on the argument that the degree of conflict in the *Ḥadīth*, the inadequacies of the guarantee against corruption, fraud or error afforded by the *isnād*s rendered the *Ḥadīth* unfit for the sacred role of declaring the divine intent underlying the Ḳurʾān's declarations. These opponents being deaf to all but Ḳurʾān evidence, al-Shāfiʿī referred them to IV, 65, XXIII, 73, LIII, 2-3, LIX, 7; to verses linking obedience to the Prophet to obedience to God Himself, III, 132, IV, 80; and to the series of verses which speak of the Prophet's being granted, in addition to the Book, the *Ḥikma*, identified by al-Shāfiʿī as the Sunna. He drives home the point that, in the Ḳurʾān, God imposed upon every Muslim the religious obligation to obey the Prophet as he obeyed God. The only access to knowledge of the Prophet's commands being through the Sunna, al-Shāfiʿī could insist that God, in His Ḳurʾān, had thus imposed on every Muslim unquestioning adherence to the Sunna. Simultaneously, in a parallel confrontation with the Mālikīs and the Ḥanafīs, he sought by emphasising the wording of XVI, 101, "*We* substitute one *āya* for another *āya*", and II, 106, "*We naskh* an *āya*", to impose the view that the *naskh* of a Ḳurʾān verse was an exclusively divine prerogative. As a corollary, he next exploited "We shall bring one better than or similar to it", of the same verse to promote his view that, as nothing could be thought of as superior to or even similar to the Sunna of the Prophet, his opponents' regular procedure of ignoring *ḥadīth*s from the Prophet in favour of reports from Companions and others showed their failure to appreciate the unique status bestowed by God upon the Prophet and hence the special role of the Sunna of the Prophet. Nothing can *naskh* that Sunna save only that Sunna.

He further exploited X, 15, "It is not for me to alter it on my own initiative, I merely follow what is revealed", to argue that Ḳurʾān and Sunna are never in actual conflict. As both come from God, they cannot conflict. The Sunna follows, that is, elucidates the precise intent of the Ḳurʾān, XVI, 44. The Sunna cannot *naskh* the Ḳurʾān. Only the Ḳurʾān can *naskh* the Ḳurʾān and only the Sunna can *naskh* the Sunna.

Theological objections were raised to the theory of *naskh*. Following development of the *iʿdjāz* [*q.v.*] doctrine, it was argued that, being of divine authorship and hence individually perfect, all Ḳurʾān verses could be said to be similar, but no one could be said to be superior to another. *Naskh* could not, therefore be predicated of the Ḳurʾān. Nor, since the wording was of undoubted human origin, could any *ḥadīth* be thought to be similar, let alone superior to any verse. The *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna could not therefore be posited. The scholars easily evaded this difficulty, as is shown by al-Shāfiʿī's and al-Ṭabarī's regular insistence that *naskh* is not a matter of wording but of rulings. As the ruling of any *āya* could be said to be similar or even superior to that of any other *āya*, so also, the ruling of any *sunna* might be said to be similar or even superior to that of any *āya*. Al-Shāfiʿī's theory of *naskh* is thereby shown to have been short-lived.

As lengthy lists of instances of greater or lesser

incongruity between verses of the holy book had resulted from the efforts of the first exegetes, further theological considerations were urged which rendered necessary a clear distinction between the divine application of *naskh* and the evidence of deficient knowledge or of inadequate reflection suggested by a change of regulation. Merely human knowledge may develop and merely human decisions may be altered but that is inconceivable in the case of divine decisions. The Omniscient knew from all eternity all that would ever happen and when precisely it would happen. That knowledge would render *naskh* unnecessary. This objection made essential a distinction between the divine knowledge and the divine will. *Naskh* is a consciously applied process, planned in advance and intended to be applied to the content of revelation until the process of revelation finally ceased on the death of the last prophet. *Naskh* appears to our deficient human knowledge to be change, *tabdīl*. In reality, it is the announcement by a prophet of the termination of the duration of a regulation and the commencement of the duration of another, whether the earlier regulation was announced by the same prophet or by another prophet. A second objection arose from the view that what is good is commanded and what is evil is forbidden. In prohibiting what had been permitted or permitting what had been forbidden, *naskh* would be to declare good evil and evil good. *Naskh* cannot, therefore be posited as a divine activity. Being concerned with regulations, *naskh* theorising is hostile to the concept of inherent good or evil. The function of divine commands is to test human obedience. That explains why regulations may differ from religion to religion or from period to period. Since men will either be rewarded for obedience or punished for disobedience, God may command what He pleases and prohibit what He pleases. Dependent solely upon the divine will, regulation becomes wholly arbitrary and so may change at any moment. Only what God commands is good; only what He forbids is evil and, as regulation is linked to the divine will and not to the divine knowledge, objections based on the inconceivability of change of the divine mind, or development of the divine knowledge, known as *badā*ʾ, inevitably fail. *Naskh* involves only commands which on first institution could have been declared temporary and are such as are indifferently capable of being regulated or of being unregulated. Excluded therefore, are the central tenets of the faith, but also all regulations of the Ḳurʾān expressly stated to be temporary.

To discuss the relations between the two primary sources of the *Fiḳh*, the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet, which, in his discussions on *naskh*, he had rigorously insulated one from the other, al-Shāfiʿī resorted to a technique which he referred to as *takhṣīṣ*, particularisation, actually, alleged exclusion. The sūra IV regulation on sexual impropriety has been mentioned. That had been replaced by the XXIV, 2, flogging penalty. The *Fiḳh* introduced a distinction between adultery and fornication, on which the Ḳurʾān is silent, and assigned the sūra XXIV flogging to the latter sin. For the sin of adultery, the *Fiḳh* decreed death by stoning, thus raising the critical question of its origin. Stoning was rejected by some Muslims, on the grounds that they could not find two penalties in the Book of God. The sūra IV regulations had been flagged as temporary, "or until God appoint a process for these women". Deriving the distinction between fornication and adultery in the difference in tone between the harshness of IV, 15, and the mildness of IV, 16, the majority traced in XXIV, 2, the process promised in sūra IV while they presumed that stoning derived from the Sunna, as documented, for example, in the ʿUbāda *ḥadīth* to the effect that the Prophet had said, "Take it from me! Take it from me! God has now appointed a process for females: the unmarried with the unmarried, one hundred lashes and twelve months' banishment; the married with the married, one hundred lashes and death by stoning". Further reports show the Prophet extending the dual penalties to males, while other reports, in which Muḥammad applied to married persons the stoning penalty alone, were taken to indicate that he had alleviated this element of the penalties by declining to flog in addition to stoning. Confronting the problem, al-Shāfiʿī argued that the ʿUbāda statement was the first revelation to follow sūra IV and was thus its *nāsikh*. The other *ḥadīth*s in which the Prophet did not flog those whom he stoned were simultaneously the *nāsikh* of the ʿUbāda report and the elucidation of XXIV, 2. The Prophet's conduct showed *takhṣīṣ*, particularisation. Flogging is specific to those who are not stoned, those who are stoned being excluded from its provisions. Stoning exemplifies the *naskh* of the Sunna by the Sunna, although al-Shāfiʿī does state that the ʿUbāda *ḥadīth* was an instance of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān.

The reply to those who rejected stoning since they could not find two penalties in the Book of God, as indicated by al-Shāfiʿī's teacher, Mālik, was supplied in the statement attributed to ʿUmar that a stoning verse had indeed been revealed to Muḥammad which had been memorised by those in his company and recited as Ḳurʾān in the ritual prayers. The Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar had applied its provisions and it was merely the fear that he might be accused of adding to the Book of God that inhibited ʿUmar from writing the verse into the *muṣḥaf*. The majority, both before and after al-Shāfiʿī, were satisfied that stoning was one clear instance of the *naskh* of the Ḳurʾān by the Sunna. Al-Shāfiʿī had denied the very possibility yet had failed to resolve the problem of the origin of the *Fiḳh* penalty, justifying Schacht's conclusion that, on this question, al-Shāfiʿī's theory of repeal breaks down.

Later scholars, under the powerful influence of al-Shāfiʿī's theory on the role of the Sunna in relation to the Ḳurʾān and impressed by ʿUmar's claim that a stoning verse had been revealed, formalised stoning as a third type of *naskh*: the withdrawal of the revealed wording but not of the ruling.

It was on quite a separate matter, arising from the exegesis of IV, 23, the precise definition of the number of breast-feedings required to set up a permanent barrier to the marriage of males and females related through having shared a common wet-nurse, that al-Shāfiʿī committed himself to this third type of *naskh*. His normal assiduity to ascertain the Prophet's views on disputed legal matters led him to accept a *ḥadīth* which, however, comes not from the Prophet, but from his widow. ʿĀʾisha declared that God had revealed a Ḳurʾān verse stating that the minimum number was ten; subsequently a second verse was revealed, declaring that the minimum was five and that this second verse was still being publicly recited when the Prophet died. Mālik had drily rejected this report as not being in conformity with the "practice". Al-Shāfiʿī embraced it and made it the basis of his *Fiḳh*. This second instance of *naskh al-tilāwa dūna 'l-ḥukm* can fairly be attributed to al-Shāfiʿī's attitude.

The third and final instance of this type of *naskh* was contributed by the Ḥanafīs who insisted, on the grounds of a reading attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b.

Mas^cūd, that the fast mentioned in V, 89, should be of three consecutive days. This reading was, admittedly, that of a single Companion, but, as the *ḥadīth* from a single Companion was probative, his Ḳur'ān information deserved the same treatment. The ʿAbd Allāh reading was still in circulation in the time of Abū Ḥanīfa, who had adopted it in reaching his conclusion.

Neither *idjmāʿ* nor *ḳiyās* [*q.vv.*] can repeal. As *naskh* concerns the documents of the Tradition, and as *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās* must be based on a document, it is the document which is the *nāsikh*. Besides, neither was resorted to until after the death of the Prophet and after the death of the Prophet, *naskh* is inconceivable, since *naskh* may be effected only at the hands of him by whom the revelation is mediated.

Bibliography: The extensive literature includes the relevant sections of the *tafsīrs*, the special chapters in the *ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* works and a large number of specialist studies. For lists of the latter, see Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin, in *al-Mawrid*, Baghdād, vi/1 (1977), 195-6; ix/4 (1980), 481-3. For the first discussion of the principles of *naskh*, see Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1358/1940, 106-46; idem, *K. Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth*, in margin of *K. al-Umm*, vii, Cairo 1322-4/1904-6; the oldest systematic work is that of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, ed. J. Burton, GMS, Cambridge 1987; Abū Djaʿfar al-Naḥḥās, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh fi 'l-Ḳur'ān al-Karīm*, Cairo n.d.; Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *K. al-Īḍāḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Farḥat, Riyāḍ 1976; Hibat Allāh b. Sallāma, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, Cairo 1379/1960; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī, *K. al-Iʿtibār fi 'l-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh min al-āthār*, Ḥaydarābād 1319/1901; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Nawāsikh al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut n.d.; M. Zayd, *al-Naskh fi 'l-Ḳur'ān al-Karīm*, 2 vols., Cairo 1383/1963; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, ms. Berlin, Petermann 555. See also ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Djabrī, *al-Naskh fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo n.d.; idem, *al-Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*, Cairo 1407/1987; J. Burton, *The collection of the Qur'ān*, Cambridge 1977; idem, *The interpretation of Q. 87, 6-7*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 5-19; idem, *The exegesis of Q. 2, 106*, in *BSOAS*, xlviii (1985), 452-69; A. Rippin, *Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qur'ān and the problem of early* tafsīr *texts*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1984), 22-43; Burton, *The sources of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1990.

(J. BURTON)

NASKHĪ [see KHAṬṬ].

NASNĀS/NISNĀS [see ḲIRD].

NASR (A.) "vulture", one of the five deities said to date from the time of Noah and to have been adored by the people then (Ḳur'ān, LXXI, 23). Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, our sole source regarding this, makes it the idol of the Ḥimyarites, who worshipped it at Balkhaʿ in the land of Saba' (*TA*, iii, 572, at the end, cites al-Djawharī, who says that Nasr was the idol of Dhu 'l-Kilāʿ of the Ḥimyarite country). It was Maʿdī-Karib, of the sub-group of Dhū Ruʿayn, who received it from ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the first known reformer of the cult in Arabia; he discovered these five idols on the beach at Djudda, where they had become buried since the Flood. At the time of the Pilgrimage, he summoned the tribes to their cults: Ḳuḍāʿa took Wadd, Hudhayl took Suwāʿ, Madhḥidj took Yaghūth, Hamdān took Yaʿūḳ and Ḥimyar took Nasr.

Following A. Jamme, only five South Arabian inscriptions mention the idol's name with certainty: CIS 189, 1; 552, 2; RES 4048, 4; 4048, 2; RY. 196, 2 (*Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx [1947], 130). Moreover, no theophoric name composed with this name has been found amongst the Ḥimyarites and none of their poets mentions it. The only pieces of evidence, apart from those in Ibn al-Kalbī, attesting the existence of a cult of the vulture amongst the Arabs, are found in the *Babylonian Talmud ʿAbda Zara* (tr. Goldschmidt, ix, Berlin 1934, i/3, 468) and in the *Doctrine of Addai* (ed. and tr. Philipps, London 1876, 24).

One should note that the divinity's representation in animal form, lacking in Central Arabia, was fairly current in South Arabia, where Ilumḳuh assumed the form of an ibex, bull, lion and sphinx: ʿAthtar had the antelope and the bull's head as emblems, Saḥar (the dawn) that of the serpent, etc. (cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 2nd ed. Louvain 1951 [= Bibliothèque du Muséon, 25]; A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf südarabischen Denkmälern*, in *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, phil.-hist-Kl., lviii/1 [1914], pp. 104).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 7-9, 43, 48; T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 132-4. (T. FAHD)

NASR (A.) masculine noun (pl. *ansur, nusūr, nisār*) denoting the vulture irrespective of species; the term is cognate with Akkadian *nashru* which is also encountered in the Hebrew *nesher* (Turkish *akbaba*, Persian *dāl*, Berber *tamādda*).

From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, in the lands of Islam eight species of vulture are known, almost all of them resident and localised in mountainous regions and at the desert fringes. Four of these species are common there, and they are: (a) The Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*); this is the *oripelargus* of Pliny which was formerly known as *Catharte alimoch* and Pharaoh's Chicken. Besides its contemporary names of *rakhma* and *anūḳ*, the Egyptian vulture has inherited, according to the locality, numerous nicknames such as *umm ḳays, umm risāla, umm kabīr, umm ʿadjīna, umm ʿadjība, umm djuʿran, umm rakham Allāh, ḥafṣa, ʿuḳāb al-salāwāt*; in Lebanon, it is called *shūḥa*, in Kabylia *isghī* and in Persia *kerkes*. Moreover, the male is called *yarkhūm* and *ʿudmul* and, in Egypt, *firʿawn*; the young in the nest are *naḳānik*. This carrion-eating bird is especially well-known to the Egyptians and is tolerated everywhere on account of its valuable contribution to the cleaning of streets in towns and villages. In the age of the Pharaohs, this vulture, deified and representing the sun, was the object of the greatest veneration; respect for the bird has been retained over the centuries and into the present day. In the 18th century, the English traveller T. Shaw relates (*Voyages*, ii, 91-2) that the Pasha of Egypt at that time donated two oxen every day to feed these vultures, beloved of the city populations.

(b) The Griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), with bright plumage and known as *kishʿām, aklaf, khathak*, in Kabylia *idjidar, gder*; it is confined to mountain ranges.

(c) The Black vulture, Hooded vulture (*Aegyptius monachus*) known as *nasr al-djiwā', satal*. In the Maghrib, it is found only as a winter resident in Morocco.

(d) The Bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*); this is the *ossifragus* of the Ancient world and, in Arabic, the *kāsir al-ʿiẓām*. It is also lent the names *bulaḥ, bulat, mukallifa, fayna, abū dhaḳan, abū liḥya*, in Kabyle *afalku* (from the Latin *falco*) and in Persian *humā* [*q.v.*].

The four other species are much less common and very localised, especially in the Sudan. These are: (a) The Nubian vulture (*Torgos tracheliotus nubicus*) which is found only in Morocco, in southern Tunisia, in

Sinai and in the Sudan, where it is fairly common; it has the nicknames *abū wudān* and *abū sansala* (for *silsila*). This is the largest of all the vultures and has a bald head and neck, with reddish skin; like the Black or Hooded vulture, it nests in isolated trees in the savannah.

(b) Ruppell's vulture (*Gyps ruppelli*), which is native to the Sudan and an accidental visitor in Egypt and Sinai.

(c) The White-headed vulture (*Trigonoceps occipitalis*), common in the Sudan, with the names *nusnūs* and *nasr ḳunbaranī*.

(d) The White-backed vulture (*Pseudogyps africanus*) which is seen only in the Sudan; the sub-species *bengalensis* is found in Baluchistan and Pakistan.

The root *n-s-r* contains the notion of slashing, ripping to shreds and, in the context of raptors, tearing with stabs of the beak (*minsar*) the flesh of the prey which is to be eaten. In Arabic, vultures of all kinds are known, besides *nasr*, by the names *ʿatīḳ, lammāʿa, ʿabann, hawzab*. The male is called *ḍarīk*, the female *ʿanz*, the chick *hay<u>th</u>am, muḳʿad*, and the eggs *raḳan*. If the vulture has plentiful plumage, it is *<u>gh</u>udāf* or *ahdab*, and the old, reddish-coloured vulture is the *maḍraḥī*; the smaller species are nicknamed *falatān*. To all these terms, there should be added the list compiled by al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, ii, 348) of *kunya*s attributed to the vulture: *abu 'l-abrad, abu 'l-iṣbaʿ, abu 'l-minhāl, abū Mālik, abū Yaḥyā* and, for the female, *umm ḳa<u>sh</u>ʿam*.

The Arab-speaking naturalists, including al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī, have with regard to the vulture faithfully repeated the accounts of Aristotle and Pliny, who noted that, for self-preservation, it nests in inaccessible cliffs and for this reason its eggs are very seldom found; hence adages such as *abʿad min bayḍ al-anūḳ*, "more inaccessible than the eggs of the vulture" and *aʿazz min bayḍ al-anūḳ* "more precious than eggs of the vulture". This voracious raptor (*min sibāʿ al-ṭayr*) is dubbed "ignoble" (*lāʾim, laʾīm*) because it does not have talons and feeds on dead flesh as opposed to the "noble" raptors (*d̲j̲awāriḥ, kawāsir*), falcons and hawks, which hunt and catch their prey alive. However, the vulture is endowed with powerful eyesight which enables it to identify the carcases of animals over great distances; al-Damīrī, exaggerating somewhat, gives it a range of 400 parasangs (approx. 2,000 km!). This sharpness of vision has given rise to the erroneous belief that it is accompanied, in the vulture, by a sophisticated sense of smell which can detect smells of decomposition from a great distance; modern science has proved that its olfactory faculties are as limited as those of all other birds. Its sustained and gliding flight enables it to cover enormous expanses, such that it used to be said, among those with unbridled imagination, that in a single day it could join East to West. As Aristotle noted, the insatiable appetite of the vulture drives it to follow armies on the march and caravans, in quest of rubbish thrown out along the way and, ultimately, the carcases of dead animals. Horror is evoked by mention of the sinister "Towers of Silence" or *dak<u>h</u>mas*, necropolises of the fire-worshipping Parsees, where corpses were offered to the greedy vultures. Later, it was the same lugubrious cortège of hungry carrion-eaters which accompanied the funeral caravans of the <u>Sh</u>īʿīs travelling to the burial-grounds of Karbalāʾ. Thus it is hardly surprising that, in the minds of all peoples, the vulture is generally associated with macabre spectacles.

However, this sombre image which is currently associated with the vulture was not the major preoccupation of the Arabs, whose attitude to the bird was conditioned by awe at its legendary longevity. There was, for example, a story according to which King Solomon discovered, on a journey through Egypt, a splendid palace, utterly deserted and guarded by a lone vulture. Questioned by the king who could converse with animals, the raptor told him that he had been there for 700 years without ever seeing a human being. This longevity of the vulture, which is entirely mythical, is also found in the fabulous story of the Sage Luḳmān [*q.v.*] who is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (XXXI, 11-12/12-13). This Sage had reared and kept until their death seven vultures in succession, each of them having lived eighty years; the first was called Amad and the last, named Lubad, died with his master who, according to some, was then 1,000 years old. This Lubad has become the theme of adages such as *ṭāl al-abad ʿalā Lubad* "Lubad has not done with living" and *ahram min Lubad* "much older than Lubad", applied to anyone who has lived a very long time. In the same context, there is also the saying *aʿmar min al-nasr* "longer-living than the vulture". In short, Luḳmān and his vulture Lubad evoked for the Arabs the same model of longevity as that evoked for Christians by Methuselah.

Through its enormous size, its terrifying appearance and aggressiveness which drives away all other carnivores from the prey, the vulture has acquired the title of "Lord of the birds" (*sayyid al-ṭayr*), a title confirmed by a *ḥadī<u>th</u>* of the Prophet Muḥammad to whom the Angel Gabriel is supposed to have said (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, ii, 290): "Every thing requires a lord; for humanity it is Adam, for his descendants it is you..., for birds it is the vulture..." It is this status conferred on the vulture which is ratified in the practical advice given in the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* by Ibn Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] in these terms: "The best lord is he who resembles a vulture surrounded by carrion and not he who resembles carrion surrounded by vultures" (quoted in *Ḥayawān*, vi, 330).

Lord or not, the vulture can be the victim of its own greed for, once gorged, it can hardly fly and can only become airborne by making a laborious series of leaps; a child can then fell it with a blow from a stick. Furthermore, al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ denounces (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 38) the stupidity and awkwardness of the vulture, characteristics which it shares with the bustard (*ḥubārā*).

The habits of vultures were quite well known to the Ancients, but often erroneously interpreted. According to them, the two eggs or the single egg were laid on bare rock, and their incubation left to the heat of the sun; only a few plane-leaves were placed around them with the object, apparently, of protecting them from bats which were believed to be partial to eggs. This is clearly sheer fable, since the eggs are always laid on a thick bed of grass and leaves based on a solid foundation of branches, and they are incubated in turn by the female and the male. Another fiction, related by al-Ḳazwīnī, with regard to laying, was that the male, when this was imminent, would travel as far as the East Indies to search in certain mountains for a stone called *ḥad̲j̲ar al-nasr* "vulture's stone" or *ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿuḳāb* "eagle's stone" and *ḥad̲j̲ar al-ṭalḳ* "stone of confinement"; al-Ḳazwīnī adds the name *abūṭafyūn* (?) or *abūṭāḳyūn* (?) which is possibly meant to correspond to the Greek ἀποθήκη "pharmacy" or ἀπότεξις "childbirth". On returning to the eyrie, the vulture would place this stone beside his mate, who would then lay with the minimum of discomfort. Among .he Greeks, this stone was given as a talisman to pregnant women, supposedly to prevent them miscarrying. In fact, this was the "aetites", a hollow nodule of

argillaceous oxide of iron surrounding a loose nucleus which is heard to rattle when it is shaken; this geological phenomenon suggested the notion of the foetus in the womb of its mother or the embryo of the chick in its shell, hence this myth of the "stone of confinement" (see *Tuḥfa*, no. 49). However, this still does not explain why the stone needed to be sought so far afield and why its benefits were confined exclusively to the eagle and the vulture.

According to al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, v, 392, 398), the vulture carries in its plumage a small parasite called *ḳamlat al-nasr* "vulture's louse" and *dadah* in Persian, which it drops in rocky areas and whose bite can be fatal for humans. This could be a reference to blood-sucking mites of the Acaridae family such as the *Dermanyssus gallinae* and the *Argas persicus*, or to lice such as the *Liperus robustus* and the *Goniodes colchici*; all of these parasites are very dangerous, being the bearers of serious and sometimes fatal diseases.

An account of eastern legends concerning the vulture would not be complete without a mention of the improbable ascent into space of the despot Nimrod [see NAMRŪD] who sought proof that God was indeed in Heaven, as stated by Abraham. As the story is told by al-Thaʿlabī (5th/11th century) in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and by al-Damīrī, this sovereign ordered the construction of a large gondola fitted with a trap-door above and another in the floor; motive power for the ascent was provided by four requisitioned vultures, each tied by the feet to one side of the gondola. To incite them to greater effort by exploiting their greed, a tall mast fixed to the cabin was crowned with a bait of carrion. Nimrod took his place in the gondola accompanied by a page equipped with a bow and arrows; insatiable appetite impelled the vultures to take to the air and to rise higher and higher, transporting with them these two proto-astronauts. The ascent continued for two days, until the moment when the two travellers no longer saw anything but shadows below them and, above them, the infinite celestial canopy where the dwelling-place of this God of Abraham was still invisible. In his chagrin, Nimrod shot an arrow into space, but this returned immediately covered in blood and a storm arose which sapped the enthusiasm of the rocket vultures. Nimrod had no choice but to reverse the baited mast; seeing their meal below them the four raptors dived towards the ground at a headlong pace and the whistling produced by the giddy descent of the vehicle, followed by its violent impact on the ground, made the mountains shake and created the impression that the Day of Judgment had arrived (a reference to Ḳurʾān, XIV, 46/47). This, with the collapse of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, was a celestial punishment reserved for this idolatrous despot.

The specific qualities attributed to various parts of the vulture's anatomy were numerous, all of them belonging to superstition. The gall, dissolved in an eyewash and smeared seven times around the eye, cures cataracts and other ocular complaints. The liver, roasted, pulverised and mixed with a drink is a potent aphrodisiac; placed in a lambskin bag, it is beneficial for the leper who carries it. The heart, carried in a wolf-skin bag, is a talisman against ferocious beasts and draws to the bearer the consideration and sympathy of all those whom he approaches. The brain, mashed with a little pure tar and olive-oil and poured into the nose of one whose face is disfigured by dry impetigo (*djudhām*), makes all trace of it disappear; the same treatment is also effective against depression. This potion of the brain is even salutary for the leper who swallows it over a period of seven days. The eye of the vulture worn on the arm is a talisman against evil spirits and enables the wearer to approach his sovereign. The cranium worn in an amulet is beneficial against headaches. The dried and salted entrails are taken as a potion against urinary incontinence. The tendons of the vulture's feet serve as a talisman against gout in the legs, those of the right foot for the right leg and those of the left for the left leg. The left thigh of the vulture cures its bearer of all wounds and old scars. The servant equipped with a large vulture's bone need no longer fear the anger of his master, while the upper mandible worn in a handkerchief around the neck guards against attack from any flying creature. The ash of the humerus of the right wing of a vulture, dissolved in a drink, is an infallible love-philtre. The radius and the ulna, after boiling, are thrown into a vessel full of water and, while one floats on the surface, the other sinks to the bottom; rubbing a person's shoulders with the latter is a sure method of obtaining his consent to any request. The plumage of the vulture also has its properties. Thus a single feather placed on a woman in labour assures her a quick and painless delivery. Fumigating a place with vulture's feathers repels snakes and vermin. In warfare or hunting, archers took care to fit their arrows with the tail-feathers of the vulture, thus ensuring a tight and rectilinear trajectory, a factor of precision. The melted grease of the vulture, poured luke-warm into the ear, guards against deafness; mixed with honey, it is an effective treatment for all ocular complaints. The flesh of the vulture, its consumption forbidden under Islamic law, when boiled and mixed with salt, white cumin, honey, the sap of the Ceylon cornel tree (*wars*) and the rhododendron (*ʿaṣal*), constitutes an excellent ointment against insect-stings and snake bites. The blood of the vulture when drunk as a potion reduces quartan fever. Finally, a vulture's egg, well-beaten, is supposedly an aphrodisiac when smeared on the sexual parts.

In botany, the name of the vulture is associated with four plants, as follows: (a) *djanāḥ al-nasr* "vulture's wing" for the Cardoon (*Cynara cardunculus*); (b) *kaff al-nasr* "vulture's foot" for the Scolopender or Hart's tongue (*Scolopendrium vulgare*); (c) the same name for the Water milfoil (*Myriophyllum verticillatum*); (d) *ẓufr al-nasr* "vulture's claw" for the Greek Catananche (*Hymenonema Tournefortii* or *Catananche graeca*). On the other hand, the dialect term *nasrī* or *nisrī* denoting the Dog rose (*Rosa canina*) is a corruption of the Persian *nisrīn* and has no connection with *nasr*.

Arab astronomers placed the two attitudes of the vulture, flight and repose, in the names of two well-known stars, names which have been retained: (a) Altair (alpha *Aquilae*) derived from *al-Nasr al-ṭāʾir* "the Vulture flying", in the 17th Boreal constellation of the Eagle; (b) Vega (alpha *Lyrae*) derived from *al-Nasr al-wāḳiʿ* "the Vulture perched", in the 19th Boreal constellation of the Lyre.

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NAṢR b. AḤMAD [see al-Khubza'aruzzī].

NAṢR b. AḤMAD b. ISMĀʿĪL, Sāmānid *amīr* of Transoxania and Khurāsān (301-31/914-43), given after his death the honorific of *al-Amīr al-Saʿīd* ("the Fortunate").

Naṣr was raised to the throne at the age of eight on the murder of his father by the Turkish *ghulāms* of the army, with a regency of the vizier Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhānī [see al-Djayhānī in Suppl.]. The early years of his reign were seriously disturbed by rebellions at Samarḳand, at Nīshāpūr and in Farghāna by various discontented members of the Sāmānid family, and the amīrate was not at peace till after 310/922 when Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Balʿamī [see Balʿamī] became vizier, although the Sāmānid army had operated, with sporadic success, in the west against the Zaydīs of the Caspian provinces and against various Daylamī adventurers, maintaining some degree of authority in Rayy, granted to the Sāmānids by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1936, 137 ff.).

In *ca.* 318/930 a revolt broke out in the capital Bukhārā in favour of Naṣr's imprisoned brothers, in which one of these last, Yaḥyā, was temporarily raised to the throne. Then during Naṣr's last years, in the vizierate of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Djayhānī, an extensive Shīʿī *daʿwa* appeared in Transoxania, building on the existing Shīʿī centres in Khurāsān and helped along by envoys from the Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids of North Africa, under the directorship of the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Nakhshabī or Nasafī [see al-Nasafī]. He made many converts to Ismāʿīlism amongst dignitaries at the court of Bukhārā, culminating in the *Amīr* himself, according to the accounts in the *Siyāsat-nāma* and the *Fihrist*, until a reaction led by the Sunnī *ʿulamā'* and the Turkish military classes forced him to abandon this heresy and violently to massacre its adherents (see S.M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in north-west Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 78-80).

Naṣr died, probably naturally, in Radjab 331/April 943, and was succeeded by his son Nūḥ (I) [*q.v.*]. Naṣr's court was one of the focuses of the New Persian literary and cultural revival, where poets like Rūdakī, Muṣʿabī [*q.vv.*], Murādī, etc., flourished (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 144-5).

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr, both utilising material from the lost *Ta'rīkh Wulāt Khurāsān* of Sallāmī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xlvi; Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā* (tr. Frye, 95-6). Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 240-6; Frye, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 141-3. See also Sāmānids. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR b. MUḤAMMAD al-SAMARḲANDĪ [see Abu 'l-Layth].

NAṢR b. MUZĀḤIM, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Minḳarī al-Tamīmī, early Shīʿī historian (though probably not, as Sezgin rightly observes, the first one) and traditionist; his date of birth is uncertain, but he died in 212/827. He lived originally in Kūfa but later moved to Baghdād; amongst those from whom he heard traditions was Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. His own reputation as an *akhbārī* and *muḥaddith* was, however, weak, and he was regarded by some Sunnī authors as a fervent (*ghālī*) Shīʿī. He is best known for his *Kitāb Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* (this has been reconstructed, from the passages cited from it in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, 2nd ed. Cairo 1381/1962-3), which apparently enshrines authentic contemporary information and which offers a Shīʿī approach to the subject [see Ṣiffīn]. But he seems also to have written several other books whose titles alone are known to us, on other topics significant for the Shīʿa, such as the Battle of the Camel and the killing of al-Ḥusayn.

Bibliography: A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, Princeton 1983, 47-8, 144; Brockelmann, S I, 214; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 313. The *Kitāb Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn* has been used extensively by, *inter alios*, M. Hinds, see his articles in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 3-31; *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; and *ibid.*, iii (1972), 450-69. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAṢR b. NUṢAYR al-Ḥulwānī, Abu 'l-Muḳātil, a blind Shīʿi poet of the 3rd/9th century who owes the fact of his not having fallen into total obscurity to a *maḳṣūra* [*q.v.*] (of which there are two verses given in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 3462) and a *nūniyya*, both composed in praise of the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Zayd (d. 287/900 [*q.v.*]). Thirty-six verses of this last *ḳaṣīda* (metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ānī*) have been preserved, solely by al-Masʿūdī, it appears (*Murūdj*, § 3518), whilst the *maṭlaʿ* (*lā taḳul bushrā...al-mihradjānī*):

Do not say "One piece of good news", but "two pieces of good news": the face
of someone whom I love and that of *mihradjān*,

cited in various circumstances, became more or less proverbial. As it happened, the *dāʿī* saw in the first words of the verse a bad augury and, irritated, threw the poet out, after however proposing himself modifying it in the following manner:

If you say one piece of good news, I have two of them ...

(al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 432). It is likewise criticised by Ibn Sharaf (*Questions de critique littéraire*, 88/89), who suggests simply reversing it:

The face of someone whom I love and that of *mihradjān*, there is
a very good piece of news, or what shall I say, two pieces of good news.

In the *Yatīma* (i, 146), al-Thaʿālibī attributes the verse to one Ibn Muḳātil (instead of Abu 'l-Muḳātil), whilst Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar (the editor of Ghars al-Niʿma's *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, 28) and M. ʿAwwād (the editor of Hilāl al-Ṣābi''s *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 63) identify with al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim al-ʿAlawī [*q.v.*] the *dāʿī* whose name is not explicitly given in the text.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (Ch. Pellat)

NAṢR b. SAYYĀR al-Laythī al-Kinānī, the last

governor of Khurāsān under the Umayyads, d. 131/748.

Naṣr's whole career seems to have been spent in Khurāsān and the East. In 86/705 he campaigned in the upper Oxus region under Ṣāliḥ, brother of the governor of Khurāsān Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*], and received a village there as reward. Then in 106/724 he was campaigning in Farghāna under Muslim b. Saʿīd al-Kilābī, and served as governor of Balkh for some years. Hence on the death of the governor of the East Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], the caliph Hishām was advised to appoint as his successor Naṣr, then 74 years old, and known to be "abstemious, experienced and wise" (*ʿafīf mudjarrab ʿāḳil*), having a Tamīmī wife and therefore able to count on the support of several of the main North Arab or Muḍarī tribal groups in Khurāsān. Naṣr now began what was to prove the last Umayyad period of power in Khurāsān, now separated administratively from ʿIrāḳ.

Naṣr relied on the support of the old-established Arab *muḳātila* settled in Khurāsān, but soon became involved in disputes with the Yemeni supporters of the former governor Asad al-Ḳasrī, with the armed rebellion of these groups at Marw (now the capital for the province in place of Balkh) in 126/744 under Djudayʿ b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī, chief of the Azd, who was demanding vengeance for the Muhallabids [*q.v.*] whom the Umayyads had hunted down. More dangerous was the long-running defiance of the Umayyads on the part of al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who before Naṣr's arrival had been allied with the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh in Transoxania. Naṣr's expedition against the Turkish region of Shāsh in 122/740, followed by a raid into Farghāna, seems to be connected with attempts to dislodge al-Ḥārith, who nevertheless continued as an opposition force amongst the Arabs of Khurāsān till his death in 128/746 at the hands of Djudayʿ's troops.

Naṣr's attempts at redressing the grievances of the Arabs in Khurāsān and at healing tribal tensions included in 121/739 fiscal reform in the Marw region, where the local Persian landowners, the *dihḳāns*, had been —it was alleged— using their social influence to discriminate against the Muslim settlers: now, all Muslims and non-Muslims alike were to pay *kharādj* or land-tax for their lands and the non-Muslims (probably in large part Zoroastrians) were to pay additionally the *djizya* or poll-tax.

Naṣr's position in later years became increasingly difficult as the Umayyad caliphate was plunged into civil strife on Hishām's death in 125/743. The dead caliph's ephemeral successors endeavoured to place their own nominees in the governorship of Khurāsān, but Naṣr refused to move and was finally confirmed in office by both Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and by the last Umayyad Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.vv.*]. With ʿIrāḳ by 128/746 inflamed by Khāridjite activity and the revolt of the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], Naṣr's communications with the centre of the caliphate were cut, and with them the hopes of receiving troop reinforcements to strengthen the Muḍarī side against the anti-government Azd and then, from 129/747 onwards, against the leader of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* at Marw, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. In the face of the strength of ʿAlī b. Djudayʿ and Abū Muslim, Naṣr had in 130/748 to evacuate Marw. His son Tamīm was defeated at Ṭūs, so that Naṣr then had to abandon Nīshāpūr and flee westwards. Fresh troops were belatedly sent from ʿIrāḳ by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra [see IBN HUBAYRA], but these were defeated at Rayy by Abū Muslim's lieutenant Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [*q.v.*]. Still retreating, Naṣr fell ill and died in Sāwa [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia, on 12 Rabīʿ I 131/9 December 748, aged 85, "out of chagrin" (*kamad*) according to al-Masʿūdī, thus allowing the ʿAbbāsid advance westwards to gain fresh momentum.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See for these, K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI*[1] art. s.v. 2. Studies. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 192-4; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 176-7, 298-306, 323-36, Eng. tr. 283, 474-91, 523-40; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 89 ff.; M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 128-31, 135-7, 159-61; E.L. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 44-5, 55-7, 74-6; M. Sharon, *Black banners from the east. II. Revolt, the social and military aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1992, 35 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

NAṢR B. SHABATH AL-ʿUḲAYLĪ, the leader of a rebellion of the North Arab or Ḳaysī tribesmen in al-Djazīra against the central authority of the ʿAbbāsids during the caliphates of al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn.

We find him mentioned in 196/811-12 as the head of *zawāḳīl*, lawless bands of Arabs, mainly Ḳaysīs, who had taken advantage of the breakdown of rule during the civil war (see on the term *zawāḳīl*, D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, their background and consequences*, unpubl. paper presented to the Internat. Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi 1964, xerox Jerusalem 1963, 14-20); Naṣr's main aim seems to have been to uphold the Arab cause against the *Abnāʾ* of Baghdad and against what was regarded as the domination of the *ʿAdjam*, the Persianised supporters of the ʿAbbāsids (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 845). The rebellion went on for some 14 years; in 198/814 Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] was sent against Naṣr, and he in turn in 205/821-2 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] to conduct operations against Naṣr from a base at al-Raḳḳa on the middle Euphrates. It was not till 209/824-5 that Naṣr submitted and his fortress at Kaysūm (modern Tkish. Keysun, to the southwest of Adıyaman) was demolished; in the next year he was brought to Baghdad, and subsequently disappears from mention (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 975, 1044-6, 1069-72, 1073-4, tr. Bosworth, *The reunification of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Albany 1987, 10, 106, 108, 110, 140-4, 145-6).

Bibliography: Given above; see also H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, Harlow 1986, 155. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

NAṢR ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, also known as Naṣr Allāh Munshī, a Persian author and statesman who was born at Ghazna in a family which came from Shīrāz. He served as a secretary in the *dīwān* of the Ghaznawids. Under Khusraw Malik (555-82/1160-86) he rose to the rank of a vizier but he fell into disgrace with this sultan and was executed while in prison (cf. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 92 ff.).

Naṣr Allāh Munshī's fame rests on his version (*Tardjuma*) of the Indian mirror for princes *Kalīla wa Dimna* [*q.v.*] into Persian prose, which was based on the Arabic of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḳaffaʿ and was completed between 538/1143-4 and 540/1145-6. He added a new preface to the text dedicating it to Sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Bahrāmshāh (511-47/1117-52). Further additions to the original in this rather free rendering are a great number of verses in Arabic and Persian, quotations from the Ḳurʾān and the *Ḥadīth* and proverbs. To be noted is an anecdote cited from the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of his contemporary Sanāʾī (cf.

Meier, *loc. cit.*). The Arabic verses became the subject of a special commentary (cf. Rieu, *loc. cit.*).

Until the present day, Naṣr Allāh's translation is regarded as a model of elegant Persian style. It served as the basis for the metrical version composed by Ḳāniʿī for the Saldjūḳ sultan of Konya about 658/1260 and for a series of Turkish translations. It was not superseded by the celebrated *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, "The lights of Canopus", written in the late 9th/15th century by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī [*q.v.*], who claimed to have made a simplified version but really produced the opposite effect (see the comparisons between the two Persian versions by Browne and Arberry).

Already the earliest manuscripts contain the text in varying lengths. It is likely that the author himself brought his work out in different forms. The *Tardjuma* has been printed several times since the middle of the 19th century. By far the best edition available now is the one published by Mudjtabā Mīnuwī (Tehran, 1343 sh/1964).

Bibliography: Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 745-6; H. Ethé, *GrIPh*, ii, 327-8; Browne, ii, 349-53; M.T. Bahār, *Sabkshināsī yā taṭawwur-i nathr-i fārsī*, Tehran n.d., ii, 248-96 (discusses various aspects of language and style); A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 95-7; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, 3rd ed., Tehran 1339/1960, 948-52; F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, Wiesbaden 1963, 49-53; Mahdawī Dāmghānī, in *Yaghmā*, xv-xvi, 1341-2 sh./1962-3 (on Arabic verses in the *Tardjuma*); M. Mīnuwī, *Dībāča* to his edition, pp. *zāl-kāf* [vii-xx].

(E. Berthels-[J.T.P. de Bruijn])

NAṢR al-DAWLA, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān, third and most important prince of the Marwānid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Diyār Bakr. He succeeded to the provincial sovereignty on the death of his elder brother, Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd, in 401/1010-11, after a struggle with the latter's murderer, and was in the same year formally recognised by the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], from whom at the same time he received his *laḳab*, and by the Būyid *amīr*, Sulṭān al-Dawla. Though now established in the capital Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*], he was unable to obtain effective control of Āmid, the next most considerable city of the province, until 415/1024-5, when his tributary, Ibn Damna, who had hitherto ruled it, was assassinated; and during his reign of over fifty years, he suffered several ineffective attacks on his territory from the ʿUḳaylids of Diyār Rabīʿa, to whom he appears, at one period at all events, to have paid tribute (see Ibn Athīr, ix, 121), and to whom, in order to compose a quarrel arising out of his divorce of a lady of that family, he was obliged, in 421/1030, to cede Niṣībīn [*q.v.*]. In 433/1041-2, Diyār Bakr was invaded from Ādharbāydjān by the bands of the Ghuzz Turkmens which had pushed northwestwards on the advance of the Saldjūḳ leaders into Djibāl and for two years parts of it were subjected to their depredations. Otherwise, the province enjoyed, throughout his reign, a tranquility remarkable in this troubled age.

The ruler of Diyār Bakr was regarded as a principal guardian of the frontier of Islam in eastern Anatolia, and as such was expected to harass the Christians whenever opportunity offered (see the letter addressed to Naṣr al-Dawla by the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrīl Beg: Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 275). Nevertheless, Ibn Marwān's relations with the Byzantine Empire were for the most part amicable, being based on a pact of mutual non-aggression, to which both parties appealed when it was infringed. The only important breaches of this agreement occurred in 418/1027 when Naṣr al-Dawla seized al-Ruhā (Edessa), which, however, was recovered by the Greeks four years later, and in 426/1034-5, when an attempt was made by the Christian inhabitants of that city, in league with Arabs of the Numayr [*q.v.*] tribe, to invade his territories. Later, their good relations were of use to the Emperor Constantine X, who in 441/1049-50 obtained Ibn Marwān's help in securing from Ṭoghrīl Beg the release of the Georgian general Lipariti, with whom he had been in league against the Georgian king, and who had been captured the year before by Ṭoghrīl's half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl. Up to 436/1045, Armenia, which also marched in part with Diyār Bakr, was still independent of the Empire; and in 423/1032 a Marwānid commander led a successful raid into this country. In 427/1035-6, on the other hand, a *Ḥadjdj* caravan from northern Persia was attacked and looted near Ānī [*q.v.*] by Armenians of the Sunāsuna tribe, upon which Ibn Marwān forced the aggressors to give up their prisoners and booty.

Early in Naṣr al-Dawla's reign, the north of Syria and parts of the Djazīra contiguous to Diyār Bakr were obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid caliphs, though their hold on these parts remained somewhat precarious. Also, his own territories were menaced by Fāṭimid pretensions when in 430/1038-9 the governor of Damascus, Anūshtikīn al-Dizbirī, who was then reasserting his rule in northern Syria, projected an attack on Diyār Bakr. This, however, came to nothing.

The reign of Naṣr al-Dawla saw the rise of the Saldjūḳs from some obscurity to the empire of Persia and ʿIrāḳ. His first communication with them occurred as early as 435/1043-4 on the Ghuzz invasion of Diyār Bakr, when he addressed a letter of protest to Ṭoghrīl, who, though he was scarcely in a position to do so, undertook to restrain the marauders. (It may be noted, nevertheless, that Ibn al-Azraḳ describes this Ghuzz invasion as having been actually instigated by Ṭoghrīl, who, he says, granted the province as a fief to its two leaders in advance; cf. Amedroz, *The Marwānid dynasty of Mayyāfāriqīn*, 137. Surely this author is mistaken in considering the date 434 as wrong, since it agrees exactly with those given by Ibn al-Athīr.) Eight years later, Naṣr al-Dawla acceded to Ṭoghrīl's demand for recognition as suzerain; and this subservience, which was renewed in 446/1054-5, when Ṭoghrīl made a triumphal tour through Ādharbāydjān and Muslim Armenia, spared Diyār Bakr the experience of a Saldjūḳ visitation. In the following year, however, Ṭoghrīl's attention was drawn to the murder of a Kurdish chieftain by Naṣr al-Dawla's son Sulaymān, his lieutenant in the Djazīra; and in 448/1056-7, when the sultan was obliged to visit al-Mawṣil in order to oppose a combination of Shīʿī leaders headed by al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], he forced an indemnity from Ibn Marwān by laying siege to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.

Naṣr al-Dawla was sagacious, or fortunate, in his choice of the two *wazīrs* who served him in turn, namely Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Maghribī [*q.v.*] (in office 415-28/1025-37) and Abū Naṣr Ibn Djahīr (afterwards entitled Fakhr al-Dawla) [see djahīr, banū] (in office 430-53/1039-61). It was no doubt owing in part to their abilities that the remarkable tranquility enjoyed by Diyār Bakr during his reign was turned to advantage and resulted in an equally remarkable prosperity. This Naṣr al-Dawla fostered by a reduction of taxation and by renouncing the practice of

mulcting the rich in order to augment the revenues. Nevertheless, his court is said to have surpassed those of all his contemporaries in luxury, and many instances are quoted of his profusion and generosity. Mayyāfāriḳīn became during his reign a centre for men of learning, poets and ascetics, as also a refuge for political fugitives. Among the latter were the Būyid prince al-Malik al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who was ousted from the amīrate in 436/1044-5 by his uncle Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], and the infant heir of the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim —afterwards al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]— who was removed with his mother from Baghdād on the occasion of its occupation in 450/1058 by al-Basāsīrī.

Naṣr al-Dawla is described as being resolute, just, high-minded and methodical, and though much addicted to sensuality, he was strict in his observance of religious injunctions. He died, aged about eighty, on 24 Shawwāl 453/11 November 1061, leaving Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahīr still in office to secure the succession to his second son, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, Niẓām al-Dīn.

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NAṢR AL-DĪN KHODJA (modern Turkish: Nasreddin Hoca) is the label of the most prominent protagonist of humorous prose narratives in the whole sphere of Turkish-Islamic influence, ranging from the Balkan area to the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia. Naṣr al-Dīn is a legendary character whose historical existence none of the various theories regarding his alleged lifetime has succeeded to prove beyond doubt. The character from the 10th/16th century onwards increasingly served as a point of crystallisation for an otherwise amorphous popular tradition of aphorisms, witticisms, jokes, jests, and anecdotes of various origins.

The period of Naṣr al-Dīn's supposed historical existence might be fixed some time in the 7th/13th to the 8th/14th century, the region where he probably was active as a *khodja* (from Persian *khʷādja*, designating a man of distinction, and definitely not a distortion of the name of the related Arabic jester Djuḥā [*q.v.*] as supposed by Basset) somewhere in southern-central Anatolia, maybe even in Aḳ Shehr [*q.v.*], where a mausoleum bearing his name is preserved. In an apparent contradiction, characteristic however for any popular tradition such as the one focusing on Naṣr al-Dīn, facts about the circumstances of his life become known in an increasingly detailed manner the more distance from his alleged lifetime one gets. This is all the more the case since, in late 20th century Turkey, Naṣr al-Dīn, explicitly employed for touristic interests, is being promoted as an international ambassador of Turkish good-natured mentality and hospitality.

The earliest anecdotes about Naṣr al-Dīn in a Turkic language are quoted in Lāmiʿī Čelebi's (d. 939/1531) *Leṭāʾif* (ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya Kütüphanesi 4233, fols. 17b-18a, 31b, 34b, 35b-36a) and Ebu 'l-Khayr-i Rūmī's (d. 885/1480) *Saltuḳ-nāme* (ed. Ş.H. Akalın. Istanbul 1988, 140-2, 181-2). While Lāmiʿī Čelebi mentions Naṣr al-Dīn as a contemporary of Sheyyād Ḥamza (8th/14th century), the decisive impact for subsequent popular tradition, and notably, later European learned discussions, derives from Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Naṣr al-Dīn's alleged tomb in Aḳ Shehr in the 17th century and quotes an anecdote in which Naṣr al-Dīn is depicted together with the Mongol ruler Tīmūr (died 807/1405 [*q.v.*]). Any such attempts at historicising the character of Naṣr al-Dīn are to be judged as speculative as the often-quoted date 386 in the inscription on Naṣr al-Dīn's tomb (ostensibly a posthumous joke to be read in reversed order as 683/1284) and even the charters of endowment (*waḳfiyya*) of the year 655/1257 and 665/1266 respectively, mentioning the appearance before the *ḳāḍī* of a certain "Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja", which are quoted at the beginning of the 20th century by Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād (cf. *Manzûm Nasreddin Hoca fikraları*, ed. A. Çatıkkaş, Istanbul 1980, 14 f.).

The early manuscript tradition of anecdotes on Naṣr al-Dīn presents a comparatively small repertoire, which in subsequent centuries was continuously enlarged. The first printed Turkish collection (Istanbul 1253/1837) comprises 134, later lithograph and printed collections some 125 anecdotes. While in the late 19th century such writers as Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] pioneered the Naṣr al-Dīn literature in modern Turkish, most recent Turkish publications rely on Bahāʾī (i.e. Weled Čelebi [İzbudak]), who in 1323/1907 published his collection of almost 400 anecdotes, *Leṭāʾif-i Naṣreddīn Khodja raḥmetü llāhi ʿaleyh*, drawing on earlier prints as well as manuscripts and oral tradition. The printed collections in Northwest- and Middle-Asiatic Turkic languages mostly derive from the first Tatar imprints (*Lätaifi Xuğa Nasiretdin Äfändi*, Kazan 1261/1845, reprinted more than 30 times), themselves constituting almost identical renderings from the Ottoman Turkish.

Originating in Turkish tradition, Naṣr al-Dīn's fame soon spread all over the regions of Ottoman dominion, the character meanwhile integrating narrative materials originally attached to other protagonists, such as Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*] or Buhlūl [*q.v.*], some of them anonymous or of local importance only, such as Ahmet Akaj (Crimean Tatar), Navoi (Özbek) or Aldarkösö (Kirgiz). Naṣr al-Dīn is known in Central Asia as Ependi or Apandi (from Turkish Efendi, here meant as term of respectful address), a term which by way of Uighur adaptations eventually resulted in the modern Chinese word *A-fan-t'i*, trickster. In the area of Persian influence, the character is designated as Mollā Naṣr al-Dīn (first Persian printed edition 1299/1881). This applies to Persia, Afghānistān, and the Pashtō language regions in the East as well as to Kurdish and most of the Caucasian languages, whereas the tales on Naṣr al-Dīn in Tādjīk tradition rather seem to be influenced by surrounding Turkic languages. In Azeri tradition, Naṣr al-Dīn gained fame as the eponym of a renowned satirical magazine at the beginning of the 20th century. In the Balkan area, Naṣr al-Dīn, besides being richly documented in the Greek (Nastradin), Albanian, Serbian and Croatian languages, still today in Bulgarian and Macedonian popular tradition serves as an antagonist of the national hero Chitūr Petūr (Iter Pejo).

Previous research on the historical development of the stock of Naṣr al-Dīn anecdotes (Basset; Horn; Christensen; Wesselski) has only succeeded in elucidating singular traits, at the same time thoroughly misunderstanding or ignoring others. Recent philological comparisons of the narrative repertoires of Djuḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn have led to the following conclusions. Some, though relatively few, of the earliest versions of anecdotes that in later sources are told in the name of Naṣr al-Dīn are to be traced to the mediaeval stock of tales on Djuḥā, whose con-

tents may be reconstructed from Arabic *adab*-literature (e.g. al-Ābī [died 421/1030], *Nat͟hr ad-durr*, v, ch. 17) contemporary to the mention of a Book of Anecdotes on D̲j̲uḥā (*Kitāb Nawādir D̲j̲uḥā*) in Ibn an-Nadīm's *al-Fihrist*. However, the narrative tradition on D̲j̲uḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn, as it is documented in manuscript collections of their tales, developed separately from each other until the 19th century; at any rate, a Turkish translation of the Arabic booklet never existed. It is not until the printed collections of the 19th century that a direct connection between the narrative repertoires on D̲j̲uḥā and Naṣr al-Dīn becomes manifest. One of the first printed collections in Turkish—probably that of Būlāḳ 1256/1840 containing a repertoire slightly different from the edition Istanbul 1253/1837—was translated into Arabic (Būlāḳ 1280/1864 or earlier) while being considerably enlarged. The anonymous compiler added to the translation of the Turkish original some 100 jests adapted from mediaeval Arabic *adab* literature; these tales as a rule, notably in the original sources, were not told in the name of D̲j̲uḥā, Naṣr al-Dīn's Arab predecessor, but rather belong to the basic stock of jocular tales prevailing throughout entertaining *adab* literature since its beginning (cf. U. Marzolph, *Arabia ridens* Frankfurt 1992, 2 vols.). This Arabic translation, or rather adaptation, was in turn translated into Persian (1299/1881), once more being enlarged by coining tales taken from mediaeval (Arabic and Persian) literature on Naṣr al-Dīn. Here again it is interesting to note that the compiler did not draw on the stock of anecdotes on D̲j̲uḥī (the Persian form of D̲j̲uḥā) as it is documented in the works of Anwarī (died *ca.* 586/1190), D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī (died 672/1273), ʿUbayd-i Zākānī (died 772/1371) or in the *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif* by ʿAli b. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kās̲h̲ifī, commonly known as Ṣafī (d. 939/1532). The interchange of the additional repertoire thus introduced by the Arabic and Persian versions with subsequent Turkish tradition has not yet been scrutinised; but it is obvious that at the latest by the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century Naṣr al-Dīn had gained such an amount of popularity in the whole region under Ottoman dominion that the provenance of the narrative materials attached to him did not play a decisive role; on the contrary, it had become permissible to attach to the character any tale that might fit into the general frame outlined by popular perception. This may serve as an explanation for the fact that some of the more recent collections of tales on Naṣr al-Dīn can present a remarkably large repertoire (e.g. K̲h̲aritonov: 1238 items).

It is necessary to point out that the above conclusions with a necessary degree of certainty are only valid for printed or rather literate tradition, which is subject to distinctive mechanisms of selection and adaptation. On the other hand, oral tradition is subject to other criteria, which in the case of Naṣr al-Dīn can only be a matter of speculation. Current research has so far to a minor extent only focused on orally-narrated tales about Naṣr al-Dīn (cf., e.g. Kúnos), which presumably enjoy an overwhelming popularity in traditional but probably less in modern Near Eastern societies.

As for the scholarly pre-occupation with Naṣr al-Dīn, his charming character seems to have had a tremendous and in fact devastating impact on most attempts at a detached analysis of Near Eastern humorous narratives. National Turkish research still mainly consists of futile attempts to argue beyond doubt for Naṣr al-Din's historical existence or to demonstrate the essential traits of his character by reconstructing the supposed original stock of anecdotes attached to him. On the other hand, most Western researchers have all too readily identified Near Eastern humour on a general level with Naṣr al-Dīn, and—corresponding to contemporary propagated Turkish tradition—have succumbed to the temptation of reducing him to a charming, lovable, intrinsic but morally harmless philosopher. As for the historical evidence of the narrative repertoire linked with Naṣr al-Dīn's name, it is obvious that since the earliest known manuscripts this repertoire contained a considerable proportion of scatological, sexual, sodomite, and otherwise explicitly provoking anecdotes.

From a point of view contemporary to the manuscript tradition, it may safely be assumed that these tales did not constitute a major offence; rather it is to be supposed that they represent humorous attitudes of a direct and outspoken kind, not yet submitting to restrictions by the requirements in content and form that later were established by refined literary developments. While it must remain doubtful whether the early collections represent anything that safely might be termed as "folk" literature, it seems most certain that this kind of crude anecdote still today enjoys a wide popularity and not only in rural areas of the Near East. Even though contemporary Turkish research encourages attempts to "domesticate" Naṣr al-Dīn—such attempts as are practised by recent Turkish collections—by eliminating this part of the historical repertoire or denying its claim to originality, a strictly historical evaluation should bear in mind that moral standards are subject to frequent changes.

Apart from the intentionally offensive portions, the repertoire of anecdotes on Naṣr al-Dīn contains a large amount of tales otherwise documented in international narrative tradition. For these tales the attachment to the character of Naṣr al-Dīn is often but one station on the way they travel through times and regions, more than once securing their survival and wide dissemination throughout the Near East, the Balkan region and the Mediterranean.

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NAṢRĀWĪ [see NAṢĀRĀ].

NAṢRIDS, Ar. BANŪ NAṢR, also known as BANU 'L-AḤMAR, so called from the name of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Aḥmar, founder of what was to be the last major Muslim dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula, ruling a kingdom in the far south of Spain from its capital city, Granada (Gharnāṭa [*q.v.*]) and claiming as its remote ancestor the Khazradjī leader Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a Companion of the Prophet. Although the dynasty was born on 26 Ramaḍān 629/18 April 1232, its association with Granada dates only from around Ramaḍān 634/May 1237 when that city passed into the hands of the dynasty's founder—now known to us as Muḥammad I—coming into prominence as the seat of his power only from 644/1246. Thereafter Granada remained the Naṣrids' true capital until their rule came formally to an end on 2 January 1492 with a public ceremony following an improvised capitulation on the previous day.

1. History.

For the period running from the latter part of the 8th/14th century until the loss of Granada to the Christians there are many aspects of Naṣrid history on which, despite some notable scholarly progress over the last fifty years, we are still ill informed. For this the relative paucity of Arabic source material is mainly responsible. Where such material is lacking we are compelled to have cautious recourse to evidence—only too often tendentious—contained in the chronicles of the Iberian Christian states, which at times are our only resource for even such basic matters as dates.

The following list of Naṣrid rulers will, as regards later members of the dynasty, be found to differ in certain details from C.E. Bosworth's revised list contained in his *Islamic dynasties* (revised edition Edinburgh 1980, 18-19) and should be regarded as replacing it. From the list below it will be seen that after the death of Yūsuf III there comes a confusing series of changes of monarch. For the period 1417-54, however, L.P. Harvey provides a most helpful schema in his *Islamic Spain* (see *Bibl.* below), 245. It should be noted that where only dates of the Christian era are given in the list, the reason is that the date A.H. is not to be found in any known Arabic source.

1. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad I *al-Ghālib bi 'llāh*: 629-71/1232-73 (in Granada 634-71/1237-73).
2. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad II *al-Faḳīh*: 671-701/1273-1302.
3. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad III *al-Makhlūʿ*: 701-8/1302-9.
4. Abū 'l-Djuyūsh Naṣr: 708-13/1309-14.
5. Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl I: 713-25/1314-25.
6. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad IV: 725-33/1325-33.
7. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjadj Yūsuf I *al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh*: 733-55/1333-54.
8. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad V *al-Ghanī bi 'llāh*: 755-60/1354-9 (reign interrupted by Ismāʿīl II, then Muḥammad VI) and 763-93/1362-91.
9. Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl II: 760-1/1359-60.
10. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VI *al-Ghālib bi 'llāh* (to the Castilians *el Bermejo* "The Red", *el rey Bermejo* "The Red King"): 761-3/1360-2.
11. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf II *al-Mustaghnī bi 'llāh*: 793-4/1391-2.
12. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VII: 794-810/1392-1408.
13. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf III *al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*: 810-20/1408-17.
14. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VIII *al-Mutamassik* (*al-Ṣaghīr*/*el Pequeño* "The Little One"): 1417-9 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad IX) and 1427-9.
15. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad IX al-Ghālib bi 'llāh (*al-Aysar*/*el Zurdo* "The Left-handed"): (1) 1419-27 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad VIII); (2) 1430-1 (reign interrupted by Yūsuf IV); (3) 1432-45 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad X); (4) 1447-53.
16. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf IV (*Ibn al-Mawl*/*Abenalmao*): 1431-2.
17. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad X (*al-Aḥnaf*/*el Cojo* "The Lame"): Jan.-Jun 1445 (reign interrupted by Yūsuf V) and 1446-7.
18. Yūsuf V Ibn Aḥmad/Ibn Ismāʿīl (*Aben Ismael*): 1445-6 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad X) and Sept.-Dec. 1462.
19. Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito* "The Little Fellow"): 1451-5 (in association with Muḥammad IX until the latter's death in 1453, then in competition with Saʿd from mid-1454 until mid-1455).
20. Abū Naṣr Saʿd *al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh* (*Ciriza* <Sīdī Saʿd/*Muley Zad*/*Çah*): 1454-64 (in competition with Yūsuf V in 1462-3).
21. Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (Muley Hacén): 1464-82 (reign interrupted by Muḥammad XII in July 1482) and 887-90/1482-5.
22. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad XII (*Boabdil*): 887/1482; 891-7/1486-92.
23 (?). Muḥammad XIII b. Saʿd (*al-Zaghal* "The Brave"), brother of Muḥammad XII's father, ʿAlī (no. 21): 890/1485. (Al-Zaghal had himself proclaimed king not too long after his infirm brother ʿAlī had appointed him regent early in 1485, and in fact in early 891/1486 Muḥammad XII recognised him as king for a while. Until al-Zaghal's departure for North Africa in 1489 the Naṣrids' subjects were deeply divided in their allegiance, and the picture is very confused and confusing.)

A. Birth of the Naṣrid Kingdom. 1. Muḥammad (I) b. Yūsuf. In 620/1224 the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf II al-Mustanṣir died, leaving no son and hence a legacy of dynastic quarrels that were soon to rob al-Andalus of all central administration. The ensuing period of confusion and weakness was to be fully exploited not only by the Banū Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] in Valencia and the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] in Murcia (to whom the future ruler of Granada was politically subordinated for a year or two), but also, and far more importantly, by Ferdinand III of Castile following the union of his crown with that of Léon in 1230; for, from 1231 onwards, his forces drove deep into the Muslim heartlands in a series of campaigns that were eventually to win for him Cordova (632/1236) and Seville (646/1248). For Andalusian Islam the loss of

these once-great cities would leave it no solid base in the Guadalquivir, thus presaging the loss of effective Muslim control of all but a small part of the Iberian Peninsula.

Such was the nature of the times which witnessed the conception, birth and growth of a memorable dynasty that was to rule a kingdom which, in the final analysis, owed its existence mainly to the adroit manoeuvres of Muḥammad (I) b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr in response to the many threats posed by disintegrative forces to the very survival of Islam in 13th-century Spain.

The new dynasty came into being in Arjona (Ardjūna), a small frontier town south of the Guadalquivir, some 30 km to the north-west of the city of Jaén (Djayyān [*q.v.*]). It was there that in 629/1232 Muḥammad b. Yūsuf managed to establish himself as the effective ruler of a relatively small region including Jaén and extending south-eastwards as far as Guadix (Wādī Āsh) to the north-east of Granada and as far east as Baeza (Bayyāsa [*q.v.*]) on the north bank of the Guadalquivir.

Of vital importance to the establishment and consolidation of Naṣrid rule was the unwavering support of another Hispano-Arab family with Arjona connections, viz. the Tudjībid Banū Ashkīlūla (or, in Castilian sources, Escayola). With their military assistance, close political co-operation and a loyalty underpinned by multiple marriage ties with members of the Naṣrid family, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was able not only to make himself master of Arjona and later to accept the invitation of Granada's notables to assume control of their city (634/1237), but also, after his loss of Arjona (642/1244) and then of Jaén (643/1246) to the Christians, to transform Granada into an enduring political entity.

To a proper understanding of the nature of that entity an appreciation of the religious side to its founder's life is crucial. Early in his career Muḥammad had come into prominence as a charismatic leader of frontiersmen, a man with a religious mission (*daʿwa*), displaying all the outward signs of the typical Muslim mystic and maintaining, immediately upon his accession in Granada, the image of an ascetic by avoiding the direct exercise of governmental power. This, together with command of the army, he assigned to his right-hand man, ʿAlī Ibn Ashkīlūla, the then head of his family. Whatever the exact nature and extent of the religious thinking that initially informed the faith and practice of Muḥammad, it is clear that, once ensconced in Granada, he embraced and indeed strictly enforced the doctrines of its Mālikī religious establishment. Moving gradually towards self-assertion and away from his undertaking to share his kingdom with the Banū Ashkīlūla, he made clear his intention to restrict power to the Naṣrid family by naming, in 655/1257, his sons Muḥammad and Yūsuf as his heirs in direct succession to himself. Whether it was this act or the Naṣrid's decision in 662/1264 to make use of Maghribī forces that opened a rift between him and the Banū Ashkīlūla—until then his sole military mainstay—is a moot point. What is not so is the rift itself, which, as it widened into a gulf, separated the Banū Ashkīlūla, in their main governmental base in Malaga (Mālaḳa [*q.v.*]), from the amīrate in Granada. Finally, in 644/1266 fearing that Granada would take their city from them, Malaga's overlords rebelled. Open conflict, with Castilian involvement on both sides, ensued, but victory fell to neither, and, in the event, the struggle dragged on into the reign of Muḥammad II.

In Muḥammad I's political life the Banū Ashkīlūla's role is commonly eclipsed by the prominence accorded to that of Castile. Castile does, of course, loom large in his career: there was, first, his not disinterested subservience to Castilian policy on the eve of the loss of Cordova to Ferdinand in 1236; secondly, ten years later, in surrendering Jaén, there was his agreement to buy peace from Ferdinand at the price of accepting the latter as his overlord along with the payment of a considerable sum in annual tribute; thirdly, there was his active participation in the Castilian campaign that in 1248 wrested Seville from Islam, to say nothing of his passive contemplation of Castilian victories in southern Spain in 1261-2. That he was no martyr for Islam in the primary, religious sense of the word is clear. Yet, equally clear is his commitment to Islam: without it he could hardly have survived in a kingdom so very consciously Islamic as Granada and so very much under the watchful eye of a powerful Mālikī religious establishment; without it his successful appeals to the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*] of Tunis, the Marīnids [*q.v.*] of Fez and Castile's Mudéjars [*q.v.*] for support in a spirited, if abortive, campaign against Alfonso X in the period 1264-6 may have carried less conviction than they did.

If at the time of his death (671/1273) Muḥammad I had neither gained spectacular victories nor made territorial gains, he had at least "managed to snatch from disaster...a relatively secure refuge for Islam in the peninsula" (Harvey, *op. cit.*, 40). Add to which his creation of a viable régime along with a seat of government that was to increase in splendour, stature and renown and stand as a lasting memorial to the Naṣrids: the Alhambra (*al-Ḥamrā*ʾ; see GHARNĀṬA).

B. Consolidation of the Kingdom. 2. Muḥammad II. Muḥammad I's successor was his son Muḥammad al-Faḳīh ("the Jurist"), a man in his late thirties with a ready grasp of the pressing need to frustrate Castilian aspirations to total hegemony and, as one means to this end, to bring to heel the rebellious Banū Ashkīlūla, by then well entrenched principally in Malaga and Guadix. In Granadan-Castilian relations Muḥammad I had been able to damp any joy his Ashkīlūla problem might have brought to Alfonso X by gaining the support of a large contingent of disaffected Castilian nobles—*Ricos Hombres*—led primarily by the powerful Nuño González de Lara. Although with their aid Muḥammad II was able to wrest Antequera from the Banū Ashkīlūla (671/1273), he came to fear the nobles' return to Alfonso's fold and therefore sued for peace with Castile—peace for which he finally agreed to buy for an annual tribute of 300,000 *maravedís*. Having abandoned the *Ricos Hombres* as part of the bargain and then finding good reason to suspect that Alfonso would thenceforth deal with the Banū Ashkīlūla on terms best suited to his own interests, the Naṣrid turned for help to the Marīnid sultan Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, to whom the Banū Ashkīlūla had already been appealing for assistance.

In the event, Abū Yūsuf answered both calls, and, once in control of Tarifa and Algeciras (al-Djazīra al-Khaḍrāʾ [*q.v.*]), both won by an advance expeditionary force, he directed a massive shipment of troops across the Straits. These he himself joined in Ṣafar 674/August 1275 and went on to lead a highly successful *djihād*, in which, *inter alia*, the *Ricos Hombres*, now allies of Alfonso, suffered defeat and humiliation, Nuño González losing his life. To detail here all the moves made in the complex game that developed in the wake of the Marīnid intervention is impracticable: it was a game with many rules made and broken by various players ever ready for a change of partner

should a change of tactics so demand. It must suffice to note only some of the most salient points.

From the Marīnids Muḥammad II initially gained little to his liking. Aggrieved at their treating him as no more than the equal of his subjects, the Banū As͟hḳīlūla, he had left Algeciras in disgust, showing little zest for their joint d̲j̲ihād. He thus allowed so close a relationship to develop between the two allies that in 676/1278 the Banū As͟hḳīlūla handed Malaga to a Marīnid governor. Little did they dream that early in 677/1279 it would revert to the Naṣrids: a justifiable sense of insecurity, created by Muḥammad's intrigues with the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen and with Alfonso, had prompted a Marīnid withdrawal to the Mag͟hrib, and Muḥammad had then struck a bargain with Malaga's Marīnid governor. With Malaga Granada had both gained access to the Mediterranean and greatly enhanced prospects of political and economic viability.

Anger at the machinations and treachery—suffered notably by Alfonso—whereby Muḥammad II had achieved his ends in 1279 resulted in a tripartite offensive against him launched by Alfonso, Abū Yūsuf and the Banū As͟hḳīlūla, the latter now with their main base in Guadix. The war, waged on northern and southern fronts, lasted from May 1280 to April 1281. Granada's survival owed much to a rift between Alfonso and his heir Sancho, whose military support brought great relief to Muḥammad.

In early April 1285 Granada faced a new major problem: responding to an As͟hḳīlūla call for help against Sancho IV (as he had become on Alfonso's death in 1284), Abū Yūsuf once more crossed the Straits for war. After a few months Sancho sought a truce and agreed to withdraw from the Granadan imbroglio. Then, before long the new Marīnid ruler Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, facing internal problems in the Mag͟hrib, made peace with the Naṣrid and abandoned all territorial claims apart from those to Algeciras, Tarifa and Guadix. In early 686/1288 came the end of the Banū As͟hḳīlūla: accepting Abū Yaʿḳūb's offer of the governorate, in Morocco, of Ksar el-Kebir (al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]) and all that went with it, their leader ceded Guadix to Granada and emigrated with his clan and his troops and their families to Ksar, where they established a small dynasty, still remembered in the 20th century.

To gain some control of the Straits of Gibraltar and to weaken that of the Marīnids as well as the strength of their position in Spain became Muḥammad's next main objective. This he thought to achieve by pitting the Castilians against the Marīnids in Tarifa. To this end he embarked on a policy that was to culminate in an anti-Marīnid alliance involving Granada, Castile, Aragon and Tlemcen. When in October 1292 Sancho, with Aragonese naval assistance, took Tarifa, Muḥammad expected Sancho to observe one of the terms of an agreement he had made with him by delivering Tarifa to him. When Sancho did not, Muḥammad sought and gained Marīnid support for a new siege of Tarifa. In August 1294 the venture failed: Granada, with its main forces tied to operations elsewhere in Spain, had been of little help. Convinced of the futility of further involvement in Spain, Abū Yaʿḳūb withdrew all his forces, and in 694/1295 ceded to Muḥammad all Marīnid strongholds in the Peninsula. It was now Muḥammad's aim to occupy all vacant positions. In Ronda and neighbouring western areas, however, his past policy of concentrating African troops there, well away from Granada, rebounded adversely upon him: for a year a rebellious enclave, born of local resentment at suffering under Mag͟hribī soldiery and led by the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm of Ronda, denied him access. Access, when it finally came, came on Ronda's terms (D̲j̲umādā II 695/January 1296): *inter alia*, no kinsman of the Naṣrid would thenceforth reside in the area and no Mag͟hribī troops would be billeted on the local population.

Following Sancho's death in April 1295 and the accession of his son Ferdinand (IV), a mere boy, divisions within Castile and more especially between Castile and Aragon had attracted a Granadan offensive on the northern marches. Among Muḥammad's successes the most notable were the capture of Quesada (Ḳayd̲j̲āṭa) at the end of 1295 and of Alcaudete (al-Ḳabd̲h̲āḳ) in June 1300. At the time of his death on 8 S͟haʿbān 701/8 April 1302 he had negotiated a treaty with Aragon recognising Granada's right to Tarifa and other places and was preparing for a new campaign against Castile.

3. Muḥammad III, by all accounts a sadist suspected of patricide, inherited a situation of military advantage which he failed to develop. His preference was for a peace which, however favourable to Granada in certain important respects, imposed upon him a three-year term of vassalage from 1303 and in 1304 drew him, as the vassal of Castile, into a Castilian-Aragonese accord. As Castile and Aragon grew closer in their new relationship, so the outlook for Granada worsened. By 1308 the two Christian powers felt able to spell out in the treaty of Alcalá de Henares the way in which the Kingdom of Granada should be divided between them.

For the Marīnids Muḥammad III cared nothing. In 1303 he had, to their chagrin, isolated them from his dealings with Castile, and in May 1306 his troops managed to seize Ceuta, not for return to the Marīnids, against whom its masters, the Banu 'l-ʿAzafī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], had rebelled, but for annexation by himself. Deporting the ʿAzafids to Granada, he proclaimed himself lord of Ceuta in 1307. He had achieved his aim to control a commanding position in the Straits, but, in doing so, he had laid the foundations of his downfall. Neither the Marīnids, once disburdened of their war with Tlemcen (May 1307) and set on asserting themselves at home, nor the Castilians and Aragonese, once reconciled and bent on achieving the ends spelt out at Alcalá de Henares, could accept a Naṣrid Ceuta: they would all stand shoulder to shoulder in an anti-Granadan tripartite alliance. The threat was too great for the Granadans to stomach: forced to abdicate, Muḥammad went into retirement in Almuñecar, and his chief minister, Ibn al-Ḥakīm, a member of the erstwhile ruling family of anti-Mag͟hribī Ronda, was assassinated (March, 1309) as much, no doubt, for his influence on policy as for his affluence and extravagant living.

4. Naṣr, at the age of twenty-two, came to rule a kingdom in an unprecedentedly parlous position as it straddled the Straits of Gibraltar at war with the Castilian-Aragonese axis, on the one hand, and the Marīnid-Aragonese alliance, on the other. With no hope of official aid from Tlemcen, now at peace with Fez, Granada faced a lonely fight for survival. Fortunately as it turned out for Granada, the Ceutans themselves soon exchanged Naṣrid for Marīnid rule (10 Ṣafar 709/20 July 1309). Ceuta regained, Fez no longer needed Aragon and was now ready to consider Naṣr's proposals for peace and amity, the need for which became pressing with Castile's conquest of Gibraltar in early September 1309. By mid-month all was settled: Algeciras and Ronda and their dependencies would go to the Marīnids in exchange for

assistance. Thereafter Granada's future began to look brighter, not least because of the late and ill-coordinated start that Castile and Aragon had made in the land and sea offensive against Algeciras and Almeria. In mid-November 1309 an important Castilian contingent left the besiegers of Algeciras, and, in Sha^cbān 709/January 1310, the siege ended as Ferdinand IV, eager to be rid of a now heavy burden, readily accepted Naṣr's offer to become his tributary and at the same time return certain frontier strongholds earlier taken from Castile. As for Almeria, Christian delay had enabled it to stockpile for an expected siege that materialised only in mid-August 1309 with the arrival of Aragonese seaborne forces. Dependent on seaborne supplies, which began to fail as soon as autumnal weather prevented eastward movement of their merchantmen, the Aragonese moved into winter at the mercy of the weather at sea with no prospect of effective Castilian aid on land. By the end of December the siege was over: a truce had been called, and in January 1310 the Aragonese left as best they could, never to return to war in Granadan territory. Naṣr could be said to have served Granada well: his gain in containing the Reconquest far outweighed his losses, for, territorially, the only major Christian gain had been Gibraltar. With Ferdinand's death in September 1312 the Castilian offensive ended, and, not long afterwards, the siege of Alcaudete upon its falling to Castile.

On 21 Shawwāl 713/8 February 1314 Naṣr, who, for reasons not wholly clear, had become unpopular and been dethroned by his kinsman Ismā^cīl, son of the governor of Malaga, left Granada for Guadix, where he was permitted to rule as governor.

5. Ismā^cīl I assumed power as Naṣr was planning to regain it by invoking his rights as the tributary of Castile. In due course a sizeable Castilian force made for Guadix and in Ṣafar 716/April-May 1316 engaged intercepting Muslim troops led by the able Marīnid commander, ^cUthmān b. Abi 'l-^cUlā. The ensuing battle, fiercely fought near Alicún at Wādī Fortūna, was perhaps—there is a conflict of evidence—narrowly won by the Christians, for they were subsequently able to move operations much closer to Granada. But one gain at least accrued to Isma^cīl: Naṣr was never again able to embark on such a venture as that which had so signally failed.

In the Straits Granada began to regain strength thanks to the naval cooperation of the ^cAzafī governor of Ceuta, Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭālib. Be that as it may, in 1319 Castile launched an all-out attack on Granada. Beating a path right through to the Vega, the army of the Infantes Don Pedro and Don Juan, regents for the young Alfonso XI, finally reached the city walls. A short siege gave way to the so-called Battle of the Vega, in which, largely thanks to the Marīnid ^cUthmān, Castile suffered a crushing defeat and both Infantes perished (26 June 1319). Now leaderless, Castile agreed to an eight-year peace, signed 18 June 1320.

With Naṣr no longer any possible threat (he died in 722/1322) and the Castilian court in disarray and dissension, Ismā^cīl set about consolidating his position on the frontiers. In 724/1324 he recovered Baza, and, in 725/1325, Orce, Huescar, Galera and Martos, but then on 27 Radjab 725/6 July 1325, following a quarrel with his cousin, Muḥammad b. Ismā^cīl, governor of Algeciras, he was assassinated.

6. Muḥammad IV, the eldest of Ismā^cīl's four sons, acceded as a minor under the tutelage of his father's powerful vizier, Ibn al-Maḥrūḳ, who was soon in bitter conflict with ^cUthmān b. Abi 'l-^cUlā. Their divisive rivalry ended only with the vizier's assassination on the king's orders in Ramaḍān 729/June 1329.

In 1327 Alfonso XI, now of age, had begun an offensive so encouraging for Castile that Muḥammad IV had applied, successfully, for Marīnid reinforcements. Now fearful of a growth of Maghribī forces in Spain, Castile and Aragon had together with Navarre, Bohemia, England and France planned a huge crusade against Granada. Blighted by Christian disunity, the crusading force had, in spring 1329, left Castile and Aragon to start their own campaign. With no stomach for the fight, Aragon contributed little to it and indeed had to go on the defensive. Fighting alone, Castile won several northern strongholds as well as Teba, west of Antequera (August 1330). Yet again Marīnid aid was sought and gained. Gibraltar was then recovered from Castile. Thereupon Alfonso XI immediately signed a truce (August 1333), as Aragon had done a month before. On his way home from Gibraltar Muḥammad was assassinated on 25 August 1333 by Abū Thābit and Ibrāhīm, sons of ^cUthmān b. Abi 'l-^cUlā, either because of too friendly a relationship with the Marīnid sultan in Fez or too cordial a trucial meeting with Alfonso.

7. Yūsuf I, the younger of two brothers of Muḥammad IV, was proclaimed king by the loyalist Riḍwān, a future Naṣrid minister of consequence. His first official act was to expel, along with all other Banū Abi 'l-^cUlā, Abū Thābit, who, on ^cUthmān's death, had succeeded him as commander of the Maghribī volunteers (*shaykh al-ghuzāt*), and to replace him with a senior Marīnid, Yaḥyā b. ^cUmar b. Raḥḥū.

Early in Yūsuf's reign truces made with Castile gave way to a tripartite peace treaty between Castile, Granada and Fez (1334), and in 1336 Pedro IV of Aragon agreed to extend the term of Alfonso IV's peace with Granada. Neither Alfonso XI of Castile, anxious eventually to close Andalusia's doors on the Marīnids, nor Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Fez, eager to keep them open for Marīnid expansion, had long-term peaceful intentions. Each was developing his fleet, the one with Catalan aid, the other with help from the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*]. Finally, in April 1340 the Muslim ships, in a pre-emptive strike, wrecked the Castilian fleet in the bay of Algeciras. Heady with success, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, accompanied by all his entourage, led a massive army into a siege of Tarifa. The subsequent battle of the Salado (7 Djumādā I 741/30 October 1340) was a Muslim disaster: Alfonso, supported by his brother-in-law, Alfonso IV, the king of Portugal, and using the heavily armoured cavalry charge that Muslim light horse would, in more open terrain, have easily outmanœuvred, smashed through to victory. Fearing repercussions at home, Abu 'l-Ḥasan beat a hasty retreat to Morocco via Algeciras, and Yūsuf fled to Granada. Whereas the Salado rout curbed Marīnid enthusiasm for expansion into Spain, it spurred Alfonso into frontier action which gained for him Alcalá de Benzaide (now Alcalá la Real), Priego and Benamejí. Then, in August 1342 his siege of Algeciras, his major goal, began. Forces from all over Europe, even England, rallied behind him in what was one of the very earliest major operations (predating Crécy, 1346) in which effective use was made of cannon—not by the Castilians, as often thought, but by the Muslims. As the siege dragged on Alfonso faced problems, notably from the withdrawal of foreign contingents and the attitudes of the Genoese on whose ships he depended. But sheer determination sustained him until he could win peace on his own

terms. When at last Granadan troops, plunging into action from nearby Gibraltar, failed to raise the siege, Yūsuf exchanged Algeciras for a 10-year truce (12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 744/27 March 1344), favourable terms for the evacuation of its Marīnid garrison and inhabitants, and tribute to Castile. In 1349 Alfonso broke the truce with an attempt to take Gibraltar, but, like many of his troops, he died of the Black Death (March 1350). His son, Pedro I, gladly reached an accord with Yūsuf, whose subsequent good relations with Castile and a readiness to harbour Marīnid rebel princes gradually soured Granada's friendship with Fez. But Yūsuf's days were numbered: on 1 Shawwāl 755/19 October 1354 a lunatic stabbed him to death in the Great Mosque in Granada. An able ruler and diplomat, trusted by his subjects, Yūsuf had achieved far more than his setbacks would suggest. Through his refusal to put his kingdom's heartlands at risk he had preserved them intact, and under his wing Granada had moved well along the road leading to literary and architectural brilliance.

8. (1). Muḥammad V, Yūsuf's eldest son, began his rule at sixteen under the benign tutelage of his father's wise and able *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*], Riḍwān, in whose service was the gifted young Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. Granada's main objective was a general peace, and Muḥammad, agreeing to pay tribute to Pedro I, soon established good relations with Castile. With Aragon he met with no such rapid success: Pedro IV's initial preference was for warfare on his frontiers. By 1357, however, Granada's diplomatic persistence had led to better relations and the signing of an accord. With Fez, ruled by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān, Granada was also keen to improve relations, and to this end a mission, led by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, was sent to the sultan (755/1354). Little of substance came of the mission, but in 760/1359 on the accession of the latter's brother, Abū Sālim, who, as Marīnid pretender, had found asylum in Granada, a Naṣrid-Marīnid alliance soon followed. By 1385 the accord with Aragon was at an end: Castile and Aragon were at war, and Muḥammad V's special ties with Castile left him little option but to side with Pedro I, much to the chagrin of Pedro IV, whose enemy he now became. In 1359 the Castilian fleet, earlier augmented by three Granadan galleys, was granted port facilities at Malaga, and Muḥammad was just about to move against Aragon on land when he was ousted in a palace revolution (Ramaḍān 760/August 1359) by his half-brother, Ismāʿīl, son of Yūsuf I's widow Maryam, an ambitious *éminence grise*. Aided by her son-in-law Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (to the Christians *el Bermejo*), Ismāʿīl's cousin and brother-in-law, Maryam had the palace stormed by an assault force. Riḍwān was killed, but Muḥammad V, outside the Alhambra at the time, escaped to Guadix and thence to Fez (November 1359) to the safety of Abū Sālim's court.

9. Ismāʿīl II, a weak, unprepossessing man, reigned only a few months. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's dislike of him can have done him no good, but worse came from elsewhere. *El Bermejo* held the reigns of power, and it was he who had Ismāʿīl, along with his brother Ḳays and most of their circle, assassinated (8 Shaʿbān 761/24 June 1360).

10. Muḥammad VI, *el Bermejo*, a man coarse in manners and dress, was no more popular at court than Ismāʿīl had been. Formally aligning himself with Aragon, he discarded tribute to Castile. Accordingly, Pedro I, after defeating the Aragonese at Nájera (1360) and later concluding with them the Treaty of Terrer (May 1361), turned his attention to Muḥammad V, whom he had helped to return from Fez and to set up a government in Marīnid Ronda (763/1361). In alliance the two took the offensive, though with little initial success. A Castilian incursion into the Vega with Muḥammad V in full view failed to gain him Granada. Then, at Guadix in Rabīʿ I 763/January 1362 a Castilian defeat reaped Muḥammad VI a rich harvest of prisoners. But then the tide turned. One fortress after another fell to the alliance, notably Iznájar, and Muḥammad V, after gaining Malaga, soon had Loja, Antequera, Vélez and Alhama in his hands. Muḥammad VI fled Granada in panic and in Djumādā 763/March 1362 foolishly threw himself on the mercy of Pedro I of Castile, who had him done to death at Tablada, not far from Seville, on 2 Radjab 763/25 April 1362.

8. (2). Muḥammad V began his seond reign on 20 Djumādā II 763/16 March 1362. He was to rule uninterruptedly for almost thirty years, during which time deft avoidance of war, wherever possible and expedient, gave Granada the longest stretch of peace in its history. Initial prospects for peace were not bright. In Castile Pedro I was at war with rebels led by his half-brother, Enrique of Trastamara, supported by Pedro IV of Aragon. Loyal to Castile, Muḥammad V sent in cavalry which duly participated in the conquest of Teruel (1363). But success was short-lived, and Pedro had to fall back on his beloved Seville (1364). Then, with mercenary companies recruited in France and led by Bertrand du Guesclin, Enrique penetrated Spain via Catalonia and was proclaimed Enrique II of Castile on 16 March 1366. For Pedro I Granadan support proved no asset: branded a "Moor-lover" and no longer welcome even in Seville, he fled his country. As for Muḥammad, fear of an imminent attack on Almeria and possible invasion of his shores by Christian navies drove him to seek help from North Africa. Despite a positive response from Fez and Tlemcen—the latter with a large input of money, troops and supplies—Christian success on land and sea and Muslim unrest in Almeria made it increasingly clear that peace would be in Granada's best interests. Accordingly Muḥammad switched his allegiance from Pedro I to Enrique II and then went on to conclude a peace treaty with Aragon (Radjab 768/March 1367). Later in 1367 Pedro I returned to Castile, aided by England's Black Prince, and Muḥammad, having reversed his allegiance, joined forces with Castile, sacking Jaén, taking Priego and pillaging Úbeda and Baeza. But, failing to take Cordova in the spring of 1368, he returned to Granada. By the end of March 1369 Pedro I was dead. Enrique II, his conqueror and assassin, was back, but too preoccupied internally to prevent Muḥammad from taking, first, such strategic frontier positions as Cambil, Haver and Rute, and then the prized Algeciras (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 770/July 1369). With no military response from Enrique, Muḥammad, already party, along with Aragon and the Marīnid Maghrib, to a tripartite truce, decided to make peace with him. On 31 May 1370 an eight-year truce was agreed and, in 1375, renewed. From 1370 onwards the diplomatically astute Muḥammad negotiated a series of treaties and agreements of various kinds which gained for Granada a lengthy peace with its Christian neighbours that was only seriously threatened on the death of Enrique II (1379) when hostilities broke out between Granada and Castile. These were short-lived: Enrique's son and successor, Juan I of Castile, at war with England and Portugal, opted for peace with a truce that he renewed in 1390.

Among the various facets of Muḥammad V's

THE NAṢRID KINGDOM OF GRANADA, 1250-1500

Frontier in the late 13th century

Frontier before the final Castilian campaigns, 1484

0 10 20 30 40 50 miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 kilometers

Caravaca
Úbeda
Baeza
Arjona
Cordova
Porcuna
Cazorla
Quesada
Huéscar
R. Guadalquivir
Jaén
Galera
Vélez Blanco
Orce
Lorca
Palma del Río
Martos
Baena
Cambil
Vélez Rubio
Écija
Alcaudete
R. Genil
Alcalá de Ben Zaide
(A. la Real)
Alicún
Baza
Priego
Lucena
Huércal Overa
Seville
Rute
Colomera
Puente Genil
Benamejí
Purchena
Moclín
Guádix
Illora
Granada
Mojácar
Loja
Salar
LA VEGA
Morón de la
Frontera
Archidona
SIERRA NEVADA
Antequera
Teba
Alhama
Zahara
Comares
Lanjarón
Almería
Las Alpujarras
Velez Málaga
Adra
Cartama
Ronda
Nerja
Salobreña
Coín
Málaga
Almuñecar
Mijas
Marbella
Alcalá de los
Gazules
Medina
Sidonia
Estepona
Vejer
Gibraltar
Algeciras
Tarifa

F. D. 1992 (after L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain)

policy for Granada two are specially noteworthy: first, his dismantling of Algeciras's massive defences; second, his introduction, in 1372, of direct Naṣrid command of the Maghribī *ghuzāt*, until then always commanded by a royal Marīnid. Both measures were aimed at assertion of his independence of Fez—over which in fact he was soon to gain something of a political upper hand—but the first may also be seen as a move, in Granada's best interests, to make the Straits a less attractive international battleground (see Harvey, 216-17). It remained only to recover Gibraltar from the Marīnids, and this goal was achieved in 1374. Among those necessarily prominent on the Naṣrid-Marīnid stage was the renowned Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's chief minister, who, being pro-Marīnid, gradually came to fear for his safety and fled his country in 773/1371-2, eventually finding asylum in Fās. There, through the machinations of his successor and former protégé, Ibn Zamrak [*q.v.*], he was tried for heresy by a Granadan tribunal and later murdered in prison (776/1375).

When Muḥammad V died on 10 Ṣafar 793/16 January 1391, he was at the height of his power. For Granada he had achieved relative stability, which had enabled it to prosper. Under him art and literature flourished, and it is to him that we owe much of what we admire in the Alhambra today.

11. Yūsuf II, Muḥammad V's eldest son, was at first dominated by his father's freedman-minister Khālid, who had the ruler's brothers Saᶜd, Muḥammad and Naṣr imprisoned and executed. Ibn Zamrak was imprisoned in Almeria. On being told that Khālid was to imprison him Yūsuf had him slaughtered in his presence. Externally the Christian kingdoms were no threat, but Yūsuf, who died on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 794/3 October 1392, had opened the door to internal instability.

12. Muḥammad VII, Yūsuf II's younger son, owed his throne to a palace plot to which he was a party, the elder son, Yūsuf, being consigned to prison in Salobreña. Ibn Zamrak, whom Yūsuf II had restored to office, was soon dismissed and, in the summer of 1393, dispatched. For events in the reign of Muḥammad VII and his successors, Muslim testimony, without the detailed and often controlling witness of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], is relatively sparse, and the best has to be made of the evidence of sources that are largely Christian, shedding little or no light on Muslim motives for Granadan actions.

The need to avoid war, felt by Muḥammad V, was certainly not felt by his grandson. Thinking to profit from strife at the court of Enrique III of Castile (1390-1406), he began his reign with a not wholly successful raid on Caravaca in the region of Lorca (1392), thereby opening an era of frontier warfare. Though mainly aimed at seizing cattle and harvests, raids from both sides, inspiring with their heroics the famous courtly Castilian border ballads (*romances fronterizos*), became the order of the day. In April 1394 a populist crusade against Granada, led by one Martín Yáñez de la Barbuda, ended in disaster with consequences that could have been grave had Enrique not had other problems and Muḥammad not agreed to keep the peace. But Muḥammad's word could not be his bond; many of his frontiersmen acted on impulse, and the raids went on. By 1404 a stronger Enrique was eager to move against Granada in concert with Aragon, which did not, however, share his enthusiasm. In 1405 Muḥammad made the first move, which, though a débâcle on the eastern front, won him, much to Castile's dismay, Ayamonte, near Ronda in the west. Only after long negotiations, which Castile saw as a device to enable Granada to prepare for further action, was a truce agreed. The action, when it came, was aimed at Quesada and Jaén. The Castilian massacre that followed at the battle of Collejares (October 1406) stung Enrique into adopting a policy designed to gain popular support and sound financial backing for a campaign against Granada. That policy did not end, as it might once have done, with his death in December 1406: it was taken up by his brother Fernando and his widow Katherine of Lancaster, regents for the infant Juan II. Voted money by the Cortes, the regents moved swiftly into action late in 1407. There was to be no quick and easy victory for either side, and a truce negotiated in April 1408 afforded both sides a welcome respite. In May Muḥammad died. Already a deterioration in Granada's position vis-à-vis Castile was becoming predictable. As Granada's military capacity, no longer underpinned by an organised Maghribī component, faced decline, that of Castile gained ground with a growth of manpower after recovery from the ravages of the Black Death. Combined with increasing strength and advancing superiority in the use and deployment of artillery, the example of Fernando's pertinacity and disinclination for compromise augured ill for Granada's future.

13. Yūsuf III, long his younger brother's prisoner in Salobreña, sought and won from Castile a truce, which, when extended, ran till 1 April 1410. Only four days later Zahara, a stronghold won by Fernando in 1407, was attacked by Granada and sacked. Bent on revenge, Fernando decided to drive into the Muslim heartland to try to win for himself not a mere fortress but Antequera, a populous town set in a highly fertile agricultural region. The town came under heavy siege, and Muslim efforts to negotiate a peace came to nothing. In arguments over vassalage and tribute, which Granada had not paid since the 1370s, neither side would yield. Thus a bitter struggle between besiegers and besieged went on, ending only when a means of access had been gained in a surprise attack by a Castilian assault force on 16 September 1410. Yūsuf decided to sue for peace, and on 10 November a truce was finally signed. Fernando's victory, which earned him the honorific *el de Antequera* ("he of Antequera"), came as a severe blow to Granada. Others may well have followed in due course had not Fernando, on becoming king of Aragon in 1412, had new preoccupations. For the Naṣrids the truce of 1410 opened a relatively long period of comparative peace between Granada and her neighbours that was to last till 1428. Yūsuf died on 9 November 1417, the year after the death of his old enemy, Fernando, and the year before that of the regent Katherine of Lancaster, to whom Granada had been making gifts in place of tribute.

C. The Naṣrid kingdom from 810/1417 to its fall in 897/1492. The history of this period is such a tangle that only skeletal treatment of it can be attempted here. Fortunately, not too much need be told of the sad story of Granada as a house divided against itself since a fair picture of its internal history, which from 1419 is clearly inseparable from that of the politically powerful and ruthlessly ambitious Banu 'l-Sarrādj (best known to Europe as the "Abencerrajes", "Abencérages", etc.) may be gained from the article IBN AL-SARRĀDJ [*q.v.* in Supplement]. In 1419 Muḥammad VIII, Yūsuf III's eight-year old son and successor, was ousted by the Sarrādj candidate, Muḥammad IX, who in 1427 had to flee the country through Granadan fury at his failure to secure the

extension of a truce with Castile. With the aid of the anti-Sarrādj leader, Riḍwān Bannigash (Banegas/ Venegas), Muḥammad VIII returned, but late in 1429 dissatisfaction with his handling of Castile led to Muḥammad IX's return. The second of the latter's four reigns was short: in 1431, after a show of force at the so-called battle of La Higueruela, Castile imposed on Granada, at Riḍwān's suggestion, Yūsuf IV, a short-lived puppet with no real support. In 1432 Muḥammad IX returned for his third and longest reign, which was interrupted by the confused reigns of Muḥammad X (1445 and 1446-7) and Yūsuf V (1445-6). His fourth and last reign he chose, in an attempt to end internal strife, to share with Muḥammad XI (1451-3), son of Muḥammad VIII, whom he had had executed in 1431. Granada's loss from the Naṣrids' feuds was a source of gain for Castile which it readily exploited if able to do so and if free from internal divisions or clashes with Aragon. Juan II of Castile (d. 1454) was not, nor could have been, a Fernando "of Antequera", but he was a big thorn in Granada's side, bent on trying, by whatever means, to keep the Naṣrids divided; to avoid long truces if possible; to subject Granada to fealty and tribute and so deny it its cherished hope of peace with independence; to use whatever military capacity he had to erode the frontier through piecemeal conquest of Granada's bastions and to demoralise townsmen and villagers within the kingdom through operations aimed at reducing to wasteland the carefully cultivated, but highly vulnerable, countryside that richly sustained them. During the 1430s Granada did win some victories, but the very size and increasing strength of Castile was beginning to tell and might well have prevailed but for an internal crisis in 1439 which gained for Granada a three-year truce. A divided Castile emboldened the Naṣrids, and the 1440s were militarily successful years for them. In 1447 they recovered most of what they had lost to Fernando "of Antequera" in the east. In 1449 they even devastated Cieza, north-west of Murcia, while in the west their raiders almost got as far as Seville. That same year Juan II, finding Navarre allied with Granada, sought a truce, which Muḥammad IX granted so that he could deal with Yūsuf V, then ensconced in Malaga. By 1451 Granada was planning a full-scale invasion of the kingdom of Murcia. In 1450 it had actively aligned itself with the Murcian rebel Alonso Fajardo, who was later, as the danger of invasion loomed, to sink his differences with his many Christian enemies. All closed ranks and in 1452 inflicted a heavy defeat on advancing Granadans at the battle of Alporchones, not far from Lorca.

On the death of Muḥammad IX, Castile was too preoccupied with internal crises to secure the succession of its preferred candidate, Yūsuf V, and Muḥammad XI might have succeeded him without more ado but for the Banu 'l-Sarrādj and Juan II's successor, Enrique IV, who together backed Yūsuf III's middle-aged nephew Saʿd (1453-64). From Archidona Saʿd ruled an area westward towards Ronda, while from the Alhambra Muḥammad XI ruled Granada, Malaga and Almeria until too costly a truce with Castile lost him Granada and his throne to Saʿd in 1455. After capture by Saʿd's son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, Muḥammad met his death in the Alhambra along with all his heirs. As ruler of Granada Saʿd rejected Castile's demands for subordinate, tributary status. Ensuing hostilities ran a now familiar course: raids, truces, battles lost and won on either side in the ebb and flow of a war largely governed by the state of the parties' internal stability. By the end of 1462 Granada, however, had little cause to rejoice: in July Saʿd, in a sudden break with the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, had had two of the most eminent members of the family murdered in the Alhambra but had not prevented others from fleeing to Malaga, where they declared allegiance to Yūsuf V; in August a weak and betrayed Gibraltar had surrendered to the feuding Castilian leaders of the Medina Sidonia (Guzmán) and the Cadiz (Ponce de León) factions; in September Archidona had fallen; by November Yūsuf V had occupied Malaga and Saʿd's lands to the west and then Granada itself. Saʿd's subsequent recovery of his capital and the death of Yūsuf V late in 1463 availed him little: in August 1464 his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, in concert with the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, overthrew him and had him imprisoned.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan began his reign by strengthening Granada's economy and military capacity, and in 1470 he was well able to suppress a rising by his brother, Muḥammad, in Malaga and to extirpate its prime movers, the Banu 'l-Sarrādj, some of whom escaped death only by fleeing to Castilian protectors. Yet, nothing that Abu 'l-Ḥasan did or did not do could do more than defer the fall of the Granadan kingdom, which in fact owed its survival for a little over twenty years longer as much to Castile's own problems during the 1470s as to Granada's tenacity and sporadic heroic stands. For Granada's long-term future the events of 1479 boded ill: on Juan II's death the crown of Aragon passed to Fernando (V), husband of Isabel of Castile, whose throne, contested since her accession late in 1474, then came to rest on more secure foundations with the Treaty of Alcáçobas (4 September 1479), which ended civil war in Castile, ratified its peace with Portugal and brought about the pacification of the Extremadura. Fernando and Isabel, "the Catholic Monarchs" could now focus attention on Granada and the Reconquest.

In February 1482 the taking of the supposedly impregnable Alhama, commanding the main route from Granada to Malaga and Ronda, was the first major step on the road to final Christian victory. Abu 'l-Ḥasan's valiant efforts to recover it between February and July failed, but in mid-July his rout of forces before Loja dashed any Castilian hopes of an easy passage. At this point, however, he fell prey to a palace plot, hatched by the leader of the Banu 'l-Sarrādj faction and the powerful Yūsuf Ibn Kumāsha (Abencomixa), to replace him with his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Boabdil, i.e. Muḥammad XII). Unable to regain Granada, he left with his brother Muḥammad b. Saʿd (M. al-Zaghal) for Malaga, which he made his capital. The kingdom was now divided around Granada and Almeria in the east and Ronda and Malaga in the west. In March 1483 Castilian invaders were soundly beaten in an area east of Malaga. Prompted perhaps by his father's triumph, Boabdil rashly struck at Lucena deep in Castile. In the ensuing retreat he lost first-class officers, and he himself was captured. He thus enabled Abu 'l-Ḥasan to return to Granada. There, for some, the latter ruled as lawful king, for others not, and, when physically incapacitated by a stroke early in 1485, he was replaced by Muḥammad al-Zaghal and taken to Almuñecar, where he died. Al-Zaghal could be described as Muḥammad XIII, for he had made himself king in succession to his brother (*Nubdha* (see *Bibl.*), 13: *istawlā ʿalā 'l-mulk baʿdahu*), and in October 1483 most of the Granadan *fukahā*ʾ had, by *fatwā*, denied Boabdil's right to the throne. Moreover, in 1486 Boabdil himself did acknowledge him, however insincerely or temporarily, as king. Be that as it may, for their own reasons, Boabdil was the Catholic

Genealogical Table of the Naṣrids
(Dates in parentheses are those of reigns)

- Naṣr
  - Muḥammad
  - Yūsuf
    - Ismāʿīl
      - Muḥammad
        - Ismāʿīl
          - Faradj
          - ʿAlī
          - Muḥammad
      - Abū Saʿīd Faradj
        - Muḥammad
          - Ismāʿīl
            - Muḥammad VI (*el Bermejo*) (1360-2)
              - Daughter-Ibn al-Mawl (*Abenalmao*)
                - Yūsuf IV (January 1431-April 1432)
          - Muḥammad
          - Faradj
          - Yūsuf
        - Ismāʿīl I (1314-25)
          - Yūsuf I (1333-54)
            - Ḳays
            - Ismāʿīl II (1359-60)
            - Muḥammad V (1354-9/1362-91)
              - Yūsuf II (1391-2)
                - ʿAlī
                  - Saʿd (*Ciriza*) (1454-62/ (1462-4)
                    - Muḥammad XIII (?) b. Saʿd (*al-Zaghal*) (see article)
                    - Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (*Muley Hacén*) (1464-82/1482-5)
                      - Muḥammad XII (*Boabdil*) (1482/1486-92)
                - Yūsuf III (1408-17)
                  - Muḥammad VIII (*al-Ṣaghīr/el Pequeño*) (1417-19/ 1427-9)
                    - Muḥammad XI (*el Chiquito*) (1451-2/1453-4)
                - Aḥmad
                  - Yūsuf V (*Aben Ismael*) (1445-6/ Sept.-Dec. 1462)
                - Muḥammad VII (1392-1408)
              - Naṣr
                - Muḥammad IX (*al-Aysar/el Zurdo*) (1419-27/ 1430-1/ 1432-45/ 1447- 1453/4)
                - ʿUthmān
                  - Muḥammad X (*al-Aḥnaf/el Cojo*) (Jan.-June 1445/1446-7)
          - Ismāʿīl
          - Faradj
          - Muḥammad IV (1325-33)
    - Yūsuf
      - Muḥammad
        - Yūsuf
          - Muḥammad
    - Faradj
    - Muḥammad (1237-73)
      - Naṣr
      - Muḥammad II (1273-1302)
        - Naṣr (1309-14/ 1314-22)
        - Muḥammad III (1302-9)
        - Faradj
      - Yūsuf
      - Faradj

After R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*

Monarchs' king, and he it was who formally surrendered Granada to them on 2 January 1492. By that time the kingdom of Granada had become but a shadow of its former self. One town after another, large and small had fallen, sometimes not so easily, into Christian hands, e.g. Coín, Cártama, Ronda, Marbella (1485): Loja, Salar, Illora, Moclín, Colomera, Montefrío (1486); Vélez-Málaga, Malaga—hard won (1487); Vera (1488); Baza, Purchena, Almería, Almuñecar, Salobreña, Guadix (1489). After surrendering Almeria and Guadix in return for a tiny semi-autonomous principality in the Alpujarras, al-Zaghal had sold all his lands in 1490 and sailed for Oran in the Maghrib. Under the Capitulations of Granada, Boabdil had rights as a Mudéjar [*q.v.*], and, having left his old capital for his country estates, stayed on a while before leaving for the Maghrib. In 949/1533-4 he died and was buried in Fez, where in 1027/1617-18 his descendants were to be found living in penury.

The last decade of Naṣrid rule is so involved and in some respects enigmatic that it is not covered here in any detail. The main causes of its extinction, however, may be adumbrated. To begin with, the Catholic Monarchs' ability to tackle the problem of internal dissension and to find judicious ways of uniting most of their subjects in pursuit of a common cause was not matched by the Naṣrids, who failed abjectly to resolve family quarrels and to shed factional strife. Even outside palace circles, a wholly united front could not be guaranteed since the interests of, for instance, merchants, traders, cultivators and the influential *fuḳahāʾ* did not always coincide. But most damaging of all was the split between Boabdil and al-Zaghal, which in 1486 made Granada itself the scene of bloody, bitter fighting. Of the two, Boabdil was the more valuable to Castile, for, though a vacillator, he was a more ready collaborator. Al-Zaghal was by far the better soldier, the more successful leader and the staunch defender of Islam's interests until—perhaps despairing of Boabdil—he gave up and left the latter to his own devices. Politically and otherwise, Castile exploited all perceptible divisions within the Naṣrid camp. Militarily, it moved gradually into a position of superiority through its ability to keep an army in the field and to deploy its artillery with increasing efficiency. It also ensured, as far as possible, that its forces continued the war of

attrition aimed at undermining the economy and morale of the enemy by systematic devastation of *extra muros* cultivated land. Heroism, of which the last years of Naṣrid rule witnessed some striking examples was no substitute for military reinforcements of the kind that the Maghrib had so effectively supplied in time past, but could no longer supply because of its own decadence and weakness. When, in response to an appeal for aid in 1487, Mamlūk Egypt—no naval match for Christian Spain—had nothing more to offer than diplomatic intervention and goodwill, it was only a matter of time before the Naṣrid kingdom fell.

Bibliography: The indispensable standard work, covering not only political history, but also institutions and social, economic, cultural and other aspects of life under the Naṣrids is R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492). Réimpression suivie d'une postface et d'une mise à jour par l'auteur*, Paris 1990, which adds 49 pp. to the 1973 impression (see my review, *JSS*, xx [1975], 278-81), containing a complementary bibliography, addenda and errata; L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500*, Chicago and London, 1990, dealing with Mudéjar [*q.v.*] as well as Naṣrid history, offers some new insights into the latter (though in the matter of dates it should be used with caution). Between them the very full bibliographies of Arié and Harvey offer comprehensive coverage of the essential primary and secondary sources, etc. From the end of the 8th/14th century the only Arabic account we have to control the Castilian chronicles' version of Naṣrid history is *K. Nubdhat al-ʿaṣr*, etc. (anon.) ed. Bustānī, *Fragmento de la época*, etc. (tr. C. Quirós) (see Arié, 14; Harvey, 355), covering the period 882-97/1477-92 (and, laconically, to the end of the century). The entry in *EI²*, Supplement, 398 f., cited as relevant to the Banu'l-Sarrādj, calls for two comments: (1) In *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, ii, Madrid 1989, 173-5, A. Labarta cogently argues that the "Zegríes" (399b) derive their name *not* from *thaghrī*, as long thought, but from the name "Zakrī"; (2) it was Muḥammad XI, *not* Muḥammad IX, who was murdered as described (*ibid.*, last para.). (J.D. LATHAM)

2. Art and architecture.

Naṣrid architecture may be considered under four periods, reaching its apogee in the 14th century: (1) a first period, under Muḥammad I-III and Naṣr (1232-1314) inherited and adapted Almohad artistic forms; (2) under Ismāʿīl, Muḥammad IV and Yūsuf (1314-54) classically monumental architecture was created; (3) under Muḥammad V and the intrusive rulers of his reign (1354-91) decoration reached its optimum richness in complex architecture with ingenious ground plans, elevations and perspectives; and (4) under Muḥammad VII and Yūsuf III (1392-1417) there was only a brief flowering of decoration. Thereafter, internal dynastic quarrels caused a decline.

Military architecture. This inherited Almohad features in its enclosures, *ḳaṣabas*, *ḥiṣns* and *ḳalahurras* or towers with luxurious residences. Work began in 1238 when Muḥammad I "went up to the place called al-Ḥamrāʾ, inspected it, marked out the foundations and left someone to direct the work" (for a detailed consideration of the Alhambra, see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B). Characteristics of this military architecture are: (1) a progressive accumulation of walls and towers in defended precincts; (2) monumental towers with vaulted chambers on various levels, with the largest tower in an angle of the fortress (Alhambra: Vela Tower; Granada: Ḥiṣn al-Tawwābīn; Gibraltar: *al-ḳalahurra*; Malaga and Antequera *ḳaṣabas*: Homage tower). The gates have straight or bent interior passages, leaving the attacker exposed (cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, I, v, 2); the internal bend (*bāshūra*) is single in the first period but simple, double or triple in the second one. Precincts of the second and third periods have external (*barrāniyya*) towers, linked to the walls by an arch (Antequera; Malaga; Gibralfaro), and a lower defensive wall (called in al-Andalus *sulūḳiyya*) encircles some walls (Granada: Bāb Ilbīra; Malaga; Gibralfaro). See also ḤIṢN. I. The Muslim West.

Of *ḳalahurras* (so-called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and in the poetry of Ibn al-Djayyāb and Ibn Zamrak), the largest in al-Andalus was built at Gibraltar (between 1333 and 1349) by the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. This impressed Yūsuf I, who erected his own *al-ḳalahurra al-djadīda* in the Alhambra. *Ḳaṣabas* might have an inner precinct enveloped by an outer one (Malaga) or connected to an outer one by towers (Granada), or a main precinct reached by crossing others that do not envelop it (Almeria; Gibraltar). The Malaga one adapted the 11th century fortress and has a complex entrance between walls, towers and gates, leading into the first outer precinct. Within the *ḳaṣabas* of Malaga and Almeria were military quarters with *ḥammāms*, wells and prisons/silos; important *ḳaṣabas* had palaces for the sovereign (Almeria, Malaga, Guadix). Towers (*ṭāliʿa*) on hills and vantage points reported the movements of enemy troops by land or sea.

Religious architecture. Remains of this are few. First period ones show Almohad features: concrete and brick walls, arcades on brick pillars, and pointed horseshoe arches. Of the Alhambra mosques of Muḥammad III and Ismāʿīl I, only the ground plans remain. The three Alhambra oratories of the second and third periods have rectangular ground plans. Yūsuf I inaugurated the *madrasa* of Granada, whose portico entrance was similar to the *funduḳ al-djadīda* (see below), with a courtyard of Marīnid type and with a highly-restored oratory having a square plan ascending to an octagonal lantern. The only surviving *rābiṭa* (the hermitage of St. Sebastian) by the river Genil, has a square plan, a vault of crossed arches leaving the centre free and a covering roof.

Civic architecture. Muḥammad II built the arsenal of Malaga, which Muḥammad V enlarged. The only remaining Naṣrid *funduḳ*, al-Djadīda, is Yūsuf I's Corral del Carbón, with a square plan, central courtyard and three storeys with galleries on pillars leading to the guest rooms; its projecting *īwān* entrance shows clear oriental Islamic influence. The Granada *māristān* or hospital was built by Muḥammad V in 1365-7 after successful military campaigns and partially survives on its southern and eastern sides; it was structurally similar to the *funduḳ* and had a central pool with two large seated lions as water-spouts (now re-sited in the Alhambra). Naṣrid houses varied with social class. The excavated military and artisan quarters of the Alhambra and the Malaga *ḳaṣaba* show small, irregular houses with bent entrances, neighbouring latrines and stables, and a courtyard giving on to the rooms. More luxurious houses had two storeys, as in the Casa de los Girones (Granada), with its richly painted stucco decoration. The numerous Naṣrid *ḥammāms* have lost their access and *bayt al-maslakh* and it is mainly the steam rooms and furnaces which survive (Granada; Baza; Ronda; Gibraltar; Alhama).

Palace architecture. This mainly survives in the Alhambra and Granada, such as Muḥammad III's Partal palace, Yūsuf I's *ḳalahurra djadīda* (Cautiva) in

the Alhambra and his reconstruction of the Comares palace in 1350, completed by Muḥammad V; the latter ruler's Riyāḍ or Lions palace; etc. On these, see GHARNĀṬA. Monuments. B.

Gardens. The Generalife, the ruler's country pleasure palace, with lands, cattle and orchards, preserves the only Naṣrid gardens, containing inter alia the interior sunny patio of the Acequia and the shaded garden of the Water Stairs, offering shade at differing levels.

Decoration and aesthetics. The *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ or chancery also directed architecture and decoration, and four of its poet-viziers who have left beautiful epigraphed poems and Ḳurʾānic texts on the palace walls are known to us: Ibn al-Djayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Ibn Zamrak [*q.v.*] and Ibn Furkūn (whose epigraphed texts are lost). Naṣrid Kūfic writing evolved its own geometric compositions, often combined with floral-geometric designs. Coloured ceramic tiling was used for large geometric compositions, and colouring was an essential element in Naṣrid decoration and architecture, often employing red, blue and green with a white, silver or gold foreground.

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(A. FERNÁNDEZ-PUERTAS)

NAṢṢ (A.), a religio-legal term. The meaning of the root appears to be "to raise", especially "to elevate a thing so that it is visible to all". The word does not occur with this sense in either Ḳurʾān or *Ḥadīth*, but it may be etymologically connected with *naṣaba*. In the technical vocabulary of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the term refers to a text whose presence in either Ḳurʾān or Ḥadīth must be demonstrated to justify an alleged ruling. In his *Risāla*, al-Shāfiʿī uses it to refer to rulings textually referred to in either Ḳurʾān or *Sunna*, (81, 83, 88, 138, 149, 158-9, 166, 173), although he appears also on occasion to use the term of an explicit Ḳurʾān statement (91, 106) to contrast it with *djumla*, i.e. a general Ḳurʾān statement made more specific only by a *ḥadīth* which supplies a more precise definition. Similarly, the usage referred to in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, "the *naṣṣ* of the Ḳurʾān or of the Sunna," means the ruling which the *ẓāhir* [*q.v.*], or the words actually present in the text of the Ḳurʾān or the Sunna actually indicate, i.e. without resort to further interpretation. Possibly connected with the basic meaning is the other usage, the *naṣṣ*, or "raising" (*rafʿ*) of a *ḥadīth*, that is, its attribution to its originator, not necessarily the Prophet. To be noted also is the labelling of the Shīʿī principle that the Prophet had designated ʿAlī to be his successor as *naṣṣ wa-taʿyīn*.

Other meanings of the term are supplied by Lane, Dozy and the Arabic dictionaries.

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(A.J. WENSINCK-[J. BURTON])

AL-**NASSĀDJ** (A.) "weaver, textile worker", synonymous with *ḥāʾik*, and including sedentary weavers of the towns and villages and also those of the pastoralists and Bedouins. These were usually freemen, but sometimes slaves. *Nassādj* was a less derogatory term than *ḥāʾik* but on the whole the status of the weaver was low in Islamic society, an attitude crystallised in a saying attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, "Walking with a weaver (*nassādj*) on the road increases a man's livelihood; talking to him is inauspicious, and visiting his workshop stupefies a person" (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā*ʾ, Beirut 1961, ii, 459-60). This low status was associated with a relatively meagre income and was affirmed by *kafāʾa* "equivalence in status" [*q.v.*], denying the weaver the right to marry outside his own social level. Hence social mobility was low within this trade, a fact observable till the mid-20th century in a traditionally-organised centre of production like Fās in Morocco (see H.M. Miner. *Traditional mobility among the weavers of Fez*, in *Trans. of the Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, cxvii/1 [1973], 17-36).

We find *al-Nassādj* often used as a *nisba* [*q.v.*]. Al-Samʿānī (*Ansāb*, facs. fol. 559a-b, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 81-4) cites several traditionists and Ṣūfīs with this affiliation, including Abū Hamza Mudjammaʿ al-Taymī of Kūfa, Abū Muḥammad of Baṣra, a *mawlā* of Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. *ca.* 120/738), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khayr b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as Khayr al-Nassādj (d. 322/934), famed Ṣūfī with a *ḥalḳa* in Baghdād, etc. It is, indeed, not improbable that there was a connection between their status as craftsmen and Ṣūfism.

The weaver's product was usually exempt from taxation (*ḍarāʾib, mukūs*). When the Būyid *amīrs* of Baghdād imposed taxes on silken cloth (*ḥarīr* [*q.v.*], *ibrism*) and on fine cotton cloth of the *ʿattābī* variety, artisan riots against them led to their abolition in 390/999. In the 6th/12th century the Saldjūḳs imposed some *mukūs* on textiles.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

NASSADS, the common European form of the name given to the light wooden warships built in Nassau or Hohenau (Lower Austria), the "Nassauer" or "Hohenauer", Magyar *naszád*, pl. *naszádok*, Slav. *nasad*, which were used on the Danube. They were usually manned by Serbian seamen who were called *martalos* [*q.v.*] (from the Magyar *martolóc, martalóz*, lit. "robber"). According to a Florentine account, this Danube flotilla in 1475 consisted of 330 ships manned by 10,000 "nassadists" armed with lances, shields, crossbow or bow and arrow, more

rarely with muskets. The larger ships had also cannon. About 1522 the commander of the Danube fleet was Radić Božić, who reorganised it at Peterwardein (cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, ii/1, 258). Through want of money, the Serbian seamen then deserted to the Turks (*ibid.*, 262), who after the fall of Belgrade seized the Danube fleet and developed it into a powerful arm. About 1530 the Danube fleet consisted of 800 nassads and was commanded by the voivode Ḳāsim (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 85).

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(F. Babinger)

NASSER [see ʿabd al-nāṣir, in Suppl.].

NASTAʿLĪḲ [see khaṭṭ].

NASṬŪRIYYŪN, Nasāṭira (a.), sing. Nasṭūrī, the Nestorian Christians. The term derives from Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, whose Christological doctrine was condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431. But the reasons for the separation of East Syrian Christianity ("Nestorianism") from the Byzantine Church and the West Syrian patriarchate of Antioch were political (the conflict between the Roman and the Persian empires) rather than doctrinal. The term "Nestorians" is also usually rejected (especially in modern times) by the East Syrians themselves. In this article the traditional designation will be used for the sake of convenience.

Already a council in Seleucia-Ctesiphon [see al-madāʾin] in 410 defined the organisation of the independent East Syrian Church in six metropolitan provinces, under the supremacy of the catholicos residing in the capital of the Sāsānid empire: 1. Babylon = Bēth Armāyē (centre: Seleucia-Ctesiphon, with the bishop of Kashkar as acting catholicos in times of vacancy); 2. Susiana = Bēth Hūzāyē (centre: Bēth Lāphaṭ = Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*]); 3. Northern Mesopotamia = Bēth ʿArbhāyē (centre: Nisibis); 4. Mesene = Mayshān (centre: Perāth de-Mayshān = Baṣra [*q.v.*]); 5. Adiabene = Ḥedhayyābh (centre: Arbīl); 6. Garmaea = Bēth Garmay (centre: Karkhā de-Bēth Selōkh = Kirkūk [*q.v.*]). The number of metropolitan provinces was subsequently increased: 7. Persis (5th cent.) and 8. Marw (6th cent.).

From Marw, Nestorian missionary monks followed the trade routes to Central Asia and China, where additional ecclesiastical centres were established. Evidence of one of the most remarkable missionary enterprises in history is found on a marble pillar erected in Shianfu in the Chinese province of Shensi in 781. The bilingual Chinese-Syriac inscription relates the arrival of the first Syriac missionary Alopen in 635. Three years later the Chinese emperor—according to the stele—invited his subjects to embrace the new religion and ensured the free propagation of Christianity in his empire. The heyday of Nestorianism in China lasted two centuries. By about 1200 Chinese Nestorianism seems to have vanished. From an early date there were also East Syrian communities in India—especially along the Malabar Coast, which was connected with Western Asia by maritime trade routes.

Along the trade routes to India Nestorian traders and missionaries had also settled among the Arabs in the Persian Gulf (e.g. Ḳaṭar and al-Baḥrayn), and in South Arabia (e.g. Nadjrān, Ṣanʿāʾ and Mārib). Though the early history of South Arabian Christianity—due to political reasons—was primarily influenced by Byzantine missionary activity and competing Monophysitism, the Persian conquest in 597 brought about a Nestorian dominance. North of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arab population in the buffer state of the Lakhmid [*q.v.*] kingdom—with al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] as its capital—had belonged to the East Syrian (Nestorian) Church for centuries. But it was only their last king, al-Nuʿmān III (580-602 [*q.v.*]), who was officially baptised into the Nestorian Church.

Comparatively tolerated by the Sāsānid emperors, the Christians were from time to time subjected to severe persecutions, e.g. under Shāpūr II (309-79), Yazdagird I (399-420) and Bahrām V (420-38). The vacancy in the office of the catholicos 608-28 was the consequence of a persecution initiated by Khusraw II (591-628). Initially, therefore, the Nestorians in Mesopotamia seem to have welcomed the Arab conquerors as liberators from Sāsānid persecutions. In addition, the new Islamic religion was in principle tolerant towards Christians (including Nestorians) as members of the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb* [*q.v.*]). Muḥammad himself is supposed to have signed a treaty with Sayyid, king of Nadjrān, and Abu 'l-Ḥārith, Nestorian bishop of Nadjrān. This treaty guaranteed the Christians a protected status [see ahl al-dhimma] in return for the payment of the *djizya* [*q.v.*], from which priests and monks were to be exempted. It is the first of a series of similar treaties regulating the relations between Christians and their Muslim rulers. The most famous of these covenants is attributed to the second caliph ʿUmar ("the covenant of ʿUmar", *ʿahd ʿUmar*). Often such treaties are unhistoric documents of more recent date, legitimising certain rights or restrictions. It is clear, though, that the Prophet himself had a positive attitude towards Nestorians. In his religious views he was strongly influenced by the Nestorian missionaries he met in Yemen and on the trade route between Yemen and ʿIrāḳ (cf. T. Andrae). One of these Nestorians was Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*] of Nadjrān whom Muḥammad is supposed to have heard preaching in ʿUkāẓ.

Though the relationship between the Arab-Muslim invaders of ʿIrāḳ and the Nestorian inhabitants was mutually positive at first, conversions to Islam (already the catholicos Īshūʿyāb III [649-59] found it difficult to prevent the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf from adopting Islam) and political pressure on the Nestorians weakened the Nestorian Church and caused internal dissension. While the Umayyads in Syria encouraged the appointment of Christian (usually Melkite) officials and therefore treated the Christians well, provocations caused trouble in Mesopotamia. The ambitious governor al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (in ʿIrāḳ 75-95/694-714) interfered in the internal affairs of the Nestorian Church and encouraged rivalry within the hierarchy. Such rivalry continued even later on during the ʿAbbāsid period, and occasionally gave rise to double appointments of bishops by rival catholicoi. No doubt dissension within the Church was a contributory cause of the increasing number of conversions to Islam. Another cause was the persecutions which broke out from time to time. Especially under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] (170-93/786-809) and al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] (232-47/847-61) were the restrictions imposed on the Christians, according to the covenant of ʿUmar, rigidly applied.

In between periods of persecution, and especially

after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in 132/750, relations between the catholicate and the caliph's court were close. Before the end of the 8th century the catholicoi had moved their centre from Seleucia-Ctesiphon to Baghdād. Many Church leaders, such as the catholicos Timothy I (780-823), were highly thought of in the caliphal court. As a result, the Nestorian catholicos became the official representative of all the Christians within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. During the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Nestorian government officials played an important part in the ʿAbbāsid administration. The employment of Christian secretaries [see KĀTIB], especially in Syria, had been widespread during the first Islamic century, the conquerors having initially left the pre-Islamic systems of administration intact. But even after the Arabisation of these earlier administrative systems Christian clerks were widely employed not only in Syria and Egypt but also in ʿIrāḳ—at least after the ʿAbbāsid revolution. In ʿIrāḳ there were Nestorian monasteries [see DAYR] which provided the ʿAbbāsid empire with competent officials. Some of these officials attained high positions and could even be appointed viziers, in which case they normally had to convert to Islam. The most famous of these ʿIrāḳī monasteries was Dayr Ḳunnā [*q.v.*] with the school of Mar Mārī. Here, such successful viziers as ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (245-334/859-946 [*q.v.*]) of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ family began their careers. Here, too, future Nestorian catholicoi like Israel (960-2) and Īshūʿyāb b. Ḥizḳiyāl (1020-5) were teachers. As a member of the teaching staff at Dayr Ḳunnā the famous Nestorian logician Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 940), one of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī's (d. 974) teachers, may be mentioned too.

One of the reasons why relations between the Nestorian Church and the Muslim rulers were often so good may be the outstanding rôle which the Nestorians played in the field of medicine, science and philosophy. There were famous Nestorian schools of learning in Edessa, Nisibis and Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Many Greek philosophical and medical works by Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], and his commentators, and by Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], Hippocrates [see BUḲRĀṬ], Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], etc., were soon translated into Syriac. Further to the east, Gondēshāpūr was famous especially as a medical centre. The Nestorian Bukhtīshūʿ [*q.v.*] family produced prominent physicians for generations. They provided the leadership at the medical school at Gondēshāpūr and served as court physicians to the caliph in Baghdād from 148/765. While the early translations from Greek into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic were of a literal type, the translations produced by the school of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (d. 873)—leader of the academy or *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] founded in Baghdād by the caliph al-Maʾmūn—were more polished. Besides, translations into Arabic became more and more common, whether through a Syriac intermediary or directly from Greek. In this academy Ḥunayn's son Isḥāḳ and nephew Ḥubaysh were also active. Often enough the translations were provided with commentaries. In a third phase of the translation movement, revisions of older versions were made, textual criticism was applied, and the interest was more purely philosophical than earlier. In this phase Nestorian scholars of the Aristotelian school in Baghdād such as Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 940) and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) took part.

Besides their prominence as translators, philosophers, scientists and practitioners in the fields of medicine, pharmacy, banking, etc., the Nestorians during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate produced an enormous religious and ecclesiastical literature—in Syriac as well as in Arabic. Though Arabic was adopted fairly early, the Nestorians (and the Jacobites, or West Syrians) never abandoned Syriac as a literary medium. This should be compared to the situation among the Copts in Egypt. Here, Arabic on a wide scale was introduced only in the 4th/10th century, but soon more or less replaced Coptic, which was thereafter restricted to liturgical and philological contexts. Within the enormous corpus of Nestorian literature there are important works relevant to the history of Islamic-Christian dialogue and the situation of the Nestorian Church during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The catholicos Timothy I (780-823) was not only a collector of canonical materials and a translator of Aristotle but also engaged in a theological dialogue with the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) dealing with most of the classic points of discussion: Christology, the Trinity, moral and ritual differences between Christians, Muslims and Jews, the Prophethood of Muḥammad, the *taḥrīf* [see AL-INDJĪL] of the Scriptures, the veneration of the Cross, etc. Though originally in Syriac, Timothy's apology is better known in its Arabic versions. Another Nestorian writer from the first ʿAbbāsid century, writing in Syriac, is Theodore bar Kōnī. His *Scholion* or compendium of Nestorian theology includes an apologia for Christianity against the Muslims. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it provides the framework of the ecclesiastical philosophy and the basic outline of the Christian approach to Islam which was to become standard in future apologies. In contrast to the two previous authors, ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī wrote his *Kitāb al-Burhān* and his *Kitāb al-Masāʾil wa 'l-adjwiba* in Arabic, presumably during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). Being himself a *mutakallim*, ʿAmmār in his Trinitarian apology refutes an Islamic conception of the attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*) which corresponds to the doctrine held by the Muʿtazilī scholar Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu 'l-Hudhayl also wrote a refutation of ʿAmmār entitled *Kitāb ʿalā ʿAmmār al-naṣrānī fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-naṣārā*. Like ʿAmmār, another Nestorian Arabic writer, Isrāʾīl al-Kaskarī (d. 872), defended the doctrine of the Trinity in the genre of questions and answers. Here, too, Muʿtazilī conceptions (al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar's [*q.v.*]) are refuted. Another important point of reference in Isrāʾīl's doctrine on divine Unity and Trinity is Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī's [see AL-KINDĪ] philosophy. Isrāʾīl was also engaged in a public debate with al-Kindī's disciple Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*]. One of the most prolific Nestorian writers was Elia of Nisibis, or Iliyyā al-Naṣībī (975-1046). In 417/1026 Elia had seven discussions with the Muslim vizier Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027 [see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, BANŪ], a refugee from al-Ḥākim's Egypt. The sessions which took place in Nisibis and were collected under the title *Kitāb al-Madjālis*, deal with the standard topics of the Christian-Muslim dialogue, but also with profane matters such as syntax, lexicography and calligraphy. In the field of ecclesiastical history during Islamic times, Mārī b. Sulaymān's *Kitāb al-Madjdal* (*ca.* 1160) and the revisions and additions made by ʿAmr b. Mattā and Ṣalībā b. Yūḥannā in the 14th century provide the most exhaustive information available on the relations between the Nestorian hierarchy and the Muslim government. A fair amount of historical criticism has to be applied in order to interpret the statements and the explanations of events made by Mārī, ʿAmr and Ṣalībā. Often enough there are traces

of a later generation having touched up an original story. The historical section in the *Kitāb al-Madjdal* is only a small part of the entire work, which is a compiled encyclopaedia—a Nestorian counterpart to al-Muʾtaman b. al-ʿAssāl's *Madjmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* (13th cent.) in the Arabic literature of the Copts. A similar, but far less comprehensive, theological compendium was written by ʿAbdīshūʿ (d. 1318), the last of the great Nestorian writers.

Though the ʿAbbāsid caliphate officially lasted until 656/1258, the effective rulers 334-447/945-1055 were the Shīʿī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS]. This fact hardly aggravated the situation for the Nestorians. As was the case in Fāṭimid Egypt, the Shīʿī Būyids were rather more tolerant than the Sunnīs towards the Christians. When the Sunnī Saldjūḳs in 447/1055 replaced the Būyids as effective rulers many Nestorian churches and monasteries were damaged. But on the other hand, this was the fate of all religious minorities. And when the Saldjūḳs had finally established themselves the situation for the Nestorians seemed once more to have improved. When the Saldjūḳs extended their power over Syria and Palestine, this in fact facilitated the expansion of the Nestorian Church in the West. Also, in the East the Nestorian Church appears still to have been flourishing during this period. About 25 metropolitan provinces (including those in India and Central Asia) were subordinate to the catholicos.

In Central Asia, Nestorianism, from an early date in hard competition with Manichaeism and Buddhism (cf. the discoveries in the Turfān oasis), had been established through traders and missionaries. Nestorian Christianity was encouraged by the tolerant Mongol rulers, and when the Mongols conquered the Eastern parts of the caliphate and sacked Baghdād in 656/1258, there were numerous Nestorian Christians among the advancing Mongols and Turks. In Baghdād the Christians and the Shīʿīs were tolerated while the Sunnīs were treated as enemies. In 680/1281 a monk of Mongol descent was elected catholicos under the name Yabalāhā III (1281-1317). During his catholicate the Nestorian Church experienced its last period of peace, but also a change of fate when the Mongol rulers adopted Sunnī Islam. The Nestorians suddenly lost their privileged status and were once more subjected to persecutions. Because of the privileges the Christians had enjoyed during the past decades, the Muslims sought revenge. Under these circumstances it is probable that numerous native ʿIrāḳī Nestorians also converted to Islam. Over the following decades the Nestorian Church lost all its eastern provinces. The final blow was delivered by the invasion of Tīmūr Lang, whose reign of terror lasted from 771/1369 to 807/1405, and his hordes, in whose footsteps nothing but destruction, persecution and murder followed.

Those Nestorians who did survive the invasion of Tīmūr fled through northern ʿIrāḳ up into the Hakkārī Mountains to the west of Lake Urmiya. Presumably to prevent disintegration, the catholicate (from now on called "patriarchate") was made hereditary in 1450. The office went from uncle to nephew (who was designated before birth). On the one hand, rivalry between different candidates and their supporters was avoided by this procedure. On the other hand, the opposition against this rule was inevitable. When, in 1551, the patriarchal see became vacant, part of the Church refused to acknowledge the nephew of the deceased, Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā, as the new patriarch.

The Nestorians on the northern plains of ʿIrāḳ preferred a pro-Roman bishop, Yūḥannā Sulāḳā, to Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā. In 1553 Yūḥannā Sulāḳā visited Rome and was consecrated by the Pope. Contacts with Rome had been made earlier in the history of the Nestorian Church. Already in the catholicate of Yabalāhā III in 1287 and 1297 there had been connections between the Nestorian catholicate and the Roman curia, but nothing serious had come out of it. Not even in the 16th century were the endeavours to have lasting results. It was not until the 19th century that an effective Chaldaean Patriarchate of Babylon was finally established. The present *ca.* 500,000 members of this Church—of Nestorian origin, but now in union with Rome—are called Chaldaeans. Since 1989 Raphael I Bidawid has been the patriarch of the Church, and resides in Baghdād.

In the mountain area of Hakkâri province in modern Turkey, the Nestorians held on to the hereditary patriarchate of Shimʿūn VIII Denḥā and had no relations with Rome. In the 19th century, Protestant missionaries and amateur archaeologists regarded the Nestorians of the mountains as descendants of the ancient Assyrians. As a result of this, the Nestorians were increasingly called Assyrians—an epithet they themselves generally accepted. During the 20th century—especially in the diaspora in America and Europe—a national Assyrian movement has grown strong. This movement was greatly inspired by the severe persecutions which the Assyrians suffered during World War I, when the community was suspected of supporting the British, with whom Turkey was at war. About one-third of the Assyrian population died in these massacres. In ʿIrāḳ, where the majority of the survivors had fled, a new massacre further scattered the community in 1933, when the British mandate ended. In the same year the patriarch, Mar Shimʿūn XXIII, lost his ʿIrāḳī citizenship and took up residence in San Francisco, USA. In protest against the office of the patriarch being hereditary and the Patriarch's adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1964, members of the Church in ʿIrāḳ found support from the Assyrian Metropolitan of India, Mar Thomas Darmo, who was elected patriarch in Baghdād in 1968. In 1970 he was succeeded by Mar Addai of Baghdād. Shortly thereafter the ʿIrāḳī government invited Mar Shimʿūn XXIII to return to ʿIrāḳ, and gave him legal recognition as head of the Assyrian community. However, in 1973 he resigned from his office and married. He was assassinated in San Francisco in November 1975. In October 1976 the bishop of Tehran was elected patriarch and took up residence in Morton Grove, Illinois, USA, as Mar Denḥā IV. At the same time he declared the end of the patriarchal dynasty. Although the main reason for the schism between the two groups—now about equally strong—was then removed, a full reconciliation has not yet been achieved. Substantial progress towards a solution was made in early 1990 when bishops of the two parties negotiated together. In all, the Assyrian Church of the East counts about 500,000 members. Together with the Chaldaean Catholic Church, the number of the spiritual offspring of the East Syrians, or Nestorians, amounts to about a million.

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(B. Holmberg)

NAṢŪḤ PASHA (d. 1023/1614), an Ottoman grand vizier, was of Christian descent and was born either in Gümüldjine [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (the modern Komotini, Thrace, Greece) or in Drama. According to some sources (e.g. Baudier and Grimestone, in Knolles), he was the son of a Greek priest; according to others (e.g. Naᶜīmā, *Taʾrīkh*[1], 283, *arnaʾud djinsi*), of Albanian origin.

He came early in life to Istanbul, spent two years in the old Seray as a *teberdār* (halbardier) and left it as a *čawush*. Through the favour of the sultan's confidant Meḥmed Agha, he rapidly attained high office. In quick succession, he became voivode of Zīle (Anatolia), master of the horse and governor of Fülek (Hungary). He married the daughter of the Kurdish Mīr Sheref and thereby obtained riches as great as his power, which every one was now beginning to fear. His ambition and arrogance, his venality and cruelty, knew no bounds and he was even said to be aiming at the throne. In 1015/1606, he was to conduct the campaign against Persia, as the son-in-law of Mīr Sheref and on account of his local knowledge, with the rank of third vizier and *serᶜasker*, but his attention was claimed by the trouble in Anatolia which was affecting the whole of Asia Minor; through Kurdish treachery he lost a battle, and it was only in the autumn of 1017/1608 that his troops joined the army of the grand vizier, who received him very coolly (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 412-13). In 1011/1602 Nāṣūḥ Pasha had been appointed governor of Siwas, the next year of Aleppo and in 1015/1606, of Diyārbakr. His goal was the grand viziership. He did not hesitate to ask the sultan to give him the imperial seal and the post of commander-in-chief in return for a sum of 40,000 ducats and the maintenance of the army at his own expense. Aḥmed I handed on the offer to the grand vizier, who summoned Naṣūḥ Pasha to him and fined him that sum as a punishment (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 446-7). When soon afterwards the grand vizier, the Croat Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha, died at the age of over 90, Naṣūḥ Pasha became his successor (22 August 1611). In the following year he married ᶜĀʾisha, the three-year old daughter of Sultan Aḥmed I (February 1612). His arrogance now knew no bounds; all his opponents were ruthlessly disposed of. His personal qualities dazzled everyone: "Of imposing appearance, brave and eloquent, never weary of talk or action, but at the same time passionate, impetuous, quite incapable of kindly conduct and flattering words and always intent on humbling the other viziers" (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 472). As human life was nothing to him but wealth everything, he accumulated vast treasures. Sycophants and astrologers nourished in him the delusion that he was born to rule. The number of his enemies increased from day to day as a result of his intrigues and his ruthlessness. When on Friday, 13 Ramaḍān 1023/17 October 1614, he was to accompany the sultan to the mosque, suspecting no good, he said he was ill. The *bostāndjiˀ bashiˀ* sent to him had him strangled by his own garden guards. His body was buried on the Oḳ Meydān. His estate, which fell to the coffers of the state, was enormous: pearls, jewels, carpets, cloth and bullion without number (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 474-5, quoting Mezeray, ii, 195).

Naṣūḥ Pasha left several sons, one of whom, Ḥuseyn Pasha (d. 1053/643; cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 260 and Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 226), had a son named Meḥmed. The latter wrote a history of the Ottoman empire (*Dheyl-i Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ᶜOthmān*) from the death of Murād IV in 1048/1639 to 1081/1670, the original ms. of which is in Dresden (cf. F. Babinger, *GOW*, 211).

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(F. Babinger)

NAʿT (a.) "qualification", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to designate a qualifying adjective and its function as an epithet. It is synonymous with *ṣifa* and *waṣf*, which Sībawayh uses more frequently than *naʿt* itself.

Al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī defines qualification as being that of the noun which indicates one of the states of the essence (*d̲h̲āt*), used to distinguish two homonyms (*mus̲h̲tarak* [*q.v.*]), to particularise (*tak̲h̲ṣīṣ*) something unknown or to clarify (*tawḍīḥ*) something known; but the quality can also simply be used for praise (*t̲h̲anāʾ*), blame (*d̲h̲amm*) or confirmation (*taʾkīd*).

One can qualify by means of a derived noun (*mus̲h̲taḳḳ*) of the process (*maṣdar*): agent (*fāʿil*), that acted upon (*mafʿūl*), a qualification assimilated (*mus̲h̲abbaha*) to the agent, or by means of the process itself; one can also qualify something unknown by means of a verbal or nominal phrase (*d̲j̲umla*) or by circumstantial expression (*ẓarf*).

The qualification may be applicable to the thing qualified (*manʿūt, mawṣūf*) or to anything which has a connection with it (*min sababihi*). It agrees (*wāfaḳa*) with what is qualified in number (sing., dual or pl.), in determination (definite or indefinite) and gender (m. or f.).

The personal pronoun (*muḍmar*) can neither be qualified nor qualify; a proper noun (*ʿalam*) cannot qualify but can be qualified; the demonstrative pronoun (*mubham*) can only be qualified by a noun determined by the article.

From the aspect of desinential inflexion (*iʿrāb*), the qualifying *naʿt* is one of the five nouns dependent (*tawābiʿ*) on other nouns for their inflexion. It must normally accompany what is qualified, but, in certain cases where it is understood, it can replace what is qualified.

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NAṬANZ, a small town of western Persia (lat. 33° 29' N., long. 51° 57' E., altitude 1,372 m/4,500 feet) on the lower, southeastern slopes of the Kūh-i Kargas mountains and just off the modern Tehran—Ḳum—Kās̲h̲ān—Yazd road.

The early Islamic geographers do not mention it, but Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, v, 292, describes it as a small town, administratively dependent on Iṣfahān and in the province of D̲j̲ibāl [*q.v.*], and situated 20 *farsak̲h̲s* to the north of Iṣfahān; and Mustawfī (8th/14th century) describes it as protected by the nearby fortress of Was̲h̲āḳ. This may be the fortress of Naṭanz mentioned by Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ed. Beirut, ix, 495-6, year 433/1041-2, as the focus of disputes between the Kākūyid ruler of Iṣfahān Abū Manṣūr Farāmarz and his rivals for power after the death of his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Dus̲h̲manziyār [see kākūyids]. The town is thus in fact an old one, possessing remains of a Sāsānid fire-temple and important mediaeval Islamic buildings, including a Friday mosque of the Būyid period and the tomb of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Iṣfahānī from 707/1307-8. Al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xiii, 136-8, mentions a famous *adīb* in both Arabic and Persian, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Naṭanzī, *d.* 497/1103. The modern town is situated in the *s̲h̲ahrastān* or district of Kās̲h̲ān, and is the chef-lieu of a *bak̲h̲s̲h̲* or sub-district of the same name; the town and its village dependencies had a population of *ca.* 12,000 in 1960.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 209; Schwarz, *Iran*, 655; A. Godard, *Naṭanz (Province de Kās̲h̲ān)*, in *Āt̲h̲ār-é Īrān*, i (1936), 75-106; Razmārā, *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iii, 303-4; Ḥasan Narāḳī, *Āt̲h̲ār-i taʾrīk̲h̲ī-yi s̲h̲ahristānhā-yi Kās̲h̲ān wa Naṭanz*, Tehran 1348 *s̲h̲.*/1970; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 172; Sheila S. Blair, *The octagonal pavilion at Natanz: a re-examination of early Islamic architecture in Iran*, in *Muqarnas*, i (1983), 69-94; idem, *The Ilkhanid shrine complex at Natanz, Iran*, Cambridge, Mass. 1986.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NATĪD̲J̲A (a.), the usual name for the conclusion resulting from the combination of the two premisses (*muḳaddimāt*) in the syllogism (*ḳiyās*). It corresponds to the Stoic ἐπιφορά; this word in the works of Galen known to the Arabs is applied to the various discharges from the body but also means, as with the Stoics, the conclusion. Aristotle used the words συμπέρασμα: that which concludes or completes the syllogism.

In place of the usual *natīd̲j̲a* we also find *ridf* or *radf* (= deduction). (Tj. de Boer)

NĀṬIḲ [see sabʿiyya].

al-**NĀṬIḲ** bi 'l-**ḤAḲḲ**, the honorific given by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Amīn [*q.v.*] to his son Mūsā in 194/809, when he designated him as heir presumptive in place of al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], whereas their father Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd had specified that the inheritance of the caliphate should pass to al-Maʾmūn and had taken the precaution of sending a circular letter on this subject to all the provinces and of attaching to the *kisāʾ* of the Kaʿba a copy of this, for the tearing-down of which al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ [*q.v.*] sent a *ḥād̲j̲ib*. It was in effect this vizier of al-Amīn's who led the caliph into taking this measure which was to unleash a fratricidal war between Hārūn's two sons. Mūsā was the son of an *umm walad* [*q.v.*] called Naẓm, who was al-Amīn's favourite, and if he had ascended the throne, he would have been the first caliph not to be of ʿAbbāsid blood on both paternal and maternal sides. At the time of his nomination, his very tender years drew criticisms from hostile poets, like a certain ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*sic*) who was a partisan of al-Maʾmūn's (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vi, 438-9 = § 2645, but cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 804).

Bibliography: The historians of the ʿAbbāsid period speak of al-Amīn's measure (*sub anno* 194). See especially, Ṭabarī, iii, 795-6; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg, 292-3, Eng. tr. Whitting, 211-12; D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 290, 292; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲* index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 384; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, ii, 145; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, vi, 105. See also the *Bibls.* to the arts. al-amīn and al-maʾmūn. (Ch. Pellat)

NATION [see umma].

NATIONALISATION [see TAʾMĪM].
NATIONALISM [see ḲAWMIYYA].
NATIVITY [see MAWLID, MĪLĀD].
NAṬRŪN, in Arabic mineralogy and pharmacology considered to be one of the at least six kinds of *bawraḳ* [*q.v.*]. It is the νίτρον/*nitrum* of the ancients, but indicates not our saltpetre but a compound of sodium carbonate ($NaCO_3$) and sodium bicarbonate ($NaHCO_3$) with several impurities. In reverse *bawraḳ*, because of the vagueness of the term (see Dietlinde Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 248-50), is considered as a kind of *naṭrūn* (Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 51). *Naṭrūn* was obtained partly from natural crystallisations occurring in sodium-containing lakes, and partly artificially, like in Egypt where Nile water was directed to sodium beds (*nitrariae*), cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi, 109: *Et hoc quidem nascitur, in Aegypto autem conficitur, multo abundantius...fit paene eodem modo quo sal, nisi quod salinis mare infundunt, Nilum autem nitrariis.* The production of sodium is very old: Old Egyptian *nṯry(t)*, Akkadian *nit(i)ru*, Hebrew *neter*, Aramaic *nitrā*, Greek νίτρον. Sodium was used for mummification, for ritual purification, for fumigation, for the production of faience (as a binding agent), and also in medicine (see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, iv, 1982, 358 f., and, for Islamic times, BAWRAḲ in Suppl.).

Sodium was of primary importance for Egyptian trade. The richest mineral area was Wādī Naṭrūn. According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, no other lake as small as Birkat al-Naṭrūn—only 1,000 *faddāns* in extent—produced so much money, sc. 100,000 *dīnārs*. Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, the dreaded financial administrator under the Ṭūlūnids, had reintroduced Ptolemaic Roman taxes in the form of state monopolies, which included the exploitation of sodium. This situation lasted till the Mamlūk period, when the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* had to survey the sultan's monopolies. In 833/1429 Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*] forced the merchants to buy (*ṭarḥ*) great quantities of sodium for increased prices. For the lucrative sodium trade, see S.Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens in Spätmittelalter (1171-1517)*, Wiesbaden 1965, 165, 247, 315, 406.

In modern Morocco, the term *naṭrūn* (var. *litrūn*, *liṭrūn*) indicates a mixture of gypsum and rock salt, see Helga Venzlaff, *Der marokkanische Drogenhändler und seine Ware*, Wiesbaden 1977, 108 f.

Bibliography: Given in the text. See also the Bibl. to BAWRAḲ. (A. DIETRICH)

NAṬṬĀḤA [see IBN AL-KHAṢĪB].
NATURE [see DHĀT, ḲAWN, KHALḲ, ṬABĪʿA].
NAUPLION (Class. Gk. Nauplīa, A. Anaboli, vern. Gk. Anāpli[on], Lat. Anapoli Romaniae, Ital. Napoli di Romania, Tk. Anabolu-Inebolu), a coastal town and capital of Argolis *nomos* (= diocese), in northeastern Morea [see MORA] or Peloponnesos, 13 km southeast of Argos (A. Argho, Tk. Arhos). A handy refuge for mariners, it is situated at the head of the Argolic Gulf, sitting on the northern slope of twin crags, the western Akronauplīa (Hellenistic/Roman/Byzantine/Frankish), i.e. Tkish. Ič Ḳalʿe, forming a small peninsula in the bay, and the much higher Venetian Palamēdi(on), dominating the post from the southeast (1981 pop.: 10,611).

1. The Byzantine and Frankish periods (to 1389)

Nauplion emerges in the 6th-7th centuries as one of the few Moreote settlements to sustain the Avar-Slavonic raids, and its history throughout the Byzantine period, as part of the Peloponnesos "theme", is more or less linked with that of Argos until the Latin conquest of 1210-12 and the Ottoman seizure of Argos in 1463 (see below; cf. Lamprynides, 17-38); an important Venetian *quartiere* (11th-12th centuries), it was entrusted by the Byzantine Angelus dynasty (late 12th century) to the local archontic family of Sgurus, and Leo Sgurus held it against the Frankish onslaught following the Fourth Crusade until *ca.* 1208; Sgurus' widow bequeathed it to the Epirot ruler, who was, however, forced to cede it to the Achaia ruler, Villehardouin (1210-12) (refs. in Savvides, in *Byz. and Mod. Greek Studs.*, xii [1988], 289 ff.; M. Kordoses, *Conquest of Southern Greece*, 79 ff., 92 ff., 111 ff., 123 ff.) In the early 10th century, raids off Nauplion by the Cretan amirate [see IḲRĪṬISH] are recorded, while in 1032 the town's Byzantine strategus defeated a fleet of African Muslims [see IFRĪḲIYA] in the Adriatic (cf. *JOAS*, ii, 52 f.); in the mid-12th century al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] lists "Argho" and "Anaboli" among the 13 chief Moreote cities and praises their countryside (*Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, Fr. tr. Jaubert, ii, 125; *JOAS*, ii, 54). After 1212 Villehardouin divided the town into the western *Castello di Greci* and the eastern *C. di Franchi*, and soon ceded it to the de la Roche family, who, together with the Fourcherolles, de Brienne and d'Enghien houses, dominated its history in the Frankish era (1212-1389: Lamprynides, 39-53; Pitcher, map VIII), facing imminent Italian corsair attacks (late 13th century) and warding off Catalan and Turcoman raids (14th century) (cf. Vakalopoulos, i², 127; Setton, *Papacy*, i, 428, 447-8); the Turkish attacks actually continued in the Ottoman period (mid-15th to the 1st half of the 16th centuries: Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece*, 39 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iii, 122-3; Krantonelle, *Hist. of piracy*, 54, 56 ff. and *passim*). In 1388-9 the d'Enghien family ceded the town to Venice, but the latter was able to establish its control only in 1394, after a brief capture by the Florentine Acciaiuolis and the despot of Mystras [see MEZISTRE in Suppl.] (cf. Zakythenos, *Despotat*, 132-3; Miller-Lampros, ii, 12-13; Cessi, in *NAV*, xxx, 152; Setton, *Catalan domination*, 190 ff.; idem, in *Hist. Crusades*, iii, 1975, 246-7, 252; Luttrell, in *PBSR*, xxxiv, 42 ff., 47 ff.; Pitcher, 65; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, ii, 337 f.; E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, Venice 1983, 98-9; *JOAS*, ii, 60).

2. The Venetian and Turkish periods (1389-1822)

The long first Venetian rule (1389-1540: Lamprynides, 54-92; Pitcher, maps XIII, XIV, XVI; Panagiotopoulos, *Populations*, 21 ff. and maps) is the best known, with extensive commercial activity, profitable treaties with the Menteshe Oghullarī [*q.v.*] (in 1403 and 1407: Zachariadou, 102, 231, 237) and the Ottomans (in 1419 and 1479; cf. Setton, *Papacy*, ii, 8, 514), a population growing, no doubt associated with extensive Albanian settlements since the late 14th century (cf. Zakythenos, i, 343 [add. C. Maltezou]; Vakalopoulos, i², 32; iii, 37, 51, 89; Ploumides, *Venetian-dominated lands*, 41) and also with large numbers of refugees following the fall of Morea (1460-1) and Eghriboz [*q.v.*] (1470) (Vakalopoulos, ii², 75 f.). The 1529-30 census records *ca.* 13,300 inhabitants. Important reconstructions (Akronauplīa) and fortifications (*Castello di Toro* [*ca.* 1400]; coastal walls [1501-5]; "Five Brothers" gunnery in the northwestern section) took place (cf. Bon, *Moree*, 491 ff., 676 f.); in 1471 the architect Gambello built the *Castello* (*Scoglio*) *di Santo Teodoro* or *C. Pasqualino* (after the *proveditore*'s name), renamed Boūrtzi by the Turks after the little island in the Argolic bay. Nauplion

withstood four major Ottoman attacks by Yaᶜḳūb Beg in 1396-7, in 1426-7, by Maḥmūd Pasha in 1463—in the course of which Argos was conquered (cf. Saᶜdeddin, *Tacüt-tevarih*, i, 504; Uzunçarşılı, ii, 1988[5], 26 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iii, 19; Panagiotopoulos, 108 f.)—and between 1500-2, when it was valiantly defended by Greeks, Italians and Albanian *stradioti* (on the Turkish raids, see Schreiner, ii, 360-1, 433-4, 507, 532 ff., 541; *JOAS*, ii, 61, 65; Sathas, 11 ff., 61, 63 f.; Cogo, in *NAV*, xviii, 366, 390 ff.; Miller-Lampros, ii, 235; Pitcher, maps X, XVI; Vakalopoulos, iii, 76, 78; Setton, *Papacy*, ii, 248-9, 516, 521 ff.; Uzunçarşılı, ii[2], 218-19). With the 1503 treaty, it remained in Venetian hands and refortifications were carried out in the harbour of the lower town. In 1537 the Morea *sandjaḳ beg*, Ḳāsîm Pasha, began a three-year siege of the town, which ended with the surrender of the *proveditore* Contarini on 21 November 1540, to be soon followed by the surrender of Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE] (cf. Von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 283 ff., 316 f.; Miller-Lampros, ii, 252 ff.; Zinkeisen, ii, 803; Sathas, 119 ff., 125 f.; Amantos, *Relations*, 168; Schreiner, ii, 580-1; Vakalopoulos, iii, 30 map, 152-3, 159 ff.; Pitcher, 115; Runciman, *Mistra*, 118 ff.). Several Naupliote scholars fled to the Ionian islands and the West (P. Petres, in *Peloponnesiaka*, iii-iv [1958-9], 371-2; Vakalopoulos, iii, 162, 183; Panagiotopoulos, 110 f.).

The first Ottoman rule (1540-1686: Lamprynides, 93-109) witnessed a comparative tranquillity and the conqueror's tolerance, ecclesiastical privileges and a noteworthy artistic and cultural prosperity (cf. T. Gritsopoulos, in *Pelopon.*, xvii [1987-8], 95 ff., 113 ff.; idem, in *Acts 2nd Argolic Congr.* [1989], 263; Vakalopoulos, ii[2], 264-5). Commercial activity continued and the population grew to *ca.* 40,000, including some Jews (Vakalopoulos, ii[2], 396; iv, 45-6), while a modest programme of Muslim religious building (e.g. Süleymān *khān* or Fetḥiyye *djāmiᶜ* on Akronauplīa) was effected, according to Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], who visited Argos and Nauplion in mid-1668 and left an important account of the town's fortifications, many inhabitants, mosques and about 200 Muslim households (cf. Th. Kostakes, in *Pelopon.*, xiv [1980-81], 239, 279-83, with mod. Gk. trans.-comm.). Until the 1574 Morea reorganisation into two *sandjaḳs* (Balyabadra/Patras and Mezistre/Mystras), Nauplion was seat of the *sandjaḳ-beg*. In 1686 Morosini, in the course of his Moreote campaign, heavily bombarded the town, forcing its governor, Muṣṭafā Pasha, to capitulate on 20-1 August (Sathas, 347 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 19 ff.; Uzunçarşılı, iii/1, 1983[3], 479 f.; cf. Von Hammer, xii, 224 f.).

The second Venetian rule (1686-1715: Lamprynides, 110-56) commenced with five *proveditori*, soon replaced by Morosini (1692), whose sudden death (December 1694: Sathas, 400-1; Vakalopoulos, iv, 32-3, 37) was followed by new struggles with the sultanate, temporarily patched up by the Carlowitz Treaty (1699) [see ḲARLOFČA], which allowed Venice to refortify the town with extensive fortifications of the imposing Palamēdi (Tk. Planota) rock (1711-14), renovations of Akronauplīa and Bourtzi (Bon, *Moree*, 493, pls. 132-3) and constructions of the *Porta di Sagredo*, massive barracks, churches and fountains to replenish St. Mark's fleets (between 1701-13). "*Napoli di Romania*" (as opposed to "*Napoli di Malvasia*", i.e. Monemvasia) became the capital of *Provincia di Romania* (including Corinth, Argos, Tripolitsa, Tzaconia, Porto Porro and Thermesi) and seat of the *proveditore generale di Regno di Morea* (Sathas, 364-5; Vakalopoulos, iv, 52-3; Panagiotopoulos, 161, 163, 164 ff., 176: records 2,551 families; *ibid.*, 132-3, 148-9, 184, 187-8, 199, 291, 313, with details on the towns and villages of the *territorio di Napoli di Romania* and on the population according to the censuses of 1700 [9,685, i.e. diminished on account of the 1687 and 1690 plague] and 1711 [6,548].). Commerce continued to thrive, and famous visitors like the *proveditore generale* Corner (1690), Coronelli (1687) and B. Randolf (1689) lavishly praise Nauplion as the fairest and the most populous city of the Orient, with its safe port and celebrated fortifications; the Venetian era closes with the 1714-15 land-and-sea siege by massive forces led by the *wezīr* ᶜAlī Pasha, the *serᶜasker* Dāwūd Pasha and a 50-strong fleet under Djānîm Khodja; the *proveditore* Delphino had only 1,747 defenders and the treacherous Palamedi *castellano*, De la Salle, who betrayed the fortress to the Turks, was immediately murdered by the enraged Naupliotes; the capitulation (9 July 1715) was followed by extensive slaughter and looting (Sathas, 443 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 77-8; Runciman, 127-8).

The second Turkish rule (1715-1822: Lamprynides, 157-95), ratified by the Passarowitz Treaty of 1715 (cf. Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 1982[3], 104 f., 107, and PASAROFČA), was harsher, with no privileges, extensive confiscations by the newly settled aghas, church persecutions (cf. Gritsopoulos, *Pelopon.*, xvii, 118 ff.) and a dwindling commercial activity of the locals (Sakellariou, *Peloponnesos*, 118 f.). The sultan himself [see AḤMAD III] visited the town (Sathas, 446 f.), where more Muslim buildings were erected (e.g. Vouleutērion *djāmiᶜ*, 2 *menteshes* and several baths and fountains: cf. Uzunçarşılı, iii/2, 1983[2], 305). Until 1770, with the transferral of the Morea Pasha's seat to Tripolitsa, Nauplion was capital of the Mora *wilāyet* (Sakellariou, 99-100, 255 ff.); its participation in the 1770 uprising (Gritsopoulos, *Orloffika*, *passim*; Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 397-8), caused the massive extermination of the local Albanians by the *ḳapudan-pasha* Ḥasan, who in 1779 pushed them from Palamēdi into perdition (Sathas, 527-8; Uzunçarşılı, iv/1, 434-5). Henceforward the locality was called "Arvanitiā". The decreased population, intensified by the 1790 plague (Leake, *Travels*, ii, 359), is recorded by Pouqueville (7,000 in 1799 and 11,780 in 1816), who also gives details on the town's trade and products (cheese, cotton, silk, wool, hides), fortifications, buildings and Christian-Muslim population (*Voyage en Morée*, i, 233, 356, 501; iv, 342 ff.; v, 215, 233; vi, 263 ff.; cf. Sakellariou, 216 ff., 266, 270, 284).

In the early stages of the Greek War for Liberation, the Greeks, assisted by the clergy, repeatedly besieged Nauplion between April 1821 and late 1822 (Lamprynides, 196-243; Vakalopoulos, v, 734 ff.; vi, 207-8, 263 ff., 273 ff.); temporary succour by Maḥmūd Pasha in mid-1822 prolonged the surrender of ᶜAlī Pasha of Nauplion to the Greek Klepht chief Koloktrōnes until 30 November, following the fall of Palamēdi to Staikopoulos. Liberated Nauplion was to become the first capital of the modern Kingdom of Greece from 8 January 1823 until the transferral to Athens by the decree of 18 September 1834.

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; for older references and titles of modern works, see MORA, NAVARINO and MEZISTRE in Suppl. On the pre-1389 period, see A. Savvides, *Nauplion in the Byzantine and Frankish periods* [forthcoming]; the most detailed monograph is M. Lamprynides, *Nauplia from antiquity to modern times* [in Greek], Nauplia 1975[3] (till the late 19th century). Other contributions: G. Cogo, *La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi*, in

Nuovo Archivio Veneto [= *NAV*], xviii (1899), 5-76, 348-421; xix (1900), 97-138; R. Cessi, *Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia et Argo*, in *NAV*, xxx (1915), 147-73; A. Luttrell, *The Latins of Argos and Nauplia*, in *Papers, British School at Rome* [= *PBSR*], xxxiv (1966), 34-55. On the fortifications, see above and K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton 1953, 90-105; A. Paradisses, *Fortresses and castles in Greece*, ii, Athens-Thessalonica 1974, 146-52; and [in Greek]: J. Sphekopoulos, *Medieval castles of the Morea*, Athens 1968, 97-100; D. Antonakatou, *Nauplion* (1971), *passim*; S. Karouzou, *Nauplion* (1979), *passim*; see also refs. in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i-iv, and Vakalopoulos, *Hist. of modern Hellenism*, i-vi. Finally, on Argive and Naupliote bibliographies (esp. on the mediaeval and early modern periods), see V. Konte, in *Symmeikta*, v (1983), 175 ff., 193 ff., 199 ff.; Savvides, in *Jnal. Or. and Afr. Stud.* [= *JOAS*], ii (1990), 49, 52-3, 54, 60, 61-2, 65; *Medieval Peloponnesian bibliography... 396-1460*, Athens 1990, 14, 17, 21 ff., 24-5, 26, 30 ff., 33, 39-40, 42, 44 ff., 47 ff., 50, 53-4, 56-7; E. Stassinopoulos, *Argolic bibliography*, in *Acts 2nd Argolic Congr.* (Athens 1989), 377 ff. The etymology of Nauplion is summarised by D. Vagiakakos [in Gk.], in *Istoria Eikonographemēne*, fasc. xxcvii (1975), 142-3. (A. Savvides)

NĀʿŪRA (a.), more rarely Naʿūra, pl. *nawāʿīr*, a word designating current-driven, water-raising wheels, Eng. and Fr. noria. The term has no obvious derivation from Arabic, and is probably of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 134; also Dozy, *Supplement*, ii, 689-90).

The nomenclature for water-raising machines is very variable, and often the only way of knowing which machine is being referred to is from the context; for example, if a machine is driven by running water it is almost certain to be a noria. To avoid confusion, the Syrian usage will be followed, in which the *nāʿūra* is always the current-driven wheel and the *sāḳiya* [*q.v.*] is the geared machine driven by an animal [see mā'. 3. Hydraulic machines].

The noria can be constructed of timber or metal. In East Asia, bamboo is used, not only for the framework, but also for the containers for raising the water. In the Middle Ages, the construction of most norias in the Islamic world probably followed the pattern of the well-known wheels at Ḥamāt on the Orontes. The only metal member is the axle. The timber framework, wedged to the axle, and the inner rim are first constructed, care being taken to ensure that the wheel turns in a single vertical plane. Finally, the outer rim for the compartments is mounted, or norias may have earthenware pots, similar to those of the *sāḳiya*, lashed to the rim. Paddles are fitted to the rim between the compartments or pots. The noria is erected in bearings fixed in two columns in the stream. The paddles dip into the water and rotate the noria; the containers fill at the bottom of the travel and discharge at the top. The Ḥamāt wheels discharge into an aqueduct that carries the water to the town and the fields, the diameter of the wheels being about 20 metres. A similar system with one huge noria of 90 cubits—say 50 m—in diameter is described by al-Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 187 (Arabic), 228 (French).

The first known description of a noria occurs in Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book 10, Ch. 5. It is brief but unambiguous. In classical and Hellenistic times information about norias is very scanty, but in Islamic writings there are abundant references. The first mention we have is in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 363, describing how Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ashʿarī erected norias on the banks of a canal in the Baṣra area. As Abū Burda [see al-ashʿarī, abu burda] died in 103/721-2 or 104/722-3 aged over eighty, the event probably took place about 20 years earlier. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions large numbers of norias (which he calls *dawlāb*) at Ahwāz (411) and on the river Kūr in Fārs (444). There is no doubt that they were in widespread use in Islam. T.F. Glick has plotted the locations of norias in the Iberian peninsula, see his *Irrigation and society in medieval Valencia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 178-9. It spread into other parts of Europe and eventually to the New World (G.M. Foster, *Culture and conquest*, Chicago 1960, 63, 69 n. 9). Even today the noria is found to be effective in many parts of the world, given the right hydraulic conditions. The well-known noria at Murcia, for example, was still in use in 1990.

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NAVARINO (a. Irūda, t. Anavarin), a seaport of the southwestern Morea [see mora] or Peloponnesos, in Messenia, associated with modern Pylos town, which was built between 1828 and 1832 (population in 1971, 2,258), and situated behind the southern headland of Navarino Bay, a deepwater channel, as capital of Pylia *eparchia* (= province) of Messenia *nomos* (= diocese). Locally called Neokastron ("new fortress") after the 16th century Turkish fortifications, it should not be confused with the 13th century Frankish Palaiokastron ("old fortress"), known to the Franks as Port-de-Jonc, still commanding the northern channel to the harbour and lying deserted to the southwest of Homeric Pylos, on Koryphasion promontory.

Sheltered by Sphakteria island, Navarino harbour was considered amongst the safest of the Morea ports in post-mediaeval Italian portulans, and is closely connected with various important mediaeval and modern events. The etymology of the name is uncertain: it may be a survival of Avar rule in the Morea in the early Dark Ages; it has been identified with the Navarrese, although these did not appear in the Morea till the 14th century, and the name Navarino existed before then; most probably, its origin may be (Bulgaro-) Slavonic. In Byzantine times, there is a single mention of Pylos in connection with raids of the Cretan Arabs [see iḳrīṭish] on the western Morea *ca.* 872-3; this area was included in the late 9th century in the Peloponnesos "theme" (refs. in A. Savvides, *On Pylos-[N]avarino-Zonklon in the Byzantine period*, in *Byzantina*, xvi [1992]).

The earliest mention of the Greek form Avarīnos appears in a 12th century ecclesiastical *Notitia* ("*Pylos, nunc vocatur Abarinus*"), in a Palaiologan imperial chrysobull of 1293 and in the Greek version of the *Morea chronicle* (see below), whilst the earliest mention of the Arabic name is in the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], tr. Jaubert, ii, 124, where the town of Irūda is referred to as "a commodious port" (see R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik 1081-1204*, Amsterdam 1984, 203; Savvides, in *JOAS*, ii [1990], 53).

1. The pre-Ottoman period to 1500. Information on Navarino increases after the 1204-5 Frankish

conquest of southern Greece. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Frankish fortress of Palaiokastro or Port-de-Jonc became the seat of various Latin estates, which were often affected by Latin fratricidal strife, especially in the Veneto-Genoese naval clash of 1354 which ended in the Republic's defeat. Around this time, Albanian settlers established themselves in the area, whilst in 1381-2 a company of Navarrese, Gascons and Italians appeared. In 1417 the Venetians seized the harbour and the Frankish fortress and in 1423 became lawful owners by purchase from a Genoese baron; eventually, in 1479, Navarino was acknowledged by the Ottoman Turks as Venetian, and it then developed into an economic and commercial centre. It had suffered from Turkish raids since 1423, and in summer 1460 Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] had laid waste the countryside around Navarino, so that by later that year only Navarino and such other Venetian possessions as Modon, Koron, Nauplia [*q.vv.*], Argos, Monemvasia [see MENEKSHE] and Maina had remained in Christian hands.

2. The Ottoman conquest: the Turkish and Venetian periods (1500-1828). The annexation in A.M. 7008-9 (= A.D. 1500-1) by Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*], shortly after the fall of Modon and Koron, has been recorded in, among other places, thirteen Greek short chronicles (here called Avarīnos, Anavarīnos, Novarīno) and in Kātib Čelebi's [see ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA] *Tuḥfat al-kibār* (tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 21 ff.). In August 1500 the Venetian castellano Contarini surrendered, although his garrison numbered 3,000 and he had provisions for three years, but soon afterwards the Venetians recaptured it and destroyed a Janissary garrison. It fell definitively to the Turkish commander ʿAlī Pasha advancing by land and Kemāl Reʾīs attacking by sea on 20 May 1501 (see V.J. Parry, in *The new Camb. mod. hist.*, i, 403-4; Pitcher, 87 and map XIV; Uzunçarşılı, ii, 219 and refs.; cf. Savvides, in *JOAS*, i [1989], 212). This cession was confirmed by the 1503 treaty, and henceforth Navarino became a base for piratical operations in the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, being often a concentration point for the Turkish fleet. In 1571-2, shortly after the Lepanto disaster [see AYNABAKHTĪ], a rebuilt Turkish armada under Ulūdj ʿAlī Pasha defeated off Navarino a Christian fleet under Don John of Austria. Kātib Čelebi mentions that the town's original name was Anavarin(o) (von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna geographisch Beschrieben von ... Hadschi Chalfa*, Vienna 1812, 122-3; Pitcher, map XXVI), whilst Ewliyā Čelebi states that Navarino's revenues were reserved for the sultan (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 309-10; Th. Kostakes, *Evliyā Čelebi in Peloponnesos* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xiv [1980-1], 262-3; Pitcher, *loc. cit.*). In 1572-3, according to Ulūdj's plans, there was erected the Neokastro (Anavarin ḳalʿesi) to distinguish it from the old Frankish structure or Palaiokastro (S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, Frankfurt 1674, 244; Vakalopoulos, iii, 261; Baltas, 46 ff., 128, 140 ff.).

From 1500-1 till 1828, Navarino and its bay remained in Turkish hands except for two Venetian periods of rule (1644-8, 1686-1715) and one of Greek rule (1821-5). In the early stages of the Veneto-Turkish war of 1645, the Ottomans used Navarino as a base against Crete (Kretschmayr, iii, 315), while in late 1685-mid-1686 Francesco Morosini, aided by the Swedish Count Von Königsmark, stormed Koron and captured both Neo- and Palaio-Navarino, defended by Muṣṭafā Pasha and Djaʿfer Pasha, together with Modon, Kalamata, Zarnata, Passava, Celefe and Vitylo (von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 222-3; C. Sathas, *Turkish-dominated Greece 1453-1821* [in Greek], repr. Athens 1990, 343-4, 346-7; Kretschmayr, iii, 345-6; Vakalopoulos, iv, 19-20, 33 map; Hasiotes, in *IEE*, xi, 22-3). About that time Coronelli published in Venice (1685; and in French, Paris 1687) his *Memorie istoriografiche* and Randolf his *Present state of the Morea* (London 1689³, repr. Athens 1966), both containing important details on Navarino, which was made seat of St. Mark's, Messenian possessions until 1715 (Kretschmayr, iii, 354; Vakalopoulos, iv, 52, 77, 79; Hasiotes, xi, 43; Topping no. IX, 313, 316, 325). Population estimates of that period give 1,413 (1689 Corner census) and 1,797 inhabitants (*ca.* 1700 Grimani and *ca.* 1711 Querini-Stampalia census) (cf. Sakellariou, *Peloponnesos*, 57,118 ff., 285; Panagiotopoulos, 138-9, 144-5, 225 ff., 231 ff., with charts and index: s.v.). The second *Tourkokratia* commences in 1715 with the creation of the *Anavarin wilāyeti* (= province; sometimes referred to as a *ḳaḍāʾ* = judicial and administrative district), within the Morea *sandjak* (Pouqueville, *Voyages en Morée*, i, 233; iv, 342 ff.; vi, 73; Sakellariou, 95 ff.; 107, 255 ff.). The area's social and economic life is described by Pouqueville and Leake (refs. in Sakellariou, s.v.), while from the late 18th century the French also played an important rôle in the town's development (Pouqueville, vi, 264; Sakellariou, 128; Vakalopoulos, iv, 155, 273; for the post-1828 period, cf. D. Themelē-Katephōre, *French interests in Greece* [in Greek], Athens 1985, 62, 65, 157). During the First Russo-Turkish War (1768-74), Navarino was temporarily taken. After a six-day stubborn defence by the Ottoman garrison and the Muslim civilian population (Pouqueville, vi, 72, lists 600 Turks and 130 Greeks), the Russians on 10 April 1770 forced the fortress (Neokastro), no longer strongly fortified but still amply provided with munitions and artillery, to capitulate (see P. Kontogiannes, *The Greeks during the First Russo-Turkish War of Catherine II* [in Greek], repr. Athens 1989, 136 ff., 183 ff.; Sakellariou, 177 ff.; 182 ff.; Vakalopoulos, iv, 389 map, 391 ff.). By the terms of the treaty, the Turks left for Chania (Crete) leaving behind them a number of Christian women, whom they had imprisoned in their harems. The Russians immediately refortified the fortress, making it their principal base for their Moreote operations, but soon they were forced to evacuate it: on 1 June 1770 Aleksei Orlov sailed away with the Russian ships and on the next day the Turks occupied the well-placed fortress, which was in part burnt and destroyed (Sakellariou, 190 ff.; Simopoulos, *Foreign travellers*, ii, 1985², 368, 593, 679-80; details on the 1770 Greek uprising and its consequences in T. Gritsopoulos, *Ta Orloffika*, Athens 1967).

In the last decades of Ottoman rule, the Turkish family of Bekir Agha of Navarino played a prominent part. Soon after the outbreak of the Liberation War, the Greeks laid siege to Navarino on 29 March 1821, where the Turks of Arkadia (Kyparissia) had also taken refuge. Between 1-7 August the Turks surrendered and the Greeks, despite all agreements, massacred them mercilessly (Striebeck, *Tagebuch*, 35 ff., 92 ff.; Lieber, *Tagebuch*, 20-1; cf. Vakalopoulos, v, 350, 780, 785; vi, 49 ff.; 106 ff.; *The information of the German philhellene Striebeck on certain historical facts in Neokastron in 1821-2* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xvi, 57 ff.; *The Greek troops of 1821* [in Greek], repr. Thessalonica 1991, 22-3, 44, 160; see also J. Philemon, *Essay on the Greek Revolution* [in Greek], Athens 1859-61, esp. i, 112; iii, 61, 114-15). In the spring of 1825, however, Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] of

Egypt invested the area; in spite of a heroic Greek defence, Palaiokastro and Neokastro were occupied on 29 April and 11 May respectively (Vakalopoulos, vi, 695, 762, 900; vii, 96, 110; *Greek troops*, 193). What has given Navarino its special place in history is the naval battle fought on 20 October 1827 in its harbour, the "last great battle of the age of sail" (R. Clogg, *A short hist. of modern Greece*, Cambridge 1986², 65), between the combined fleets of England, France and Russia under the British vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington and of Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia under Ṭāhir Pa<u>sh</u>a. The Muslim forces were destroyed, with three-quarters of their vessels sunk and about 6,000 Turks killed compared with only about 1,000 among the European allies (details in C. Woodhouse, *The battle of Navarino*, London 1965 and updated Greek tr., Athens 1977; *Modern Greece: a short history*, London 1977, 147 ff.; cf. Vakalopoulos, vii, 830 ff.). Ibrāhīm was cut off on the Moreote mainland from his supplies and was soon forced to conclude a truce with Codrington, though Neokastro remained in Turkish hands until the spring of 1828; finally, in the autumn of 1828, Ibrāhīm withdrew to Egypt and the French troops under General Maison relieved the Egyptian-Turkish garrison. In *ca.* 1832 A. Reumont (*Reiseschilderungen und Umrisse*, 83 ff.) gives an important description of Navarino under French occupation, especially on the building activities resulting in the foundation of modern Pylos (Vakalopoulos, viii, 260); new road connections with Methone were constructed in 1830 (Themelē-Katephōre, 168). Following the *Tourkokratia*, Navarino-Pylos was elevated to an important administrative unit within the newly-founded Kingdom of Greece (see beginning of the article and Stadtmüller, 156 map.; S. Loukatos, *Politeiographika of Koron, Modon and Neokastro in 1830* [in Greek], in *Pelopon.*, xv [1984], 209 ff.; E. Frangaki-M. Wagstaff, *Settlement pattern changes in the Morea/Peloponnesos c.A.D. 1700-1830*, in *Byz. and Mod. Greek Stud.*, xi [1987], 177 map, 178 table).

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(N. BÉES-[A. SAVVIDES])

NAVARRA (Eng. and Fr.: Navarre), a province of northern Spain, whose capital, Pampeluna, abandoned its allegiance to the Muslims in 182/798 and made itself into a semi-independent kingdom. Its history, at the time of Muslim domination, becomes intermingled with that of Pampeluna [see BANBALŪNA] and with that of the majority of its inhabitants, the Basques or Vascons [see BA<u>SH</u>KUNI<u>SH</u>]. (ED.)

LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA [see AL-ʿIḲĀB].

NAVIGATION [see MILĀḤA].

NAWʾ [see ANWĀʾ].

NAW BAHĀR, a pre-Islamic sacred site and monastery at Bal<u>kh</u> [*q.v.*] in what is now northern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān, destroyed by the Arab invaders, but famed in early Islamic history as the place of origin of the Barmakī family of officials and viziers in early ʿAbbāsid times, the eponym Barmak having been the head or abbot (*pramu<u>kh</u>a*) of Naw Bahār. See on the shrine, almost certainly a Buddhist one, AL-BARĀMIKA. 1. Origins; to the *Bibl.* there should be added Le Strange, *Lands*, 421-2; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 14-15; R.W. Bulliet, *Naw Bahār and the survival of Iranian Buddhism*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, XIV (1976), 140-5, emphasising the existence of several other Naw Bahārs in the northeastern Iranian region. (ED.)

AL-**NAWĀ<u>DJ</u>Ī**, <u>SH</u>AMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿU<u>TH</u>MĀN AL-ḲĀHIRĪ, an Arab scholar, poet and man of letters, born in Cairo in 788/1386 and died there in 859/1455, a typical representative of the literature of the post-classical period.

Of his many teachers we may mention the authority on *ḳirāʾāt* al-<u>D</u>jazarī (751-832/1350-1429; cf. Brockelmann, II², 257-8, no. 6) and al-Damīrī [*q.v.*]; he mentions the latter in the preface to his stylistics (Paris ms., de Slane, no. 4453); among his literary friends were Ibn Ḥi<u>djdj</u>a al-Ḥamawī [*q.v.*] against

whom he later directed his polemic *al-Ḥudjdja fī sariḳāt Ibn Ḥidjdja* (Leiden ms., no. 509). His official position was teacher of *ḥadīth* in several of the *madrasas* of Cairo; he was closely connected with Ṣūfī circles. In addition to several journeys in Egypt, he twice made the *ḥadjdj*. As was the custom with scholars of the time, he wrote a number of commentaries and glosses on well-known textbooks and several works on rhetoric and poetics. As a poet he made his way by panegyrics on high officials and many Maecenases richly rewarded him. In obedience to the taste of his patrons, he compiled anthologies of poems on subjects which were particularly popular with the upper classes of his time; as usual, some of these are on the borders of belles-lettres and erotica. The majority of these anthologies still exist only in manuscript (see Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*); the best known and perhaps the most important from the point of view of scholarship is *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, whose title refers to the poets who vie with one another in descriptions of wine (see his own explanation of the name, ed. Būlāḳ 1276, 7, 17-19). It was finished at the end of Shawwāl 824/end of October 1421 (339 ult.) and first called *al-Ḥubūr wa 'l-surūr fī waṣf al-khumūr*. Cf. *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr* by Ibn al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 417/1026) (Brockelmann, I², 161, S I, 252), a work often cited by al-Nawādjī, 6, 143, 163). Neither this change of name nor the last section, which is devoted to the regret and shame caused by wine, prevented the author from being vigorously attacked (see al-Sakhāwī, in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfā, iii, 106-7, no. 4607); many regarded his book not only as frivolous but even as sinful. Al-Nawādjī continued the long series of anthologies on wine which from the 3rd/9th century onwards occupy a special place in Arabic literature. Ibn al-Muʿtazz's [*q.v.*] work *Tabāshīr al-surūr* (see *Bull. USSR Acad. of Sciences* [1927], 1163-70) was perhaps the earliest and was also used by al-Nawādjī (*ibid.*, 1169, n. 6). Of his predecessors (in addition to the two mentioned), he quotes not only purely literary but also scientific works: Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 350/951 [*q.v.*]), *Adab al-nadīm*; al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [*q.v.*]), *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir al-ʿAsḳalānī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*; al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253), *Surūr al-nafs bi-madārik al-ḥawāss al-khams*; Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī (d. *ca.* 685/1286), *al-Murḳiṣ wa 'l-muṭrib*; Ibn Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318), *al-Mabāhidj*; Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (d.768/1306), *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*; Ibn Abī Ḥadjala (d. 776/1375 [*q.v.*]), *al-Sukkardān*; al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412), *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*; Ḥasan b. Zufar al-Irbilī, *Rawḍat al-djalīs wa-nuzhat al-anīs*; Muḥammad al-ʿAnbarī, *al-Nawr al-mudjtanā min riyāḍ al-udabāʾ*; Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ, *al-Khawāṣṣ*; ʿAlī b. Ḥazm al-Ḳurashī (d. 687/1288), *Mūdjiz al-ḳānūn fī 'l-ṭibb*; al-Damīrī [*q.v.*], *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.

He also dealt with contemporary poetry and belles-lettres. His encyclopaedia of wine contains 25 chapters and a concluding one, not always systematically arranged and often only loosely connected (e.g. the chapter devoted to the Nile or long poems of the *zadjal* type). With a critical sifting of his sources, the anthology may produce much not only of purely literary value but also of interest for the history of culture. In spite of vigorous attacks on it, the *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* has always been very popular (cf. V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix, Liege 1905, 59-60, no. 70) and has exercised considerable influence. Even as late as the 18th century the ʿIrāḳī scholar Amīn b. Khayr Allāh al-ʿUmarī (1737-89; see al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, i, Cairo 1927, col. 129) continued his tradition in the anthology *Nawādir al-minaḥ fī aḳsām al-malāḥa wa 'l-mulaḥ* (see Dāwūd al-Čelebī, *Kitāb Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil*, Baghdād 1927, 50-2, no. 65). In Europe also, al-Nawādjī early attracted attention: in the 17th century d'Herbelot (1625-95) devoted an article to him in the *Bibliothèque orientale* (Maastricht 1776, 657). In the 18th century, Sir William Jones (1746-94) wrote of his book "Est hic liber Athenaei Δειπνοσοφισταῖς simillimus, sed mea quidem sententia jucundior, ornatior, copiosior" (*Poeseos asiaticae commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1777, 355). In the first half of the 19th century we often come across extracts and translations from his anthology (see Chauvin, *op. cit.*); in recent literary investigations, it has now been thrust into the background by earlier works in Arabic literature.

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NAWĀʾĪ, ʿALĪ SHĪR [see MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR NAWĀʾĪ].

NAWĀR [see ČINGĀNE, LŪLĪ, ZUṬṬ].

AL-**NAWĀWĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. ʿARABĪ AL-DJĀWĪ, an Arabic writer of Malay origin, born in Tanāra (Banten), the son of a village judge (*pangalu*), after concluding his studies made the pilgrimage to Mecca and settled there permanently in about 1855, after making a short visit to his native land. After he had studied further and completed his education with the teachers of the holy city, he set up as a teacher himself and gained great influence over his fellow countrymen and their kinsmen. From 1870 he devoted half his time to authorship. He was still alive in 1888.

He wrote a large number of commentaries on popular textbooks, which are listed by Brockelmann, II², 651-2, S II, 813-14, in addition to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 362 ff. Of these, the following may be mentioned, with some information additional to what is contained in these two works.

He expounded the Ḳurʾān in his *al-Tafsīr al-munīr li-maʿālim al-tanzīl al-musfir ʿan wudjūh maḥāsin al-taʾwīl*, Cairo 1305. In the field of *fiḳh*, he annotated the *Fatḥ al-karīb* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512), a commentary on Abū Shudjāʿ al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Taḳrīb*, entitled *al-Tawshīḥ*, Cairo 1305, 1310, and again entitled *Ḳūt al-ḥabīb*, Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310. — He wrote a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* under the title *Marāḳī 'l-ʿubūdiyya*, Būlāḳ 1293, 1309, Cairo 1298, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327. — On the *Manāḳib al-ḥadjdj* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb (d. 977/1569), he wrote *al-Fatḥ al-mudjīb*, Būlāḳ 1276, 1292, Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mecca 1316. — On the *Safīnat al-ṣalāḥ* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī he wrote the *Sullam al-munādjāt*, Būlāḳ 1297, Cairo 1301, 1307. — He wrote a commentary on the 601 questions of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zāhid (d. 819/1416), put into verse by his fellow-countryman Muṣṭafā b. ʿUthmān al-Djāwī al-Ḳārūṭī as *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn* on *ṣalāt*, alms, fasting and pilgrimage under the title *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, Cairo 1300; the *Safīnat al-nadjāʾ* of Sālim b. Samīr of Shiḥr in Ḥaḍramawt, completed in Batavia, was expounded under the title *Kāshifat al-sadjāʾ*, Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305, Būlāḳ

1309. — On the exposition of the *uṣūl al-dīn* by his colleague Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh entitled *al-Riyāḍ al-badīʿa*, he wrote the commentary *al-Thimār al-yāniʿa*, Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329, Būlāḳ 1302.

In the field of dogmatics, he annotated al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* (d. 892/1496), entitled *Dharīʿat al-yaḳīn*, Cairo 1304; the *ʿAḳīdat al-ʿawāmm* of Aḥmad al-Marzūḳī (*ca.* 1281/1864) entitled *Nūr al-ẓalām*, Cairo 1303, 1329; al-Bādjūrī's *Risāla fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd* entitled *Tīdjān al-darārī*, Cairo 1301, 1309, Mecca 1329; the *Masāʾil* of Abu 'l-Layth entitled *Ḳaṭr al-ghayth*, Cairo 1302, 1303, Mecca 1311; the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* entitled *Ḥilyat al-ṣibyān* in a *Madjmūʿa*, Mecca 1304; and the *al-Durr al-farīd* of his teacher Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī entitled *Fatḥ al-madjīd*, Cairo 1298.

In the field of mysticism, he wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūma hidāyat al-adhkiyāʾ ilā ṭarīḳ al-awliyāʾ* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī (d. 928/1522) entitled *Salālim al-fuḍalāʾ*, Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315; and on his *Manẓūma fī shuʿab al-īmān*, he wrote the *Ḳāmiʿ al-ṭughyān*, Cairo 1296. On the *al-Manhadj al-atamm fī tabwīb al-ḥukm* of ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 975/1567) he wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulm*, Mecca 1314. — His commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; such he wrote on the *mawlid al-Nabī* under the title *al-ʿArūs*, Cairo 1926, which is ascribed by some to Ibn al-Djawzī, by others to Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled *Fatḥ al-ṣamad al-ʿālim ʿalā mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim wa-yusammā al-Bulūgh al-fawzī li-bayān alfāẓ mawlid Ibn al-Djawzī*, Būlāḳ 1292, entitled *Bughyat al-ʿawāmm fī sharḥ mawlid Sayyid al-Anām li-Ibn al-Djawzī*, Cairo 1927, and *Fatḥ al-ṣamad al-ʿālim ʿalā mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim*, Mecca 1306, as well as on the *Mawlid* of Djaʿfar al-Barzandjī (d. 1179/1765) entitled *Targhīb al-mushtāḳīn*, Būlāḳ 1292, and again under the title *Madāridj al-ṣuʿūd*, Būlāḳ 1296, and on his *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-nabawiyya* entitled *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, Būlāḳ 1299. He made an excerpt from al-Ḳasṭallānī's (d. 923/1517) *Mawlid* entitled *al-Ibrīz al-dānī fī mawlid Sayyidnā Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-ʿAdnānī*, Cairo 1299.

In the field of grammar, he wrote a commentary on the *Ādjurrūmiyya* entitled *Kashf al-murūṭiyya ʿan sitār al-Ādjurrūmiyya*, Cairo 1308, and on a versification *Fatḥ ghāfir al-khaṭiyya ʿala 'l-kawākib al-djaliyya fī naẓm al-Adjurrūmiyya*, Būlāḳ 1298; and on ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿIwaḍ al-Djirdjāwī's (*ca.* 1271/1854) *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fi 'l-abwāb al-taṣrīfiyya* entitled *al-Fusūṣ al-yāḳūtiyya*, Cairo 1299. In the field of rhetoric, he completed in 1293/1876 a commentary on the *Risālat al-Istiʿārāt* of Ḥusayn al-Nawāwī al-Mālikī entitled *Lubāb al-bayān*, Cairo 1301.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-**NAWAWĪ** (or AL-NAWĀWĪ), MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀʾ YAḤYĀ B. SHARAF B. MURĪ [following Nawawī's own spelling, Suyūṭī, fol. 53b] B. ḤASAN B. ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJUMʿA B. ḤIZĀM AL-ḤIZĀMĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, a Shāfiʿī jurist, born in Muḥarram 631/October 1233 in Nawā south of Damascus in Djawlān. The ability of the boy very early attracted attention and his father brought him in 649/1251 to the Madrasa al-Rawāḥiyya in Damascus. There he first of all studied medicine but very soon went over to Islamic learning. In 651/1253 he made the pilgrimage with his father. About 655/1257 he began to write and was called in 665/1267 to the al-Ashrafiyya *dār al-ḥadīth* in Damascus in succession to Abū Shāma who had just died. Although his health had suffered severely during his life as a student, he lived very frugally and even declined a salary. His reputation as a scholar and a man soon became so great that he even dared to approach the Mamlūk sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] to ask him to free the people of Syria from the war taxes imposed upon them and to protect the teachers in the *madrasas* from a reduction in their income. This was in vain, however, and Baybars expelled al-Nawawī from Damascus when he alone refused to sign a *fatwā* approving the legality of these exactions. (This action of al-Nawawī's is commemorated in the popular romance *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Cairo 1326, xli, 38 ff. in which the sultan, cursed by al-Nawawī, becomes blind for a time.) He died unmarried in his father's house in Nawā on Wednesday, 24 Radjab 676/22 Dec. 1277. His tomb is still held in honour there.

Al-Nawawī has retained his high reputation to the present day. He had an exceptional knowledge of Tradition and adopted even stricter standards than later Islam; for example, he admits only five works on Tradition as canonical, while he expressly puts the *Sunan* of Ibn Mādja on a level with the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. *Sharḥ Muslim*, i, 5; *Adhkār*, 3). In spite of his fondness for Muslim, he gives a higher place to al-Bukhārī (*Tahdhīb*, 550). He wrote the principal commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo 1283); as an introduction to this, he wrote a history of the transmission of this work and a sketch of the science of Tradition. He gives not only observations on the *isnāds* and a grammatical explanation of the traditions, but he also comments on them, mainly from the theological and legal aspect, quoting when necessary not only the founders of the principal schools but also the older jurists like al-Awzāʿī, ʿAṭāʾ, etc. He also inserted headings (*tardjama*) in Muslim's work. We may also mention his frequently annotated *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn* (Būlāḳ 1294 and often since) and portions of commentaries on al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, fol. 10b); and an extract from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, with the title *al-Taḳrīb wa 'l-tafsīr*, partly tr. Marçais, in *JA*, ser. 9, xvi-xviii, and printed at Cairo 1307, with a commentary by al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*.

Al-Nawawī's importance as a jurist is perhaps even greater. In Shāfiʿī circles he was regarded, with his *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (finished 669/1270-1; Cairo 1297 and frequent later eds.; ed. van den Berg with French tr., Batavia 1882-4; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, vi, 3-18), as the highest authority along with al-Rāfiʿī, and since the 10th/16th century the two commentaries on this work, Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tuḥfa* and al-Ramlī's *Nihāya*, have been regarded almost as the law books par excellence of the Shāfiʿī school. The book consists of excerpts from the *Muḥarrar* of Rāfiʿī and, as the author himself says, is intended to be a kind of commentary on it. It certainly owes the estimation in which it is held also to the fact that it goes back via al-Rāfiʿī and al-Ghazālī to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn. We should also mention the *Rawḍa fī mukhtaṣar sharḥ al-Rāfiʿī* (on al-Ghazālī's *Wadjīz*) finished in 669/1270-1, on which commentaries have often been written, the commentaries on Shīrāzī's *al-Muhadhdhab* and *al-Tanbīh* (Brockelmann, I^2, 485) and al-Ghazālī's *al-Wasīṭ*, which do not seem to have survived, and a collection of *fatwās* put together by his pupil Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Cairo 1352).

His biographical and grammatical studies resulted in the *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ wa 'l-lughāt* (Part 1 on the names, Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842-7; Part 2 only in ms. in Leiden; included by Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār among the unfinished works and there are certainly gaps in it) and *al-Taḥrīr fī alfāẓ al-tanbīh* completed in 671/1272-3. To his mystical tendencies —he had attended lectures

on the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī and transmitted it— we owe works like the *Kitāb al-Adhkār* on the prayers, finished in 667/1268-9 (Cairo 1331 and frequent later eds.), the *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* (finished in 670/1271-2; Mecca 1302, 1312, Eng. tr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, London 1975) and the incomplete *Bustān al-ʿārifīn fi 'l-zuhd wa 'l-taṣawwuf*. For his complete works, see Brockelmann, I², 496-501, S I, 680-6.

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NAWBA (A.), in the art-music of the Islamic Middle East and North Africa, a complex form made up of a number of individual pieces arranged in a standard sequence. (For the use of *nawba* in relation to the military and ceremonial ensemble, see NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA and MEHTER.)

The term *nawba* appears already in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (284-356/897-967 [*q.v.*]), but in its non-technical meaning of "turn". It refers either to the practice, established at the latest by the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, of having a given musician perform regularly at court on a particular day of the week, or to several musicians taking turns to sing during a single *madjlis*. However, for all their references to features of etiquette, missing from the many accounts in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of musical *madjālis* at the ʿAbbāsid court is any indication of the existence of a large-scale conventional sequence of songs, let alone of any complex cyclical form. The choice of which song to sing next was governed by various and sometimes unpredictable factors, and the patron would often demand to have a particularly pleasing item repeated several times (see Sawa, *Music performance practice*, 115-16, 166-70).

The notion of a preferred or most effective order of events is, however, attested by the end of the 4th/10th century. The singer is advised in the *Kamāl Adab al-ghināʾ* of al-Ḥasan al-Kātib (late 4th/10th or early 5th/11th century) and in the *Ḥāwī 'l-funūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān (d. after 449/1057) to begin with slow and serious songs and to conclude with faster and more frivolous ones: such a plan, it is urged, will accord with the changing mood (and increasing inebriation) of the audience. Given this broad framework, it might be expected that more specifically musical considerations would lead to the development of particular conventional groupings either of individual songs or of types of song (involving some pattern of unity or contrast relating to modal, rhythmic or formal parameters). But these two works, despite their concern with the practicalities of music making, fail to indicate the existence of any such compound structure, and the term *nawba* does not occur in them. It does, however, appear shortly after, in the phrase *nawbat-i muṭribī*, in the *Ḳābūs-nāma* (475/1082-3) of Kay Kāʾūs [*q.v.*], where we encounter the first tentative association with formal organisation, even if it is clear from the context that we are still dealing with nothing more precise than the general trajectory or changing character of the various pieces that make up a complete performance, moving again from slow to fast, from stylistically complex to simple.

A similar overall design, but rather more explicit in its articulation, is to be found in Spain. Al-Maḳḳarī (986-1041/1578-1632) quotes Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-8-1076 [*q.v.*]) to the effect that the conventional order was to begin with *nashīd* [*q.v.*], followed by *basīṭ*, both of these being slow, and conclude with the faster *muḥarrakāt* and *ahzādj*. The particular pairing of *nashīd* and *basīṭ* is mentioned already (*Aghānī*³, v, 427) in relation to Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (150-235/767-850 [*q.v.*]) and the sequence as a whole is closely related to the format discussed by al-Ḥasan al-Kātib. For him *nashīd* and *basīṭ* constitute successive stages within a single piece, but one occurring at the beginning of a performance, while *hazadj* is specified as one of the lighter, quicker rhythms that are saved till the end.

If this suggests that there were still similar concepts of large-scale (but loosely structured) organisation in both East and West in the 5th/11th century, the testimony of al-Tīfāshī (580-651/1184-1253) shows that two centuries later there were two well-established but distinct complex forms, both called *nawba*. That in the West began again with a *nashīd*, but followed now by *ṣawt*, *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*. The first two seem to have been differentiated by a technical feature, the inclusion in the first and omission from the second of an initial section called *istihlāl*; the last two relate to strophic verse/song forms.

The Eastern *nawba*, in contrast, consisted for al-Tīfāshī of five pieces: *ḳawl*, *ghazal*, *tarāna*, *zamāna* and *ḳawl (-i) dīgar*. There is, however, no mention of it in the treatises of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294), and given that he does refer to other forms it may not yet have become as important as the prominence accorded it by later theorists would suggest. Nor, indeed, is it singled out for emphasis in the next work to cite it, the so-called *Sharḥ Mawlānā Mubārak Shāh bar adwār* (777/1375) (which lists, incidentally, only three movements: *ḳawl*, *ghazal* and *tarāna*), so that it is not until the beginning of the 9th/15th century, in the treatises of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī (d. 839/1435), that it comes to the fore. (In an interesting autobiographical anecdote, he relates how he won a wager to compose one whole *nawba* each day for a month.) The cyclical implication in al-Tīfāshī's account of the final return to the initial song type suggests that the slow to fast trajectory had either been abandoned or had never been relevant to the Eastern *nawba*, and confirmation of this is given in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī's description of what seems to have been its normative form during the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries. All of the now canonic four movements (*ḳawl*, *ghazal*, *tarāna* and *firūdāsht*) are unified not only by identity of melodic mode but also by being restricted to a small number of rhythmic cycles. What distinguishes them is not, therefore, a progressive change of character, nor particular features of formal structure, but rather the language and type of the verse: the *ḳawl* set Arabic verse, the *ghazal* Persian, the *tarāna* a *rubāʿī*, the *firūdāsht* again Arabic verse. The Eastern *nawba* (or, in full, *nawba murattaba/nawbat-i murattab*) cannot, therefore, be seen as a crystallisation of an earlier large-scale format, but is rather just one (even if the only compound) form among many, and in a larger performance context it was probably assigned to the initial, slower block of pieces.

Some idea of the later history of the *nawba* can be gleaned from song-text collections of the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. It is clear, for example, that

the theorists' specification of a *rubāʿī* for the *tarāna* had been abandoned in practice: normally just one line (and usually, indeed, the same line) was set. They also show that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Marāghī's attempt to add a fifth movement (*mustazād*) which would repeat material from the previous four had not proved successful: no other composer tried to emulate him. But of far greater significance is the fact that they reveal how the *nawba* itself, despite the high prestige it had earlier enjoyed, was rapidly falling out of favour. Already by the end of the 9th/15th century few were recorded entire, and by the middle of the 10th/16th it had virtually ceased to exist: we find a bare handful of examples, a few *ḳawl* plus *ghazal* pairs, and a scattering of individual movements.

Its disappearance from the repertoire at this time inevitably calls into question the supposition of continuity and subsequent transformation. There is no evidence to sustain the notion that more recent large-scale cyclical forms such as the Ottoman *faṣīl* or even the Central Asian *shashmaḳom* [*q.v.*] gradually evolved out of the *nawba*. The earliest description of the *faṣīl*, that of Demetrius Cantemir, dates from *ca.* 1110/1700, although it is no doubt the case that it had been in existence for some time. But the crucial argument against a derivation of *faṣīl* from *nawba* is that the two have virtually nothing in common apart from the primary fact of being conventional assemblages of individual pieces considered to form a complex whole. Whereas the *nawba* consisted of four specific and highly uniform vocal compositions by a single composer, the *faṣīl* in its classical form can be defined as a variable selection of pieces, usually by different composers, fitting into a series of prescribed slots organised in such a way as to emphasise, within the overall unity of mode, contrast and variety. It thus alternates between instrumental and vocal, unmeasured and measured, and juxtaposes vocal pieces using contrasting rhythmic cycles.

In the Maghrib, on the other hand, the term *nawba* is still current and there must, therefore, be a reasonable possibility of continuity from the Western form as specified by al-Tīfāshī down to the present. Unfortunately, this must remain supposition: the word may surface in 12th/18th century sources such as *al-Ḥāʾik*, but there is no documentary evidence to chart any of the stages of what must have been a complex evolution leading to the present form, which has many more components than its 7th/13th century antecedent and retains none of its formal terminology. In current Moroccan practice, for example, the *nawba* consists broadly of a number of introductory pieces largely serving the purpose of modal exposition (an instrumental prelude, *mīshāliyya*, followed by the choral *inshād ṭabʿ al-naghma* and a briefer instrumental *bughya*), and then an instrumental prelude, *tūshiya*, leading to five core groups of vocal pieces (*ṣanʿa*) selected from a wide repertoire of more than 1,000 songs in, successively, the rhythmic cycles *basīṭ*, *ḳāʾim wa-niṣf*, *baṭāʾiḥī*, *daradj* and *ḳuddām*. Within each of these groups the tempo gradually accelerates, so that we may detect here an echo or even, possibly, a direct survival of the ancient concept of transition from slow to fast. The essentially choral nature of the performance of these songs may be varied by the insertion of solo display pieces (*baytayn* or *mawwāl*) which allow the individual vocalist's virtuosity to come to the fore. Many of the singers are at the same time instrumentalists: the ensemble consists of the bowed *rabāb* (considered the leader) and a varying number of performers on violin (braced vertically against the thigh), *ʿūd*, and percussion instruments. Considerable regional variations occur across the Maghrib with regard to the nature and size of the ensemble, the repertoire, and its technical terminology (for details on these, see Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, which also contains a discography).

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(O. Wright)

NAWBAKHT, a Persian patronymic (*naw* or *nay* + *bakht* "new fortune"), was borne in Baghdād during the first two ʿAbbāsid centuries by a family remarkable for its influence on the advancement of learning and on the political legitimism of the Imāmī Shīʿa.

It claimed descent (see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Beirut, 115) from the Persian hero Gīw son of Gūdarz celebrated in the *Shāh-nāma* (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 399, and Christensen, *Kayanides*, 59, 117). Its first known representative Nawbakht, an astrologer, owed his fortune to the future caliph al-Manṣūr, to whom in prison he is said to have foretold his accession to the throne and later the victory over the Zaydī rebel Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]; in the same year (144/762) in which he drew up the horoscope of Baghdād, the new capital, he was granted fiefs in it. His son Abū Sahl Tīmādh (on this curious praenomen, cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. A. Müller, Leipzig 1884, iii, p. xli, and H. Ritter, postlude to his edition of Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī's *Firaḳ*, 9) (d. 170/786) had seven sons by his wife Zarrīn, the founders of the various branches of the Āl Nawbakht, in which we find theologians like Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Sahl (wrote about 350/961 the *Kitāb al-Yāḳūt*, on which a commentary by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī has been found by A. Iḳbāl; an earlier commentary had been written by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, according to his *Sharḥ al-Nahdj*, iv, 575; and the *Kitāb al-Ibtihādj*), Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl [see AL-NAWBAKHTĪ], Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ, third *wakīl* of the Imāmīs [see IBN RŪḤ], and Ḥasan b. Mūsā [see AL-

NAWBAKHTĪ]; astronomers like al-Faḍl b. Abī Sahl (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 275, who has been confused with al-Maʾmūn's minister) and Mūsā b. Ḥasan Ibn Kibriyā; secretaries of state; and finally, enlightened students of poetry to whom the editors of the *dīwāns* of Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Buḥturī went to establish the texts.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the Nawbakhtīs seem to have been closely linked, like another Shīʿī family of the time, the Banū Bisṭām, with the policies of the caliphal vizier Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] (see Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 514 and AL-NAWBAKHTĪ).

Bibliography: ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1933, with a genealogical tree, and useful indices, among others that of the Shīʿī sects, 249-67; H. Ritter, in his edition of the *Firaḳ* of Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī [*q.v.*]; see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima* and *ʿIbar*, indices.

(L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**NAWBAKHTĪ**, AL-ḤASAN B. MŪSĀ, Abū Muḥammad, scholar and theologian, and proponent of Imāmī Shīʿism, member of the renowned Nawbakht family [*q.v.*] (d. between 300 and 310/912-22). His ancestor, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht, a famous astronomer, converted to Islam, and participated with al-Manṣūr in the constructing of Baghdad. On the family Nawbakht, see also ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*.

Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā was a nephew of Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Nawbakhtī, a prominent Imāmī theologian (d. 311/923; see Brockelmann, S I, 319; Iḳbāl, 96-124). These two members of the Banū Nawbakht were the founders of the first school which fused Muʿtazilī theology with Imāmī teachings. They professed Muʿtazilī tenets on divine attributes and justice, denial of the beatific vision of God (on which both of them wrote works), and rejection of the view that God creates human acts. But they opposed the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the Imāmate, espousing the impeccability and infallibility of the Imāms, although (along with the Muʿtazilīs) denying their miracles (Iḳbāl, 128; Madelung, *Imāmism and Muʿtazilite theology*, 14-16).

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 177, tr. Dodge, 441), who calls al-Nawbakhtī "a theologian and philosopher", places him in the company of a group of translators of philosophical books—Abū ʿUthman al-Dimashḳī, Isḥāḳ (b. Ḥunayn), Thābit (b. Ḳurra), and others. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa tells (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, i, 216) of an encounter between al-Nawbakhtī and Thābit b. Ḳurra at the time when the former was a young man.

Al-Nawbakhtī wrote on theology, philosophy and sects, and composed polemical works. Forty-four titles are mentioned in bio-bibliographical sources; see Ritter (ed.), *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, Introd., 17-20; Iḳbāl, 129-35. He also copied many works.

His most important book, the *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt*, is known mainly from citations by Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Talbīs Iblīs*; and also from al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, and Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Ritter, Introd., 22-6; Iḳbāl, 136-40. (Brockelmann, S I, 319, mistakenly says that *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt* was edited by Ritter). The extant fragments discuss the Sophists (Sceptics); Dualists; Greek philosophers (Socrates); views of Stoic philosophers; Indian religions (Barāhima); Ṣābians and Madjūs; astronomers and astrologers; views of Djahm b. Ṣafwān, doctrine of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam on anthropomorphism; and views of Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, Naʿīm (Nuʿaym) b. Ḥammād, and Dāwūd al-Djawāribī.

The *K. al-Ārāʾ wa 'l-diyānāt*, as Madelung has shown (*Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq*), made use of Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ's (d. 247/861) *K. Ikhtiṣāṣ madhāhib al-ithnayn* and/or *K. al-Maḳālāt* for knowledge of dualistic religions, the Manichaeans, Marcionites and the Bardesanians. Al-Nawbakhtī's reports on these topics were used in turn by ʿAbd al Djabbār, al-Shahrastānī and Ibn al-Murtaḍā.

Al-Nawbakhtī's polemical works include a refutation of extremist Shīʿīs (*al-Radd ʿalā 'l-ghulāt*); see Ritter, 27; Iḳbāl, 135-6; a refutation of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī's refutation of astrologers; and physical proofs from Aristotle refuting those who claim that the sphere is living and rational. His philosophic interests are also expressed in his epitome of Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione* and by a work on atomism.

Al-Nawbakhtī is best known for his book on Shīʿī sects, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* (*K. fīhi madhāhib firaḳ ahl al-imāma wa-asmāʾuhā* ...), which was edited by H. Ritter (Istanbul 1931). The work was subsequently edited (but apparently based on Ritter) by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ al-Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Nadjaf 1355/1936).

A Persian translation of *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* was done by M. Dj. Mashkūr, *Tardjamat Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* (Tehran 1325 A.S./1946), see also the French translation by M.J. Mashkour (Mashkūr), *Les sectes shiites: traduction annotée avec introduction*, 2nd ed. (Tehran 1980), which first appeared in *RHR*, cliii (1958), 68-78, 176-214; cliv (1958), 67-95, 146-72; clv (1959), 63-78 (and published separately, Tehran 1958). There is a Russian translation by S.M. Prozorov, *Shiitiskie sekti*, with Eng. summary (Moscow 1973).

The *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* treats the question of the Imāmate (on which al-Nawbakhtī wrote one or two independent works) as well as Shīʿī sects. A question exists whether the *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa* is the work of al-Nawbakhtī or rather derived from the *K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ* of his contemporary, Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī al-Ḳummī (d. 299/911) (ed. Mashkūr, Tehran 1964), as many parallels exist (see the list of most of them in Iḳbāl, 144-54) between the *Firaḳ* and al-Ḳummī's book. The explanation that commends itself is that al-Ḳummī used al-Nawbakhtī's work and added sources of his own (see Madelung, *Bemerkungen*).

Madelung suggests that al-Nawbakhtī used Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's *K. Ikhtilāf al-nās fī 'l-imāma* for the first part of his book, a source used also by al-Nāshiʾ in his *K. Uṣūl al-niḥal*, which parallels al-Nawbakhtī in several places (J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 26, 39, 54; Madelung, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 225).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 119-20; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1311/1932-3; W. Madelung, *Imāmism and Muʿtazilite theology*, in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, ed. T. Fahd, Paris 1979, 13-29; idem, *Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantäer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Bertold Spuler...*, Leiden 1981, 210-24; idem, *Bermerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 37-52; idem, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, in *Isl.*, lvii (1980), 220-36 (all repr. in *Religious schools and sects in medieval Islam*, London 1985); J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut 1971.

(J.L. KRAEMER)

NAWBANDADJĀN, NŪBANDADJĀN (also Nūbandjān, according to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Beirut, v, 307), a town of the province of Fārs in mediaeval Islamic Persia. It lay in the district of Shābūr Khurra roughly midway between Iṣṭakhr and Arradjān [*q.vv.*] on the road linking Shīrāz with Khūzistān. The geographers describe the town as populous and

flourishing, with fine markets and a good running water supply. It flourished under the Būyids, was destroyed by the Shabānkāra Kurds of Abū Saʿd in the 5th/11th century, but was rebuilt by the Saldjūḳ Muḥammad b. Maliḳ-Shāh's governor of Fārs and Kirmān, the Atabeg Čāwulī Saḳāw (d. 510/1116) (Ibn al-Balkhī, tr. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, London 1912, 57-8). It then fell into ruins, which were identified by the Russian traveller C.A. Bode (see *JRGS* [1845], 78; A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 172).

Two *farsakhs* from Nawbandadjān was the *shiʿb Bawwān*, the valley accounted by the Muslims one of the four earthly paradises and praised by al-Mutanabbī in one of his most famous *ʿAḍudiyyāt* odes.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 128; Le Strange, *Lands*, 264-5; Schwarz, *Iran*, 34-5.

(C.E. Bosworth)

NAWFAL, banū, a clan of the Meccan tribe of Ḳuraysh. The genealogists reckon Nawfal as one of the sons of ʿAbd Manāf, and brother of ʿAbd Shams, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib. Nawfal himself is said to have been specially concerned to develop trade with ʿIrāḳ and the Persian empire, and is also reported to have quarrelled with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim (Muḥammad's grandfather).

Some information has been preserved about the mutual relations of the clans of Ḳuraysh. At one period, all the descendants of ʿAbd Manāf together with some other clans formed a group known as the Muṭayyabūn ("the perfumed ones") which challenged another group known as the Aḥlāf ("confederates") led by the clans of ʿAbd al-Dār and Makhzūm. Later, however, the clans of ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, which often seem to have acted together, left the first group and came closer to the wealthy and powerful clan of Makhzūm, though still maintaining a degree of separation. The clan of Nawfal appears to have been small in number, and there is no member of it in the lists of early Muslims apart from the confederate ʿUtba b. Ghazwān. The clan joined with most of the rest of Ḳuraysh in boycotting the clan of Hāshim when Abū Ṭālib as leader refused either to stop Muḥammad preaching or to withdraw clan protection (*djiwār*) from him; but the leader of Nawfal, al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī, was one of five men who brought about the ending of the boycott. Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded as leader by Abū Lahab, who seems to have refused to continue protecting Muḥammad. As a result, after Muḥammad's abortive visit to al-Ṭāʾif seeking support, before he could re-enter Mecca he had to arrange for the protection of another clan; and it was al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī of Nawfal who gave him this, though presumably on condition that he stopped preaching. Al-Muṭʿim is not mentioned after the *Hidjra*, but other members of the clan persisted in opposition to Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 85-7, 251, etc.; Ṭabarī, i, 1084-5, 1203, etc.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, and *K. al-Munammaḳ*, Ḥaydarābād, 1942, 1964, see indices; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 6-8, 92, 140, 174, etc.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

al-**NAWFALĪ**, the *nisba* of a Hāshimite family of *akhbārīs* who transmitted from father to son traditions of a historical character.

On the death of Yazīd (I) b. Muʿāwiya (64/683 [*q.v.*]), ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] was confirmed in his office of governor of ʿIrāḳ by the Baṣrans, who nevertheless speedily retracted this when they learnt that the Kūfans had stoned his emissaries. It was at this point that Baṣra designated as its governor ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, whose grandfather and father had been Companions of the Prophet. When he was still a baby, this personage had received from his mother, Hind bt. Abī Sufyān, the surname of Babba "the fat one" because he was, it was said, plump. At Baṣra, he showed himself rather placid and inept in exercising his delicately-placed functions, so that he only retained them for a month, after which all trace is lost of him until the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (towards 80/699 [*q.v.*]), in which he participated; subsequently, he had to end his days in ʿUmān (see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 437, 446, 463 and index; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVB, 100, 104, 109; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 30-1, 86; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 7, Register, II, 111; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 27; etc.).

One gets the impression that all the persons bearing the *nisba* of al-Nawfalī are indeed the descendants of Babba, but there are certain homonymities and gaps in continuity which hinder research here. The oldest member of this family of *ruwāt* must have been (I) Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, whose name figures in some *isnāds*, but the transmitter thus named, who is cited several times by al-Ṭabarī (ii, 446, 1885, iii, 346, 347, 533), is probably not Babba's son, for, whilst belonging to the same line, he was living at a later time; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vii, 218-19 = § 2902) mentions him in fact in the story of an occurrence which is said to have taken place at the court of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42 [*q.v.*]) and in which he is represented as rather necessitous, although related to the ruler (*min ahlihi*). Al-Masʿūdī mentions in total six members of the family, and these have been put together in a genealogical table (index of the ed. of Ch. Pellat, s.v. al-Nawfalī), but it is likely that this table is incomplete. It is certainly right to add a brother of Sulaymān, (II) ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh, cited in an *isnād* by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (*Maḳātil*, 155). The following one is a nephew of ʿĪsā, (III) Muḥammad b. Sulaymān who, in al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Ḥayawān* (iii, 16) retails a dialogue between a Medinan and a Kūfan concerning the love which their respective homelands bear for the Prophet. This *rāwī* is also an authority for al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36-9 = § 2267) and, in greater detail, for al-Ṭabarī (iii, 451-5) regarding relations between this personage with Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) whom he accompanied in 158/775 and at whose death he was present. It is his son (the no. VI above) who is the transmitter of this story.

There then come Muḥammad's brother, (IV) ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, then his son, (V) Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad cited in the *Murūdj* (v, 183, 409-10 = §§ 1948, 2161) concerning a tradition about al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī and about a *khabar* regarding Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96-9/715-17 [*q.v.*]). The best-known member of the family is nevertheless (VI) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, son of no. III above whom al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 11 = § 8) and al-Sakhāwī (F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 506) count among the number of historians. The first, who cites him several times (v, 4, 41, 177, 183, 185, 187, 189, vi, 36 = §§ 1762, 1795, 1942, 1948, 1950, 1951, 1953, 2267) attributes to him a *K. al-Akhbār*, which must have been utilised by later authors (probably by al-Ṭabarī, who mentions this *rāwī* at least 25 times (until the year 173/789) and borrows from him lengthy accounts; likewise Abu 'l-Faradj, *Maḳātil*, 85, 155, 338, 427). To judge by the nature of the traditions transmitted

by this aristocratic family, it is probable that it showed some sympathy for the ʿAlids.

Now this latter consideration might justify identifying this ʿAlī b. Muḥammad with a Nawfalī of absolutely identical name, with the same *kunya* and *ism*, who is, in regard to the founder in Morocco of the Idrīsid dynasty, Idrīs I (d. 175/792 [*q.v.*]), a source for al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and tr. de Slane, text 122, tr. 238-9). Rosenthal (*loc. cit.*) seems to doubt the possibility of this identification, and R. le Tourneau (*Fès*, Casablanca 1950, 34) considers al-Nawfalī as an Andalusian, but it is wise to retain a prudent attitude here. In any case, it was al-Bakrī's citation (without *isnād*, hence, probably, given after a book, the *K. al-Akhbār*?) which allowed E. Lévi-Provençal (see his *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 15-16) to attribute the foundation of Fās to Idrīs I and not to Idrī II, as was previously done (see also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 218, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1901, 104; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, i, 53-54). The last member of the family whose name has been brought to light is (VII), ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, son of no. V.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 312, devotes a notice to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (no. VI) but makes no allusion to al-Bakrī's source.

(CH. PELLAT)

NAWRIYYA (A.), from *nawr* "flower", a term which, like *zahriyya*, designates poetry devoted to the description of flowers; it is practically impossible to separate it, as a genre, from the *rawḍiyya* or *rabīʿiyya* (descriptions of gardens or of the spring, respectively).

Already in the middle of the 5th/11th century, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 440/1048) sets forth these genres together; he divides his *al-Badīʿ fī faṣl al-rabīʿ* into (1) poems on the spring, without descriptions of flowers; (2) poems in which are described two or more flowers; and (3) poems on one flower in particular. The appearance of this kind of poetry is closely connected with contacts with ancient Persia and the progressive urbanisation of the Arabs after the conquests. The process is already discernible in the pre-Islamic period (poets at the court of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]), but does not attain the status of a separate genre before the ʿAbbāsid period. At the outset, the ʿAbbāsid poets followed, in the *ḳaṣīda*, the pre-Islamic tradition of describing the floral decoration of taverns in Bacchic scenes, but in the specific *khamriyyāt* [*q.v.*], the gardens where feasts are held begin to be described. Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] generally inserts these descriptions after the theme of the *aṭlāl*, the normal starting-point for his *khamriyyāt*; he describes a restricted number of flowers, which he compares to parts of the body (rose = cheek, narcissus = eyes) or to precious stones, which are in fact the most common images in later poetry. Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] was the first to replace, in a poem, the *nasīb* by a description of spring and its flowers, as an imperfect reflection of the *mamdūḥ*, and this enjoyed an extraordinary success, not only among the Arab panegyrists but also among the Persian, Turkish and Jewish poets. In Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*], the description of gardens and flowers becomes an independent poem. There are two types of *nawriyyāt* in this poet's *dīwān*, either descriptions of spring or of a garden, where nature is depicted as an animate being which praises God by its beauty; or else the description of one or two flowers, generally the narcissus and rose, which, in a famous poem, are the object of a *munāẓara* [*q.v.*] in which Ibn al-Rūmī judges in favour of the narcissus (and which was later, at the opening of the 5th/11th century, to give rise to a series of replicas by authors in al-Andalus, in both prose and verse, collected together by al-Ḥimyarī). Up to al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]), one is not conscious of floral poetry as being a genre ouside that of *waṣf*. This particular poet is considered as the main representative, and indeed the creator of this genre, through the abundance of *nawriyyāt* in his *dīwān*, which take the form of short poems (*ḳiṭaʿ*) as well as lengthy *ḳaṣīdas*, and because his descriptions of nature are present in all the poetic genres.

In al-Andalus, this genre was especially appreciated, to the point that practically all Andalusian poetry may be considered as floral poetry. The reasons which are given for justifying this clear preference (exhuberance of nature, the abundance and variety of flowers in al-Andalus) seem to disregard the fragmentary character of the poetic corpus from al-Andalus. Already in al-Ḥimyarī's work, the greater part of the *ḳiṭaʿ* are fragments of the floral prelude of panegyrics, in the manner of Abū Tammām. The most remarkable poets are Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], called al-Djannān, and his nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*].

The describing of flowers lends itself to the use of a recherché language and of conceits, which led to *nawriyyāt* entering at a very early date the books on *maʿānī* and on comparisons (*tashbīhāt*), as well as in anthologies in general.

Bibliography: Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. H. Pérès 1940, new ed. Dār al-Āfāḳ al-Djadīda, al-Maghrib 1989; Pérès, *La poésie andalouse, en arabe classique, au XIe siècle. Ses aspectes généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire*, 2nd ed. Paris 1953; G.E. von Grunebaum, *The response to Nature in Arabic poetry*, in *JNES*, iv (1945), 137-51 (repr. in *Themes in medieval Arabic literature*, Variorum Reprints, London 1981, VII); A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 78 ff.; G. Schoeler, *Arabische Naturdichtung. Die Zahrīyāt, Rabīʿīyāt und Rauḍīyāt von ihren Anfängen bis aṣ-Ṣanaubarī. Eine gattungs-, motiv- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1974; Miḳdād Raḥīm, *al-Nawriyyāt fī 'l-shiʿr al-andalusī*, Beirut 1406/1986.

(TERESA GARULO)

NAWʿĪ, MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ of Khabūshān, in the vicinity of Mashhad, a Persian poet of the 10th/16th century. The son of a merchant, in his youth he spent some time in Kāshān where he studied under Mawlānā Muḥtasham. Moving to Marw, he became intimate with Ḥākim Nūr Muḥammad Khān there. Like the majority of Persian poets of his time, however, he was attracted by the brilliant court of the Mughals and went to India, where at first he found a patron in the person of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, but soon afterwards entered the service of the Khānkhānān [*q.v.*] Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and remained with him and the prince Dāniyāl till his death, which took place in Burhānpūr in 1019/1610. Nawʿī's best work is his poem *Sūz u gudāz* ("Burning and melting"), which has a touching theme, the devotion of a Hindu princess who accompanies her late husband in death on the funeral pyre. It is written in excessively artificial language and distinguished by the originality of its subject, which had not been taken by any Persian poet before Nawʿī. Nawʿī's works were very highly esteemed in India, and he is said to have received 10,000 rupees, an elephant and a horse with valuable trappings for a *Sāḳī-nāma* dedicated to the Khānkhānān. His *Dīwān*, which is entitled *Lubb al-albāb*, has come down to us but has so far attracted little attention.

Bibliography: G. Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846, 161-6; Ethé, *G I Ph*, ii,

254-5; Badāʾūnī, iii, 361; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, tr. Blochmann, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 606; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 674a; *Sūz u gudāz*, Lucknow 1284 (at the end of the first part of the *Akbar-nāma*). It has been translated as *Burning and melting: being the Sūz u-Gudāz of Muḥ. Riẓā Nauʿī of Khabūshān*. Translated into English by Mirza J. Dawud of Persia and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy of Ceylon, London 1912.

(E. Berthels)

NAWRŪZ (p.), New (Year's) Day.

1. In the Islamic heartlands. The word is frequently represented in Arabic works in the form *Nayrūz*, which appears in Arabic literature as early as the verse of al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] (see al-Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Tehran 1966; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 408). It was the first day of the Persian solar year and is not represented in the Muslim lunar year (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 416-17 = §§ 1301-2). In Achaemenid times, the official year began with Nawrūz, when the sun entered the Zodiacal Sign of Aries (the vernal equinox). Popular and more ancient usage however would appear to have regarded the midsummer solstice as Nawrūz (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, 185, 201). It was the time of harvest and was celebrated by popular rejoicings, but it also marked the date when the *kharādj* [*q.v.*] was collected. The two different dates were retained in Persia proper and also in ʿIrāḳ and Djibāl under Islam, and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī states (*Taʾrīkh*, Berlin 1340 [1921], 104) that Nawrūz in the first year of the Hidjra fell on 18 Ḥazīrān (June), which he erroneously equates with 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda. Confusion arose, however, because the intercalation of one day every four years which allowed the date to correspond with the position of the sun was omitted in Islam (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 215), and unscrupulous revenue officials found it to their advantage to keep to the false calendar date rather than to the correct traditional one, because it permitted them to collect their dues earlier (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 263-4). By the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil the date of collection of *kharādj* had advanced by almost two months, and in 245/859 he fixed the date of Nawrūz as 17 Ḥazīrān, which approximated to the old time (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1448; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 36-7). The reform had no lasting effect and the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid was compelled again to move the date which was fixed as 11 Ḥazīrān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2143). Later again, in the Saldjūḳ sultan Malikshāh's reform of the calendar [see djalālī], the Persian astronomers proclaimed the vernal equinox as Nawrūz (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34; 467 A.H.), and the first day of the new era fell on 10 Ramaḍān 471/15 March 1079.

Nawrūz was celebrated also in Syria, and was adopted in Egypt, as elsewhere, and has been retained by the Copts as the New Year's Day (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 241-2), but it now falls on 10 or 11 September, see Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. XXVI "Periodical public festivals, etc."; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, New York 1951, 54-5.

Popular festivities have marked Nawrūz wherever it has been celebrated. In Sāsānid Persia the kings held a great feast, and it was customary for presents to be made to them while the people who gathered to make merry in the streets sprinkled each other with water and lit fires. Both in ʿIrāḳ and Egypt, these customs persisted in Muslim times (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2163; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 277 = § 2962; al-Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 410), and although al-Muʿtaḍid attempted to prevent the customary horseplay in the streets during the midsummer saturnalia, he was unsuccessful (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the various parts of the Ottoman Empire, the day was celebrated as a public holiday, and in Persia it has throughout its history been marked by great festivities as the chief secular holiday of the year.

Many of the features of these celebrations in Persia are familiar from other cultures where a new year or a new phase of life is being marked, such as the donning of new clothes just before the New Year actually begins, or where the end of the season of winter is marked, in rural society by such practices as the lighting of piles of thorn and brushwood and then the jumping over them by the family, friends and neighbours. But above all characteristic of the New Year celebrations is the preparation on New Year's Day of the *haft sīn* "the seven items beginning with the letter *sīn*" (sc. *sīb* "apple", *sīr* "garlic", *sumāḳ* "sumac", *sindjīd* "jujube", *samanū* "a kind of sweetmeat", *sirka* "vinegar" and *sabzī* "greens"), which are placed on a cloth spread on the floor in front of a mirror and candles in company with dishes of certain foods. See Bess A. Donaldson, *The wild rue. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 120-3.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 190-200, etc.; ʿUmar Khayyām, *Nawrūz-nāma*, ed. M. Minovi, Tehran 1312/1933; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, 400-1; Lane (tr.), *Thousand and one nights*, ii, 496-7; Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un calendrier turc*, in *Studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 106-7; A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, 99-100; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, repr. London 1976, 53-6.

(R. Levy-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. In East Africa.

As recently as 1971 Tibbetts reported that the Nawrūz calendar, as modified by Sidi Çelebi, was used by navigators throughout the Indian Ocean. He had corrected the practice followed in the works of Aḥmad b. Mādjid and by Sulaymān al-Mahrī, who did not observe an intercalary day in each fourth year, so that their Nawrūz calendar receded ten days in each forty years. On the eastern African coast, Swahili fishermen and agriculturalists all used the unreformed Nawruz calendar, finding the Islamic calendar suitable only for religious purposes. In Swahili, Nawrūz is vocalised as *Nairuzi*. Its earliest attestation is in an Arabic *History of Kilwa* redacted *ca.* 1550, recording the Portuguese arrival on the coast in 1498 and using both calendars. Doubtless it had been in use long before.

The *Nairuzi* ceremonies in Zanzibar and Pemba display a syncretism between Islam and earlier religious practices. In the 1950s they were studied in Zanzibar by Sir John Gray, then Chief Justice. Study in Pemba by the late Dr P.L. Lienhardt in 1958 has not yet seen the light of day.

The ceremonies are organised by *wavyale*, with a view to propitiating *mizimu*, best described as *genii loci*. These are often hereditary from father to son, but women also may act. The *mizimu* may be malign or benign, and it is wiser not to offend them, on land or at sea. This is especially important in the seven days before *Nairuzi*. A feast is held on the first days, after which fishing and collecting firewood are banned for the week. On the sixth day Ḳurʾān school pupils assemble at the teachers' houses. They recite from the Ḳurʾān, partake of a meal, and sleep in the teacher's house. Next day they proceed to the beach for a further recitation. These recitations are apparently the only Islamic element among the ceremonies. The

pupils and older persons then bathe ceremonially, and put on clean clothes. In Zanzibar, women danced and sang and waved branches in the streets. A ceremonial meal followed, women preparing rice, and men preparing a *kitoweo* (savoury stew). Then, at a given signal, all fires were extinguished, to be relit with firesticks, the most primitive of all human methods. The old ashes were carried to crossroads, where a dance for women only took place. During this the *wavyale* erected a small hut. This the women now pelted with stones and set on fire, to drive away evil spirits for the ensuing year. A men's dance followed, with tridents, swords and daggers. It was concluded by a stick dance, the men using sticks only.

While some elements in these ceremonies can be paralleled elsewhere, their origin, meaning and purpose is not wholly clear in this context.

Bibliography: J.R. Gray, *Nairuzi or Siku ya Mwaka*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 38 (1955), with detailed bibl.; W.H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, its history and its people*, London 1931; G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971; S.A. Strong, *The History of Kilwa*, (Arabic text), in *JRAS* (1895); information communicated to the author by Dr Lienhardt in 1958.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

AL-**NAWSHARĪ** [see AL-NŪSHARĪ].

NĀWŪSIYYA, NAWŪSIYYA, the name of an extremist Shīʿī sect (*rawāfiḍ*) attached to a certain Ibn Nāwūs or Ibn Nawus (sometimes changed into Ibn Mānūs), whose personal name varies according to the sources (ʿAdjlān, ʿAbd Allāh, Ḥamlān, etc.), or else attached to a place in the vicinity of Hīt called Nāwūsa (see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 72, 217; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179: Yāḳūt, s.v.; al-Idrīsī, index; Le Strange, *Lands*, 64-5).

The Nāwūsiyya were characterised by the idea (sometimes attributed to the caliph Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, 138-58/754-75 [*q.v.*]) that the *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]) was not dead but would reappear since he was al-Ḳāʾim al-Mahdī [see ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD].

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 25; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 108; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index s.v. ʿAdjlān; Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 31; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, xx, 179; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 180; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, v, 129, 135; Mufīd, *Irshād*, 101; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 61; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Badrān, 338, tr. Gimaret-Monod, i, 487 and bibl. given there. (ED.)

NAWWĀB, NAWĀB, a title used in Muslim India. The form must be a hypercorrection from A. *nuwwāb*, pl. of *nāʾib* [*q.v.*], used, as often in Persian usage (cf. *arbāb* "master", *ʿamala* "workman", and see D.C. Phillott, *Higher Persian grammar*, Calcutta 1919, 65) as a singular.

The title was originally granted by the Mughal emperors to denote a viceroy or governor of a province, and was certainly current by the 18th century, often in combination with another title, e.g. the Nawāb-Wazīr of Oudh (Awadh), the Nawāb-Nāẓim of Bengal. A nawāb might be subordinate to another governor, as was the Nawāb of Arcot (Ārkāt) to the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, and the title tended to become a designation of rank without necessarily having any office attached to it. Several of the rulers of princely states in British Indian times bore this title, e.g. the Nawābs of Bhopal and Rāmpūr [*q.vv.*].

In the later 18th century, the term was imported into English usage in the form Nabob, applied in a somewhat derogatory manner to Anglo-Indians who had returned from the subcontinent laden with wealth (cf. Sir Percival Spear, *The Nabobs, a study of the social life of the English in eighteenth-century India*[2], London 1963). The word gained currency in England especially after the production in 1768 of Samuel Foote's play, *The Nabob*, and eventually passed into other languages, including French (cf. the title of Daudet's *Le Nabab, mœurs parisiennes*, 1877).

Bibliography: E. Balfour, *The cyclopaedia of India*[3], London 1885, ii, 1070; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], 610-12. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī al-Ḳannawdjī (1248-1307/1832-90), Indian writer, statesman and poet.

He was born at Bareilly in Rohelkhand on 19 Djumādā I 1248/14 October 1832, the son of Sayyid Awlād Ḥasan and a daughter of the *Muftī* Muḥammad ʿIwaḍ, his family claiming descent from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, hence from Fāṭima and the Prophet. According to the family genealogy, the family moved from Medina to Baghdād and thence to Bukhārā, until Sayyid Djalāl Gulsurkh moved to India in 635/1237-8; his grandson was the famed mystic and traveller, Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], known as Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān Djahāngasht, d. 785/1384, who is buried at Uččh near Multān. His great-great-grandson Sayyid Djalāl Thālith moved from Multān to Dihlī where the Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī [see LŌDĪS] gave him a *djāgīr* (fief) at Ḳannawdj [*q.v.*] which became the family seat for many generations. Sayyid ʿAlī Aṣghar of the fifth generation there became a Shīʿī when the area fell under the Nawwābs of Awadh (Oudh). The family remained Shīʿī for the next five generations until Sayyid Awlād ʿAlī Khān "Anwar Djang Bahādur" (d. 1218/1803), keeper of the Golkondā Fort under the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, whose son, Sayyid Awlād Ḥasan (d. 1253/1837) renounced Shīʿism and severed relations with the Shīʿīs in the family. Awlād Ḥasan was one of the deputies of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī *Shahīd* (d. 1246/1831 [*q.v.*]), and Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was the second of his three sons.

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan acquired a traditional Islamic education in his home town and the north Indian cities of Farrukhābād, Kānpūr and Dihlī, where he studied under its *Muftī* Ṣadr al-Dīn Āzurdah (d. 1285/1868) for about two years. Memories of his father's association with the *Djihād* movement and education under Āzurdah, influenced Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan to become one of the major advocates of the new creed of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], who rejected *taḳlīd* in *fiḳh*. He began his career as a junior clerk in the princely states of Bhopāl (1855-6) and Tonk (1858). A year later he was appointed to write the official history of Bhopāl and married Dhakiyya Begum, daughter of the Prime Minister (*Madār al-Mahāmm*) of Bhopāl, Munshī Djamāl al-Dīn Khān, in 1860. He performed the Pilgrimage in 1285/1869, meeting many *ʿulamāʾ* in the Yemen and Ḥidjāz, and acquiring mss. of important Arabic works. On his return, he was appointed inspector of schools. A year later he became the state's head clerk (*Mīr Munshī*) and was awarded the title of *Khān*.

He found the great opportunity of his life when Nawwāb Shāh Djahān Begum (reigned 1868-1901) married him in May 1871, with formal British consent. Her first husband, Nawwāb Bāḳī Muḥammad Khān, had died in 1284/1867. Two months later he was elevated to the post of *Muʿtamad al-Mahāmm*, second only to that of the Prime Minister. In September 1872 the Begum prevailed upon the British authorities to award Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan all the official

honours bestowed on her late husband, including a *dj̲āgīr* worth Rs. 75,000 a year. A month later, the British Government conferred upon him the title of *Nawwāb Walād̲j̲āh Amīr al-Mulk*, with entitlement to a 17-gun salute within British India.

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan's marriage to the Begum was resented by a group in the royal family, especially by her daughter and heir-apparent, Sulṭān D̲j̲ahān Begum (reigned 1901-26), who feared being bypassed if a male child were to be born of the new marriage. The dissident party found the British Political Agent at Bhopāl, Sir Lepel Griffin, more than sympathetic. On his advice, the first British accusation of publishing "seditious material" was made on 21 March 1881, which curtailed Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan's powers as the *de facto* ruler of the state (the Begum being in purdah). Being a staunch supporter of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīt̲h̲*, he had alienated Ḥanafī *ʿulamāʾ* as well as the S̲h̲īʿīs. The British were wary of the movement because of its recent military role in the Frontier region. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was also accused of a number of administrative malpractices, causing rifts in the royal family and maintaining contacts with foreign personalities, including the *Mahdī* of the Sudan. Griffin had originally recommended to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, the death sentence for the Nawwāb or transportation for life. But the Viceroy, perhaps taking into account the state's traditional loyalty to the British, opted for his deposition, which came into effect on 28 August 1885, with all his honours and authority revoked. Hence forth, his loyal wife became a figurehead, and real power was exercised by her daughter, Sulṭān D̲j̲ahān Begum and the Prime Minister henceforth appointed by the British, whilst Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan remained under house-arrest in his private residence, Nūr Maḥall. He died on 20 February 1890 at the age of 59 years; the Government of India restored his honours posthumously and the state was allowed to refer to him in official communications as the "Late Nawab and Husband of the Ruler."

Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan was already writing books when he joined the Bhopāl civil service. He is reported to have sent a copy of his *Tuḥfa-yi faḳīr* (a treatise on coffee and tea) to the Nawwāb of Tonk in 1276/1859. However, his marriage with the Begum placed enormous funds at his disposal. He had free access to eight official printing presses and a team of court *ʿulamāʾ*, which included some Yemenis. He dispatched emissaries to various parts of India and Arab lands to buy rare mss. for him. Many Indian and Arab *ʿulamāʾ* and poets came to live in Bhopāl because of his patronage. He embarked on an unprecedented writing career in Arabic, Persian and Urdu on a wide range of religious, technical and literary subjects. His son lists 222 titles (74 Arabic, 45 Persian and 103 Urdu) to his credit (*Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Ṣiddīḳī*, iv, appendix). These range from two-paged treatises to multi-volume works. Revenues from his *dj̲āgīr* and the Bhopāl treasury allowed him to print his books in India, Cairo and Istanbul for free distribution worldwide. A latter-day al-Suyūṭī, his writings are rarely original. His rôle hardly goes beyond recompiling, abridgment, enlargement, interpretation or translation from one language to another. Moreover, some works attributed to him were authored by a team that worked for him, and in some of these, like the *Riyāḍ al-murtāḍ* and *al-Dīn al-k̲h̲āliṣ*, he is quoted as a third person. Indeed, one of his books, *Luḳṭat al-ʿad̲j̲lān* (Istanbul 1296/1879, 717-20) says that there is no harm on one's ascribing his book to someone else (cf. Saeedullah, 87 f.).

In his religious writings, Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan repeats a limited range of topics: e.g. opposition to *fiḳhī taḳlīd* (which he regarded as responsible for the Muslims' intellectual stagnation), *taṣawwuf* and *fiḳhī* rigidness, necessity of *id̲j̲tihād*, admonition on wasteful expenditure in religious and civil ceremonies, and exposition of the conditions preceding the Day of Judgement. Unscrupulous copying from previous works attracted sharp criticism from some contemporary *ʿulamāʾ*, e.g. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (*Ibrāz al-g̲h̲ayy* and *Tad̲h̲kirat al-rās̲h̲id*, Lucknow 1301/1884). His literary activities were greatly curtailed in the wake of his deposition. His important works nevertheless include: *Fatḥ al-bayān (tafsīr)*, *Abd̲j̲ad al-ʿulūm* (on *ʿilm*), *al-Tād̲j̲ al-mukallal*, *Tiḳṣār d̲j̲uyūd al-aḥrār* and *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ* (biographies), *Nas̲h̲wat al-sakrān* (on love) and *Gul-i raʿnā* (Persian and Urdu *dīwān*).

Bibliography: S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān Begum, *Tād̲j̲ al-iḳbāl*, Kānpūr 1289/1872; E. Van Dyke and Muḥammad al-Biblāwī, *Iktifāʾ al-ḳanūʿ*, Cairo 1313/1896, 106 f., 118, 313, 497; Sulṭān D̲j̲ahān Begum, *An account of my life*, tr. C.H. Payne, London 1912; Nawwāb Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥasan "Ṭāhir", *Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Ṣiddīḳī* (or *Sīrat-i Wālād̲j̲āhī*), Lucknow 1924-5, 4 vols.; Brockelmann, S II, 859-61; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥayy and Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Nadwī, *Nuzhat al-k̲h̲awāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1390/1970, viii, 187-95; Raḥmān ʿAlī , *Tad̲h̲kira-yi ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, tr. Muḥammad Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1961, 250 f.; Saeedullah, *Life and works of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal*, Lahore 1973; S.M. Id̲j̲tibāʾ al-Nadwī, *Musāhama al-Amīr Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān fi 'l-maʿārif al-Islāmiyya bi 'l-Hind*, unpubl. PhD thesis, Aligarh Muslim Univ. 1976; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ikrām, *Mawd̲j̲-i Kawt̲h̲ar*, Lahore 1979, 66 f.; Raḍiyya Ḥāmid, *Nawwāb Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān*, Bhopāl 1983.

(Ẓafarul-Islām K̲h̲ān)

NAYRĪZ, Nīrīz, the name of a mediaeval Islamic region and of a town of Fārs in southern Persia.

The Nayrīz plain is essentially a landlocked region in the southern Zagros mountains, drained by the Kūr and Pulwār rivers which rise in the Zagros and flow southeastwards into the shallow lake known in mediaeval Islamic times as the Lake of Nayrīz and in more recent ones as Lake Bak̲h̲tigān [*q.v.*, and also E. Ehlers, art. *Baḵtagān Lake*, in *EIr*]; although the lake itself is salt, the plain forms an agriculturally prosperous region, and in ancient times was the heartland of Achaemenid Persia, where lay Pasargadae and Persepolis.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the chef-lieu of the region was the town of K̲h̲ayār (thus in al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the modern K̲h̲īr/K̲h̲ayr in al-Muḳaddasī), whilst Nayrīz lay one stage to the east on the Kirmān road. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 138, 240, tr. 138, 232-3, states that both K̲h̲ayra (*sic*) and Nayrīz had fortified citadels. The geographers place Nayrīz in the *sardsīr* or cold region and mention iron mines, white clay used like chalk for writing and for bleaching, and black clay used for sealing, as being found in the vicinity. The mosque which al-Muḳaddasī mentions at the side of the market is presumably the existing Friday mosque, which has an inscription dating from 362/973. In more recent times, Nayrīz was the centre of Bābī rebellions in 1850 and 1853 led by Sayyid Yaḥyā Dārābī (Waḥīd); see *The Dawn-Breakers, Nabīl's narrative of the early days of the Bahāʾī revelation*, Wilmette, Ill. 1932, 465-99; M. Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i religions 1844-1944*, Oxford 1981, 106-13, 147-52.

At present, the town (lat. 29° 14' N., long. 54° 18'

E., altitude 1,587 m./5,205 feet) is in a district frequented by both Khamsa and Ḳashḳāʾī [q.v.] nomads; it is the chef-lieu of the sub-district of bakhsh of the same name in the shahrastān or district of Fasā, and ca. 1960 had a population of 15,391.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *Lands*, 289-90; Schwarz, *Iran*, 104-5; A. Godard, *Le Masdjid-é Djumʿa de Nīrīz*, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i (1936), 163-72; Admiralty Handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, 74-6; Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, 237; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 262. (C.E. Bosworth)

NAYRŪZ [see nawrūz].

al-**NAYRĪZĪ**, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim, Persian geometer and astronomer, about whom almost nothing is known, though his *nisba* refers to the town of Nayrīz [q.v.] in Fārs. Because he mentions the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in several of his works, it is commonly assumed that al-Nayrīzī flourished around 900 A.D. in Baghdād.

Al-Nayrīzī is well-known in the history of mathematics because he wrote a commentary to the Arabic translation of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar [q.v.] of the *Elements* of Euclid (300 B.C.). The translation and commentary have been preserved in Arabic (Books I-VI) and in a mediaeval Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (Books I-X). In his commentary, al-Nayrīzī preserved extracts of the ancient commentaries on the *Elements* by Hero of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 100) and Simplicius (ca. A.D. 500), which are not otherwise extant. In particular, al-Nayrīzī presents a "proof" of Euclid's famous parallel postulate by Simplicius and another such proof by one Aghānis, who was probably a contemporary of Simplicius.

In a separate treatise, al-Nayrīzī gave his own "proof" of the parallel postulate, which is similar to that of Aghānis, and which is based on the assumption that parallel lines are equidistant. Al-Nayrīzī wrote two other mathematical works: a treatise on an exact method for the numerical determination of the ḳibla [q.v.], based on four applications of the spherical theorem of Menelaus, and a hitherto unpublished text on an instrument for measuring the height of mountains, the width of rivers, the depth of wells etc.

Al-Nayrīzī's most important astronomical works, his commentary on the Almagest and two *Zīdjs*, are now lost. His treatises on the spherical astrolabe and on astrological conjunctions are extant.

Bibliography: Sezgin, GAS v, 283; vi, 191-2; vii, 156, 268-9; B. Rosenfeld, G.P. Matvievskaya, *Matematiki i astronomy musulmanskogo srednevekovya i ikh trudy*, Moscow 1983, ii, 116-118 (useful bibliographies). On al-Nayrīzī and the parallel postulate, see A.I. Sabra, art. *al-Nayrīzī*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, x, New York 1974, 5-7; Kh. Jaouiche, *La théorie des parallèles en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1986, 127-137. (J.P. Hogendijk)

NAẒAR (a.), lit. "theory, philosophical speculation", probably did not receive until the 9th century A.D. the meaning of research in the sense of scientific investigation as translation of the Greek θεωρία. With Aristotle, e.g. *Metaph.* 1064 b2 (translated by Eustathius/Usṭāth at the beginning of the 9th century), and the Greek *Prolegomena* (Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας) to the commentaries on Prophyry's *Isagoge*, the philosophies were then divided into theoretical (*naẓariyya*) and practical (*ʿamaliyya*); the latter seek to obtain the useful or the good for man, the former pure truth, in physics, mathematics and metaphysics (see Hein, *Definition* 146 ff.).

Naẓar is primarily an epistemological conception and after the example of Ammonius Hermiae, a pupil of Proclus, is dealt with among the Arabs in the already-mentioned *Prolegomena* prefixed to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see *Manṭiḳ* in *EI*²]. *Naẓar* is also discussed as an activity of the human *ʿaḳl* [q.v.] in psychology, but in this case as a rule under synonymns like *fikr, tafakkur*, etc.; cf. e.g. ʿAbd al-Djabbār: see Peters 58 f.; Bernand, *Problème*, 202 ff.

The history of this terminology has still to be written. In the oldest version of Aristotle's logic, a compendium written by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ (executed 139/756 or later) or his son Muḥammad, *ʿilm* and *ʿamal* are already distinguished as branches of philosophy (*ḥikma*), but *ʿilm* is defined as a *tabaṣṣur* and *tafakkur* of the *ḳalb* (i.e. of the mind); cf. G. Furlani, *Di una presunta versione araba di alcuni scritti di Porfirio e di Aristotele*, in *RRAL*, ser. VI, vol. vi [1926], 207 = *al-Manṭiḳ li-Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ*, ed. M. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Teheran 1977, 2,21 ff.

The oldest speculative theologians of Islam were perhaps more familiar with the distinction *ʿilm ʿaḳlī/sharʿī* than with *naẓarī/ʿamalī*. The *ʿaḳl* is generally recognised as a "root" of the Muʿtazilī system. The Zaydī al-Ḳāsim mentioned it (beginning of the 3rd century A.H.) among his *uṣūl*: *ʿaḳl*, Ḳurʾān and *sunna* (Madelung, 129). *Naẓar* was felt to be an innovation like *raʾy* and *ḳiyās* in *fiḳh*; the Ḥanbalī school objected to the adoption of *naẓar* (see Laoust, 9, n. 1). Contrary to it, the Ẓāhirī theologian Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.] admitted *ʿaḳl* without hesitation—of course the *ʿaḳl* created and equipped by God—as a source of knowledge. Not blind belief (*taḳlīd*) nor deduction from the unknown (*ḳiyās*) were to lead it to the acceptance of the Ḳurʾān, *sunna* and *idjmāʿ*, but quite certain knowledge. There is nothing which Ibn Ḥazm insists upon so often and so emphatically as this; there is no other way to certainty than that of tracing it to sensual perception (*ḥiss*) and intuition of the intelligence (*ʿaḳl*). Indeed, sensual perception is so much preferred by him that comprehension by the reason is called a sixth *idrāk* (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, i, Cairo 1899, 4-7). The philosophical position of Ibn Ḥazm recalls Hellenistic eclecticism, according to which all human cognition arises either from sensual perception or intuition or is derived from these sources through the intermediary of proof. Many, however, emphasise the direct evidence of sensual perception (cf. already sūra X, 101 etc.; van Ess, 239), and regard the method of proof as a difficult and uncertain one. Hence we have the emphasis laid on general agreement (A. *idjmāʿ* and *idjtimāʿ*) as a possible, but often doubted (cf. van Ess 308 ff.), criterion of truth. Only where there is no agreement is investigation necessary.

The dualistic epistemology of the eclectics (senses x reason) was very greatly modified in Islam by the penetration of the intellectual monism into Neo-Platonic mysticism and Aristotelian logic. While different stages in human knowledge were distinguished, true knowledge was only to be attained by rational intuition and the intermediary activity of the mind. The main thing for the Neo-Platonist was intuition (*naẓar, baṣar*). It is remarkable how in the Neo-Platonic *Theology of Aristotle*, the latter is made to say (Arabic text ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1881, 163): "Plato recognised all things *bi-naẓar al-ʿaḳl* (intuition), *lā bi-manṭiḳ wa-ḳiyās*", i.e. Plato as the divine perceives everything at once like God himself and pure *ʿaḳl*. *Naẓar* in this sense of direct perception is constructed with *ilā*, in other cases, however, with *fī*. For *naẓar fī*, transmitted reflection of the human intelligence, the *Theology* generally uses *fikr* and *rawiyya* and the world of senses, with which our soul is associated, is called *ʿālam al-fikra wa 'l-rawiyya*. Following the *Theology*, the

Muslim mystics generally used *naẓar* for spiritual perception (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, index).

In *Kalām*, however, in the disputes of the theological sects, whose members sometimes are called *ahl al-naẓar* [*q.v.*], *naẓar* receives the dialectical meaning of "reflection", "rational, discursive thinking"; it is an obligation of man, can produce knowledge (*ʿilm*; see Gardet-Anawati, 350 ff.) and may be classified as *naẓar al-ḳalb* (cf. van Ess, 238 ff.; Peters, 57 ff.; Bernand, *Problème*, 201 ff.). In his *Maḳālāt* (ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden [2]1963, 51-2), al-As͟hʿarī gives a survey of the different views of the eight parties of the *Rawāfiḍ fi 'l-naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās*. According to him, groups 1-3 consider all cognition (*maʿārif*) as necessary (*iḍṭirār*) (i.e. given with the mind itself or not given), so that *naẓar* and *ḳiyās* can add nothing to them; these, as well as group 8, which traces all knowledge to the Prophet of God and the Imām, differ from the rest on this point. The other four recognise some kind of acquired knowledge (in both cases the reference is to the apprehension of God) as follows: 4 (the Aṣḥāb Hishām b. al-Ḥakam) by *naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*; 5 (al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā) possibly by a kind of *kasb* which cannot be more exactly defined (cf. this *kasb* with the *kasb al-afʿāl* of the later As͟hʿarī school); 6 and 7 (anonymous) by *naẓar wa 'l-ḳiyās*, with appeal to the testimony (*ḥud͟jd͟ja*) of the *ʿaḳl*. We are also told (144) of a section of the Murd͟jiʾīs who hold that a belief (*īmān*) without *naẓar* is in their opinion not a perfect belief.

Al-As͟hʿarī himself is probably the best evidence of the fact that the speculation of the human *ʿaḳl* was not regarded as a source (or method) of knowledge of God for the first time in his school but before him by several sects. *Naẓar* (like *raʾy* in *fiḳh*) was most probably applied to the activity of the mind of the reflecting theologian (besides *naẓar* we find terms, often used with differing connotations, like *baḥt͟h, ḥads, raʾy, faḥṣ, fikr, fikra, ḥadīt͟h al-nafs* (see van Ess, 240 f.), *tafakkur, taʾammul, ṭalab;* perhaps also others). The logical methods here used are called (perhaps here still synonymous) *ḳiyās* (deduction by analogy) and *istidlāl* (proof by circumstantial evidence). From what we know of *ḳiyās* in *fiḳh* [see ḲIYĀS] (and of *ḳiyās* in medicine (see Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, iv, 40, vii, 172 ff. = §§ 1368, 2857 ff.), we have probably to think of a process which is a mixture of induction and deduction, often used very arbitrarily. Analogous cases, often superficially regarded as similar (cf. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K͟hwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968, 8-9), were sought for, the *ʿilla*, i.e. not the actual cause (*causa*) but the reason (*ratio*) in a higher conception of method or species, under which the further cases could be grouped. For Aristotle and his followers in Islam (al-Fārābī, etc.), deduction had one meaning; they believed in causality or even in the creative activity of abstract thought. The great majority of Muslim theologians, jurists and physicians did not rise so far. It was not till the school of al-As͟hʿarī that the method of *naẓar* superficially grasped penetrated into *kalām*, and *kalām* was defined as *ʿilm al-naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*. Rejected at first by the majority, gradually tolerated and used as an instrument against heretics and sophists, *naẓar* in the orthodox school was finally recognised as a religious obligation.

Let us now turn back to the general conception of the *ʿulūm naẓariyya*. Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) distributed them from the philosophical point of view in a special treatise (*Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUt͟hmān Amīn, Cairo [2]1968) in a way which became the model for later times. It was he who first worked on the logic of Aristotle, whence his school was often called that of the *Manṭiḳiyyūn*. He assumed, with Aristotle, that the *ʿaḳl* contained in itself the fundamental principles of all knowledge, the evidence of which had simply to be acknowledged. But the way of reflection and proof leads to the non-evident, the culmination of which, apodeictic proof (*burhān*), is described in the *Posterior Analytics*. From this eminence, the branches of knowledge can be surveyed. After some observations on philology (ch. i; cf. the Stoics) there follows the chapter on logic—whether as instrument of philosophy or as a part of it is a matter of indifference. Logic itself is, of course, a *naẓar* with an object of its own. Next come the sciences of physics, mathematics and metaphysics with main and subsidiary branches. Each is a *naẓar*. But it is noted that, for example, among the physical sciences, medicine is a mixture of theoretical and practical, and similarly music and mathematical subjects. Metaphysics is, however, like logic purely theoretical. Finally, the three practical sciences of Aristotle, sc. ethics, economics and politics, are united under the head of political science, with the addition of *fiḳh* and *kalām*; al-Fārābī remarks that the science of *fiḳh* and the art (*ṣināʿa*) of *kalām* have to do partly with opinions (*ārāʾ*), partly with actions (*afʿāl*).

In conclusion, let us compare with this philosophical division that of the As͟hʿarī theologian ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Bag͟hdādī (d. 429/1037-8) in his *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 8-14 (cf. Wensinck, 250-63). After the distinction between divine knowledge and the knowledge possessed by other living creatures is laid down, the latter is classified as follows:

I. *ḍarūrī*
(necessary, directly evident)
1. *badīhī* 2. *ḥissī*
(internal and external perception)
II. *muktasab* (= *ʿulūm naẓariyya*)
(acquired)
1. *ʿaḳliyya* *s͟harʿiyya*
(knowledge acquired by reason and by law)

The *ʿulūm naẓariyya* are further divided into four, according to the way in which they are acquired:

1. *Istidlāl bi 'l-ʿaḳl min d͟jihat al-ḳiyās wa 'l-naẓar* (speculative theology);
2. *Maʿlūm min d͟jihat al-tad͟jārib wa 'l-ʿādāt* (e.g. medicine);
3. *Maʿlūm min d͟jihat al-s͟harʿ* (legal science);
4. *Maʿlūm min d͟jihat al-ilhām* (aesthetic judgment).

Compared with the *ʿaḳl* monism of al-Fārābī, this division still looks rather eclectic. But from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D. philosophy and theology, without becoming one, were approaching one another more closely, Ibn Sīnā, who builds upon al-Fārābī, was the intermediary. Al-G͟hazālī sought to combine the *naẓar ilā* of the Neo-Platonic mysticism with the *naẓar fī* of the rationalist thinkers, and Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī appropriated the methods of proof of Aristotelian logic to a much greater extent than his theological predecessors.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): 1. Texts. Ibn Sīnā, *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*, in *Mad͟jmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, Cairo 1328, 229-30 (also in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1298, 71-2); G͟hazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iii, Cairo 1322, 13 ff.; idem, *Miʿyār al-ʿilm fi 'l-manṭik = Manṭiḳ tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1961; idem *Maʿārid͟j al-ḳuds fī madārid͟j maʿrifat al-nafs*, Beirut [2]1975, 49 ff. (based on Ibn Sīnā, cf. *al-S͟hifāʾ, De anima*, ed. F. Rahman, London 1959, 47 ff. and index s.n. *ʿaḳl*)

2. Studies. M. Bernand, *La notion de ʿilm chez les premiers Muʿtazilites*, in *SI*, xxxvi (1972), 23-45; xxxvii (1973), 27-56; eadem, *Le problème de la connaissance d'après le Muġnī du Cadi ʿAbd Al-Ǧabbār*, Algiers 1982; eadem, *Le savoir entre la volonté et la spontanéité selon an-Naẓẓām et al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *SI*, xxxix (1974), 25-57; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris ²1970; Chr. Hein, *Definition und Einteilung der Philosophie*, Frankfurt/M., etc. 1985; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Ansichten von Razi und Tusi*, Bonn 1910; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965; J.R.Th.M. Peters, *God's created speech*, Leiden 1976; F. Rosenthal, *Knowledge triumphant*, Leiden 1970; G. Vajda, *Autour de la théorie de la connaissance chez Saadia*, in *REJ*, sér. 6, vol. cxxvi (Paris 1967-8), 135-89; 375-97, esp. 145 ff. (also in *Mélanges Georges Vajda, Études de pensée, de philosophie... in memoriam...*, ed. G.E. Weil, Hildesheim 1982, 71-150); idem, *Pour le dossier de naẓar*, in *Recherches d'Islamologie. Recueil d'articles offert à Georges C. Anawati et Louis Gardet par leurs collègues et amis*, Louvain 1977, 333-6; J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966; A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, London 1965. (TJ. DE BOER-[H. DAIBER])

NAZARETH [see AL-NĀṢIRA].

NĀZILA (A.), active participle of the verb *nazala* "to go down", made into a noun with the specialised use (mainly among the Mālikīs of the Maghrib, but, occasionally, elsewhere and among other law schools) as a legal term meaning "specific case, case in question". The plural *nawāzil* figures in the title of a fairly considerable number of collections, the greater part of them still in manuscript, put together by jurists practising law in a *maḥkama* [*q.v.*] or by independent specialists, using material from their own experience and from the works of their predecessors in order to offer the public, but above all, the *ḳāḍis* [*q.v.*], a choice of questions bearing on specific cases and accompanied by the solutions in practice adopted.

The principle of the *nawāzil* is inscribed in the Mālikī school's tradition, whose founder Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] already preferred to deal with real cases rather than construct a doctrine based upon theoretical solutions for hypothetical problems. In one sense, the *nāzila* would appear to be identical with the *fatwā* [*q.v.*]; it is nevertheless to be distinguished from it by the fact that it is not, properly speaking, a juridical consultation but a case which is set forth as a real case and the way in which it was resolved by such-and-such jurist designated by name in the case when the detailing of the matter and the decision are taken from an earlier work. One should however add that a certain imprecision in the use of the technical terms introduces a kind of confusion and prevents one from being too categorical over the proposed definitions. Thus one finds, at the side of the term *nawāzil*, *fatāwī/fatāwā*, *aḥkām* and *adjwiba*, not to mention *ʿamal* [*q.v.*], all without detectable nuances of meaning.

Hence a collection of *nawāzil* furnishes a body of jurisprudential doctrine close to practical and daily life and adopted to the human, social and economic realities of a local character, in such a way that, by means of this expedient, *fiḳh* [*q.v.*] is able to evolve, not however without provoking amongst jurists fertile controversies on particular points. The question naturally arises, how to ascertain in what measure custom (*ʿāda* or *ʿurf* [*q.vv.*]) has inspired such-and-such solution, but the frequent use of the term *mashhūr* "what is current" leads one to think that, in many situations, it must have intervened in some form or other.

The *nawāzil* collections are numerous, whether the actual term figures in the title or not. Thus Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah has registered close to two dozen stemming from the jurists of Mauretania (*La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Malikisme en Mauretanie*, Tunis 1981, 118-19), which witnesses to the Moors' adaptation of *fiḳh* to the special conditions of their land. The author of this work isolates for study from the body of these collections two particular ones which he considers interesting, those of Ibn/Wuld al-Aʿmash (d. 1107/1695-6) and of al-Gasrī (13th/19th century), from which he reproduces some decisions mainly based on the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn (d. 6 or 7 Radjab 240/1 or 2 December 854 [*q.v.*]), a work which forms the basic core of the fundamental doctrine of Maghribī Mālikism, and on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ (d. 13 Rabīʿ I 776/22 August 1374 [*q.v.*]), which is the manual generally used, despite its obscurity.

Amongst the best-known authors of *Nawāzil*, one can mention Saḥnūn's son Muḥammad (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]), who has left behind some *Nawāzil al-ṣalāt min Dīwān* (sic) *Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 473), and Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī (d. 373/983 [*q.v.*]), who is credited with a collection of Ḥanafī jurisprudence, the *K. al-Nawāzil fi 'l-furūʿ* (see the list of his sources in *GAS*, i, 447), followed by a *Mukhtaṣar* in which *fatāwī* and *nawāzil* are mingled together (see Brockelmann, S I, 347). It does not seem that, over the succeeding centuries, the authors of *nawāzil*—who certainly existed—were particularly distinguished since, without exception, one must make a great leap to find a known work, that of al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438 [*q.v.*]), the *Djāmiʿ al-masāʾil mimmā* nazala *min al-ḳaḍāyā bi 'l-muftīn wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ*, which is one of the main sources of the famous *K. al-Miʿyār al-mughrib wa 'l-djāmiʿ, al-muʿrib ʿammā taḍammanahu* fatāwī *ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib* of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508 [*q.v.*]), lith. Fās 1315, 12 vols., repr. Beirut, partial tr. E. Amar, in *AM*, xii, 1908. In the second half of the 19th century, a Moroccan jurist, al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī, obviously wished to remodel and update, whilst mainly utilising, al-Wansharīsī's master work, by taking up again its title, *al-Miʿyār al-djadīd*, lith. Fās 1328/1909, 11 vols. Out of this enormous mass of documents, J. Berque has extracted the *Nawazil al-muzāʿara* which he has extensively commented upon and translated (Rabat 1940). The list of sources upon which al-Wansharīsī seems directly to have drawn (60-1) comprises nearly two dozen texts, amongst which only six bear the title of *nawāzil* and three that of *fatāwī/fatāwā*, that is to say, as often happens in Arabic, several terms are used side-by-side to express a single concept without one being able to discern nuances of meaning amongst them, since their terminology is so shifting. The result is that semantic evolution distorts classifications which seem to have become established, so that *nāzila* and *fatwā* end up being employed interchangeably, just as e.g. *risāla* ends up being used for *maḳāma* and vice-versa.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

NĀẒIM FARRUKH ḤUSAYN (*ca.* 1016-81/1607-70), a Persian poet. Mullā Nāẓim, son of Shāh Riḍā Sabzawārī, was born in Harāt about 1016/1607 and spent the greater part of his life there. Little is known of his career, except that he made a journey to India and, after spending several years in Djahāngīrnagar, returned to his native town where he died in 1081/1670-71. He was court poet of the Beglerbegis of Harāt and his greatest work, the *Yūsuf*

u Zulaykhā, begun in 1058/1648 and finished in 1072/1661-2, was dedicated to one of these governors, ʿAbbās Ḳūlī Khān Shāmlū. This, a poem of considerable length, is an imitation of Firdawsī's work of the same name and follows the original quite closely but endeavours to surpass it by using the most elegant language. Ethé calls the language of Nāẓim's images distorted and thinks that some of the details put in by him can only have a humorous effect on the reader. But it must be agreed that Nāẓim judged the taste of his period very well, for his work became extremely popular, especially in Central Asia. While Firdawsī's poem is now known to only a few enthusiasts, manuscripts of Nāẓim's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* are still quite common in the bazaars of the larger cities of Central Asia, as are those of the even more celebrated version of the same subject by Djāmī [*q.v.*]. His lyrical *Dīwān* is less well known, but it contains many excellent poems (especially *ghazals*), some of which are even at the present day sung by the classically-trained singers of Bukhārā and Samarḳand.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *GIPh*, ii, 231-2; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 692b and 370a; *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, lith. Lucknow 1870; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 300. (E. BERTHELS)

NĀẒĪM ḤIKMET (NÂZIM HIKMET (RAN), Nazım Hikmet Borzecki), Turkish poet, born at Salonica on 15 January 1902, died in Moscow on 3 June 1963. He was the grandson of Meḥmed Nāẓīm Pasha, the last Turkish Mayor of Salonica on one side and of Muṣṭafā Djelāl el-Dīn Pasha (Polish in origin, formerly Constantin Borzecki) on the other, and the son of Ḥikmet Nāẓīm and Djelīle. He started his secondary education at Ghalaṭasarāy Lycée, moved to Nishāntashī Lycée (1917) and then to the Naval Academy (Heybeli Ada Baḥriyye Mektebi). His first poems were published in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa* in 1918. These poems were written with the traditional syllabic metre and had death, love and longing as their themes. After his graduation, he retired from the Navy on health grounds (1921).

He went to Bolu and worked as a teacher for a while. During this period Nāẓīm met Ṣādīḳ Akhī, a Spartacist, who influenced him with his views on socialism. Curious to learn about Russia and the revolution, Nāẓīm went to Batum and then to Moscow with his friend Wālā Nūr el-Dīn, and there studied economics and political science. During these years, he was deeply influenced by the Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovski, and from this point on wrote very much in Mayakovski's style, popularising free verse in Turkish, becoming a devoted proponent of Marxism and the Marxist interpretation of the arts [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA]. He made his first marriage (to Nüzhet) around this time.

Nāẓīm came back to Turkey in 1924. He published his poems and articles in the newspaper *Aydînlïḳ*. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1925 because of his political activities, but hid in İzmir for a while and then fled to Moscow. His first book of poems was published in Baku. In 1928 he married for the second time. The same year, wishing to take advantage of the general amnesty in Turkey, he came back but was arrested. Later acquitted of the charges, he started to work as technical secretary at the journal *Resimli Ay* (1929), and between the years 1929-33, he published his ideological works *Sesini kaybeden şehir, Gece gelen telegraf, Benerci kendini niçin öldürdü?*. He married for the third time (to Piraye). His two plays *Kafatası* and *Bir ölü evi* were staged. In 1933 he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment but benefited from the general amnesty declared for the 10th anniversary of the Republic in 1934. He began to write for the newspapers *Akşam* and *Tan* using the pen name "Orhan Selim". Later he began working in the film studios. Two of his most famous works were written during this period. *Şeyh Bedreddin destanı* ("The epic of Sheikh Bedreddin") is epic in style and a synthesis of Dīwān and Folk Literatures. It takes place in the early 15th century, the story of a heretical sect that preached communism. *Memleketimden insan manzaraları* ("Human landscapes from my country"), an episodic verse saga, gives a general view of Turkish history between 1908 to the end of World War II; in it, people of different backgrounds are portrayed using styles of drama, short story, poetry and novel in 20,000 lines. In 1938, he was charged with conspiracy and spreading communism among military cadets and was sentenced to 28 years and 4 months of imprisonment. He spent some 12 years in the prisons of Istanbul, Çankırı and Bursa but was able to write. Imprisonment, longing for freedom, love and hope were the central themes of his works during this period, and the optimistic tone of his works is striking. In 1949 there were widespread protests urging the government to release him, and he was released under the amnesty declared in 1950. He married Münevver Andaç, by whom his son Mehmet was born. Alarmed by threats to his life he fled once more, first to Romania, then to Bulgaria and Poland and Moscow, becoming a Polish citizen and taking the name "Borzecki". His Turkish citizenship was taken away from him in 1951. In 1959 he married Vera Tulkova. His poems of this last phase reflect his longing for Turkey and his bitterness. He died on 3 June 1963 in Moscow of a heart attack.

Much of Nâzım's work complains of social injustice and oppression of the masses, and yearns for revolutionary change. His love poems are, however, tender and optimistic. He is lyrical and full of rhythmic effects and onomatopoeia. The meaning of his poems is embodied in their structures. He used short but picturesque descriptions of nature, powerful similes, striking metaphors and amost theatrical and cinematic techniques to give his message.

Bibliography: 1. First editions of his works. (a) Poetry: *Güneşi içenlerin türküsü*, Baku 1928, *835 Satır*, 1929; *Jakond ile Si-Ya-U*. 1929; *Varan 3*, 1930; *1 + 1 = bir*, 1930; *Sesini kaybeden şehir*, 1931; *Gece gelen telegraf*, 1931; *Benerci kendini niçin öldürdü?*, 1931 (in French: *Pourquoi Benerji s'est-il suicidé?*, Paris, Minuit 1980); *Portreler*, 1935; *Taranta babu'ya mektuplar*, 1935; *Simnavna Kadısı oğlu Şeyh Bedrettin destanı*, 1936; *Kurtuluş savaşı destanı*, 1965; *Saat 21-22 şiirleri*, 1965; *Dört hapishaneden*, 1966; *Rubailer*, 1966; *Memleketimden insan manzaraları*, 1966-7; *Yeni şiirler*, 1966; *Selected poems* (translated by Taner Baypars), London, Jonathan Cape 1967; *İlk şiirleri*, 1969; *Son şiirleri*, 1970; *The Moscow symphony and other poems*, Chicago, Swallow Press 1971; *The day before tomorrow*, South Hinksey, England, Carcanet Press 1972; *That wall*, London, Socialist Artists 1973; *Your hands*, London, Socialist Artists 1973; *Things I didn't know I loved*, New York, Persea Books 1973; *Un étrange voyage*, Paris, Maspero 1980; *Anthologie poétique*, Paris, Temps Actuels 1982; *Human landscapes*, New York, Persea Series of Poetry in Translation 1982; *Les romantiques*, Paris, Temps Actuels 1982. (b) Plays: *Bir ölü evi yahut merhumun hanesi*, 1932; *Kafatası*, 1932; *Unutulan adam*, 1934; *Ferhat ile Şirin*, 1965; *Enayi*, 1965; *İnek*, 1965; *Sabahat*, 1966; *Ocak başında-yolcu*, 1966; *Yusuf ile Menofis*, 1967; *Demokles'in kılıcı*, 1974; *İvan İvanoviç var mıydı yok muydu?*, 1985. (c) Novels: *Kan konuş-*

maz, 1965; *Yeşil elmalar*, 1965; *Yaşamak güzel şey be kardeşim*, 1967. (d) Collections of letters: *Kemal Tahir'e mahpushaneden mektuplar*, 1968 (in French: *De l'espoir à vous faire pleurer de rage; lettres de prison à Kemal Tahir*, Paris, F. Maspero 1973); *Cezaevinden Memet Fuat'a mektuplar*, 1968; *Bursa cezaevinden Vâ-Nû'lara mektuplar*, 1970; *Nâzım ile Piraye (karısına mektuplar)*, 1977. (e) Tales: *La Fontaine'den masallar*, 1949; *Sevdalı bulut*, 1968 (in French: *Le nuage amoureux*, Paris, Maspero 1979). (f) Articles: *It ürür kervan yürür*, 1936; *Milli gurur*, 1936; *Sovyet demokrasisi*, 1935; *Alman faşizmi ve ırkçılığı*, 1966.

2. Selected writings on his life and works: Ahmed Cevad, *Nâzım Hikmet, hayatı, seçme şiir ve yazıları*, 1937; Orhan Seyfi, *Nâzım Hikmet, hayatı ve eserleri*, 1937; Orhan Kemal, *Nâzım Hikmet'le üç buçuk yıl*, 1965; Kemal Sülker, *Nâzım Hikmet'in gerçek yaşamı* (6 vols.), 1987-1989; *In commemoration of Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963)*, London, Union of Socialist Artists 1975; *75 doğum yılında Nâzım Hikmet'e armağan*, Türkiye Yazarlar Sendikası, 1975; Vâlâ Nureddin, *Bu dünyadan Nâzım geçti*, 1986 (1st ed. 1965); Şükran Kurdakul, Kıymet Coşkun and Öner Yağcı, *Nâzım'dan armağan*, 1990.

(Çiğdem Balim)

NĀẒIM, Muṣṭafā, an Ottoman poet of the 11th/17th century whose poetry is so far known only from the samples found in the *tedhkires* and *medjmūʿas* (although Belīgh reports the existence of a complete *dīwān*; cf. also *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*). Born in Istanbul as the son of Yeñi Baghčeli Ördek Ismāʿīl Efendi, a *yeñičeri efendisi*, i.e. head of the government registry office for the names and salaries of the Janissaries, he himself first rose to the position of *bash-khalīfe* (head clerk) in the same office and later was appointed to the same position his father had held. He died in 1108/1696 returning from Muṣṭafā II's second campaign against Austria.

The samples of Nāẓīm's poetry that we have seen point to moderate poetic qualities without striking individuality. It is reported that he also had musical talent and composed. His brother ʿOthmān Ḥamdī (died 1132/1719-20 [*q.v.*]) was also a poet besides being a well-known calligrapher.

Bibliography: Ṣafāyī, *Tedhkire*; Sālim, *Tedhkire*; Belīgh, *Nukhbet el-āthār li-dheyl Zübdet el-Eshʿār*; *sheykh el-islām* Meḥmed Esʿad Efendi, *Aṭrāb el-āthār*; Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Saʿdeddīn Efendi, *Tuḥfe-yi khaṭṭāṭīn*, 298; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 534; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii, 572-6; Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, 664-5; K.J. Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Istanbul 1910, 127; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. Nāẓım; M.C. Baysun, in *İA*, s.v. *Nâzım Mustafa Efendi*. Hammer-Purgstall, Flügel and Basmadjian confused Nāẓīm with the more important poet Yaḥyā Naẓīm [*q.v.*] either with respect to biography or to oeuvre. These three sources apparently led Menzel to attribute to Nāẓīm part of the large *dīwān* of Naẓīm, who is erroneously named Nāẓım in *EI*[1] (see *Nāẓım, Yaḥyā*).

(E.G. Ambros)

NAẒĪM, Yaḥyā, the most important Ottoman religious poet of his period, as is apparent from his epithet *Naʿt-gū*, the singer of hymns. Born in 1059/1649 in Ḳāsīm Pasha at Istanbul, he entered the Serai as a boy, where he received the education of the *Enderūn* and had the opportunity to acquire special proficiency in Arabic and Persian. He showed a talent for poetry and considerable musical ability. His beautiful voice and his work as a poet and composer gained him the favour of Sultan Murād IV. He was given important offices at the court as a result: the office of a *ḳoghush aghasī* to the *kilār-i khāṣṣe*; he next became *newbetdji bashī* and *ḳuru yemishdji bashī* and attained considerable influence. He then retired of his own accord and became *bazar bashī*. Later, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He remained in Medina as a *mudjāwir*, where he died at the age of 80 in 1139/1726. According to another statement (Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir), he died in Edirne.

He flourished under Meḥemmed IV and down to the reign of Aḥmed III. He was a member of the Mewlewī order. Sheykh Neshātī-yi Mewlewī was his teacher in poetry and probably also in music. Naẓīm is the most religious poet of his period. He devoted the whole of his poetical talent to the *naʿt* or hymn. His *Dīwān* therefore resembles a warrant of pardon (*berāt-i ghufrān*). He also gave special attention to the devotional forms of the *tewḥīd*, *taḥmīd* and *munādjāt*.

His *Dīwān*, first printed in Constantinople in 1257/1841, forms a thick volume of 500 pages, of which one-third is devoted to the *naʿt* in the form of 60 *ḳaṣīdas*, hundreds of *ghazels*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *terdjīʿ* and *terkīb*, *müseddes* and *mukhammes*, *rubāʿī* and a *methnewī* for the Prophet. The *Dīwān* is divided into five parts, each of which is in turn a kind of *Dīwān* in itself. He also wrote *medḥiyyes* for Meḥemmed IV and Muṣṭafā II, Aḥmed III, Selīm Giray Khān, Muṣāḥib Muṣṭafā Pasha and the vizier Aḥmed Pasha; also *taʾrīkhs* in imitation of Nefʿī and Nābī and *sharḳīs* in imitation of Nedīm. The recent critical edition of the *Dīwān* (Istanbul 1957) is based on 5 Istanbul mss. plus a ms. *dīwānče*.

Naẓīm was a clever technician who gave expression to his effort for variety and change, not in the matter but in the form. In all his works, however, a deep religious belief, even fanaticism, is marked. His poems are a true reflection of the inclination of the period for religion and Ṣūfism.

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(Th. Menzel)

NAẒĪR, Naẓīr al-samt (a.), Eng. and Fr. nadir, the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical, also the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven. The nadir is the opposite pole to the zenith [see samt al-raʾs].

The word *naẓīr* (from *naẓara* "to see", "to observe") originally (and generally) means the point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere; we find *muḳābal* as a synonym of *naẓīr* in this general meaning [see also muḳābala].

(W. Hartner)

NĀẒIR AL-MAẒĀLIM [see maẓālim].

NAẒĪRĪ, the pen-name of the Indo-Muslim Persian poet, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, who flourished during the 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, d. 1021/1612-13. He belonged originally to Nīshāpūr, from where he went to Kāshān during his youth. There he participated in poetical contests with the leading local poets of the day. He was among the first Persian poets who migrated from their native land

during the Ṣafawid period to seek their fortune at the Mug̲h̲al court. On his arrival in India (*ca.* 993/1585-6), he attached himself to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān [see KHĀN KHĀNĀN], and although he subsequently gained access to the imperial court under both Akbar and D̲j̲ahāngīr, his continued association with K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān's establishment remained unbroken till the end. Around 1002/1593-4 he decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, for which his expenses were paid by his patron. Attacked by the Bedouins during the journey, he lost his possessions, but was able to fulfil his mission thanks to the help he received from Akbar's foster brother, K̲h̲ān-i Aʿẓam (Mīrzā ʿAzīz Kokā [*q.v.*]), who also happened to be on his way to Mecca at the same time. On returning from the pilgrimage he settled down at Aḥmadābād in Gud̲j̲arāt. It is reported that he spent the last twelve years of his life in retirement devoting himself to the learning of Arabic and the study of the *ḥadīth* and exegesis. When D̲j̲ahāngīr became ruler, he invited Naẓīrī to the court. In 1019/1610-11 the poet presented himself with a *ḳaṣīda*, for which he was handsomely rewarded and admitted to the royal service. The emperor also gave him a substantial land grant in appreciation of a *g̲h̲azal* which Naẓīrī composed as an inscription for a building. The poet died in Aḥmadābād in 1021/1612-13, and was buried there.

Naẓīrī was a man of considerable means. He depended not only on poetry for his source of income; he was also engaged in commercial pursuits, and, according to the *Maʾāt̲h̲ir-i Raḥīmī*, had a successful business as a goldsmith. He is praised by various writers for his hospitable nature and for his openhandedness and generosity towards friends and visitors. He belonged to the S̲h̲īʿī sect, and his devotion to that faith is reflected in his *ḳaṣīda*s honouring the eighth S̲h̲īʿī imām, ʿAlī al-Riḍā. It would seem that he held fixed religious views, for in a *ḳaṣīda* addressed to Akbar's second son, Murād (d. 1008/1599), he denounces as heretics the authors of the eclectic religion that Akbar tried to promote [see DĪN-I ILĀHĪ], and praises the prince for his efforts to counter the new creed.

Naẓīrī holds a place of distinction among the leading poets of the Mug̲h̲al period, and his achievements have been rightly acknowledged by contemporary and later sources. He has left a sizable *dīwān* comprising *ḳaṣīda*s, *g̲h̲azal*s, *tarkīb-band*s, *tard̲j̲īʿ-band*s, *ḳiṭʿa*s and *rubāʿī*s. His poetic skill is evident in all the genres, but it is the *g̲h̲azal* in which his true talents are revealed. Naẓīrī's *g̲h̲azal*s contain mystical and philosophical ideas, and are conspicuous for their modes of thought and expression as well as for their music. He is also the author of several elegiac compositions which are noted for their poignant and sincere feelings. His poems are often patterned after those of early masters, such as Anwarī and K̲h̲āḳānī [*q.vv.*], who provide the models for his *ḳaṣīda*s, and Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*], who sets the tone for his *g̲h̲azal*s.

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NAẒMĪ, MEḤMED (according to the *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*: Naẓmī Niẓāmī), **EDIRNELI**, Ottoman poet of Edirne (Adrianople) in the period of Süleymān al-Ḳānūnī. He was the son of a Janissary, later himself became a Janissary, then *silihdār* and *sipāhī*. He died in 962/1555, or thereafter, at Edirne, where he is buried in the *türbe* of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ.

Naẓmī possessed great poetic gifts and ability, which he displayed particularly in the clever and accurate imitation of other poets, in so-called *naẓīre*s (pl. *naẓāʾir*). He also himself wrote *g̲h̲azel*s. He rendered a great service to Ottoman literary history by collecting an enormous anthology of the best Ottoman poems, arranged under the eight principal metres. This anthology, the *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-neẓāʾir*, contains 4,000 *g̲h̲azel*s by 125 Turkish poets and *naẓīre*s by himself, in addition. He presented this work, which he brought down to the year 930/1524, to the Sultan. Von Hammer deals fully with it, as it deserves.

He also wrote a *g̲h̲azel* with the rhyme *elif* on each *baḥr* of the *Risāle-i ʿarūḍiyye* of Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī.

Perhaps Naẓmī's main claim to a place in the history of Turkish literature is, however, as an exponent of the more simple style of Turkish poetry, *türki-yi basīṭ*, which harked back to the earlier stages of Turkish literature [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. Literature. A] before the *dīwān* style, heavily influenced by Persian and Arabic, had developed. See on this poetry of his, M.F. Köprülü, *Millî edebiyat cereyânın ilk mübeşşirlerinden Edirneli Nazmî*, in *Hayat Meʿmuası*, nos. 107-8 (1928); idem, *Millî edebiyat cereyânın ilk mubeşşirleri ve Türki-i basît*, Istanbul 1928, including the text of the poems.

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(T. MENZEL*)

NAẒMĪ, S̲H̲EYK̲H̲ MEḤMED B. RAMAḌĀN, Ottoman poet and K̲h̲alwetī *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲*. The son of a merchant named Ramaḍān b. Rüstem, he was born in Istanbul in the Ḳod̲j̲a Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a quarter in 1032/1622-3. He became a disciple of ʿAbd al-Aḥad

al-Nūrī. In 1065/1654-5 he became *sheykh* (*pūst-nishīn* [*q.v.*]) in the Khalwetī monastery of Yawashdje Meḥmed Agha near Shehr Emīni, later (1105/1693) also preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) at the Sulṭān Wālide mosque. He died on 24 Shawwāl 1112/3 April 1701 and was buried in a special *türbe*. His son was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rafīʿā. Naẓmī was considered a high authority on *ḥadīth*. He wrote a number of works, none of which have been printed, including the *Hadiyyat al-ikhwān* ("Present of the Brethren"), comprising biographies of the seven greatest Khalwetī personalities (Yūsuf Makhdūm; Muḥammad Raḳiyye; Shāh-Ḳubād-ī Shīrwānī; ʿAbd al-Medjīd-i Shīrwānī; Shams al-Dīn-i Sīwāsī; ʿAbd al-Medjīd-i Sīwāsī; ʿAbd al-Aḥad al-Nūrī) and some accounts of their successors.

His poetical works consist of the rhymed Turkish translation of the first book of the *Methnewī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; a *dīwān* of the usual type (with many hymns and sacred songs); and the *Miʿyār al-ṭarīḳat* ("Touchstone of the order").

Bibliography: Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 560; Hilmī, *Ziyāret-i ewliyā*ʾ, Istanbul 1325, 120-1; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, vi, 4589-90; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, i, 175; Hammer, *GOD*, iii, 596-7; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Istanbul 1910, 127; *İA*, art. s.v. (Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı).

(T. Menzel)

AL-NĀẒŪR (A.), a term used in Muslim Spain and certain parts of the Maghrib (*nāḍūr*) in mediaeval times to denote a look-out or watch-tower of one kind or another, and, in parts of the 19th-century Maghrib at least, a lighthouse. Based on one of the so-called intensive forms of the participial pattern *fāʿil*, used to convey the idea of habitual or occupational activity, the word can be said originally to have denoted the man whose business it was to keep watch, for it is clearly in this sense (*pace* Dozy's "une tour" (*Suppl.*, s.v.)) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] uses it (iv, 364-5) in an account of a Christian descent on the Andalusian coast from ships lying off Suhayl, now Fuengirola. He does, it is true, speak of his coming upon the *burdj al-nāẓūr* in the vicinity of the port, but he then goes on to say how he learned that at the time of the attack *lam yakun al-nāẓūr bi 'l-burdj*—which can only mean "the watchman was not in the tower".

Corroboration and clarification of the primary sense of *nāẓūr* are to be found in the Valencian *Vocabulista in arabico* (ed. C. Schiaparelli, Florence 1871) attributed to Raimon Martí and dating from the second half of the 13th century. There the term is translated by the Latin *speculator* and glossed as *qui custodit portum* (p. 586). Mis-translated by Dozy (*loc. cit.*), the gloss means *not* "the man who keeps watch on a gate" ("l'homme qui fait le guet sur une porte"), but "the man who watches over a port". As a synonym, the *Vocabulista* (*loc. cit.*) offers *ṭāliʿ*, pl. *ṭawāliʿ*, *ṭullāʿ*, lit. "man who goes up" (sc. into a high place, tower or the like).

Two composite place-names in which *al-nāẓūr* is the second element are to be found in a source earlier than those so far cited, viz. Idrīsī, *Maghrib* (6th/12th century). Of these, one is Ṭaraf al-Nāẓūr (*op. cit.*, 193/235), identifiable as Santa Pola on the coast of southeastern Spain, some 16 km/10 miles as the crow flies, south of the seaport of Alicante. The other is Ḥiṣn al-Nāẓūr (*ibid.*, 93/108; cf. Ibn Khaldūn-de Slane, ii, 55: "Le Nador"), now unidentifiable, but situated in the Central Maghrib, well inland, on the road from Bidjāya [*q.v.*] to al-Ḳalʿa [see ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD] in a region notorious for the depredations of Arab tribes. In neither of these two cases is the sense of *nāẓūr* unequivocal, for there is nothing to indicate whether the referent is the agent or the place of his work. Like the English "look-out" and the Spanish *mirador* and *vigía*, each of which is both a *nomen agentis* and a *n. loci*, the sense of *nāẓūr* in a neutral context defies determination. What is required is information such as that offered by one al-Anṣārī, the author of an early 15th-century monograph on Ceuta (Sabta).

Speaking of Ceuta's formidable defence system as he knew it prior to the Portuguese occupation (1415), al-Anṣārī describes the unrivalled—his term—principal look-out (*al-ṭāliʿ al-kabīr*) as "*the* look-out of Ceuta [situated] at the top of its harbour's mountain [= Djabal al-Mīnāʾ, now Monte Hacho] and known locally as Al-Nāẓūr". Here there can be no doubt that *al-nāẓūr* denotes *not* "the watchman" or "the observer", but "The Watch-Tower" or "The Observatory". What also emerges from the passage is, first, that *ṭāliʿ*—whence the Spanish *atalaya* "watch-tower", *pace* Dozy and Engelmann, who misinterpret Pedro de Alcala's transliteration and offer *al-ṭāliʿa* as the etymology (*Gl. Esp.*, 209; for abbrev., see Dozy, *Suppl.*, p. xxii)—is, as in the *Vocabulista*, synonymous with *nāẓūr*, though in the sense of the place rather than that of the person, and, secondly, that, on the face of it, *ṭāliʿ* is thought by the author to be a more literary term than *nāẓūr*.

The nature of Ceuta's al-Nāẓūr as known to al-Anṣārī is worth detailing if only because it may well be thought to shed some light on the nature of Ḥiṣn al-Nāẓūr in the Central Maghrib (see above). The watch-tower from which it took its name was not an isolated edifice; it formed just one, albeit the main, part of a true fortress (*ḥiṣn*) with its own *enceinte*, gates and a large *ḳalahurra* (calahorra) accommodating a mosque within. The sum of its parts, then, constituted a true stronghold, and, since it could function as an independent unit, it was considered a refuge and safeguard against the dangers to which siege or internal upheaval might expose the town of Ceuta on the isthmus. Its main value to the Ceutans, however, lay in the intelligence it could gather of potential danger from the sea. In the best weather conditions nothing could pass unobserved through or across the Straits of Gibraltar, for al-Nāẓūr afforded a clear prospect of the coasts of both Spain and northern Morocco. From it an observer could survey the coast of the Rīf as far as Bādis [*q.v.*], and the view of the Andalusian littoral could extend as far as Málaga in the east and beyond Tarifa in the west. It was, so al-Anṣārī tells us, built by the Almoravids as a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) "for the benefit of the observer garrisoned in the watch-tower" (*li 'l-nāẓir al-rātib bi-hi* [sc. *al-ṭāliʿ*]) and constructed with the help of the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [see ʿIYĀḌ B. MŪSĀ].

E. Terés has drawn attention to the existence of a number of place-names both in Spain and Morocco, which, either in whole or in part, derive or can reasonably be supposed to derive from *al-nāẓūr* (with the phonetic shift *ẓ*>*ḍ*, common in the Muslim West). Thus, in Morocco, only a few kilometres down the coast from the Spanish enclave of Melilla (Malīla [*q.v.*]), lie the town and district of what the Spaniards know as Nador, above which rise heights commanding a wide view of land and sea and bearing the Spanish name "Tetas de Nador". On the Atlantic seabord of Morocco an urban quarter of Larache (al-ʿArāʾish [*q.v.*]) in the coastal sector of the town which pushes out towards the lighthouse also takes its name—in Spanish "el barrio de Nador"—from the Arabic *al-nāẓūr*. From the latter, it may be added, derives also the name of an inland mountain pass, crossed at 1,514 m/4,970 ft. near an old military post

on the post-1956 Route de l'Unité running from Ketama (Kutāma) in the north to the city of Fez (Fās).

In Spanish place-names, *al-nāẓūr* has survived, both singly and in compounds, either in barely disguised garb (e.g. Anador, Castillo Añador, Anaor) or in less obvious attire resulting from contamination of one sort or another (e.g. Dañador, Torre del Andador, Cala (<*ḳalʿa*) del Nadador).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.D. Latham, *The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim period*, in *IQ*, xv (1971), 189-204, esp. 189 (on al-Anṣārī), and also in idem, *From Muslim Spain to Barbary*, London, Variorum Reprints 1986; E. Terés, *"An-Nāẓūr", "al-Manẓar" y "an-Naẓra" en la toponomia hispanoárabe*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxxvii (1972), 325-9; P. de Alcala, *Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen 1883, 107 s.v. *atalaya*; cf. F. Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid 1988, 128 col. a, line 5; L. Brunot, *Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 143 (on *nāẓūr*: in use at Mustaghānim, western Algeria, but unknown in Rabat-Salé).

(J.D. LATHAM)

NAZWA [see NIZWA].

AL-**NAẒẒĀM**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM b. Sayyār b. Hāniʾ, Muʿtazilī theologian, who died between 220/835 and 230/845 while still, as it seems, at the height of his powers. He had been trained in Baṣra, mainly in the circle of his maternal uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf [*q.v.*], but he succeeded in getting access to the court at Baghdād after 204/819 when the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] had returned from Marw. He may have owed his career to his poetical and rhetorical talent as well. His poetry, though not copious, was highly appreciated for its modernity. Like Abū Nuwās, whom he admired, he excelled in celebrating wine and the ethereal beauty of youths. His poetical style combined an imaginative use of metaphors with a certain intellectual touch which was due to the introduction of abstract terms taken from theology and metaphysics. While still in Baṣra, he had already taken part in debates which were arranged in bourgeois circles and which went far beyond a mere theological purpose; this is why he appears in al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Ḥayawān* as one of the two speakers who, in the first part of the book, vie in defending the precedence of the dog and the cock respectively.

Al-Djāḥiẓ was his pupil also in theological matters. But in this field, al-Naẓẓām's reputation waned rather quickly. He fell victim to his own wit and imagination; some of his ideas were regarded as wild, and even al-Djāḥiẓ rejected them. He had built his theology on a broad speculative basis of natural philosophy which was more elaborate than and differed from that of Abu 'l-Hudhayl. Abu 'l-Hudhayl had been an atomist; he had regarded bodies as aggregates of juxtaposed, isolated particles which are held together merely by God's omnipotence. Al-Naẓẓām, on the contrary, thought that the elements which make up the body permeate each other and may be either visible at its surface or hidden in its interior [see KUMŪN]. God created them all at once; when bodies undergo a change they do normally not add on a new accident but rather bring a hitherto hidden component to the surface. Change is therefore not abrupt, but slow and imperceptible. The only accident which al-Naẓẓām acknowledged was movement; here the transition from rest is abrupt. Even rest, though, results from an inherent force (*iʿtimād*) which may be interpreted as movement without locomotion and which sets the body in motion once all obstacles are removed. Movement has a wider range than locomotion, anyway; it comprises "all actions depending on man's will: Praying and fasting, acts of willing, knowing and ignorance, speech and silence (!), etc.". Al-Naẓẓām thus makes a sharp difference between the realm of man, which is dominated by free will, and the realm of nature where everything acts and reacts *bi-īdjāb al-khilḳa*, i.e. according to an inherent mechanical impetus which was added to it by creation. His idea of locomotion, however, was affected by his rejection of atomism. If a finite distance cannot be subdivided into a finite number of fractions but is subject to infinite divisibility, locomotion has to include a leap (*ṭafra*) since not every imaginable point on the surface on which it proceeds can be touched. This concept which, as many of his other ideas, was suggested to al-Naẓẓām by speculations prepared in Asiatic Hellenism did not catch on in Islam; it was rejected by the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) as well as by philosophers like Ibn Sīnā.

For al-Naẓẓām, this outline of physical theory was, in spite of very elaborate discussion, not a purpose in itself but part of his theology. He shared a good number of the aforementioned axioms with Iranian dualism, especially with Manichaean opponents whom he used to attack, but he differed from them in assuming that the ingredients contained in the physical bodies do not mix by themselves but through an independent force which brings them together, in spite of their diversity and opposition, namely God. Therefore he called the element which guarantees the identity of acting bodies *khilḳa* and not only *ṭabīʿa* "nature". In the same way, it is God who is responsible for good and bad effects in the things He has created. His omnipotence only stops in front of man's free will. But even man's ability of choosing between good and evil is only a result of an enforced mixture between his body and his "soul" or "spirit" (*rūḥ*) which is a "body", i.e. a material entity, too. For if the spirit were left alone it would only perform the good; it is merely through the integration into the body which acts as a harm (*āfa*) to it that it discovers the possibility of evil and is able to do it. Permeation implies that not only is the body penetrated by the soul, but the soul, for its part, invaded by "bodies" perceived by the senses, e.g. sounds contained in the air. The soul therefore serves as a *sensus communis*. It is not located at a specific place, e.g. in the heart; it has rather to be equated with life which is "interlaced" with all limbs. Life guarantees capability of acting (*istiṭāʿa*), but during the actual performance man has to take into account the *khilḳa* of the object which is affected by it, for instance by profiting from the weight or the "movability" of a stone when throwing it.

The act of knowing is a "movement", too; as an accident it has no permanence. But it may lead to rest; this is why al-Naẓẓām defined truth as "tranquillity of the heart" (*sukūn al-ḳalb*). His criterion of truth was therefore a subjective one, namely, inner certitude. But the truth itself is completely independent of the person pronouncing it. Therefore an isolated saying of the Prophet (*khabar al-wāḥid*) may well be true, whereas a tradition of multiple attestation (*mutawātir* [*q.v.*]) may be false if external criteria prove it to be so. Man should argue on the basis of free *idjtihād*; even the *fatwās* reported from the Companions are not binding. Al-Naẓẓām showed that they contradict each other; the material he collected was later on especially appreciated by Shīʿī writers.

In his concept of God, al-Naẓẓām advocated a rigorous *via negativa*. He did not therefore develop a

doctrine of attributes as elaborate as that of his uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl; he devoted closer examination only to God's will and power, in connection with the problem of theodicy. He limited God's omnipotence by saying that He not only avoids doing evil but is not even capable of it. In spite of that, God is just and good not out of necessity but by free choice; His power still extends to unlimited possibilities, the only restriction being that all of them would be equally good for man, a benefit (*luṭf*) of the same magnitude as the one realised in creation. God always does what is most fitting (*aṣlaḥ*), but there is an infinite number of alternatives. His power is on line with His always being most perfect. The miracles He produces serve to prove the veracity of His prophets. In the case of Muḥammad, this was not achieved through the rhetorical insuperability of the Ḳurʾān but through the predictions contained in it. Muḥammad's pagan adversaries were not permanently incapable of producing anything linguistically comparable to his revelations, but temporarily "averted" from using their rhetorical and poetical skill (*ṣarfa*).

Al-Naẓẓām's works are lost except for a few fragments. Most of them come from his *K. al-Nakth* (see J. van Ess, *Das Kitāb an-Nakṯ des Naẓẓām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futyā des Ǧāḥiẓ*, Göttingen 1972; another *ca.* 35 fragments are now found in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Maḥṣūl fī ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ed. Ṭāhā Djābir Fayyāḍ al-ʿAlwānī, Riyāḍ 1399-1400/1979-80, ii/1, 438 ff.). Others belong to his *K. al-Ṭafra, his K. al-Djuzʾ*, possibly his *K. al-Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, and to a treatise in which he criticised the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* (see J. van Ess, *Ein unbekanntes Fragment des Naẓẓām*, in *Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift O. Spies*, 170 ff.).

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